

THE ESSENTIAL
CODEX
MENDOZA



FRANCES F. BERDAN *and* PATRICIA RIEFF ANAWALT

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Frances F. Berdan
and
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Preface

The Essential Codex Mendoza combines volumes 2 and 4 of the more encompassing four-volume edition of *The Codex Mendoza* published by the University of California Press in 1992. That publication includes a collection of interpretations and appendices (volume 1), page-by-page descriptions of the codex (volume 2), a color facsimile of *Codex Mendoza* (volume 3), and parallel-image replicas of each pictorial folio with transcriptions and translations of the Spanish commentaries and translations of the Spanish glosses (volume 4). Volumes 2 and 4 thus provide, in detail, the basic pictorial and descriptive information contained in the original codex; these are the "essentials" that make up the paperback edition. With the exception of a few minor emendations, the current book reproduces the pages of the two 1992 volumes, plus sixteen color folios from the facsimile, volume 3.

Those who wish to delve more deeply into the nuances of *Codex Mendoza* and its importance for understanding Aztec culture may wish to consult the remaining two volumes of the 1992 edition. Volume 1 contains eight interpretive studies analyzing significant aspects of the manuscript as it relates to other documentation on early-sixteenth-century Aztec Mexico. These essays include "The History of the *Codex Mendoza*" by H. B. Nicholson; "A Physical Description of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Wayne Ruwet, with an addendum on watermarks by Bruce Barker-Benfield; "The Relationships of Indigenous and European Styles in the *Codex Mendoza*: An Analysis of Pictorial Style" by Kathleen Stewart How; "The Aztec

Pictorial History of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Elizabeth Hill Boone; "The Imperial Tribute Roll of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Frances F. Berdan; "The Ethnographic Content of the Third Part of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Edward E. Calnek; "Glyphic Conventions of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Frances F. Berdan; and "A Comparative Analysis of the Costumes and Accoutrements of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Patricia Rieff Anawalt. In this same volume 1, much of the information contained in *Codex Mendoza* is synthesized, tabulated, and charted in eleven appendices: a table on the reign dates of Mexica rulers; two tables of tribute accounts; a reconstructed fold-out of *Mendoza's* ethnographic section; translations and interpretations of place, personal, and title glyphs; and six pictorial and textual charts laying out detailed information on warrior costumes, shields, *ehuatl* battle attire, textile designs, and warrior insignia. References to volume 1's essays and appendices are retained throughout this paperback edition.

A complete, full-color facsimile of *Codex Mendoza* is contained in volume 3 of the 1992 edition. This color facsimile, together with the essays and appendices of volume 1, augments and amplifies the extensive descriptive material now made more accessible in *The Essential Codex Mendoza*.

Frances F. Berdan
Patricia Rieff Anawalt
June 27, 1995

Acknowledgments

This *Essential Codex Mendoza* is an adaptation of the four-volume edition of *The Codex Mendoza* published in 1992. Many of the acknowledgments that accompanied that edition are therefore equally applicable here. In particular, the intellectual and moral support given by Dr. H. B. Nicholson is gratefully acknowledged. He sustained us from the inception of the project through its completion. The encyclopedic knowledge of this foremost of Aztec specialists was always available to us; however, if there are errors on these pages they are ours, not his. Dr. Mary Elizabeth Smith was also a source of early encouragement, for which we are most grateful.

Dr. Nicholson, Dr. Hasso von Winning, and Dr. Alan Grinnell carefully read early drafts of the descriptive pages of the ethnographic section. Their suggestions consistently improved the work. Dr. Stanley Robe was also most generous with time and expertise; his careful review of the transcriptions and translations of the Spanish commentaries and annotations is most appreciated. We owe the carefully detailed tracings of the codex images to the painstaking work of Jean C. Sells.

Luther Wilson is to be thanked for his early encouragement of the project as well as for obtaining a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. We are most grateful for that generous support from NEH. It was Dr. Ludwig Lauerhass, Jr., who subsequently put us in touch with the University of California Press in Los Angeles, whose Stanley Holwitz, Assistant Director, and Scott Mahler, Sponsoring Editor, brought the initial project to fruition. They also obtained a J. Paul Getty Foundation grant; we are most appreciative to the Foundation for helping to make the original work possible.

We are also beholden to Dr. David Vaisey, Director of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, for his generous cooperation. He was very supportive of the undertaking from its beginning and has remained so. His enthusiasm has been contagious. Dr. B. C. Barker-Benfield, Assistant Librarian, Department of Western Manuscripts, also has given generously of his time and expertise; both have been very much appreciated.

We are also grateful to California State University, San Bernardino, which awarded us three grants for this work. In addition, that campus's Media Services Department has been exceptionally supportive. Both Trina Whiteside and Victoria Willis pleasantly and proficiently produced all the maps for the descriptive sections on history and tribute. We are also indebted to the Fowler Museum of Cultural History at the University of California, Los Angeles, for its generous support. The seemingly endless typing required to produce this manuscript was cheerfully shared by Linda Stockham of California State University, San Bernardino, and Lisa Chisholm. Margaret Ambler Nicholson kindly provided early research assistance.

Bridget Hodder Stuart was a valued aide in the initial stages of preparing the ethnographic descriptions. She was followed by the equally multifaceted Lisa Chisholm, who applied linguistic skills, meticulous organization, and high standards to this complex enterprise.

It is our pleasure to include a special acknowledgment to The Bodleian Library, Oxford, for permitting our inclusion of reproductions of the following color folios of "MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1" (*Codex Mendoza*): 2r, 4v, 10r, 13r, 17v, 20r, 37r, 46r, 47r, 52r, 60r, 61r, 64r, 65r, 67r, and 71v.

We would like to add our special thanks to Tony Crouch, Stanley Holwitz, Barbara Jellow, Fran Mitchell, and the University of California Press, as well as our supportive Mesoamerican colleagues. Thanks to the assistance and encouragement of all these friends, the *Codex Mendoza* paperback edition has reached fruition.

Finally, our deepest appreciation for the patience of our families. They—like *Codex Mendoza*—continue to inspire. We are indeed fortunate.

Our profound thanks to all.

Frances F. Berdan
Patricia Rieff Anawalt

Introduction

The *Codex Mendoza* is a vivid pictorial and textual account of early-sixteenth-century Aztec life. This unique manuscript combines a history of imperial conquests, a tally of provincial tribute, and an ethnographic chronicle of daily life that collectively constitute the most comprehensive of the known Mesoamerican codices.

Although the subjects of this extraordinary document are commonly referred to as Aztecs, these people called themselves Mexica. They were but one of several Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups inhabiting the Valley of Mexico during the Late Postclassic period (ca. A.D. 1250–1519). Collectively, all of these peoples are generally termed Aztecs.

The Mexica were the last of numerous nomadic groups to arrive in the Valley of Mexico from the northern desert regions. They established their island community of Tenochtitlan in 1325; by 1519 that settlement had become a metropolis of between 150,000 and 200,000 people. In 1430 the Mexica joined with their neighbors the Acolhua of Texcoco and the Tepaneca of Tlacopan to form the Aztec Triple Alliance. This powerful military confederation spread Aztec military might throughout much of central and southern Mexico, drawing sustained tribute from conquered city-states and battling perpetual enemies at their borders.

The Mexica that appear on the *Mendoza* folios are not only vigorous conquerors and warriors but also disobedient children, inveterate ballplayers, exuberant musicians, pious priests, and despised adulterers. We see their military power as they vanquish city after city to extend their dominion farther and farther afield. Subsequently, we view the vast tributes they demanded from those they conquered: shimmering feathers and sparkling greenstones, bowls of gold dust and axes of copper, reams of paper and loads of firewood, bins of maize and baskets of chiles, loads of textiles and piles of feathered warrior attire. We also monitor their progression from cradle to grave, following the avenues taken by “good” and “bad” Mexica as they pass through life’s prescribed stages. Children are reared, marriages are sealed, priestly novices are disciplined, wars are declared, and judgments are handed down. Clearly, there were many dimensions to Mexica life, and *Codex Mendoza* touches on most of them.

THE CONTENT AND CONSTRUCTION OF *CODEX MENDOZA*

The *Codex Mendoza* contains seventy-two annotated pictorial leaves and sixty-three pages of related Spanish commentary. These folios

are divided into three distinct sections. Part 1 (nineteen pictorial pages) documents the founding of Tenochtitlan and the history of Mexica imperial conquests, presented chronologically by individual ruler. This section of the codex shows us a generalized view of the settlement of the island city and an idealized victory chronicle of imperial expansion. It does not document all of the Mexica’s wars; nowhere are their disastrous defeats recorded. On the other hand, some enemy city-states appear more than once, under the laurels of successive rulers; this duplication most likely indicates wars but not conquests, or conquests and subsequent subdued rebellions. Some especially notable confrontations are featured: the heated dispute with Chalco under the Mexica ruler Chimalpopoca (folio 4v), the conquest of the powerful city-state of Coaytlahuacan under Emperor Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (folio 7v), and the ignominious defeat of the Tlateloleco ruler Moquihuix under Emperor Ayacatl (folio 10r).

The most important consequence of conquest was the imposition of tribute by the victors. Part 2 of *Codex Mendoza* (thirty-nine pictorial pages) served as a detailed account book of the rich and voluminous goods delivered by subdued city-states to their imperial overlords. The 371 city-states that bore these regular tribute obligations were grouped into thirty-eight geographically distinct provinces. *Codex Mendoza* sequentially presents these provinces roughly from north, to west, to south, and on to the east and northeast. It might be expected that the 202 vanquished city-states drawn in *Codex Mendoza*’s conquest history would all reappear among the 371 tribute-paying centers, but this is not quite the case. Some communities listed as conquests in part 1 (such as Yztepec) do not seem to have been incorporated into the empire on a regular tribute-paying basis. Instead they, like many other subjects, emerged more as clients paying “gifts” and offering strategic services such as borderland warfare or route security for the imperial powers. But many city-states with periodic tribute obligations (see *Codex Mendoza*, part 2) do not appear at all in the conquest history of part 1. These communities include the important provincial head towns of Malinalco, Cihuatlan, Tochtepec, and Oxitipan, all known to have been conquered and incorporated into the imperial structure.

Parts 1 and 2 are therefore complementary but not necessarily complete accounts of military conquest and economic control. Placed between the history and tribute sections are two enigmatic folios. They depict eleven lakeside communities and eleven imperial outposts, the latter all distant from the Valley of Mexico. These

transition folios relate partly to the history of conquests, and partly to the tributary obligations of subservience.

Codex Mendoza's conquest history and tribute tallies both appear to have been copied from extant prehispanic documents; in content and style they are reasonably faithful reflections of the Mexica's own view of their imperial strength and vitality. Part 3, however, "The Daily Life Year to Year," was a novel, postconquest creation with no known prehispanic prototype. Containing fifteen pictorial pages, this section provides an ethnographic account of Mexica daily existence. It begins with colorful images depicting infancy and childhood as Mexica children are named, disciplined, and educated. The life paths of these young people are then traced. Males attend formal schools, gain priestly training, capture enemies on the battlefield, engage in public works, marry, become entangled in litigation, learn crafts, and achieve high social rank. Some, however, go awry and are punished for adultery or other crimes. The members of a more disciplined group gain esteem and ultimately become elderly models of community morality and reap the attendant rewards, including the right to imbibe unlimited quantities of intoxicating *pulque*.

Females marry young, literally "tying the knot" around age fifteen. A few careless, less conventional women are subsequently shown in liaisons with errant young men, in legal disputes, or as partners in crime. Righteous aged matrons, however, conclude their disciplined lives exercising the coveted privilege of unrestricted access to *pulque*.

We see little of the pervasive Aztec religion in *Mendoza*, although the ethnographic section of the pictorial would seem the logical backdrop for the topic. We do glimpse priests performing a few of their duties, including the training of a young novice shown in one colorful vignette. Beyond that, only the rare deity peers at us from a place-name glyph, or an occasional temple looms in the background, or certain obscure elements of religious symbolism are coded into textiles and warrior attire. But these are only subtle references to religion; the flamboyant ceremonies that so forcefully punctuated Aztec daily existence are conspicuously absent.

Although the paper on which *Codex Mendoza* was compiled was of European origin, displaying watermarks characteristic of Spanish papermakers, the composers of the pictorial were themselves experienced native scribes. And whether they copied from extant pictorial codices (as in parts 1 and 2) or devised a new format (as in part 3), they tended to follow indigenous artistic canons and styles; the one major exception is the rather awkward attempt at perspective on folio 69r. Throughout the document, the hand of a single master painter is evident; other skilled natives worked with him, preparing the pigments and applying the colors in flat washes. They and knowledgeable elderly Aztecs interpreted the glyphs and paintings, apparently discussing particular meanings among themselves in Nahuatl. They did not always reach easy agreement (see folio 71v). Finally, this indigenous information was translated into Spanish by a bilingual friar who then wrote the accompanying explanatory Spanish commentaries—which for the most part face each pictorial page—as well as the Spanish glosses that appear directly alongside the pictorial images.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *CODEX MENDOZA*

The *Codex Mendoza's* adventurous early history is as colorful as its prehispanic content. It was drafted some twenty years after the turbulent and traumatic Spanish conquest of the Mexica of Tenochtitlan. By 1541 the Mexica's imperial capital had been transformed

into Mexico City, viceregal seat of Spain's wealthy dominion of New Spain. It was there that the *Codex Mendoza* was compiled at the behest of the Spanish crown (Charles V) and under the supervision of Spanish friars. Native scribes and interpreters were solicited from a generation that could still claim firsthand knowledge of preconquest Aztec life.

The *Codex Mendoza* appropriately came to carry the name of the then-viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, who may well have commissioned the manuscript. The document was produced in a bit of a flurry, by the Spanish commentator's own admission (see folio 71v). He was rushing to meet the departure of the annual flota, the Spanish treasure fleet. The manuscript was hastily finished, packed, and then dispatched by mule train to bounce along rough serpentine roads that descended over 7,000 feet to the Gulf of Mexico port of Veracruz. The document's destined voyage to Spain, however, was abruptly interrupted when French privateers attacked the Spanish flotilla and carried its rich booty to the coffers of Henri II of France. Fortunately, *Codex Mendoza* survived that transfer unharmed. At the French court, the king's cosmographer, André Thevet, himself fascinated with exotic lands and peoples, gained control of the manuscript; indeed, his name appears in five places, twice with the date 1553 (on folios Ir and 71v).

The document continued to change hands after Thevet's death. The next owner was Richard Hakluyt, chaplain to the English ambassador to France, who was also an aficionado of geographical and cultural exotica. He acquired the document for 20 French crowns and carried it to England. From Hakluyt it passed to Samuel Purchas sometime after 1616, then to Purchas's son, and subsequently to John Selden, an avid collector of Western Hemisphere manuscripts. In 1659, five years after Selden's death, the *Mendoza* finally came to rest in Oxford University's Bodleian Library, where it remains to this day. In the intervening years, the document fell into eclipse as it was quite forgotten for 172 years, not emerging for scholarly perusal until Viscount Kingsborough brought it to light in 1831.

In the years since Kingsborough's "discovery" of *Codex Mendoza* among the Bodleian's holdings, the document has so impressed scholars and publishers that it has appeared in several editions. Kingsborough's *Antiquidades de Mexico* (1831–1848) and James Cooper Clark's *Codex Mendoza* (1938, 3 vols.) are the most notable precursors to the University of California's deluxe and paperback editions.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *CODEX MENDOZA*

The *Codex Mendoza* combines Aztec pictorial and glyphic images with written text in Nahuatl and Spanish to provide a kind of Rosetta stone for Mesoamerican studies. The level of detail available in the document is greatly enhanced by its presentation in these different formats, allowing it to serve as a reference point for the interpretation of other Mesoamerican codices and cultures.

Given its breadth of content, *Codex Mendoza* has long been acknowledged as a major source for studies of Aztec history, geography, economy, social and political organization, glyphic writing, costumes, textiles, military attire, and indigenous art styles. This inclusive manuscript not only documents expected patterns of imperial organization, artistic symbolism, and the daily round but reveals unexpected variations as well: city-states were incorporated into the empire in creatively diverse ways, scribes made use of alternately glyphic and artistic devices, and individuals followed markedly diverse paths as they made their way through life's maze.

Codex Mendoza also offers suggestive insights into other cultures separated from the Aztecs in both time and space. Thanks to the inclusiveness of this manuscript, we are afforded a glimpse into the Mesoamerican past as well as geographic regions far removed from

the imperial Valley of Mexico. And inasmuch as an enhanced understanding of any one civilization helps us to unravel common developmental and structural patterns in others, this extraordinary pictorial manuscript enriches all those who study it.

VOLUME 2

Description of *Codex Mendoza*



A Guide to the Page Descriptions

This section of volume 2 provides a page-by-page presentation of the pictorial folios of *Codex Mendoza*. In contrast to the eight interpretive essays, these descriptions more directly discuss and explain the pictorial's content. To this end, the information conveyed by *Codex Mendoza*'s folios is compared with data from other pre-Hispanic and Colonial sources and with the works of modern scholars; readers are encouraged to use the references listed for further research.

The conquest history page descriptions of *Mendoza*'s part 1 are organized around the successive emperors. The personality and life of each ruler, the outstanding events of his reign, and his particular role in extending/conserving the boundaries of the Aztec empire are addressed in brief sketches. To illustrate the progression of the empire's expansion, a map is provided showing each monarch's victories as recorded on these history folios.

All the place-names are spelled as they appear in *Codex Mendoza*. The rulers' names have been conventionalized, but they are easily recognizable despite their sometimes variant *Mendoza* spellings. Also, while the pictorial's dating of these reigns is sometimes confusing, these idiosyncracies are acknowledged and explained. For more information on orthographic conventions see "Paleographic and Translation Conventions" in volume 4.

The descriptions of the tribute pages in the second section of

Codex Mendoza list each province's geographic peculiarities, political history, and cultural characteristics, as well as the empire's tribute demands. Two maps accompany each province's description, one showing its position within the empire, the other pinpointing the towns—those that still can be located—within the province itself. In both cases, Barlow's 1949 map serves as a base, though his reconstruction of the Aztec provinces is far more extensive than that actually indicated by *Codex Mendoza*.

The final section of the pictorial, the ethnographic account, presents vignettes of Aztec life from birth to death. Because of the unique nature of these folios, other contemporary sources have been liberally used to shed light on the events that make up this cycle. The encyclopedic compendium of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún—whose work is drawn from direct interviews with native informants—is the principal source for explaining these pages, along with the accounts of other sixteenth-century authors such as Fray Diego Durán and Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía). The content of each folio is first described and amplified with relevant indigenous/Colonial material, followed by a detailed examination of all depictions on each page. These "Image Description" sections draw on analogous data found in other central Mexican pictorial codices.

A Descriptive Account
of the *Codex Mendoza*

PART I



THE HISTORY
YEAR TO YEAR

FOLIO 2r: THE FOUNDING OF TENOCHTITLAN

Folio 2r, a pictorial representation of the Mexica's founding of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec empire's capital, is one of the most complex and informative pages of *Codex Mendoza*. This single folio succinctly incorporates information on the city's earliest history—both fact and myth—its first officials and structure, the recording of two important conquests, and the calendric notation of an early leader's long reign. To understand the symbols depicted on this page, it is helpful to review the early history and legends surrounding the Mexica's prior wanderings.

THE MEXICA'S EARLY HISTORY AND MIGRATION MYTHS

Although the *Codex Mendoza* commentary barely alludes to it, the force that drove the Mexica to establish their city in an unprepossessing marsh began over two hundred years before, in the distant northern deserts. The Aztecs' origin myth speaks of that region as Chicomoctoc, locale of the legendary seven caves from which emerged the related, nomadic Chichimec groups.¹ These were the emigrants who, following the demise of the Toltec empire in 1150, sequentially moved down and settled in the fertile and civilized Valley of Mexico.² The crucial factor that would influence the Mexica's destiny was timing; they were the final group of these migrants to arrive.

The Mexica's peregrination had been a particularly long and difficult one. Their reputation for savage ferocity did little to endear them to those whom they encountered. As a result, the Mexica seldom stayed long in one place; Alvarado Tezozomoc, in his *Crónica Mexicana*, likens them to the luckless tribes of Israel under the goad of the Egyptians.³

According to legend, even the gods treated the Mexica capriciously. Although their special deity Huitzilopochtli never forsook them, they inadvertently made an enemy of Copil, son of their patron's malevolent sister, Malinalxochitl. She related all accumulated grievances to her son, who avenged his mother by adding to the trials of the hapless Mexica, Huitzilopochtli's chosen people. Although Copil succeeded in causing considerable trouble, in the end he himself was killed. The evil Copil's heart was cast into Lake Texcoco at the order of Huitzilopochtli.

In the long course of the Mexica's wanderings, the mythical Huitzilopochtli finally led them into the Valley of Mexico in search

of their promised land. Since they could find neither a place to settle nor resources on which to survive, they were forced to serve the already established groups as lowly vassals. But the Mexica consistently made their overlords uneasy; they had not yet shed their "unsavory, barbaric" ways. After a series of unfortunate encounters with their increasingly nervous neighbors, the wanderers eventually made their way to Colhuacan, whose ruling lineages were direct Toltec descendants. History relates that this well-established city represented the oldest and most civilized center in the Valley of Mexico. The Mexica, who came as despised suppliants, were soon serving Colhuacan as very effective mercenaries; their military prowess filled their adversaries with dread. As for their Colhuacan masters, the Mexica's acts of savagery against them yet again alienated the far more powerful group.

Having angered their Colhuacan overlords, the wretched Mexica had to seek protection in the great lagoon of Lake Texcoco, taking shelter among the reeds and rushes. According to the legend, it was there, in a seemingly unpromising marsh, that Huitzilopochtli finally proclaimed the promised land was near. The tattered band was told to look for the place where Copil's heart had been cast into the lake. It had fallen on a rock, whence had sprouted a great prickly pear cactus; perched at its top would be found a magnificent eagle. The prophesied apparition was soon located on a small, uninhabited islet. At last the Mexica had reached their ultimate destination; their centuries of wandering were finally at an end.

This brief account constitutes the known facts and legends concerning the founding of Tenochtitlan. All chroniclers of the event recount essentially the same story, differing only in the details they choose to emphasize.⁴

THE ISLAND SECTION OF FOLIO 2r

The Eagle on the Cactus

The most dominant image of folio 2r is the eagle perched atop a prickly pear cactus that grows from the Aztec glyph for rock. This same symbol appears in several other Colonial accounts,⁵ and still serves today—with the addition of a snake in the eagle's beak—as the national emblem of modern Mexico.

The eagle that depicts the foundation legend is an Aztec symbol for the sun, which is associated with Huitzilopochtli, the Mexica's

patron deity. The cactus fruit the eagle is about to consume may represent the human hearts offered the sun to sustain it during the daily journey across the firmament.⁴

The Shield and Arrows

Just as the eagle on the cactus symbolizes the founding of Tenochtitlan, the shield and arrows immediately below represent the city itself. A shield backed by arrows is an Aztec glyph for war.⁵ When the shield in question carries this particular design—the *ibuiteteyo* (down ball)⁶—it represents the power of Tenochtitlan.⁷ The *ibuiteteyo* shield occurs repeatedly in *Codex Mendoza*. It appears before each of the nine sequential Aztec rulers in the conquest history, part 1 of *Codex Mendoza*. This shield is also carried by the two victorious warriors of folio 2r, one of the priest-warriors of folio 65r, and the mighty Aztec general, Tlacocheacatl, on folio 67r.

Island Divided by Crossing Streams of Water

A goodly portion of folio 2r depicts a square divided “in the form of Saint Andrew’s cross.”⁸ This stylized plan represents the original small island in Lake Texcoco on which Tenochtitlan was founded, an islet divided in quarters by two waterways. It has been suggested that the orientation of this island depiction differs from that of a modern map: north may not be at the top.¹¹

Although the Mexica’s promised land proved to be small and marshy, happily it was very fertile. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* provides a detailed description of the arrival of the Mexica at the site of the future city of Tenochtitlan:

And then they saw, that the weeping willows and the willows that stood there were white, and also the reeds and the tules were white and the frogs were white, the fish were white, the snakes were white, which lived there on the shores. And they saw, that rocks and caves stood face to face. The first rock and cave were seen where the sun rises and is called: Fire Water, Where the Water Is Burning. And the second rock and cave were seen in the direction of the realm of the dead [the north]—therefore they cross each other—it is called Blue Water and its name is Yellow Water. And when they had seen that, the old people cried, and said: “So this will be the place, for we have seen what has been told and explained to us by the priest Huitzilopochtli, when he said: ‘As you will see, there are in the tule-grounds in the reed-beds many different things.’ And now here we have all beheld and admired it, for it has truly happened and the word has proved to be true, that he spoke to us.”¹²

Obviously, the site contained a profusion of flora and fauna,¹¹ as well as abundant fresh water. Several sources contain the legendary account of streams running from two springs, one of which ran blood red, the other deep blue.¹⁴ It is the intersecting of these two mythical waterways that creates the St. Andrew’s cross of folio 2r. It appears that from an early date the Mexica were building a system of connecting canals and footpaths to serve their new center in the lagoon. Certainly these smooth-functioning lanes of transportation and commerce were in active service when the Spaniards arrived.

The conquistadors initially viewed Tenochtitlan from a mountain pass; their first dazzled impressions were of a dream-world city. By 1519, the Mexica’s modest island home had grown into a metropolis with a population of between 150,000 and 200,000.¹⁵ The city—now resplendent with towering temples, closely grouped palaces, neat homes, and well-cultivated gardens—rose white and glistening above the clear waters of Lake Texcoco. In addition to

an internal system of canals bordered by adjacent roadways, this busy urban center was connected to the mainland by four broad causeways.¹⁶ Activity was everywhere; foot and canoe traffic was in bustling profusion. The response of the Europeans to this beautiful sight was awe and amazement. Little wonder that they later remembered Tenochtitlan as the Venice of the West.

The Division into Quadrants

The Spanish commentary for folio 2r makes no mention of the significance of the four divisions formed by the crossing waters. There is, however, an explanation in another sixteenth-century source. According to the legend reported by both Alvarado Tezozomoc¹⁷ and Durán,¹⁸ Huitzilopochtli told the Mexica to divide their new city into four main wards, which they referred to as Moyotla, Teopantlaza, Atzacualco, and Cuepopan.

Huitzilopochtli commanded the people to distribute among themselves the gods they had so laboriously carried throughout their long and difficult wanderings. Each of the four neighborhoods was then divided into as many subsections as it possessed idols; these deities were called *calpultecol*, or district gods. Durán likens the resulting units, or *calpulli*, to parishes that bear the names of Christian saints. Modern scholars associate these barrios with the social and territorial groups that exploited each section of land.¹⁹

On folio 2r, two of the four divisions contain what could be construed as place-name glyphs. However, the Spanish commentary makes no mention of them, and to date no one has definitively determined what these images mean. The building in the upper quadrant has been variously identified as a *tecpan* (noble’s house or government building),²⁰ a *cabildo* or townhouse,²¹ and a temple of Huitzilopochtli.²² The latter speculation is the most probable. The humble shrine that appears on folio 2r may well represent the first stage of what evolved into the magnificent sixteenth-century Templo Mayor. This was the towering one-hundred-foot-high edifice that so impressed Cortés and his men.

The recent excavation of the Templo Mayor revealed that the temple had undergone seven construction phases.²³ From humble beginnings, Huitzilopochtli’s temple—shared by the rain god Tlaloc—just kept growing. Unfortunately, subsurface groundwater precluded finding the earliest, fourteenth-century shrine.

The skull rack—*tzompantli*—in the right-hand quadrant of the Tenochtitlan plan is easily recognizable as to function. However, beyond the recognition that it contained the heads of the Mexica’s sacrificial victims, the rack’s appearance on folio 2r has not been further interpreted.²⁴ It is of interest that this *tzompantli* is one of the very few images in the *Codex Mendoza* that openly acknowledges the Aztecs’ disquieting practice of large-scale human sacrifice.

The City’s Founders

The four sections of the city all contain identically arrayed males. Each sits in the standard Aztec male posture, white *tilmatli* tightly wrapped about drawn-up legs. Nine of these figures, each seated on a bundle of green reeds, wear no body paint and have their hair arranged in the distinguished warrior hairstyle, the *temilolli* (pillar of stone).²⁵ The tenth and largest of these dignitaries is seated on a yellow woven mat in the left quadrant. His black body paint, smear of blood at the temple, and loosely tied-back hair signify that he is a priest. Only this male, whose glyph and Spanish gloss indicate that he was named Tenuch, has a speech glyph. As the Spanish commentary confirms, he is the leader of the group.

Tenuch ("Stone Cactus Fruit")²⁴ first appears in the Mexica's history as the foremost of the four priest-rulers who led the group after their arrival in the Valley of Mexico.²⁷ His role became increasingly important during and following the Mexica's service to Colhuacan. Although Tenuch is not regarded as a founder of the Mexica ruling dynasty, his speech glyph confirms that he did indeed serve his people as their *Tlatoani* (Speaker).²⁸ The Spanish commentary further supports this, alluding to Tenuch being "especially gifted with leadership abilities."

The nine dignitaries who surround Tenuch also are identified by both name glyph and Spanish gloss. The three figures seated behind Tenuch have glosses reading Xocoyol ("Foot Bell"), Teçineuh ("He Who Expels Someone"), and Oçelopan ("Jaguar Banner"). The latter's gloss is misplaced, as his name glyph indicates. This male is really Açaçitli ("Reed Hare"); Oçelopan, complete with his ocelot-banner name glyph, is the left-hand figure in the upper quadrant. Facing him is Quapan ("Eagle Banner"). In the right-hand quadrant sits Aguexotl ("Water Willow") and Xomimitl ("Foot Arrow"). The lower quadrant contains Atototl ("Water Bird") and Xiuhcaqui ("Person Shod with Turquoise-Colored Sandals"). Along with Tenuch, these nine dignitaries apparently were the founders of Tenochtitlan.²⁹

The sixteenth-century sources differ as to both the role of these officials and even how many there were.³⁰ What is certain, however, is that folio 2r is acknowledging ten outstanding leaders instrumental in establishing the Mexica's capital.

The founding of Tenochtitlan is the first of three concepts illustrated on folio 2r. The other two—a calendric band commemorating the fifty-one years of Tenuch's reign and a pictorial recording of two cities conquered during his rule—establish the format followed throughout the historical section of *Codex Mendoza*. However, folio 2r's initial depiction of the Mexica's conquests is far more elaborate than those that follow; the remaining folios record only the localities overcome—no victorious warriors ever again appear in the conquest record.

THE CONQUEST SECTION OF FOLIO 2r

Situated directly below the scene of the founding of Tenochtitlan are two almost identical conquest scenes. They differ only in the conquered cities' place glyphs, the victorious warriors' war clubs, and the shields of the vanquished. Each of the vignettes employs standard glyphs for conquest: an image of two closely juxtaposed fighting men (captor forcing captive into a subservient position) and a toppled and burning pyramid temple.

All four warriors wear *icbacuipilli*, the standard Mesoamerican armor of thick, quilted cotton. In keeping with the greater glorification of Tenochtitlan, only the armor of the Mexica warriors is detailed, showing marks of the quilting. Both of these conquerors wear their hair in the "pillar of stone" style and carry the *ibuiteteyo* shield, symbolizing their city. One carries the *maguahuil*,³¹ the obsidian-inset warrior club; the other wields a wooden battle stick, the *buitzactli*.³² The first of the conquered warriors bears a red and white shield, unique to folio 2r; the other prisoner carries the undecorated, generic shield that occurs frequently in part 3 of *Codex Mendoza*.³³

Appropos the conquest section of folio 2r, the Spanish commentary speaks of the growing power of the daring and warlike Mexica, who "gave vent to their spirit by overcoming their neighbors . . . Colhuacan and Tenayucan."³⁴ This statement is an excellent example of revisionist history. Although the founding of Tenochtitlan

marked the end of the Mexica's wanderings, their existence remained precariously marginal for a long time. In order to survive and obtain any raw materials other than food, the Mexica had to continue working as vassals for their more powerful neighbors. It was only in that menial capacity that they were involved with the conquest of Colhuacan and Tenayucan. Such an event did take place, but only some fifty years after the 1376 death of Tenuch. At that time the Mexica were serving as mercenaries for the expanding kingdom of the Tepanecs.³⁵

The Mexica learned a great deal about conquest from Tezozomoc, the effective Tepanec tyrant. Indeed, it was the Mexica's later audacious takeover of the expanding Tepanec domain in 1428³⁶ that really started them on their ascent to power. Perhaps the focus of folio 2r on Colhuacan and Tenayucan, actually conquered much later when the Mexica were serving under the Tepanecs, reflects Tenochtitlan's later dominance over their former master. It may also have something to do with the Aztecs' view of history as repeating, a reflection of their view of time. This cyclical concept is discussed below.

THE CALENDRIC COUNT OF TENUCH'S RULE

Serving as a margin to folio 2r is a contiguous calendric count of fifty-one years, the length assigned to Tenuch's rule of the fledgling city of Tenochtitlan. As the Spanish commentary notes, "each little compartment . . . figured in blue . . . means one year."³⁷ This method of bordering each page of the history section with the years that correspond to the length of the relevant emperor's reign continues throughout part 1.

To understand the principle underlying the four recurring calendric symbols—House, Rabbit, Reed, and Flint Knife—it is necessary to consider briefly how the people in the Mesoamerican world viewed time. To them, time—and the burden it carried, history—was cyclical. Appropriately, the Aztecs had a recurring calendric system with no apparent method of distinguishing one cycle from the next. According to Sahagún, the longest time count reckoned was 104 years. He refers to this period as a century; half of it, fifty-two years, he calls a "bundle of years."³⁸

This fifty-two-year period, or "calendar round," consisted of years designated by combining four names, Rabbit, Reed, Flint Knife, and House, with the numbers 1–13. This results in 4×13 , or fifty-two, distinct name-number combinations, in a sequence such as One Rabbit, Two Reed, Three Flint Knife, Four House, Five Rabbit, Six Reed, and so on. It is this cyclical concept that explains the four recurring images combined with varying numbers of circles in the compartments of the calendar count.³⁹

Just as the Aztecs viewed time and history as cyclical, so too they believed the universe had already gone through four major transformations. In each epoch, the world had again been born, destroyed, and created anew. Because such a catastrophic event could occur only at the conclusion of a fifty-two-year cycle, special precautions always had to be taken at that time. The culmination of a period was marked by a sense of frightening vulnerability. Would the cycle begin again? There was always the pending threat of the destruction of the fifth and present sun, and hence the end of all life.

The New Fire Ceremony

This occasion, the "Binding of the Years," better known as the "New Fire Ceremony," was one of the most profound of the Aztec ritual round. Throughout the Valley of Mexico, household goods

were destroyed and all fires were extinguished, the populace sat in darkness awaiting the inexorable machinations of fate that only the heavens could reveal.

At or near midnight on this important night, the high priests climbed to a pyramid built high atop the mountain Uxachtectat (today known as the Cerro de Estrella, "Hill of the Star"). There they watched the passage of the Pleiades, waiting tensely until this cluster of stars had reached its zenith to see whether it would continue on in its journey across the heavens. Only after its uninterrupted movement was confirmed did the priests know that Huitzilopochtli's people were safe for another fifty-two years.

Once the continuity of the universe was determined, a particularly prestigious war captive was quickly sacrificed and his heart extracted. A fire drill—note the depiction in the lower right of folio 2r—was immediately set whirling in a tiny bed of dry moss set within the victim's yawning chest cavity. It was the spark from this "New Fire" which the priests used to ignite the great bonfire that notified the people waiting below that the world was safe; life would indeed continue.⁴⁰

The Founding Date of Tenochtitlan

According to Sahagún, the last New Fire Ceremony occurred in 1507.⁴¹ If one counts back three fifty-two-year cycles—156 years—the New Fire Ceremony indicated on folio 2r would have taken place in 1351.⁴² Counting left—backwards in time—from this Two Reed compartment gives 1325 as the corresponding year for Two House, the founding date of Tenochtitlan pictured on folio 2r. Although the Spanish commentary on folio 1r reads 1324, the former date is accepted by most modern scholars.⁴³ That is not to say, however, that all the Colonial sources agree on 1325 as the correct date.⁴⁴

The pictorial presentation of the founding of the Mexica's capital on folio 2r represents a blending of myth and history. That the Mexica first established their city in the fourteenth century on a small, marshy island in Lake Texcoco is documentable history. That this incipient metropolis in the lagoon should initially have been divided by canals for greater mobility is logical, as is the desire of the Indian artists of folio 2r to immortalize their intrepid founders. But there reality seems to stop.

That the newly settled Mexica were strong enough by themselves to conquer Colhuacan and Tenayucan within their first fifty years is highly improbable. What this boastful assertion reflects is the Aztecs' view of history: events were periodically revised so as to edify rather than inform. Not every event the Mexica report is a datable reality.⁴⁵

No matter that folio 2r represents, in part, an invented past. This impressive page illustrates, with understandable pride, the humble beginnings of what was to become one of the greatest pre-Columbian cities ever to flourish in the Western Hemisphere, the Mexica's mighty Tenochtitlan.

NOTES

1. These tribes are usually enumerated as the Tepaneca, Acolhuague, Chalca, Tlathuica, Couitca, Uexotzina, Tlaxcalteca, and others (Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 197).

For illustrations of the mythical seven caves see *Manuscrito Tezcatl* 1972: pl. 1; Durán 1967 1: láminas 1, 2; 2: lámina 2.

2. See Anawalt essay (chapter 8 in volume 1) for a discussion of the nomadic Chichimecs' settling in the Valley of Mexico and attaining a Toltec-heritage legitimacy.

3. Alvarado Tezozomoc 1944: 16.

4. Other accounts of the founding of Tenochtitlan can be found in *Códex Mexicano* (Mengin 1952), *Mapa Sigüenza* (Kingsborough 1831–1848, vol. 4), *Cronica mexicana* (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1944, 1975a), *Cronica mexicana* (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975b), *Relaciones de Chimalpahin* (Chimalpahin 1965), *Códex Ramírez* (1975), and *Manuscrito Tezcatl* (1972), as well as the chronicles of Sahagún and Durán.

5. For examples of the eagle perched atop a prickly pear cactus, see *Manuscrito Tezcatl* 1972: pl. 4; Durán 1967 2: láminas 6, 63; *Códex Izbuztepec* (see van Zantwijk 1985: 64); *Códex Aubin* 1963: 48.

6. Davies 1974: 37.

7. For a detailed discussion of the origin of the founding legend symbol, see Heyden 1988.

8. The Nahuatl term for shield and arrows, *mitl chimali*, is also a metaphor for war. Molina (1977: folio 57r) defines *mitl chimali* as "guerra, o batalla. Metaphor" (war, or battle. Metaphor). This is from folio 57r "Mid. saeta, o flecha" (dart, or arrow); folio 21r "Chimalli, rodela, adarga paues, o cosa semejante" (shield, round target, or similar thing).

9. See Anawalt essay (chapter 8 in volume 1) for additional information on the *ibuztepec* shield.

10. *Códex Mendocza* folio 1r (Francis Berdan translation).

11. Van Zantwijk implies that the stylized map of Tenochtitlan has been rotated ninety degrees. See van Zantwijk 1985: 59–66 for his discussion of the probable locations of specific early barrios on the folio 2r plan.

12. Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975b: 62–64; English translation from van Zantwijk 1985: 60–61. For additional illustrations of the island site see Durán 1967 1: lámina 3; 2: lámina 4; *Manuscrito Tezcatl* 1972: pl. 2 (p. 240).

13. Each of the four sections of folio 2r's island contains from three to five glyphs of plant life, indicating the fertility of this marshy land.

Davies (1974: 37) points out the possible significance to the Mexica of the great preponderance of reed surrounding their new site. The eleventh-century Toltec called their capital city Tollan (Tula), "Where There Are Many Reeds." This linking of Tenochtitlan with the ancient capital of the Toltec empire would have appealed greatly to the newly arrived Mexica.

It was also the fecundity of this marshy area which the Mexica so successfully later exploited through *chinampa* agriculture. This is the system of horticulture that involves creating plots of arable land by alternating layers of mud and vegetation in the shallow lagoons. These "islands" were secured in place with willows, planted so that the roots could act as anchors. These exceptionally fertile gardens produced very impressive yields.

See Berdan (1982: 21–22 for a detailed discussion of *chinampa* agriculture. 14. *Códex Ramírez* 1975: 25–26; Durán 1964: 31. Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975b: 63) gives the names of the two springs as Tlead ("Fire Water") or Atlalayan ("Place Where Water Is Burning")—this may refer to the blood-red water—and Matlatlat ("Blue Water") or Tzoplatlat ("Yellow Water"; translations van Zantwijk 1985: 60).

Note that the streams on folio 2r are drawn in the European manner rather than in the indigenous canon: water depicted with curvilinear lines that form little splashes bordered with circles or shells (M. E. Smith 1973: 166–167).

16. See Calnek 1972 for a discussion of the size of Tenochtitlan's population.

17. Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975b: 74–75.

18. Durán 1964: 32, 40.

19. The modern Aztec scholar van Zantwijk questions Durán's contention that the original four quarters correspond to the later divisions of Colonial Mexico City. For a detailed discussion of the original sacred waters and later canals, the causeways, and the lining up of these waterways with the cardinal directions, see van Zantwijk 1985: 59–74.

20. *Ibid.* 65.

21. Clark 1938: 1: 21.

22. See Boone essay, volume 1.

This latter hypothesis seems the most likely, as Durán (1964: 31) reports that the first thing the Mexica did was to construct a temple to Huitzilopochtli out of mud and grass from the marsh.

23. See Matos Moctezuma 1982 for information on the 1978–1982 excavation of the Templo Mayor.

24. Durán (1971: 78–79) links the skull rack to Huitzilopochtli's temple, which could account for its appearance on folio 2r.

Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975b: 74) mentions one of the lesser divisions of the city by the name of Tzomolco. The *tzompantli* may be linked to this district.

25. From Molina 1977: folio 97v "Teminilli. columna redonda de piedra" (round column of stone).

For more information on the *temillat* hairstyle see the "Image Description" section of folio 62r.

26. Molina 1977: folio 107v "Tetl. piedra, generalmente" (rock, in general); folio 72v "Nochtli. tuna, fruta conocida" (tuna, a known fruit).

27. Davies 1974: 31.

28. *Ibid.* 40. Also Molina 1977: folio 140v "Tlatoani. hablador, o gran señor" (speaker, or high lord).

29. It appears that the dignitaries' glyphs indicate names rather than titles. However, it is difficult to tell for certain, because it is possible that a name could pass down through generations until it became a title.

30. Durán (1967 2:55, 218) lists nine different founders and leaders of *calpulli*: Aatl, Acacitli, Ahuexotl, Huicton, Mecí, Ocelopan, Tenoch, Tezacated, and Xomimitl. He also mentions (p. 50) that among the elders who went on to found Tlatelolco were Atlacahuatl, Huicton, Opochtli, and Atlacal.

Codex Mexicanus (1952: pl. 44; see also van Zantwijk 1985: 65, 67) indicates there were seven *calpulli* and eight chiefs, including Aatl (or Mexitzin), Acacitli, Ahuexotl, Ocelopan, Tenoch, Trompan, Xiuhcaqué, and Xomimitl. Atototl is also depicted along with twelve additional founding leaders who played a part in the founding.

Modern scholars, drawing on a variety of early sources, suggest still other combinations of *calpulli* leaders and/or founders (see van Zantwijk 1985: 59–74).

31. Siméon 1963: 227 "Maquahuitl ou Maquanit, Sorte de épée garnie des deux côtes de morceaux d'obsidienne" (sort of sword garnished on two sides with pieces of obsidian).

See folio 64r, "Image Descriptions," for more information on the *maquahuitl*.

32. Siméon 1963: 688 "Uitzoetli, Levier, bâton en bois dur et pointu" (lever, hard and pointed wooden staff/stick).

See folio 62r, "Image Descriptions," for more information on the *uitzoetli*.
33. For further information on the undecorated generic shield of *Codex Mendoza*, see Anawalt essay, volume 1, and appendix G.

34. *Codex Mendoza folios 1r–1v* (Frances Berdan translation).

It is interesting that Colhuacan and Tenayucan, both cities that had particular meaning for the Chichimec-descended Mexica, should be depicted on folio 2r as the victims of their early conquests.

By the fourteenth century, Colhuacan's greatest assets were its princesses. Because this center could truly claim ruling lineages dating back to the revered Toltecs, the sequential, newly arrived Chichimecs were eager to marry into these royal lines so as to attain legitimacy. The Mexica were no exception. When Cortés arrived in 1519 the Mexica of Tenochtitlan referred to themselves as the Culhua-Mexica, proudly emphasizing their own claim to Toltec heritage.

As for Tenayucan, in the twelfth century, when the nomadic Chichimecs began to arrive in the Valley of Mexico, the basin already contained villages and even some fairly sizable centers. One of these was Tenayucan, which had become the capital of the newly arrived Chichimecs, who were beginning to fill the power vacuum created by the fall of the Toltecs. These newcomers (the Tenayucans) had a brief "empire" of their own from about 1200 to 1250 (Davies 1974: 21–22).

The grouping together of Colhuacan and Tenayucan appears again on folio 69r. These three two centers—together with a third, Chiconauhtla—are

listed as three cities whose rulers occupied guest quarters in the palace of the Mexica emperor Motecuhzoma.

35. Davies 1974: 44.

36. Soustelle 1970: 213.

37. Molina (1977: folio 159v) defines *xibuitl* as the Nahuatl term for year.

This also, however, is the word for turquoise; it is therefore appropriate that the year "compartments" appear in that color in the *Codex Mendoza*.

38. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: 143.

39. The solar year, or *xibuitl*, consisted of exactly 365 days grouped into eighteen months of twenty days each. These "months" were called *metztli*, "moon." The year was rounded out with five unlucky days (*nemontemi*). To date, no one has determined how the Aztecs accounted for the extra one-fourth day a year; they obviously managed, because otherwise the monthly ceremonies pertaining to agriculture would have been awry. Sahagún (1950–1982 4: 144) suggests that during the feast of Pillahualliztli, held every four years, a sixth *nemontemi* day was added.

In addition to the solar calendar, there was a ritual calendar, or *tonalpohualli*, of 260 days which was used principally for divination. This "count of days" was less directly associated with astronomical phenomena. It was formed by combining twenty day names with the numbers 1–13, producing 260 unique day-and-number combinations.

The fifty-two-year period, or "calendar round," was the result of combining the 365-day solar calendar with the 260-day ritual calendar. These two calendar systems interdigitated like the cogs on the gears within an old-fashioned watch. This combination of calendric systems resulted in 18,980 uniquely identified days. Each solar year was named after the day-number combination that fell at the end of the year, resulting in four names, Rabbit, Reed, Flint Knife, and House, combined with the numbers 1–13, or fifty-two combinations (Berdan 1982: 144–148).

For further information on the Aztec calendrical system, see Durán 1971: 383–470; Sahagún 1950–1982, book 4; Caso 1971.

40. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: 143–144; 7: 25–32.

41. *Ibid.* 4: 144. This event is always identified in part 1 of the *Codex Mendoza* by the symbol of the *mamalhuaztli* (*ibid.* 7: 60), or fire drill, linked to the year Two Reed. It is this symbol that appears at the bottom of folio 2r.

42. The end of the fifty-two-year cycle occurred in the year Two Reed; thus New Fire ceremonies always took place in that same year. Accordingly, every Two Reed compartment that appears in the *Codex Mendoza* historical section has the attached fire drill glyph, with the single exception of the one on folio 7v. There the connecting line was drawn, but no fire drill appears. This could have been either an error or an oversight, or perhaps there simply was insufficient room.

43. Nigel Davies (1974: 37, footnote on p. 316), however, agrees with Wigberto Jiménez Moreno that the correct date for the founding of Tenochtitlan is really 1345. Both scholars believe the Two House date usually given for the beginning of the city reflects not the calculations of the Mexica, but rather the Culhua-Texcocan count, which would place the founding twenty years later.

44. See Boone essay, volume 1, and appendix A for varying opinions on the founding date of Tenochtitlan.

45. See Davies 1987: 3–19 for an excellent discussion of the Aztecs' concept of history.

FOLIOS 2V–3R: THE CONQUESTS OF ACAMAPICHTLI



THE YEARS

The blue year glyphs along the left and bottom margins continue the year count from the previous folio (2r). They begin at the top with the year One Flint Knife (1376) and conclude at the bottom with the year Eight Flint Knife (1396) for a total of twenty-one years. Most other documentary sources concur with the 1376 date, although some place Acamapichtli's royal accession as many as ten years earlier (see Boone's appendix A in volume 1). The Spanish commentary on the *Mendoza* (folio 3r) settles on the year 1377, after a good amount of indecision.

THE RULER

Unlike *Mendoza*'s other conquest history folios, this one shows two live Acamapichtlis, one attached by a thin line to the initial year (One Flint Knife), the other by a line to a date seven years later, Eight Reed (1383). The Spanish commentary indicates that the first figure depicts Acamapichtli at the beginning of his rule and that the second shows him the following year, when he began his conquests. However, seven years have clearly passed between the two events.

It is obvious that in the intervening years Acamapichtli's status has changed. In the first depiction he is accompanied by a glyph consisting of a snake with a woman's head (*Cibuacoatl*).¹ This suggests a high rank, but one from which *tlatoque* were not likely to be chosen. In the later depiction he no longer wears the *Cibuacoatl* glyph, but his hair is now arranged in the "pillar of stone" (*temillotl*) style, symbolizing courageous battlefield achievements. This is also the hairstyle worn by the high-ranking *Tlacatecatl* shown on folios 18r and 67r.² In both depictions Acamapichtli is associated with the symbols of high office: he is seated on a reed mat, wears the turquoise diadem with red back-tie, and emits a speech scroll. The latter pictograph especially symbolizes his role as *Tlatouni*, or "Speaker."

Acamapichtli's name glyph consists of a hand grasping a bundle of arrow reeds.³ In Durán's and Tovar's illustrations, the reeds are clearly depicted as sharply pointed arrows (Durán 1967 2: *lámina* 7; Hassig 1988: 129).

Being so early a ruler, Acamapichtli had no customary ranks through which to pass on his way to the rulership (as did the later Mexica rulers). He ascended to the throne of Tenochtitlan at least partly due to his fortuitous genealogical connections: he was the son of a Mexica nobleman and a royal Colhuacan princess. Through his mother he gained entrée into the prestigious Toltec dynasty, as well as connections with the Acolhua at Coatlicchan (Davies 1974: 42). His succession to the Tenochtitlan rulership was sanctioned by the most powerful city-state in the Valley of Mexico at that time, Azcapotzalco.

Acamapichtli made politically astute marriages. His primary wife was Ilancueitl ("Old Woman-Skirt"), a royal woman again from Colhuacan. Although he had no children by her, he did sire several sons (and probably many daughters as well) by his twenty other wives (*ibid.*: 43, *Codez Mendoza* folio 3r). These wives were the daughters of important nobles (*ibid.*).

During Acamapichtli's reign, the Mexica served essentially as vassals to the Tepanec ruler, Tezozomoc. They paid tribute in lake products, a tribute reportedly made especially difficult because of Tezozomoc's outrageous demands: at one point he required his Mexica subjects to supply him with a raft planted with all kinds of vegetables, along with a duck and a heron, both in the process of hatching their eggs (Davies 1974:45). In addition to paying tribute, Acamapichtli devoted his royal energies to building the young city of Tenochtitlan, including construction of houses, *chinampas*, and canals (Durán 1967 2:59). According to Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1), there was “peace and quiet” during his reign.

THE CONQUESTS

As Tepanec subjects, the Mexica under Acamapichtli engaged in wars on behalf of their overlord (despite Sahagún's claim, above). Such warfare is symbolized in *Codex Mendoza* by a round shield with seven feather balls, a bundle of arrows, and a graceful blue *atlatl* (spear-thrower).⁴ Also shown, on folio 2v, are the conquests claimed for Acamapichtli, albeit in the service of the Tepaneca. These included three communities in the southern *chinampa* zone of the Valley of Mexico: Mizquic, Cuitlahuac, and Xochimilco. These three were apparently only tenuously attached to Mexica/Tepanec rule, for they were reconquered by Itzcoatl after the defeat of the Tepanec in 1430 (*Codex Mendoza* folio 6r). It is not clear what role Acamapichtli's Mexica played in the early conquest of Quauhnahuac (also shown on folio 2v), but it also was later reconquered, this time under the first Motecuhzoma (*Codex Mendoza* folio 7v). The *Mendoza* supplies the added pictographic detail of four heads,⁵ each accompanied by the glyph of a conquered town. The

Spanish gloss explains that men captured in the battles for these four towns were decapitated.

Although not shown in *Mendoza*'s conquest history, Acamapichtli was apparently also active in a budding flowery war⁶ with Chalco, and participated in Tepanec conquests of Quahuacan (to the west) and Chimalhuacan (to the east; Hassig 1988:128–132).

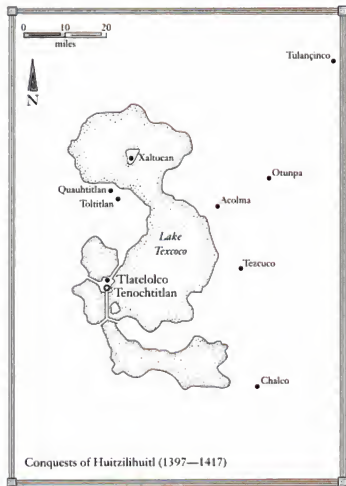
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF ACAMAPICHTLI

Chapter 4 in volume 1, by Elizabeth Boone, analyzes this section of *Codex Mendoza*. Additional information on Acamapichtli and his rule is found in Davies (1974:41–43, 46, 47; 1987:26, 32–33, 105), Hassig (1988:128–132), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1), Clark (1938 1:27–28), Kelly and Palerm (1952:280–281), Durán (1967 2:55–60), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:233–235), and Torquemada (1969 1:95–101).

NOTES

1. *Cihuatl* = woman; *coatl* = snake.
2. On *Mendoza*'s folio 67r, this hairstyle is also shown on men titled *Huitznahuatl* and *Ticocayahuacatl*.
3. *Acaatl* = reed; *mapiçtli* = handful. These have the appearance of arrows, though with blunted tips.
4. Clark (1938 1:27) suggests that this combination of elements symbolizes the “capital, and seat of government.”
5. A down ball, a symbol associated with sacrifice, is attached to each head.
6. These intermittent military encounters were not fought with conquest in mind, but rather as a training ground for warriors and a source of sacrificial captives.

FOLIOS 3v–4r: THE CONQUESTS OF HUITZILIHUITL



THE YEARS

According to the *Codex Mendoza*, Huitzilihuitl's reign began in the year Nine House, or 1397,¹ and ended in Three House, or 1417. Like his predecessor, he ruled twenty-one years. Most other documentary sources place his accession to the Mexica rulership at dates ranging between 1391 and 1404, and his death between 1410 and 1422 (see Boone's appendix A, volume 1).

During Huitzilihuitl's reign a New Fire Ceremony was observed, in the year Two Reed, 1403. This world-renewal ritual was celebrated every fifty-two years, in the year Two Reed. It is shown

three times in the *Codex Mendoza* (on folios 2r, 3v, 15v), and missed once (folio 7v). The symbol of an arrow drawing smoke (if not fire) graphically illustrates the central activity of the ceremony (see folio 2r page descriptions for a discussion of this ritual).

THE RULER

Huitzilihuitl (spelled Huiçilihuitl) is depicted on this folio in typical royal fashion: seated on a woven reed mat, his head capped by the royal headband and a speech scroll rolling from his mouth. Attached to his head by a thin line is his name glyph, a hummingbird's head with five feather down balls attached to it, giving his name as "Hummingbird Feather."²

Huitzilihuitl was a son of the prior ruler, Acamapichtli. He was not the only son, and an elective procedure (among designated nobles) was instituted to assure that the most capable of the past ruler's sons succeeded to the throne (Davies 1974:47). And he proved to be very capable indeed. He spent considerable energy in building up Tenochtitlan (especially its temples), establishing laws, and enhancing religious affairs. He apparently saw clearly the connection between the deities and the divinely sanctioned rulership (Durán 1967 2:66).

Huitzilihuitl married wisely. Not only was his first wife a princess from Tlacopan but his second was a granddaughter of the powerful Tepanec ruler Tezozomoc. This move clearly improved Tenochtitlan's standing vis-à-vis Azcapotzalco; the Mexicas' tribute was reduced, and nobles and rulers from surrounding city-states began to pay more formal attention to Tenochtitlan and its new ruler (Davies 1974:49). When his second wife died, he pursued a supposedly unattainable marital goal, the hand of a princess of Quauhnahuac, overly protected by her father. He nonetheless succeeded, although this victory may have set off a great war between Tenochtitlan and Quauhnahuac (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1944:94–95).

Such marriages into powerful ruling houses did not interfere with Huitzilihuitl's pursuing the custom of also wedding other women: the *Codex Mendoza* (folio 4r) states that he had many wives and children. Some of these offspring had illustrious careers: Chimalpopoca succeeded his father as Mexica *Tlatoani*, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina was to become one of the strongest Mexica rulers, and the legendary Tlaclel rose to the rank of *Cihuacoatl*, or "vice-*Tlatoani*."³

THE CONQUESTS

The *Codex Mendoza* (folio 3v) attributes eight victories to Huitzilihuitl: Toltitlan, Quauhtitlan, Chalco, Tulañcino, Xaltocan, Otunpa, Tezcoco, and Acolma. Most of these rimmed Lake Texcoco, but Tulañcino was farther afield, out of the Valley of Mexico to the northeast. Continuing past practice, these conquests were achieved largely as a result of Tenochtitlan's association with Azcapotzalco, whose ruler Tezozomoc still held the reins of power. While Huitzilihuitl's military contributions would have been appreciated, any fruits of victory were certainly controlled by the Tepanec monarch. As throughout this section of the codex, conquest is symbolized by a burning, toppling temple attached to each place glyph.

Among the material gains from these wars was additional territory. Lands were gained by the Mexica for their participation in the war against Xaltocan to the north.⁴ It is possible that Quauhtitlan and Toltitlan were conquered in the same campaign (Hassig 1988:134). Huitzilihuitl also participated in continuing hostilities with Chalco to the southeast. While Chalco did not actually fall during his reign, two towns in that polity apparently did; perhaps the Chalco place glyph on this *Mendoza* folio represents conquests in that domain generally.⁵

Having gained victories in the north and southeast,⁶ the Tepanec forces and their Mexica associates moved against the Acolhua to the east. According to the *Mendoza*, Huitzilihuitl shared in the conquests of Tulañcino, Otunpa, and Acolma, and also that of Tezcoco (Texcoco). However, Hassig (*ibid.*:135–136) suggests that this last conquest did not occur until after Huitzilihuitl's

death.⁷ As is customary in this section of the *Mendoza*, these conquests are symbolized by the shield decorated with feather down balls, arrows, and an *atlatl*.

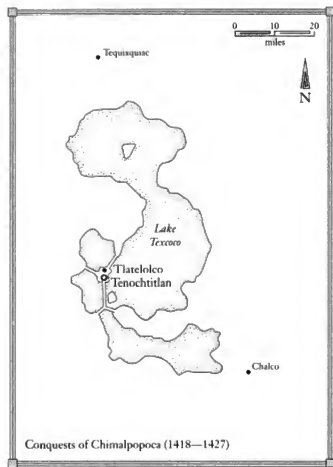
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF HUITZILIHUITL

This section of *Codex Mendoza* is analyzed by Boone in chapter 4 of volume 1. Additional information on Huitzilihuitl and his reign is found in Davies (1974:47–52; 1987:33–34), Hassig (1988:132–136), Kelly and Palerm (1952:283–284), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1), Durán (1967 2:61–67), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:234–238), Torquemada (1969 1:101–106), Clark (1938 1:28–29), and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* folios 29v–30v.

NOTES

1. The *Codex Mendoza* commentary (folio 4r) gives 1396 as the year of his succession.
2. *Huitzil(tzilin)* = hummingbird; *ihuitl* = feather.
3. While all fathered by Huitzilihuitl, each of these offspring had a different mother. Chimalpopoca's mother was Miahuehuachtzin (Tezozomoc's granddaughter), Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina's mother was the famed Miahuaxhuatl from Quauhnahuac, and Tlaacaele's was Cacamacihuatl (Berdan 1982:8).
4. In 1407, according to Davies (1987:33).
5. The towns were Quauhsumulco and Yacapichtla; the former is included in Chalco's tributary province (*Codex Mendoza* folio 41r).
6. A conquest against Colhuacan is also documented (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:1), as is a victory over Quauhnahuac. This latter may reflect Huitzilihuitl's marital, rather than martial, conquest.
7. Davies (1987:33) dates this war from 1414 until 1418.

FOLIOS 4v-5r: THE CONQUESTS OF CHIMALPOPOCA



THE YEARS

The year glyphs on folio 4v indicate that Chimalpopoca succeeded to the Mexica throne in the year Four Rabbit, or 1418. Other primary documents date this event variously between the years 1414 and 1424, most favoring 1417 or 1418 (see Boone's appendix A, volume 1).

His reign was relatively short, lasting only ten years according to the *Mendoza* pictographs. It ended with his death in Thirteen Reed, or 1427. A depiction of a deceased Chimalpopoca is attached to that final year glyph; even in death he retains the trappings of

rulership, seated on a woven mat and wearing the noble headband. The sloping posture, closed eye, lack of a speech scroll, and gloss, however, all betray the end to his rulership. While most other documentary sources date Chimalpopoca's death at 1426 or 1427, records do range from 1424 to 1432 (see appendix A).¹

THE RULER

Chimalpopoca is artfully depicted in *Codex Mendoza* seated on a woven reed mat, wearing a cape and noble headband (*xiuhuitzilli*), and carrying out his role as *Tlatoni*, or Speaker (symbolized by the speech scroll). His name means "Smoking Shield," and it is glyphically portrayed by a Mexica shield (with blue rim and seven feather down balls) and curls of smoke.²

Chimalpopoca was a son of the prior ruler, Huitziluhuitl. He was also a favored grandson of Tezozomoc, who continued to rule Azcapotzalco and its conquered dependencies with an iron hand. Tribute demands on the Mexica continued to be reduced, and the standard of living in Tenochtitlan improved, with the replacement of huts with stone dwellings, and the availability of fine feathers and expensive stones in the nearby Tlatelolco marketplace (Davies 1974:52-53). Chimalpopoca, as was usual with central Mexican rulers, had many wives and children, although little is known about them (*Codex Mendoza* folio 5r).

Chimalpopoca died an untimely death, following the demise of his grandfather Tezozomoc in 1426. Tezozomoc's death created a significant void in the central Mexican political picture and left two of his sons vying for this vacant rulership. In this competition, Chimalpopoca was unfortunate in supporting the losing son Tayauh, who was also Tezozomoc's choice as heir. The temporarily victorious brother, Maxtla, apparently had Chimalpopoca put to death, although a conflicting story attributes Chimalpopoca's murder to Itzcoatl, who "contracted out" the job to disaffected Tepanecs.³

THE CONQUESTS

Few conquests are attributed to Chimalpopoca, but a good deal of political maneuvering and military turmoil brewed during his decade-long rule. The *Codex Mendoza* (folio 4v) lists only Tequisquiac and Chalco as conquests, also indicating that the powerful Chalco rebelled against Tenochtitlan, apparently demonstrating its discontent by destroying four Mexica canoes with rocks and

killing five Mexica men. This event is graphically illustrated on *Mendoza's* folio 4v.

Chimalpopoca inherited long-standing hostilities between Tenochtitlan and Chalco. Chalco is listed as a conquest of his father Huitziluhuitl, and since it is claimed as a conquest of his successors as well, Chimalpopoca apparently did not solve the problem. Reflecting the complexities of central Mexican politics, the Tepanecs (to whom the Mexica were subservient) supported Chalco, while the Mexica actively waged war against the Chalco rulership (Davies 1974:59). It is especially startling that the Mexica dared so openly defy their Tepanec overlords.

As throughout this section of the codex, conquest is symbolized by a burning, toppling temple attached to each place glyph.

The conquest of Texcoco is claimed by Huitziluhuitl in *Codex Mendoza* (folio 3v), but it is likely that the submission of the Acolhua to Tezozomoc was not finalized until Chimalpopoca had succeeded to the Mexica throne. For their part in the conquest of this large eastern domain, the Mexica were apparently awarded tribute rights to Texcoco (much of which they had, in turn, to turn over to Azcapotzalco; *ibid.*:58).⁴ Chimalpopoca died when the Tepanec-Acolhua-Mexica relationships were reaching the boiling point.⁵

SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF CHIMALPOPOCA

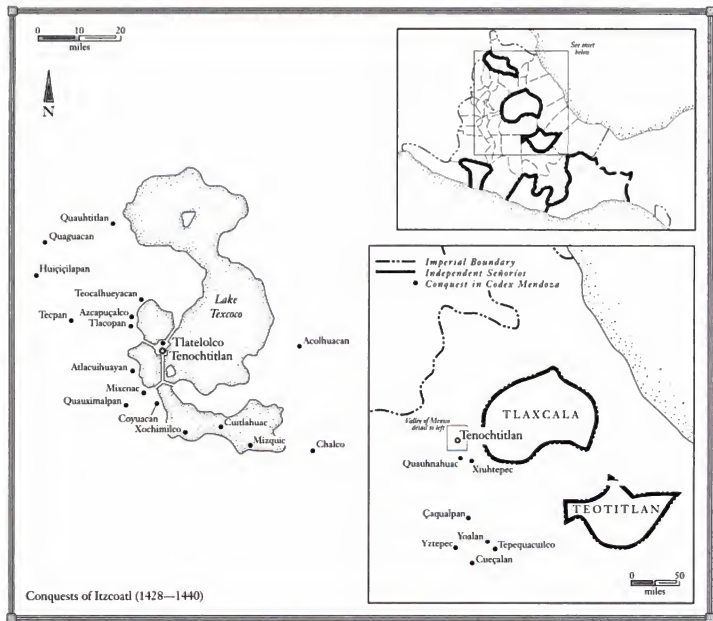
Codex Mendoza's conquest history is analyzed by Boone in chapter 4 of volume 1. Further details on Chimalpopoca and his rule are found in Davies (1974:52–61; 1987:34–35), Hassig (1988:136–

140), Kelly and Palerm (1952:285–286), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1), Durán (1967 2:69–72), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:237–239), Torquemada (1969 1:107–126), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 30v–31r), and Clark (1938 1:29).

NOTES

1. The format of the *Mendoza* may have led to some small discrepancies in dating. Each folio in this section of the document begins with a new year glyph, but it may well have been the case that one ruler died and another succeeded to the throne in the same year. For example, the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 30v) depicts the death of Huitziluhuitl and the succession of Chimalpopoca in the same year, Thirteen Rabbit.
2. *Chimal(li)* = shield; *popoca* = to smoke. The *Telleriano-Remensis* (folios 30v, 31r) shows the shield with only five down balls. The illustrations accompanying Durán (1967 2: *lamina* 9) and Sahagún (1950–1982 8: plate 3) show distinctly different shield designs for this name glyph. In these latter depictions (especially Durán), the smoke element is rendered with great enthusiasm.
3. There are many variants of this story; Davies (1974:60–61) prefers this last version. The stories attributing the murder to Maxtla are quite colorful, including details on the incarceration of Chimalpopoca in a cage prior to his death.
4. Hassig (1988:138–139) notes that the Mexica were awarded the conquered Acolhua towns of Teopancalco, Atenchicalcan, and Tecpan (near Cuiclahuac).
5. The seeds of Tepanec-Mexica tensions had been sown before Tezozomoc's death. In requesting access to fresh water, the Mexica had also solicited building materials from the Tepanecs for an aqueduct. Such requests were usually seen as a prelude to establishing dominant-subordinate relations (including the payment of tribute); in this case it was imprudent (and impudent) for the Mexica to be making such a request of their overlords.

FOLIOS 5v–6v: THE CONQUESTS OF ITZCOATL



THE YEARS

In the *Codex Mendoza*, Itzcoatl's reign is shown to begin in the year One Flint Knife, or 1428. Other documentary sources generally concur with this date, most ranging between 1425 and 1435 (see Boone's appendix A in volume 1). The Spanish commentary accompanying these *Mendoza* pictorial folios first had the year 1429, then it was corrected to 1427 (folio 6v).

Itzcoatl vacated the Mexica throne upon his death in Thirteen Flint Knife, or 1440. Again, this is substantiated by many other historical documents, although dates given generally range between 1437 and 1449. Itzcoatl reigned only thirteen years (a propitious number in Aztec numerology) but was instrumental in

bringing about some of the most profound changes in Valley of Mexico politics and military history.

THE RULER

Itzcoatl appears on folio 5v of *Codex Mendoza* in typical Aztec fashion, seated on a woven mat, formally covered with a white cape, and wearing the *xihuitzalli*, or noble headband, on his head. The blue speech glyph signifies his position as *Tlatoani*, or Speaker. His name glyph, attached to his head, depicts a colorful red and yellow serpent with numerous black spikes.¹ While variously rendered in other pictorials, these two elements of snake and obsidian regularly constitute this ruler's name glyph.²

Following past practice, Itzcoatl rose to the exalted position of *Tlatoani* by virtue of both his genealogical connections to prior rulers and his proven or potential leadership qualities. Itzcoatl was a son of Acamapichtli, brother of Huitzililhuitl, and uncle of Chimalpopoca, whom he succeeded. He was already a known man of valor, being forty-six years old when he assumed the Mexica throne (Davies 1974:66). Leadership responsibilities were not new to Itzcoatl, for he had served as *Tlacotalcalatl* under Huitzililhuitl, and probably also under Chimalpopoca (Davies 1987:142). As was usual for central Mexican rulers, he had many wives, but apparently only seven children, none of whom succeeded him (*Codex Mendoza* folio 6v).

With Itzcoatl, the Mexica moved from a position of subservience to one of dominance. At the same time that the Mexica rose in power and stature vis-à-vis other Valley of Mexico city-states, the Mexica rulership and nobility gained in power vis-à-vis the remainder of the population. Political power became more centralized during his reign, and while status distinctions had certainly existed prior to that time, they became more explicit and clear-cut as the Mexica moved to dominate the region. After the fall of Azcapotzalco, the Mexica ruler controlled large tracts of land that were his to distribute as he wished. Lands and other titular and material rewards were bestowed largely on nobles; this practice tended to widen the gap between elite and commoner. Furthermore, he ordered the destruction of the old chronicles, and essentially redefined and rewrote Mexica history (van Zantwijk 1985:10, 19).

Itzcoatl did not consolidate his and Tenochtitlan's power by himself, like all rulers, he had associates and advisers. He was fortunate in being seconded by two of the most influential men in Mexica history, his nephew Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (who would succeed him as *Tlatoani*) and the all-too-legendary figure of Tlaacael (who served as *Cibucacoatl* or "vice-*Tlatoani*" for several Mexica rulers).¹

THE CONQUESTS

Itzcoatl's greatest military feat came early in his reign: the toppling of the powerful Tepanec empire centered at Azcapotzalco. The Tepanecs were already in a state of turmoil toward the end of Chimalpopoca's rule, with the death of Tezozomoc and the ensuing battle of succession by his sons. Itzcoatl aggressively allied himself with the struggling ruler-in-exile of the Acolhua, Nezahualcoyotl, and together they vanquished the Tepanec forces. But becoming the new lords of the valley was a feat yet to be established, and Itzcoatl spent the remainder of his days (until his death in 1440) conquering dissident towns and consolidating Mexica power in and around the Valley of Mexico. These victories were achieved largely by the joint military efforts of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan, later to become known as the Triple Alliance. The one major exception was the inclusion of Tlacopan itself among Itzcoatl's military laurels.

As the shield-arrow-*atlal* symbol indicates, the towns listed with Itzcoatl on this folio were vanquished by force of arms during his reign. Twenty-four are shown (see list attached to maps), and the Spanish commentary (folio 6v) states that they were all conquered in one campaign, so valiant was he. However, the first conquest, that of Azcapotzalco, constituted a single major event, followed by the others in turn. Moreover, he did not accomplish all of this by himself, for much of the military effort was carried out with his new ally, Nezahualcoyotl, and several of the conquests were a reestablishment of Mexica and Acolhua power. For example, Miz-

quic, Cuitlahuac, Xochimilco, and Quauhnahuac are all shown as conquests of Itzcoatl, yet they were claimed much earlier for Acamapichtli (folio 2v). Similarly, Quauhtitlan's reconquest surely represents a reestablishment of Mexica power relations in the wake of the Tepanec disruption. With the fall of the Tepanec empire, the Mexica would have found it necessary to establish their own control over these restless towns. Also, Acolhuacan-Texcoco is listed with Itzcoatl and probably represents Nezahualcoyotl's reestablishment of control over the Acolhua realm.⁴

Notwithstanding *Mendoza's* claim that all Itzcoatl's victories were gained in a single expedition, they appear to have been achieved by several separate thrusts. Neighboring Tlatelolco was subdued, although it later rebelled while Axayacatl ruled in Tenochtitlan. Shortly after the formation of the Triple Alliance (ca. 1430), the Mexica assisted Nezahualcoyotl in reclaiming his rightful domain, and then moved, one by one, against the southern lake towns of Coyoacan, Xochimilco, Mizquic, and Cuitlahuac, in that order. As the Acolhua region in the east became consolidated under Nezahualcoyotl, and the Mexica inexorably swallowed up town after town in the southern valley, it was inevitable that war in the southeast with Chalco would resume, for those hostilities still festered. And while violence did again break out, it was not conclusively ended until the reign of the next Mexica monarch, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina.

Satisfied that the Valley of Mexico was reasonably well under control, Itzcoatl then moved south into present-day Guerrero to dominate additional towns that had been part of the Tepanec domain (Hassig 1988:154). Of the towns listed in *Codex Mendoza*, these included Cuexcalan, Caquilpan, Yztepec, Yoalan, and Tepequaculco (folio 6r). Itzcoatl followed this successful campaign with another outside the Valley of Mexico, this time to Quauhnahuac and nearby Xiuhtepēc.⁵

Mexica history took on a quite different hue beginning with Itzcoatl. The Mexica now became masters of their own destiny, dominating the Valley of Mexico and moving into distant regions in an effort to control their known world. The Aztec empire had begun.

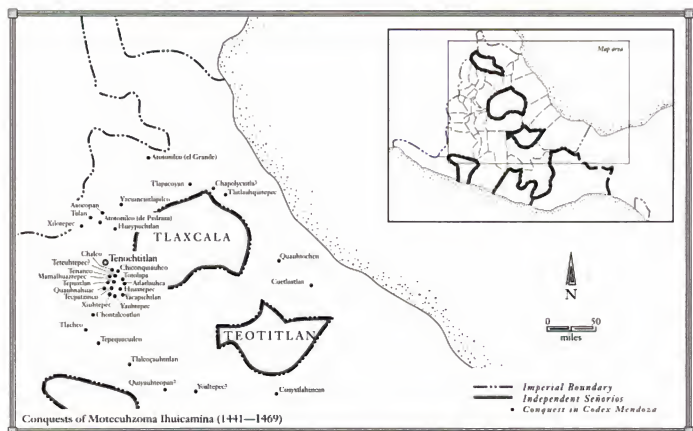
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF ITZCOATL

Boone, in chapter 4 of volume 1, thoroughly analyzes this section of *Codex Mendoza*. Further information on the reign of Itzcoatl can be found in Davies (1974:62–85; 1987:34–50), Hassig (1988: 141–156), Kelly and Palmer (1982:287–290), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1), Durán (1967 2:72–123), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 239–281), Torquemada (1969 1:131–150), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 31r–31v), and Clark (1938 1:30–31).

NOTES

1. *Itz(tli)* = obsidian; *atlal* = snake or serpent.
2. See, for example, Sahagún (1950–1982 8: plate 4), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 31r, 31v), Durán (1967 2: *Lamina* 10).
3. Tlaacael's feats are especially exalted by sources based on the "Crónica X" (Durán, Alvarado Tezozomoc) and may well reflect a strong bias on behalf of a glorifying descendant.
4. On the other hand, this may represent a feigned war between Tenochtitlan and Texcoco, in an effort to define potentially tense power relations (Hassig 1988:150–151).
5. It is interesting that Xiuhtepēc is included as a conquest here, since it had requested Mexica military aid in a dispute with nearby Quauhnahuac. Perhaps the price of assistance was subservience.

FOLIOS 7v–8v: THE CONQUESTS OF MOTECUHZOMA ILHUICAMINA



THE YEARS

Itzcoatl died in the year Thirteen Flint Knife (1440), and his nephew Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina succeeded him in the following year (One House, 1441).¹ Other documentary sources for his accession to the Mexica throne range between 1438 and 1445, most agreeing with 1440 or 1441 (see Boone's appendix A).

There are twenty-nine year glyphs accompanying Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (one even spilling over onto the following folio). His long reign ended in the year Three House (1469), according to the *Mendoza* commentary (folio 8v). This is generally confirmed by other sources, which place his death variously between 1467 and 1471.

In the year Two Reed, 1455, a New Fire Ceremony must have been celebrated, for another fifty-two years would have elapsed since the last ceremony. The *Mendoza* artist apparently planned to

include the fire stick and curls of smoke symbolizing that solemn event, having drawn a line to that year glyph. The symbol's omission was probably an oversight.

THE RULER

Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina is depicted on folio 7v of *Codex Mendoza* seated on a woven mat and facing his prized conquests. He is wrapped in a plain white cloak, which covers him from neck to ankle, wears a turquoise headband with red back-tie, and emits a blue speech scroll, symbolizing his function as Speaker, or *Tla-toani*. Above his head, and attached to his headband by a thin line, is his name glyph. The glyph shows a stylized sky being pierced by an arrow. This glyph symbolizes only the latter part of his name;² perhaps the initial component, Motecuhzoma, is being represented by the ruler's headband.³

This first Motecuhzoma was a son of Huitzilohuitl and a nephew of Itzcoatl, whom he succeeded. Motecuhzoma had already established his reputation as a warrior and statesman, serving as a military leader and a member of the council of four royal advisors (as *Tlacochcalcatl*) under Itzcoatl. He was well over forty years old when he succeeded to the Mexica rulership, a man of considerable experience.

Mendoza's Spanish commentary (folio 8v) describes Motecuhzoma as "very serious, severe and virtuous . . . of good temper and judgment, and an enemy of evil." His life-style apparently did not include indulging in wine and women (for the commentary states that he exercised moderation in both), and he reportedly fathered only two sons, a surprisingly small number.⁴ Neither succeeded him to the rulership.

One gets the impression that Motecuhzoma was demanding and uncompromising in his laws and ideals, but not unfair. During his reign, power and privilege became more concentrated in the high ranks of government, and sumptuary laws became explicit and enforced.⁵

Now with successful conquests far beyond the Valley of Mexico (and into the coastal lowlands), the Mexica had ever-increasing access to precious luxuries: fine stones, tropical feathers, and valuable metals (gold, silver, and copper). Motecuhzoma's very coronation served as a setting for displaying these enhanced riches. In addition, his increased control over human and other resources is reflected in his strivings to enlarge Tenochtitlan's centerpiece, the great temple to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. All this activity suggests a richer, more confident, and more ambitious regime than any previous.

Yet Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina's reign was marred by a series of calamities. They began with a locust plague in 1446, followed by serious flooding in the island city of Tenochtitlan in 1449. To prevent a recurrence of this latter catastrophe, Motecuhzoma requested a massive dike to be engineered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco. This achievement, however, could do nothing to stave off the third setback: a disastrous famine that lasted four long years. It began in the year 1450 and was not at first a major problem, for there were sufficient stores of foodstuffs. But by the year 1454, famine racked the land, and many Mexica resorted to selling themselves or their family members into slavery to the well-fed peoples of the "hot lands" of the verdant Gulf coast. The famine came to an abrupt end the following year with the arrival of abundant rains. It was also the year to celebrate a New Fire Ceremony (once every fifty-two years), and the population surely gave a collective sigh of relief that the new "century" was to begin on an auspicious note. However, the famine had left its scars; because it had begun and reached its peak in Rabbit years (Ten Rabbit and One Rabbit),⁶ such years were still dreaded at the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Under Itzcoatl, the outline of the Aztec state and empire was formed. Under Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, that outline began to be filled in, and the direction the empire was to take during the next four rulers was established. Warfare became idealized, military conquests beyond the Valley of Mexico were expected, flowery wars with Tlaxcala and its neighbors became commonplace, and human sacrifice increased in both frequency and scale.

THE CONQUESTS

With the accession of each new imperial ruler, conquered city-states would reconsider their status vis-à-vis their military over-

lords. The death of Itzcoatl and accession of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina was no exception. Although not recorded in the *Mendoza*, several towns in the Valley of Mexico had to be reincorporated into the Aztec empire.⁷ But open conflict with Chalco continued, and was not ultimately resolved until the final years of this Motecuhzoma's reign. Motecuhzoma launched several far-flung military campaigns: south into Morelos and Guerrero, even farther south to Coayxtlahuacan⁸ and neighboring centers in Oaxaca, north to the Atonilcos and their neighbors, northeast to the land of the Huastecs, southeast to capture major Totonac centers, and into the Tepeacac area south of Tlaxcala.⁹ Many of the conquests listed for Motecuhzoma in the *Mendoza* also were to become tribute-collection centers, as recorded in part 2 of this document.

Motecuhzoma's military ambitions had been interrupted by the disastrous famine of 1450–1454, but then were resumed with even greater vigor. His forays to the Gulf coast may have been somewhat in response to that famine, in an attempt to control regions of reliable food production (Davies 1974:99). Altogether the *Mendoza* lists thirty-three conquests for this Motecuhzoma, symbolized by the glyph combining shield, arrows, and *atlantl*.

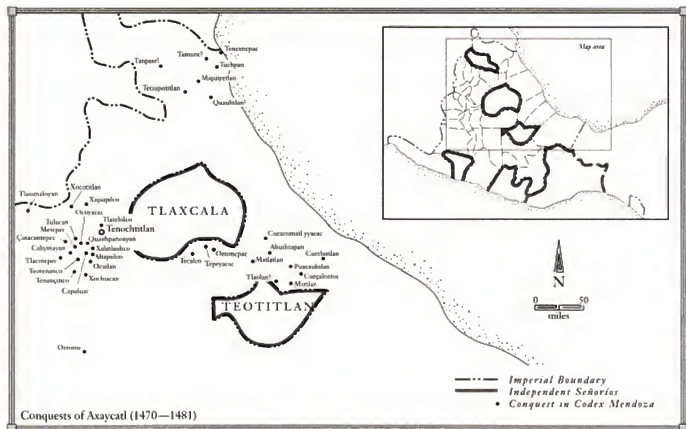
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF MOTECUHZOMA ILHUICAMINA

Boone, in chapter 4 of volume 1, thoroughly analyzes this section of *Codex Mendoza*. Additional sources on the colorful reign of the first Motecuhzoma can be found in Davies (1974:86–123; 1987:42–68), Hassig (1988:157–175), Kelly and Palerm (1952:291–295), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:1–2), Durán (1967 2:125–248), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:282–374), Torquemada (1969 1:150–171), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 31v–35v), and Clark (1938 1:31–33).

NOTES

1. The *Mendoza* format precludes the possibility that Motecuhzoma succeeded Itzcoatl in the same year, 1440. However, the Spanish commentary gives 1440 as the year he became *Tlatoani*.
2. *Ilhuica(tl)* = sky; *mina* = to shoot an arrow.
3. The name glyph of the second ruler to be called Motecuhzoma is a simple headband. The name derives from *tecab(tli)* (lord) + (*mo*)/*cuama* (to frown from anger), yielding "Angry Lord." Here the headband may be doing double duty. In Sahagún (1950–1982 8: plate 5), Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina's name glyph is the sky-arrow combination only, but in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 31v) it is the headband alone. Durán's illustrations combine the two name glyphs by depicting a headband pierced by an arrow (1967 2: *límina* 15).
4. This may refer to the sons of his first wife only.
5. Nezahualcoyotl, ruler of Texcoco and a contemporary of this Motecuhzoma, was a well-known promulgator of stringent sumptuary laws and severe penalties for breaking them.
6. The *Mendoza* erroneously numbers the first famine year as Eleven Rabbit.
7. Actual military conquest was probably not involved; peaceful submission is more likely. The towns included Xochimilco, Azcapotzalco, Colhuacan, Coyacoacan, and Huexotla (Hassig 1988:158).
8. The ruler of Coayxtlahuacan, Atonal, is shown deceased (with a rope suggestively around his neck) on this *Mendoza* folio.
9. Davies (1974) and Hassig (1988) sequence these campaigns differently. The Tepeacac conquests are attributed in the *Mendoza* to Motecuhzoma's successor, Axayacatl.

FOLIOS 9V–10V: THE CONQUESTS OF AXAYACATL



THE YEARS

According to the *Mendoza*, Axayacatl succeeded to the Mexica throne in the year Four Rabbit, or 1470. Other primary sources place his royal accession between the years 1467 and 1471. It is likely that he assumed the throne the same year it was vacated by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, but the format of the *Mendoza* precludes showing the death of one ruler and the succession of the next on the same folio.¹ The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 9v) starts his rulership in 1469.

His rule ended with his death in the year Two House, or 1481. Primary sources in general date this event between the years 1480 and 1483, most settling on 1481 (see Boone's appendix A, volume 1). He ruled twelve very active, very aggressive years.

THE RULER

Axayacatl is shown, as is usual, seated on a woven reed mat, wrapped in a white cape, and wearing a turquoise diadem with red back-tie (*xiuhuitzalli*). The speech glyph flowing from his mouth signifies his role as Speaker (*Tlatoani*). His name glyph is attached to his headband by a thin black line. It shows a face with water spilling across the forehead and nose, yielding the name "Face of Water."²

In contrast to his predecessor, who was already an experienced statesman and military commander when he reached the throne, Axayacatl was a young man with relatively little experience. But at age nineteen, he was considered to have great potential as a leader, especially in the eyes of the *Cihuacoatl* (vice-*Tlatoani*) Tlacaélel.

Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina had apparently left no legitimate

heirs. The electoral process therefore became especially important, although it seems to have been dominated by Tlacaclael and the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan (Davies 1974: 125). Axayacatl was a grandson of Motecuhzoma and thus had some genealogical claim to the rulership.¹

Axayacatl followed central Mexican custom in marrying many women, usually with political alliances in mind. He also had many children, two of whom (Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin and Cuitlahuac) were to rule during the Spanish Conquest. His interests focused on warfare and conquest rather than internal affairs, although the *Mendoza* commentary tells us that he maintained the laws established by his predecessor. It also states that he was proud, restless, and greatly feared by his subjects. Unfortunately, early in his reign he lost two of the wisest and most experienced advisers in Aztec history: the *Cibacuacatl* Tlacaclael and the Texcocan *Tlatouani* Nezahualcoyotl. Both died in the early 1470s.

THE CONQUESTS

It was customary for a newly chosen ruler to go immediately to war to verify his new rulership. It was also usual for conquered subjects to take this opportunity to rebel against a throne in transition. On this occasion, Cuertlaxtlan on the east coast chose to defy Mexica rule, and Axayacatl moved against Cuertlaxtlan and other towns in that area. Axayacatl may also have achieved conquests in the Tepeacac region at this time.

Despite victories in such far-flung regions, Axayacatl's most noteworthy conquest lay close to home, in Tlatelolco. Under their ruler Moquihuix, the Tlatelolcans rebelled against Tenochca rule. The futility of that rebellion is graphically portrayed in *Codex Mendoza* (folio 10r): Tlatelolco's twin temple is in flames, and a dead Moquihuix tumbles from the temple, wearing the full regalia of his position.²

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Tenochca governors were installed in Tlatelolco following Axayacatl's victory, precluding further local revolts. This definitive conquest set the stage for closer relations between the professional merchants of Tlatelolco and the Tenochtitlan ruler. Theirs was to become a symbiotic relationship, with the merchants serving the Mexica ruler as spies in distant lands, and the ruler serving as patron to these traders in their entrepreneurial ventures.

Following his victory over Moquihuix in 1473,⁴ Axayacatl launched military expeditions to the Toluca area in the west. He achieved many conquests in that region and farther south (see map), thus creating a bulwark between the Mexica and the powerful Tarascans farther to the west. However, Axayacatl then made a significant military mistake; he moved against the Tarascans themselves. The Mexica were vastly outnumbered and reportedly lost thousands of warriors in that ill-fated campaign. This was the first great defeat suffered by the imperial Mexica.

Despite his great losses in the Tarascan campaign, Axayacatl was later able to regroup and launch military expeditions to the lands of the Huastec, in the northern Gulf coast region. Here he was more successful. In all, during his twelve-year reign Axayacatl proved to be a courageous and aggressive warrior, perhaps too aggressive. His humiliating defeat at the hands of the Tarascans gave the first hint of Aztec vulnerability. Yet by the 1470s the empire was strong and consolidated, and rebellions did not readily crop up as the Mexica recovered from their weakened state.

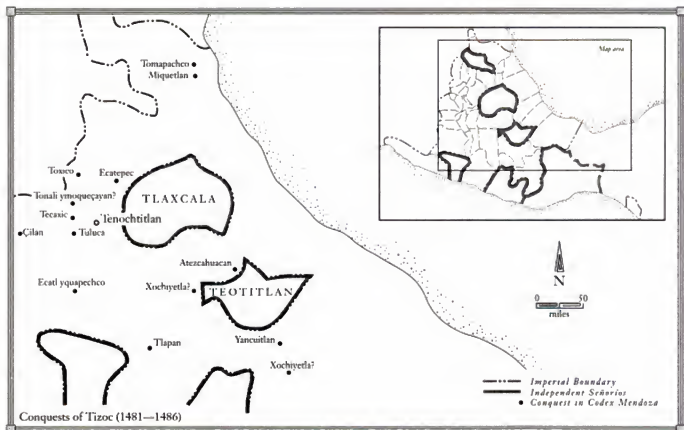
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF AXAYACATL

This historical section of the *Codex Mendoza* is analyzed by Boone in chapter 4 of volume 1. Additional information can be found in Davies (1974: 124–151; 1987: 63, 105), Hassig (1988: 176–188), Kelly and Palerm (1952: 296–300), Sahagún (1950–1982 8:2), Durán (1967 2: 249–293), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 375–439), Torquemada (1969 1: 172–182), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 35v–38v), and Clark (1938 1: 33–35).

NOTES

1. The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 35v), for example, shows Motecuhzoma's death and Axayacatl's succession in the same year, Three House (1469).
2. *Aitl* = water; *saxayacatl* = face or mask. The name could also be translated as "Mask of Water."
3. Axayacatl's mother was Huitzilcochtzin, a daughter of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina. His father was Tezozomoc, a son of Itzcoatl.
4. He is dressed as both ruler and warrior. His turquoise diadem, quetzal feather standard, beaded necklace, earplug, and wristband are all trappings of royalty and nobility. He also wears cotton armor and carries a shield, denoting a warrior.
5. See page description for Tlatelolco for more details on this battle.

FOLIOS 11V-12R: THE CONQUESTS OF TIZOC



THE YEARS

The year glyphs along the left margin begin with Three Rabbit (1482) and end with Seven Rabbit (1486), suggesting that Tizoc reigned from 1482 to 1486. Documentary sources differ on the beginning date, although most agree that he began his rulership in 1481. However, the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 59) gives 1482 (Three Rabbit),¹ the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964-1967 folio 38v) says 1483, and the *Codice Aubin* (1963: 72, 146) gives 1480 as the year he ascended to the throne (see Boone's appendix A in volume 1). There was also some confusion in the *Codex Mendoza* itself, as only five year glyphs were drawn for his reign, yet it was annotated "numero de años. 6."² The Spanish commentary was corrected to read 1482 instead of, perhaps, 1481. Some of this confusion may have resulted from the scribal convention of presenting the years continuously from reign to reign with no duplication; so even though

Ayayacatl's death and Tizoc's kingly succession reportedly occurred in the same year, the glyph for the year (Two House: 1481) would appear with only one of the rulers.

THE RULER

The ruler Tizoc is shown in characteristic *Mendoza* fashion, wearing a plain white *manta* and noble turquoise diadem (*xiuhuitzollitl*), seated on a woven mat, and with a square scroll symbolizing his function as Speaker, or *Tlatzani*. His name glyph is a leg covered with small dots, which Clark (1938 1: 35) suggests represents blood-letting (from *teq*: bloodletter). This is more directly portrayed in the *Codex Aubin* (1963: 72, 146), which represents his name as a foot pierced by a maguey thorn, and in the *Florentine Codex* (Sahagún 1950-1982 8: plate 7), which shows a nose or ear ornament (*yacaxibuitl*) attached, perhaps, to a fleshy body part (nose?) pierced

by a maguery spine. His name is further "spelled out" in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 38v, 39r), which illustrates a stone (*teti*) entered by a maguery spike (*ox*: the act of piercing). In the tribute section, this "act of piercing" is glyphically represented for the sound *o* in place-name glyphs and on certain *mantas* (e.g., folios 17v and 35r), but the artist here on folio 12r apparently chose a different option for representing the ruler Tizoc's name. This glyphic sign (the leg with small dots) more closely resembles that used on folio 22r of the *Mendoza*, for the place glyph of Tīçayucan (a white hill with several small black dots, the whole representing *tīçatl*, chalk).

According to the Spanish commentary, Tizoc followed a familiar route to the rulership, first achieving the position of *Tlacatecatl*. And while the commentary exalts his exploits in war and in the protection and promulgation of the laws of the land, there is considerable doubt concerning his actual achievements on these fronts. As Davies (1974: 156) suggests, "he preferred to seclude himself in his palace, showing little interest in public affairs and even less in wars to enhance the glory of the Mexica." It is fully possible that he did not die of natural causes, but that an early end to his rather shaky reign was precipitated, perhaps by sorcery, perhaps by poisoning.²

THE CONQUESTS

The weapons Tizoc is facing, the feathered shield³ and arrows, are used uniformly throughout this section of the *Mendoza* to indicate warfare, or that the towns indicated were taken by force of arms. Fourteen towns are named glyphically, each accompanied by the burning temple that symbolized, on paper and in fact, a town's conquest. The conquests claimed for Tizoc on this page are Tonali ymoqueçayan, Toxic, Ecatepec, Çilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Yancuitlan, Tlapan, Atezcahuacan, Maçatlan, Xochiyetla, Tamapachco, Ecatl yquapechco, and Miquetlan. These towns were spread quite broadly throughout central and southern Mexico (see accompanying map). This listing only partially coincides with lists in other sources. The Tizoc Stone, for example, lists fifteen conquests for Tizoc, matching none of those attributed to Tizoc in the *Mendoza*.⁴ Other documentary sources on Mexican conquest history approximate the listing provided in *Mendoza*, with *Códice Chimalpopoca* (1975: 67) and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 17) providing the closest correspondence.⁵ Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 440–

453) adds information on Tizoc's inglorious defeat at the hands of Meztitlan and the Huastecs who came to the aid of their neighbors. For details on Tizoc's conquests listed in the historical sources, see Kelly and Palerm (1952: 301–303).

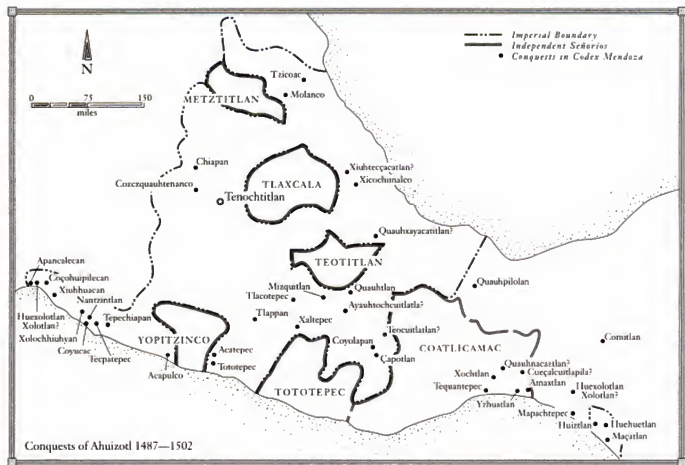
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF TIZOC

See especially chapter 4 by Boone in volume 1. Also see Durán (1967 2: 295–312), Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 2 [in which he simply states that "no wars were made in his reign"]), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 437–453), Torquemada (1969 1: 182–184), *Códice Chimalpopoca* (1975: 67), *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 17, 59–60), *Códice Aubin* (1963: 72, 146), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967 folios 38v–39r), Kelly and Palerm (1952: 301–303), Davies (1974: 151–157; 1987: 73–75), and Hassig (1988: 189–199).

NOTES

1. This account also states that Tizoc died in the year Six House, having ruled four years. A different version in this same *Anales* indicates he ruled five years (1948: 17).
2. Torquemada (1969 1: 185) suggests the former, Durán (1967 2: 311) the latter.
3. This shield, decorated with feather balls, also appears on folio 67r of the *Mendoza*, carried by an exalted *Tlacochcalatl*. This type of shield is not recorded in the *Mendoza* tribute tally. See appendix G in volume 1.
4. Of these fifteen town glyphs, ten have been quite acceptably identified: Matlatzincó, Tuchia, Ahuilizapan, Colhuacan, Tetenanco, Xochimilco, Chalco, Acolman/Acolhuacan, Tlatelolco, and Cuextatlan (Nicholson 1973: 5). The closest possible correspondence with *Mendoza*'s listing for Tizoc is Matlatzincó, represented on the Tizoc Stone as a simple net; it could signify the more complex glyph for Tuluca, which also contains a net in its glyphic assemblage. According to the *Mendoza*, Tuluca had also been conquered by Tizoc's predecessor, Azayacatl. The Tizoc Stone, a large carved cylindrical sculpture, currently resides in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City.
5. Place glyphs frequently had a vagueness about them, and alternate meanings for the same signs were sometimes given in glosses, creating some confusion for modern scholars. For example, the town of Tīmatlan, listed in the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 17) as a conquest of Tizoc, may be the same as Yancuitlan: both could be represented by a piece of cloth and a pair of teeth (as Yancuitlan appears in the *Mendoza*, folio 12r). See chapter 7 and appendix E by Berdan in volume 1.

FOLIOS 12V-13V: THE CONQUESTS OF AHUITZOTL



THE YEARS

Ahuitzotl began his sixteen-year reign in the year Eight Reed (1487) according to the *Mendoza* pictographs. However, most primary sources agree that he succeeded to the Mexica throne the same year his predecessor died, in 1486.

His vital reign ended in the year Ten Rabbit, or 1502. This date is the one most commonly mentioned in other primary sources, although dates do range from 1501 to 1503 (see appendix A by Boone in volume 1).

THE RULER

Ahuitzotl is portrayed on folio 13r in typical Aztec fashion: seated on a reed mat, garbed in a white cloak from neck to ankles, and wearing a turquoise diadem with red back-tie. A blue speech glyph curls from his lips. His name glyph, attached to his cape by a thin black line, portrays a rather fierce water animal (*ahuitzotl*).¹

Ahuitzotl was Tizoc's logical successor, being his younger brother and already a high-ranking military officer (*Tlacatecatl*). There was apparently some controversy over this choice, for it was

critical that the Mexica choose well after Tizoc's weak regime, and Ahuitzotl was yet a young man. Nonetheless, he proved himself the greatest of the Mexica military leaders, dubbed by Davies (1974: 158) "the Lion of Anahuac."

Ahuitzotl had many wives and children, befitting his status as *Tlatoani*. One of these children, Cuauhtemoc, would be captured by the Spaniards as Tenochtitlan fell in 1521 and would become a symbol of modern Mexico's *indigenismo*.

As fierce and uncompromising as Ahuitzotl was on the battlefield, he was kind and lavish to his friends. He entertained them, and was in turn feted, so that "the music never ceased, day or night" (*Codex Mendoza* folio 12v). His pleasures and magnanimity, however, cost the state coffers dearly; the emperor's high expenditures could barely be met even by the rapidly expanding tribute demands (Davies 1987: 89).

Ahuitzotl's lavishness was also expressed in public ceremonies. While the purpose and form of these frequent ritual events had been well established for generations, the scale on which they were now performed exceeded all imagination. Human sacrifice took on a "mass production" quality, and ceremonies involving large-scale sacrifices became a showcase for Mexica power.² Ahuitzotl also inherited the last stages of a major expansion of Tenochtitlan's great temple. This project was completed in the year 1487 and, of course, required a major military conquest to obtain sacrificial captives; in this case the Huastecs of Tzicoac were so honored (Davies 1987: 81).

It is not surprising that Ahuitzotl was a special patron to the professional merchants, given his "cash-flow" problem. These *pochteca* were highly adept at turning a profit and also served Ahuitzotl's expansionist aims in scouting distant lands for conquest possibilities. In their far-flung expeditions, these professional merchants would trade their own private goods and also the ruler's merchandise (see Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 1–8, 17–19).

Although Ahuitzotl was a great military commander and strong leader, his reign was not unflawed. Perhaps his greatest mistake occurred not on the distant coasts of Xoconochco, or even in the wild "hot lands" of the Huasteca, but in his own backyard. Trying to harness the abundantly flowing springs near Coyoacan, his overly ambitious water-control plan went awry, and he caused serious flooding in Tenochtitlan and other lakeside cities (Davies 1974: 194–195).

Overall, during Ahuitzotl's reign the Aztec empire recovered from the prior regime's setbacks and expanded its conquests far beyond those encompassed by any previous emperor. The tribute gained from these far-flung conquests, however, was spent lavishly by Ahuitzotl, who gave unstintingly to his friends and set a new standard and level of expenditure for the performance of ceremonies. But beyond these profligate propensities, he was first and foremost a military commander who led his troops in person, suffering their hardships and sharing their victories.

THE CONQUESTS

The *Mendoza* lists forty-five conquests for Ahuitzotl, symbolized by the combination of shield, arrows, and *atlatl*. With many nearby

regions already conquered and integrated into the empire by previous rulers, Ahuitzotl spent most of his military energy on the borderlands, greatly expanding the empire's territorial extent. However, on assuming the throne he faced the problem common to all new Mexica rulers: the restlessness of conquered subjects during the rulership transition. In this case a few towns to the northwest (Xiquipile, Chiapan, and Xilotepec) dared defy him, and he brought them back into the Mexica regime rather easily.

Shortly thereafter Ahuitzotl moved on the Huastecs of Tzicoac and Molanco, gaining countless sacrificial warriors for his Great Temple expansion ceremony. Ever active, he then set out to conquer Teloapan (near Tlacho) and Alahuiztlan and Oztoma (in Guerrero); none of these conquests is reflected in the *Mendoza* list (Davies 1974: 173–175).

The remainder of Ahuitzotl's rule was filled with distant military expeditions: to the Cihuatlan and Tlapan areas of the Pacific coast, to the Tehuantepec and Xoconochco regions farther south along the Pacific, and into Oaxaca. He may also have made military forays in the Totonac area of Veracruz (see map). In all, his grand strategy seems to have involved reasserting control over previous subjects, extending imperial territory, and securing hostile borderlands. The empire's most distant expansion was to the lands of the Xoconochco, rich in cacao, tropical feathers, and access to precious stones. Control of this region, and intermediate Oaxaca, greatly enhanced the royal riches. In strengthening his borders, Ahuitzotl particularly emphasized the Tarascan frontier (Davies 1987: 87–89). There he achieved new conquests both north and south and strengthened his fortifications and subject towns (such as Oztoma) by the establishment of military garrisons and the colonization of loyal subjects (Hassig 1988: 208–211).

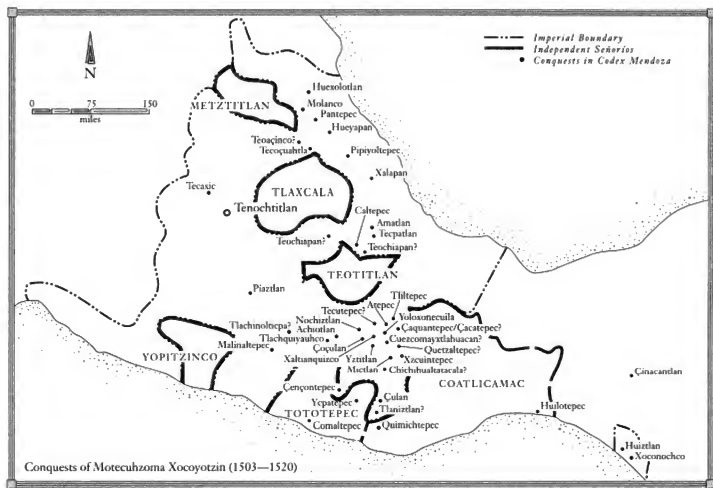
SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF AHUITZOTL

Boone, in chapter 4 of volume 1, analyzes this section of the *Codex Mendoza*. Additional details on Ahuitzotl's rulership can be found in Davies (1974: 158–207; 1987: 80–89), Hassig (1988: 200–218), Kelly and Palerm (1952: 304–309), Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 2; 9: 1–8, 17–19), Durán (1967 2: 323–389), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 458–570), Torquemada (1969 1: 186–193), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 39r–41r), and Clark (1938 1: 37–41).

NOTES

1. The graceful flow of water (*atl*) along the creature's back and tail provide the initial sound ("a") of this animal's name, thus easily identifying it as an *ahuizotl*. Durán's atlas (1967 2: *lámina* 28) and Sahagún's illustrations (1950–1982 8: plate 8) show the animal swimming (?) on top of the water. The *ahuizotl* was a furry mythical animal with pointed ears, raccoonlike hands, and a long tail. It may be associated with the otter.
2. Enemy rulers were frequently invited to such events, and refusal to attend was considered a serious insult to the Mexica ruler; Ahuitzotl considered those who declined as targets for future conquest.
3. Only Chiapan appears in the *Mendoza*, folio 13r. Cozcaquauhtenanco was in this same region and also may have been conquered at this time.

FOLIOS 14v-16v: THE CONQUESTS OF MOTECUHZOMA XOCOYOTZIN



THE YEARS

Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin began his imperial reign in the year Eleven Reed, or 1503. The Spanish commentary (folio 14v) indicates that he succeeded to the Mexica throne in 1502, the same year as Ahuitzotl's death. This is most likely, but the format of the *Mendoza* disallows the death of one ruler and the accession of the next to be recorded on the same folio, as dates are never repeated.

This second Motecuhzoma ruled eighteen years, dying in the year Two Flint Knife, or 1520. The year glyphs on this folio (15v)

actually continue through Three House (1521); the glosses indicate that Motecuhzoma died in Two Flint Knife and that the Spaniards conquered the land in Three House. The glyphs for One Reed through Three House appear to have been added later: they seem to have been hastily drawn, are uncolored, and are executed in a slightly different style than the other year glyphs. The original year glyphs, therefore, dated Motecuhzoma's rule only through the year Thirteen Rabbit, or 1518.

A New Fire Ceremony, celebrating the completion of a fifty-two-year cycle, was observed during this ruler's reign. This oc-

curred in the year Two Reed, or 1507, and is symbolized by a fire stick drawing smoke (and supposedly fire).¹

THE RULER

Moteczuhzoma Xocoyotzin is depicted in the same style as the previous eight Mexica monarchs: seated on a woven reed mat, wrapped in a white cloak, and wearing the symbol of nobility, the turquoise diadem with red back-tie. Missing, however, is the usual speech scroll, certainly an omission by accident. Moteczuhzoma's name glyph is attached to his headband and consists of another headband resting on a hairpiece or wig along with turquoise ear and nose ornaments. These elements combine to yield significant parts of the Moteczuhzoma name, but Xocoyotzin ("The Younger") is not represented at all graphically.²

Moteczuhzoma the Younger was a son of Axayacatl, and therefore Ahuitzotl's nephew. He was thirty-four or thirty-five years old when he assumed the throne and was already a man of accomplishment, "renowned for military valor, political skill, and religious piety" (Davies 1987: 89). He held the exalted military office of *Tlacatecutli*³ upon his election to the rulership, suggestive of his achievements on the battlefield.

This Moteczuhzoma carried on the custom of having many wives and children, largely for political reasons. Marriage ties between ruling houses of city-states in the realm formed strong alliances, and numerous children grew up to occupy important political positions and provide a loyal contingent of high-ranking officials.

Moteczuhzoma was devoutly religious and was known as a philosopher and astrologer, wise in the arts (*Codex Mendoza* folio 14v). He also enjoyed an extravagant life-style, about which there are abundant records.⁴ In general he maintained the laws and statutes promulgated by his predecessors, but he placed his own personal stamp on them. The preexistent sumptuary laws came into even sharper focus, being strongly emphasized during Moteczuhzoma's regime. He also came to favor hereditary nobles over achieved commoners in the attainment of titled positions and the granting of material rewards.⁵ Moteczuhzoma is often described as haughty, proud, and greatly feared; his subjects did not even dare look him in the face (*Codex Mendoza* folio 14v). With his lavish life-style and proud demeanor, he appears to have set himself well above other mortals.

But he had mortal fears, and these came to dominate his behavior in his frustrating encounter with the Spaniards. On one hand he was a product of his fatalistic culture, seeing many omens of the impending doom of his empire in a series of natural and not-so-natural phenomena even before the Spaniards arrived. On the other hand he was a king accustomed to exercising some control over his fate, although in this case his desperate appeals to the gods and astrological ritual went for naught.

THE CONQUESTS

Moteczuhzoma Xocoyotzin did not extend the imperial boundaries beyond those established by his aggressive predecessor; instead, he spent his rulership consolidating conquests within those bounds. Upon his election he led a military expedition against the people of Nopallan and Icatepec, far to the south.⁶ After solidifying his

claim to the throne with that success, he then mounted a major military campaign in the Oaxaca area, conquering numerous towns. He in fact launched several campaigns in that region (see map), sharply focusing his military efforts there. During one of those campaigns he probably also subdued a restless Xococoncho region (Hassig 1988: 231).

Moteczuhzoma's preoccupation with filling in the imperial gaps inevitably led to an escalation in the flowery wars with Tlaxcala and its allies. During his reign massive campaigns against the Tlaxcalans were conducted in earnest, although the stalemate between the two powers continued. Moteczuhzoma's forces conquered numerous towns to the south, east, and north of Tlaxcala; this may reflect a strategy of isolating Tlaxcala from potential allies and material resources. The flowery war had become a serious war.

In all, this last of the pre-Spanish Mexica rulers conquered a great number of towns (the *Codex Mendoza* lists forty-four), but his conquests largely involved suppressing rebellions and filling in gaps in the imperial outline established by Ahuitzotl. Moteczuhzoma also intensified Aztec efforts against their traditional foes, the Tlaxcalans. This move again was consistent with his policy of consolidating the empire, since Tlaxcala remained independent despite being completely surrounded by imperial subjects.

SOURCES ON THE REIGN OF MOTECUHZOMA XOCYOYOTZIN

Section 1 of the *Codex Mendoza* is fully analyzed by Boone in chapter 4 of volume 1. This Moteczuhzoma, who ruled the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish arrival, is the most thoroughly described and documented of all Aztec rulers. Details can be found in Davies (1974: 206–269; 1987: 89–96), Hassig (1988: 219–250), Kelly and Palerm (1952: 310–317), Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 2–4), Durán (1967 2: 397–551), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 571–701), Torquemada (1969 1: 193–239), *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 41r–43v), Clark (1938 1: 41–44), Burland (1973), Vázquez (1987), Cortés (1977), and Díaz del Castillo (1963). Moteczuhzoma Xocoyotzin is also discussed in the page descriptions for folio 69r.

NOTES

1. The 1507 date for this ceremony is verified by Sahagún (1950–1982 4: 144). Various natural phenomena are recorded for the years of Moteczuhzoma's rule: a famine in 1505, a plague of rats in 1506, the appearance of a zodiacal light in 1509, snow in 1512, and earthquakes in 1512 and 1513 (Clark 1938 1: 51–52).
2. *Tech(tli)* = lord; (*mo*)/*ama* = to frown from anger. These yield "Angry Lord." The name Xocoyotzin derives from *xocoyotl* (younger child) and *zin* (reverted).
3. High-ranking personages with this title are shown on *Mendoza* folios 17v and 18r.
4. See especially the eyewitness accounts of Hernando Cortés (1977) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1963).
5. Under prior rulerships, commoners with outstanding records of achievement (especially on the battlefield) were rewarded with quasi-noble status and its material accoutrements.
6. Only Icatepec is listed in the *Mendoza* (folio 15v).

A Descriptive Account
of the *Codex Mendoza*

PART 2



THE TRIBUTE
YEAR TO YEAR

FOLIOS 17v-18r: IMPERIAL OUTPOSTS

Folios 17v and 18r lie between the *Mendoza's* first two sections: the conquest history and the record of tribute. These folios do not fit neatly into the format of either section, and there is considerable debate regarding the meaning of the events or institutions portrayed.

FORMAT

Folio 17v illustrates, in the standard approved style of the *Mendoza* tribute section, eleven communities ranging down the left-hand margin and across the bottom of the page. Barlow (1949a: 126-130) groups these as a province, with the initial town, Citlaltepec, as its head. He locates these communities, Citlaltepec,¹ Tzompanco, Xaltocan,² Acalhuacan, Coatitlan, Huixachtitlan,³ Coatlayauhcan, Acolnahucac, Popotlan,⁴ Yztralcalco, and Chalco Atenco in the Lake Texcoco region, north and south of Tenochtitlan.⁵ They are neatly listed in a north-to-south geographical progression, following Barlow's identifications (see map 1, chapter 5 in volume 1).⁶ But what are they doing here, on folio 17v of *Codex Mendoza*? If this folio is part of the conquest history, why is the image of the towns' conqueror omitted? And if the folio is attached to the tribute roll, where is the tribute?

The remainder of folio 17v and all of 18r illustrate eleven additional towns in exaggerated size, of which seven, Tetenanco (or Quecholtepetenanco),⁷ Huaxacac, Çoçolan, Oztoma, Atzacan, Atlan, and Xoconocho, have one or two assigned "governors."⁸ All these locales were in relatively distant reaches of the empire, and Barlow (*ibid.*: 127) labels them "frontier garrison towns mentioned with Citlaltepec" (see map 2, chapter 5 in volume 1). Other evidence confirms that some of these communities did have *guarniciones de gente* (troops), whether permanent or otherwise (see Davies 1978); these included Oztoma (PNE 7: 102, 110; Diaz del Castillo 1963: 167), Xoconocho (*ibid.*), Atlan (*ibid.*),⁹ and Huaxacac (*ibid.*: 120). While the other three places are not mentioned specifically in other sources as garrison towns, their locations suggest that they may have served that purpose. Barlow (1949a: 128) places Quecholtepetenanco (Tetenanco) in the province of Tepequacuico, on the hostile Yopec frontier. Atzacan was probably located in present-day Veracruz,¹⁰ possibly strategically situated with regard to external hostilities from Tlaxcala and Teotitlan del Camino, and the interminable simmering rebellions of Cuextlatlan (see Kelly and Palerm 1952: 271, 277). Çoçolan was located not far from the un-

conquered Tototepec region, although there were many other imperial communities much closer to that border.

GARRISON TOWNS

Garrison towns, it appears, were not necessarily oriented only toward protecting hostile borders or maintaining peace in marginally incorporated areas; they may also have been situated so as to protect strategic resources. That is, their location may indicate a compromise solution to several coexisting problems. This may have been the case with Oztoma, which, along with a local fortress, was strategically located (three leagues distant) to guard critical salt resources at Iztapa (PNE 7: 105); the salt from this area was widely distributed and certainly worth guarding (PNE 7: *passim*). Similarly, the Çoçolan area was prized for its wealth in gold (Cortés 1977 1: 242). The outpost at Atzacan may have helped assure Tlaxcala's separation from the sea and prohibited its access to resources such as salt and cotton. For whatever combination of purposes, all these communities were dignified by the Tenochtitlan powers with definite military "governors," which suggests a military presence in these outlying areas. And Oztoma and Huaxacac, at least, were targets for planned colonization efforts by the Mexica and their allies; this may explain to some extent the presence of both military and perhaps civil "governors" in these centers.

IMPERIAL OFFICIALS

All the "governors" listed (with the possible exception of *Tlacobtecutli*) gained their titles through military prowess and, at least originally, through close genealogical ties with the Mexica ruling house (Durán 1967 2: 99). Three of these titles, *Tlacobcalcatl*, *Tlacatecatl*, and *Tlilcalcalqui*, were titles carried by the Mexican *Tlatoani's* closest advisers (*ibid.*: 103). The *Tlacatecatl* and *Tlacobcalcatl* are also pictured on folios 64r and 67r of *Codex Mendoza*. Sahagún (1950-1982 6: 110) states that the *Tlacobtecutli* and the *Tlacatecatl* had military ties, while the *Tlacobtecutli* and the *Tlacobcalcatl* had noble, perhaps meaning civil, ties. If this were indeed the case, then Huaxacac, Çoçolan, Oztoma, and Atzacan had direct Mexica control from both military and political administrative angles. The *Tlacobcalcatl*, however, is mentioned elsewhere in the sources in the capacity of a military commander (e.g., Alvarado Texozomoc 1975a: 391, 396; *Códice Chimalpopoca* 1975: 43). It does, however,

leave Atlán with only one "governor" and Xoconochco with two somewhat vaguely defined "governors." The two Xoconochco officials are mentioned by Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:551), however, in connection with the Mexica campaign against Xoconochco. For Oztoma, the historical record states clearly that the two *señores* must be Mexica, and not Acolhuas or Tepanecs (*ibid.*:534).¹¹

MORE GARRISON TOWNS?

Four additional town glyphs remain to be located and explained: Quauhtochco, Yztzyocan, Pocteppec, and Teçapotitlan. These town glyphs are enlarged in size, yet they lack the attendant "governors." They were all Aztec conquests and, like the aforementioned garrison towns, ringed the outskirts of the empire. Quauhtochco and Yztzyocan were east coast centers of the Aztec empire; Quauhtochco was the head town of a region reputedly conquered by Texcoco (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:196). Yztzyocan is mentioned as one of several areas from which painted gourd bowls made their way into the Tlatelolco marketplace (Sahagún 1950–1982 10:78). Pocteppec is listed (along with Oztoma and ten other centers) as a conquest primarily of Nezahualcōyotl of Texcoco and Totoquihuatzin of Tlacopan (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:201), and is included as a conquest of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina by Torquemada (1969 1:157). It is probably to be located in the province of Tepequacuilco. Teçapotitlan is listed with Atlán on a later page of the *Codex Mendoza* (folio 53r). On folio 1v of the *Matricula de Tributos* these two towns are indisputably grouped, being separated from other place glyphs by a definite red line.

It would probably be a mistake to label these four centers as military outposts, since they lack explicit military officers and there is no corroborative evidence for military functions. This is quite aside from Alva Ixtlilxochitl's blanket statement that Nezahualcōyotl left "guarding warriors" in each conquered area (1965 2:197). Bernal Díaz del Castillo recalls that the chief of Xocotlan told the conquistadors of Motecuhzoma's "great strength in warriors, which he kept in all the provinces under his sway, without counting many other armies which were posted on the frontiers and in neighboring provinces" (1963:136). The extent of Aztec military presence in conquered provinces is still only partially understood. Davies (1978:228–229) argues that *guarnición* in the Spanish of the sixteenth century did not necessarily convey the meaning of "a standing force." Rather, the Spanish implied a temporary, rather flexible grouping of warriors guarding a spot that was particularly troublesome at the time. As troubled spots moved, so did the guarding forces. Davies reiterates his position in *The Aztec Empire* (1987:174–176), suggesting specific frontier strong points (e.g., Tochtepec, Oztoma), but interpreting *guarnición* as a mobile military force. Hassig (1988:260) suggests that garrisons were "either manned for brief periods or . . . staffed with only a few troops." I use the term "garrison" with the understanding that the degree of permanence and strength of the forces is a matter of empirical discovery and could be quite different in each case.

If folios 17v and 18r of the *Codex Mendoza* were meant to document military outposts or colonies, they are at best incomplete and contain a good deal of extraneous information. For example, garrisons are also documented for Acatlan, Tochtepec, Cholula, Quiahuiztlan, Yecapixtla, Ayoxochiquilazala, Acatapmaxitlan, Ceycoccacanan, Iztapa, Cuextlahuaca, Acatepec, Acataplahuaya, Tototepec, and Coatzacoalcos.¹² This list may also include Tepeacac (Díaz del Castillo 1963:308), although Díaz's Conquest-period reference is not firmly borne out by the *Relación Geográfica* for

Tepeacac (PNE 5:12–45) and may reflect troops sent to impress Cortés (but see below, on provincial governors).

Although documentation on colonization is detailed only for Oztoma and Huaxacac (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:363–364, 533–536; Durán 1967 2:238–239, 351–355), Alva Ixtlilxochitl mentions the establishment of a town by Nezahualcōyotl in the region of Tolantzinco, peopled by citizens of Texcoco (1965 2:199), and Durán suggests in an offhand way that the practice was not uncommon (1967 2:351). Furthermore, high-ranking governors (*Tzipayn Tlacocbalcat* and *Acolnahuacatl Tlacatecatl*) were also placed at the town of Texalocan, near Tepeacac province, although no actual garrison is mentioned. The people of this town engaged in continuous warfare with those of Toromihuacan, Cholula, and Huexotzinco; the delivery of prisoners for sacrifice from those three centers was their only tribute requirement to their Mexica overlords (PNE 5:86–87). Similarly, the *Relación Geográfica* for Tepeacac states that, for the tense Tepeacac/Tlaxcala borderlands, "in each town they had their captains who were called *Tlacocbalcat* and *Tlacatecatl*, and to each of these they gave one company of men from a *barrio*, and in that way some were in charge of many people, and others [were in charge of] few [people]" (*ibid.*:31). Tepeacac as a province was required to offer prisoners of war as tribute to Mexico (*Codex Mendoza* folio 42r; PNE 5:14).

IMPERIAL RELATIONSHIPS

What, then, might be the relationships among the eleven Lake Texcoco communities, the seven "garrison towns," and the four other frontier centers? Perhaps the significant consideration is that, while other garrisons were established and other colonies settled, the glyphs on these pages may portray sustained relationships rather than recount one time historical events. And, given the format of folio 17v, the relationships may well be those of tribute. There are few clues to establish these links, but those that can be found are meaningful and have been recognized by van Zantwijk (1967). First, of the eleven small Lake Texcoco communities, four (Iztacalco, Popotlan, Coatlauhuacan, and Acolnahuac) are explicitly linked with the resettlement of Oztoma, contributing twenty leading men (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:534). This association is significant and must have had some importance for the Mexica, for these are but small *estancias* listed among entire peoples, regions, and cities designated for that colonization. Did they perhaps provide the *principales*, or leading men, mentioned by Durán (1967 2:354), who carried the responsibility of actually implementing the resettlement effort? Or were they to fulfill a kind of continuous service obligation in reinforcing these settlements? Their inclusion does not seem to be directly related to the military installation at Oztoma, but rather linked to the colonization process.

Similarly, the only other direct documentary link among the many centers portrayed on folios 17v and 18r focuses on colonization. Again Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:364) provides the clue: in the colonization of Huaxacac, some peoples from the east coast (Quauhtochpan, Tuchtepecas, and Teotitllecas) were moved to "las costas de Huaxacac." Linguistic and geographical association suggests that people from Quauhtochco were resettled during the Huaxacac colonization;¹³ they were indeed very loyal to the Mexica, even under pressure from Cortés (Barlow 1949a:90). Yet geography may reveal an even sounder explanation: the four glyphically oversized communities lacking governors are all located in close proximity to glyphically oversized centers with governors: Quauhtochco

and Yzteyocan near Atzacan, Poctepac near Ozotoma, and Teçapotitlan near Atlán. It was customary for nearby communities to supply Mexica military settlements with their basic livelihood, and this may indicate these responsibilities. Unfortunately, other sources are silent on the ties of these specific centers to the "garrison towns."¹⁴

SUMMARY

Perhaps it is now appropriate, having reviewed both the data and the lack thereof, to summarize and offer an hypothesis for these two troublesome *Codex Mendoza* pages. The eleven small Lake Texcoco communities do not appear to be a coherent province, but rather a collection of conveniently located centers from which could be drawn loyal subjects to provide extended personal service as tribute. This obligation took the form of sustained support of strategic outlying centers through the provisioning of manpower. The manpower required was probably not "ordinary" or extensive, but rather skilled and perhaps somewhat elite.

In the case of Ozotoma, since the four Citlaltepēc communities are mentioned on the heels of a discussion about the two "governors" for that garrison site (and are included only after extended consultation), it may be that individuals from these communities were involved at a rather high administrative level. The colonization of the coast of Huaxacac by Quauhtochpan notwithstanding, it may well be that the four large outlying centers without specified "governors" carried special responsibilities, perhaps not for everyday sustenance of their nearby garrisons but for providing loyal men-at-arms.¹⁵ This is all tribute, but of a somewhat different style than that recorded on the remaining pages of the *Codex Mendoza*, and for which some of these same communities were also responsible. Admittedly, this interpretation is only tentative and not fully satisfactory, but when combined with van Zantwijk's (1967) hypotheses, it may help unravel the complex relationships between the center of the empire and its frontier holdings.

NOTES

1. Citlaltepēc is located by Barlow (1949a: map) and by Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979: map 18) just north of Lake Zumpango. Special long, rounded reeds, called *azapalín* or *tsimimilli*, were gathered here by Mexica priests for use in the monthly celebration of Etzalcualiztli (Sahagún 1950-1982 2:11, 74).
2. Xaltocan, located on an island in Lake Xaltocan, was a major Otomi center (Carrasco 1950, 1971a: 467).
3. Barlow (1949a: 129-130) indicates that Huixachtitlan, Coatlaysuhcan, and Acolnahuac were located along the Mexica migration route—perhaps they carried a special symbolic significance for the Mexica. Or, being close to Tenochtitlan and situated on a well-traveled route, these towns may have maintained close cultural, political, or economic ties with the island Mexica.
4. Popotlan, located near the major Tenochtitlan-Tlacopan causeway (Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979: map 19), was a designated stopping point in the main religious procession during the month of Panquetzaliztli; sacrifices were made there in honor of Paynal (Sahagún 1950-1982 2: 134, 162).
5. Clark (1938 1:58-59) describes the "governors" on folios 17v and 18r at

some length, but generally omits description and interpretation of the place-name glyphs. He does not mention these eleven smaller town glyphs at all. Barlow (1949a: 127-128) describes many of the towns in some detail; yet he admits that, while several of the eleven towns can be located, their tribute is nowhere indicated. Van Zantwijk (1967: 150) indicates that Citlaltepēc and Tzompango belonged to Tlacopan, Xaltocan and Acolnahuac to Texcoco, and the remaining towns to Tenochtitlan.

6. For detailed locations of these towns, see Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979: maps 18 and 19).

7. This town glyph has no Spanish annotation. Clark (1938 1:59) translates the glyph as Tetenanco, while Barlow (1949a: 128) places the town Quecholtenanco and places it south of Chilapa in the distant province of Tepehuacuilco. If the feathers were intended as part of the place-name, the town name could read Quecholtenenanco. In 1458 Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina established a military garrison at Chilapa to guard the hostile Yope frontier (Harvey 1971: 612-613); this may be the Quecholtenenanco to which the *Codex Mendoza* refers on folio 17v. The 1582 *Relación de Chilapa* (PNE 5: 174-182) mentions neither Quecholtenenanco nor Tetenanco, although it does mention that the inhabitants of Chilapa spoke "Mexicana."

8. The titles of these "governors" are as follows:

Tetenanco (Quecholtenenanco): *Mixcoatl Tlacatecutli*

Huaxacac: *Tlacatecutli* and *Tlacochtecutli*

Coçolan: *Tlacatecutli* and *Tlacochtecutli*

Ozotoma: *Tlacatecutli* and *Tlacochtecutli* (although the annotation indicates *Tlacochtecutli*)

Atzacan: *Tlacatecutli* and *Tlacochtecutli*

Atlán: *Tlacochtecutli*

Xocnochoch: *Tzecaacatl* and *Tilanacalqui*

9. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1964: 167) may be referring to Atlán when he mentions a "force . . . between Tzacapan and a town we call Almeria [Nautla], which is on the northern coast" ("guarnición . . . entre tzacapan, y un pueblo lo pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] que es En la costa del norte"). Barlow (1949a: 128) suspects that Tzacapan refers to Tzacapan, and Davies places the reference points at Tzacapan and Tzacapan, and the fortress in the Tzicoac region (1978: 226). Kelly and Palerm (1952: 275) convincingly identify and locate both Tzacapan and Nautla. Atlán would fall geographically between these two centers.

10. This is where Kelly and Palerm (1952: 313) place Atzacan, although it must be kept in mind that frequently different communities had the same name in ancient Mexico. Sahagún (1950-1982 11: 4) mentions an Atzacan in association with Tepozotlan and Tlanquilsipan, in forested areas probably to the northwest of Lake Texcoco.

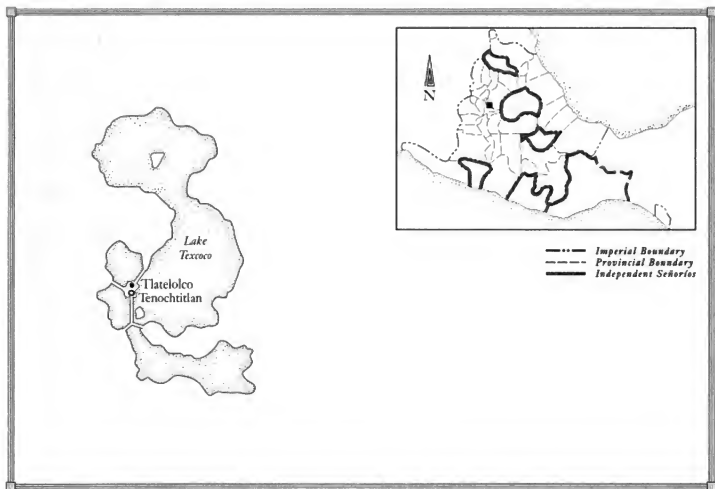
11. On these impressive titles, see the page descriptions for part 3, as well as Pihó 1972 and Davies 1987.

12. See PNE 4: 165, 194, 5: 113, 6: 61, 105, 115; Alva Ixtlilochitl 1965 2: 197; Cortés 1928: 38-40; Barlow 1949a: 106; Harvey 1971: 612; Díaz del Castillo 1963: 95, 105, 139, 329, 412; 1964: 167. Díaz del Castillo also mentions that the language spoken in Coatzacoalcos was "that of Mexico" (1963: 86).

13. Such a regard for environmental replication in resettlement is reminiscent of the Inca *mitima* policy (Murra 1978: 245-258).

14. Van Zantwijk (1967: 158) suggests that Atlán and Teçapotitlan were under the generalship of Texcoco, while Quecholtenenanco (Tetenanco) was controlled by a Tlacopan general.

15. Other communities frequently had such duties. The people of Ahabuiztlan are mentioned as responsible for provisioning the Ozotoma garrison with food, arms, and "help" (*ayuda*; PNE 6: 102), while the people of Ozotoma supplied that fortress with "provisions and other things" (*ibid.*: 110). Similarly, the people of Acapetlahuaya were required to guard the fort at Ozotoma, "as warriors" (PNE 6: 115). It is strange that Poctepac is not also mentioned, if it had similar obligations. In other instances elsewhere in the empire, Papalotlincac supplied provisions for Motecuhzoma's garrisons (PNE 4: 90) and Cuicatlan occasionally sent fruits to Motecuhzoma's garrisons in the Misteça (PNE 4: 185). Durán (1967 2: 412) states that frontier *gente de guarnición* were changed every eighty days, a typical tribute-paying period.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWN:

1. Tlatilulco—"On the Round Earth Mound"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 6r, 10r)

THE RULERS OF TLATELOLCO:

1. Quauhltatoa—"Speaking Eagle"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 6r)
2. Moquihuix—"Drunk Face"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)

THE CONQUERING TOWN:

1. Tenxuctitlan—"Among the Stone-Cactus Fruit"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 2r, 4v)

THE RULERS OF TENOCHTITLAN:

1. Yzcoaçi—"Revered Obsidian Serpent"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 5v)
2. Axayacaçi—"Axayacaçin) "Face of Water"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following tribute was given constantly:

Repairs to the temple of Huitznahuac

The following items were given every eighty days:

- 40 large baskets of cacao ground with maize flour, called *cacabuapinoli*
- 40 baskets of chia mixed with maize flour, called *cbianpinoli*
- 400 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 40 white *cuextecatl* warrior costumes and shield(s)
- 40 yellow *cuextecatl* warrior costumes and shield(s)

CONQUEST HISTORY

The city of Tlatelolco occupied the northern portion of the island shared with Tenochtitlan. Until the fateful year 1473 (at the latest), the two cities developed somewhat autonomous polities but rather parallel histories. In their earliest years (from their founding until 1430),¹ both acted as dependencies of the reigning Valley of Mexico power, Azcapotzalco. In the service of Azcapotzalco, Tlatelolco shared in the wealth of conquests both within and beyond the Valley of Mexico.² Also throughout its early (pre-Triple Alliance) history, the Tlatelolcan rulers made special efforts to establish favorable political alliances through shrewd marriages (Barlow 1987: 78).

Following the defeat of Azcapotzalco and the formation of the Triple Alliance, tensions developed (or increased) between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. In 1431 the two cities reached a

formal agreement delineating rights to fishing grounds (Barlow 1987: 89). Yet Tlatelolco may have become subordinate to Tenochtitlan during the reign of Itzcoatl (1426–1440). Several documents either state or imply that Itzcoatl defeated the Tlatelolcan ruler Quauhlatlaoa (ruled 1428–1467), who nonetheless was retained in office.¹ The *Codex Mendoza's* pairing of these two rulers, along with the later Axayacatl and Moquihui, implies two conquests by Tenochtitlan (folio 19r). Despite its subservient status, Tlatelolco nonetheless participated in several military conquests during Quauhlatlaoa's reign, claiming prizes as far afield as Tepeacac and Cuexatlaxlan (Barlow 1987: 91–105).

It was perhaps inevitable that the vague relationships between the neighboring cities eventually be more clearly defined. This occurred in 1473, with the definitive conquest of Tlatelolco (under the ruler Moquihui) by Tenochtitlan (under Axayacatl). The armed conflict was triggered perhaps by Moquihui's ill-treatment of his wife (Axayacatl's sister),² or perhaps "when young men from Tenochtitlan ravished Tlatelolcan maidens" (Davies 1987: 76–77). The *Codex Mendoza* commentary (folio 9v) suggests that Moquihui picked fights with the Tenochtitlan Mexica, thereby causing stresses in otherwise friendly relations.

Much as he tried, Moquihui was unable to gain any allies in his "rebellion" against his neighbor, and his attempt at independence failed, as his troops were no match for Axayacatl's. Fleeing from his attackers, Moquihui reportedly hurled himself in disgrace from Tlatelolco's temple, thus ending the conflict (*Codex Mendoza* folio 9v).

Following its conquest by Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco was governed by a succession of Mexica governors, one a *Tlacatecatl* and the other a *Tlacochcalcatl* (Barlow 1987: 127–133). Tlatelolco also was required to deliver tribute to Tenochtitlan in both labor and goods. The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 18v) suggests that tribute was paid also by Quauhlatlaoa to Itzcoatl.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

It is difficult to view Tlatelolco as a "province," for it actually constituted a single city, a city in fact joined to its imperial capital. Like Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco had a ceremonial center containing the city's main temple (and probably other religious and secular buildings as well). Adjacent to this ceremonial district was the valley's (indeed the empire's) largest and most important marketplace, described in detail by Hernando Cortés (1977 1: 257–259), Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1956: 215–217), and Bernardino de Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 67–69, 10: 59–94). As many as 20,000–25,000 people may have assembled here daily to buy and sell; that number doubled on "market day," every fifth day (Anonymous Conqueror 1971: 392).

The remainder of Tlatelolco was divided into *calpulli* or *tlaxilacalli*, residential subdivisions resembling *barrios*. Some of these were inhabited by the highly esteemed feather artisans, others by wealthy and powerful professional merchants (see Sahagún 1950–1982 9; van Zantwijk 1985).

The people of Tlatelolco, like those of Tenochtitlan, were Mexica. Nahuatl was the language of the inhabitants.

TRIBUTE

Tlatelolco's tribute obligations took the form of both labor duties and the delivery of goods. In terms of labor, the people of Tlatelolco were required to maintain the temple of Huitznahuac in

constant repair.³ The name of the temple is indicated by a maguery thorn (*huiztli*) with a blue speech scroll (*nabua*).

The food tribute from Tlatelolco consisted of forty baskets of cacao ground with maize flour (*sacahuipinoli*). Each basket was to contain half a *faneja* (ca. .8 bushel), or 1,600 cacao beans (folio 18v). The *Mendoza* glosses (folio 19r) suggest that this was ground cacao. Also due were forty baskets of *chiampinoli*, chia mixed with maize flour.⁴ All these baskets of food were due every eighty days.

The people of Tlatelolco were also required to pay 800 (loads of) large white *mantas* every eighty days. The period of tribute is symbolized by four multicolored disks, "like flowers." Each disk symbolized twenty days.⁵

The only annual tribute paid by Tlatelolco consisted of warrior costumes: 80 *cuextecatl*-style suits. Forty of these were white (accompanied by a variant of the *cuexy* shield), and forty were yellow (with a *xicalcolubqui* shield).⁶ These costumes have squared-off caps, like that of the *cuextecatl* suit given by neighboring Petlacalco, but unlike most of the costumes of this type given in tribute by other provinces.

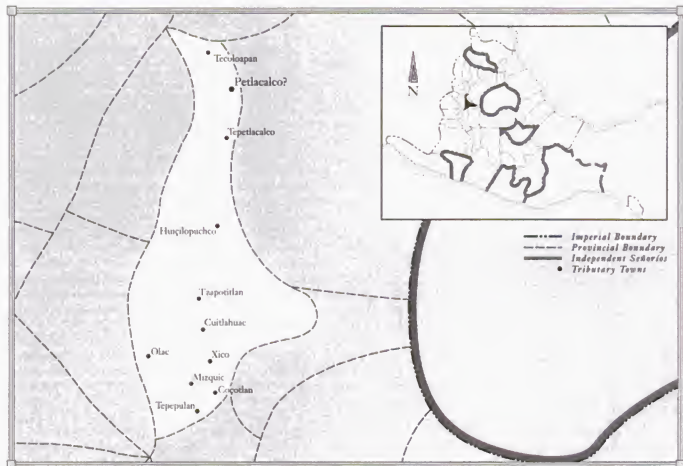
Unfortunately, this "province" is but a fragment in the *Matrícula de Tributos*, showing only the four rulers of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, parts of the two shields, and a portion of one of the warrior costumes. It is unfortunate also that Tlatelolco is not included in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957).

REFERENCES

Considerable ethnohistorical and archaeological research has been conducted on Tlatelolco, much of it by Robert Barlow (1949a: 126–131; 1987). The *Anales de Tlatelolco* and *Códice de Tlatelolco* (Berlin and Barlow 1948) are interpreted by Barlow, and many contributions in *Tlatelolco arraves de los tiempos* (1944–1956) are also his. This latter publication contains archaeological and historical reports and articles. Other information on Tlatelolco is found in Litvak King (1971), Davies (1987: 75–80), Hassig (1988: 138–139, 179–183), and Gibson (1964). Sahagún provides information on Tlatelolco rulers (1950–1982 8: 7–8), marketplace (*ibid.*: 67–69; 10: 59–94), and merchants and featherworkers (*ibid.*: bk. 9). Hernando Cortés (1977 1: 257–259) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1956: 215–217) provide vivid descriptions of the bustling Tlatelolco marketplace.

NOTES

1. Tenochtitlan was probably founded in 1325, Tlatelolco in perhaps 1337 (Barlow 1987: 59–66).
2. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 4) mentions Tlatelolco's participation in conquests of such centers as Chalco, Acolhuacan, Quauhhtlan, and Tulancingo. Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 7) lists Tenayuca, Coacalco, Xaltocan, Acolhuacan, and Coyacan as early conquests of Tlatelolco rulers.
3. This includes folio 6r of *Codex Mendoza*, where Quauhhtlaoa is shown very defeated by Itzcoatl. For a discussion and documentation of this relationship, see Davies 1987: 76.
4. See Durán 1967 2: 257.
5. The exact location of this temple is in question. Clark (1938 1: 59) places it in the southern quarter of Tenochtitlan, at the site of Cortés's Hospital de Jesús Nazareno. Barlow (1987: 125) prefers to locate it in San Juan Huitznahuac, on the outskirts of Tlatelolco.
6. This is sometimes called simply *pinoli* (see Molina 1970: 82r). The *Mendoza* gloss says only *pinol*.
7. Compare these with the small "flowers" on folio 57r, each of which symbolizes a single day.
8. See chapter 8 by Anawalt, volume 1.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Petlacalco—"On the Woven Reed Coffin" or "On the Store-house"
2. Xaxalpan—"On a Great Deal of Sand"
3. Yopico—"In the Place of the *Yopes*"
4. Tepetlacalco—"On the Sepulcher"
5. Tecoloapan—"On the Water of the Owl"
6. Tepechpan—"On the Large Rock"
7. Tequemecan—"Place of Rocky Cultivated Land" or "Place of the Sacred Stone"
8. Huiçilopuchco—"In the Place of *Huitzilopochtli*"
9. Colhuaçinco—"On the Little Place of the Colhua"
10. Coçotlan—"Where There Are Many Turtledoves"
11. Tepepulan—"Where There Are Many Big Hills"
12. Olac—"On the Spring"
13. Acapan—"On the Reeds"
14. Cuitlahuac—"On the Water-Excrement"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 2v, 6r)
15. Tezacacoac—"In the Mirror-Snake"
16. Mizquic—"On the Mesquite"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 2v, 6r)
17. Aochpanco—"On the Water Highway"
18. Tzapotitlan—"Among the Zapotes"
19. Xico—"In the Navel"
20. Toyac—"In the Place of Overflowing Water"
21. Tecalco—"On the Noble's House" or "On the Judge's House"

22. Tlaçoiuhco—"In the Precious Turquoise"
23. Nextitlan—"Among the Ashes"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 multicolored loincloths
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 2,400 large white *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with multicolored borders
- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 blue *quaxototl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 white and red *tzitzimitl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *ocotlotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 green *xopilli* warrior costume and shield
- 20 red warrior costumes with feathered *momoyactli* back devices, and 20 shields
- 20 red *cuextecatl* warrior costumes and shields
- 20 blue *papalotl* warrior costumes and shields
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

There is considerable confusion concerning the actual head town of this province. It is customary in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* for the first place glyph to represent the primary tribute-collection center for the remaining towns listed. On folio 20r, however, the initial glyph is a house made of woven mats, and the written gloss identifies it as *petlacalcatl/governador*. The usual addition of *pue* (*pueblo*) was also made, but then crossed out and probably replaced by *governador*. Unfortunately, *petlacalcatl* was not a place-name but rather a person, a head tribute overseer (hence the addition of "governor"). If the glyph indicated a place, the more proper form would be *Petlacalco*. The *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 2v) might be of some help, but that corner of the ancient document is frayed and illegible. The 1554 *Información* text (Scholes and Adams 1957:29) identifies the lead town of this province as *Thetlacalco* (*Petlacalco*), suggesting that the pictorial from which it was derived also began with a place glyph similar to the one seen in the *Mendoza*. Barlow (1949a:132) believes that *Petlacalco* is indeed meant, although Clark (1938 1:61) begins this province with the next town, *Xaxalpan*. It may well be that the responsibility for collecting the tribute from these nearby towns fell to the head tribute officer in Tenochtitlan, the *petlacalcatl*. The *Mendoza* Spanish commentary states that these towns were ruled by "a governor, called *petlacalcatl*, assigned by the lords of Mexico," although a *calpixqui* or tribute collector was stationed in each town (folio 19v).

Many towns in this western lakeshore region have disappeared, having been absorbed by modern urban sprawl. Nonetheless, eleven towns can be pinpointed. I have included the location of *Petlacalco* based on Barlow's map, although with a question mark. For ease of identification, I will continue to call this province *Petlacalco*.

Hugging the western plain of Lake Texcoco, this was the core of the ancient Tepanec kingdom. The many towns in this region were largely under Azcapotzalco rule at the time of the formation of the Triple Alliance (1430). With the rise to power of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan, these Tepanec towns generally shifted their dependency status to the new rulers of the valley. Two important communities in the southern *chinampa* zone, *Cuitlahuac* and *Mizquic*, were reportedly conquered by both *Acamapichtli* and *Itzcoatl* (*Codex Mendoza* folios 2v, 6r). Their conquest by the former ruler was surely undertaken while the Mexica were in the military service of the then-powerful Tepanecs. Their latter conquest, by *Itzcoatl*, must have been a reaffirmation of power by Tenochtitlan, following the political disruptions of the fall of Azcapotzalco and the formation of the Triple Alliance. Actual conquests of the remaining towns on this tribute folio go unrecorded; they were probably inherited by Tenochtitlan as part of the Old Tepanec domain (Barlow 1949a:133). One noteworthy case is, however, that of *Olac*, which was a subdivision of *Xochimilco*. Like *Cuitlahuac* and *Mizquic*, *Xochimilco* (presumably with its *barrio* *Olac*) was conquered by both *Acamapichtli* and *Itzcoatl* (*Codex Mendoza* folios 2v, 6r). Tenochtitlan apparently held tribute rights to the *Olac* section of *Xochimilco*, and the last *Moteczuhzoma* meddled in *Olac*'s political affairs, installing a relative as ruler there (Hodge 1984:93).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The majority of identifiable towns in this tributary province lay along the southern shores of Lakes Chalco and *Xochimilco*. This was the well-developed, fertile southern *chinampa* district including, most notably, the small city-states of *Cuitlahuac* and *Mizquic*.

These two centers are mentioned frequently in Diego Durán's *Historia*: they were among the towns required to help construct Huitzilopochtli's temple in Tenochtitlan; they were recruited to help colonize the devastated towns of *Alahuiztlan* and *Oztoman* following a successful Aztec military campaign; and they were asked to participate in Triple Alliance wars beyond the Valley of Mexico (Durán 1967 2:133-134, 164, 319, 352-353). In addition, the rulers of *Cuitlahuac*, *Mizquic*, and *Huitzilopochtli* were variously invited to special state events in Tenochtitlan, such as a coronation or a ruler's funeral (*ibid.*:301, 392). The people of *Cuitlahuac* and *Mizquic* were also asked by the Mexica to supply battlefield matériel and provisions for a distant war (in the Huasteca country; *ibid.*:156-157, 164). Professional merchants from *Huitzilopochtli* traveled with those from Tenochtitlan, *Tlatelolco*, *Azcapotzalco*, and *Quauhtlan* to trading enclaves beyond the bounds of the empire (Sahagún 1950-1982 9:17). Merchants from these and several other Valley of Mexico centers maintained *barrios* in distant *Tochtepec*, a jumping-off spot for travels to the Gulf coast Mayan trading posts (*ibid.*:48-49).

It is perhaps not surprising that *Huitzilopochtli* merchants were among the most important in the Valley; the town was situated at an active canoe-embarkation point (Gibson 1964:364). *Cuitlahuac* undoubtedly also was critically situated along transport routes; reportedly the Mexica attacked it because its people were "impeding trade" (Hassig 1988:150). Both of these centers (and surely most of the others in this province as well) specialized in collecting and processing lake products, including fishing, salt-making, and basket-weaving (Gibson 1964:338-342). Additionally, *Cuitlahuac* and *Mizquic* were sources of saltpeter, and *Huitzilopochtli* had a notable specialization in pottery-making (*ibid.*:339, 350). The 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948) shows fishing, fowling, hunting, and pottery-making in this portion of the Valley of Mexico. Clearly, the towns of *Petlacalco* province were lake-oriented towns and may have been only weakly linked to the mountains behind them.

Here, in the heart of the Tepanec realm, it is assumed that the predominant language was Nahuatl (Barlow 1949a:133; Gerhard 1972:247), although some Otomi-speakers apparently also lived in the area (*ibid.*:100, 178).

The Spanish Conquest wrought major changes in this lakeshore region, as it lay so close to the new Mexico City. However, some patterns continued, albeit in rather different form. For example, *Huitzilopochtli* continued to serve as an important canoe-embarkation point, but its traditional twenty-day market went to a weekly schedule in 1563 (Gibson 1964:364, 357). Professional traders from that town continued to travel long distances for mercantile gain (*ibid.*:359).

TRIBUTE

Like *Acolhuacan* province across the lake, the people of *Petlacalco* gave their Mexica overlords tribute in the form of clothing, warrior costumes, and staple foodstuffs. The clothing begins with 400 (loads of) colorful linencloths and 400 (loads of) women's tunics and skirts boldly decorated in red, yellow, and blue.

The remainder of the clothing is annotated as *mantillas* or *mantas grandes* in the *Mendoza* (folio 20r). This includes 2,400 (loads of) large *mantas* of twisted thread; the *Matricula* gloss (1980: folio 2v) suggests that these were *quachtli*, or large cotton cloaks. Also included in the textile tribute were 400 white cloaks with a multi-colored border, and 400 diagonally divided cloaks (half in yellow and half in blue tie-dye), also with bold multicolored borders.² The

clothing tribute was due semi-annually (according to the *Mendoza*) or quarterly (according to the *Matricula*).

The people of these valley towns were required to pay part of their tribute in ornate, feathered warrior suits. Five of these were to be manufactured of rich feathers (and delivered in single quantities annually), while three styles were presumably made of ordinary feathers (and paid annually in quantities of twenty each).¹ The first warrior garment is a blue *quaxotlatl* costume, accompanied by a yellow and green *xicalcolihqui* shield. This is followed by a blue *cuxtecatl* costume with squared-off headgear and a *cucyo* variant shield. The second row of warrior paraphernalia includes a white *tzitzimil* costume with red-stripped cuffs and a spotted jaguar costume; both are accompanied by the common *cucyo* shields. The four suits depicted on folio 20v (a continuation of Petlalcalco province) are one green costume with a *xopilli* standard (with *xicalcolihqui* shield), twenty red costumes with a *momyactli* back device (with *cucyo* shields), twenty red pointed-cap *cuxtecatl* costumes (with *cucyo* variant shields), and twenty blue *papalotl* styles (with their eagle-claw shields). With the exception of the feathered tips of one of the shields, this entire section of Petlalcalco's folio is missing in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 2v).

Foodstuffs, probably from rich *chinampa* plots, were also paid annually in tribute to the Mexica of Tenochtitlan. Like several other provinces, Petlalcalco paid one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. A later commentary statement in the *Mendoza* (folio 21r) indicates that each such bin equaled from four to five thousand *fanegas*. This would range between 6,300 and 7,875 bushels.² These wooden bins are glossed as *cuezcomatl* on folio 6r of the *Matricula* (Xilotepec province); *cuezcomatl* are still used today for storing shelled maize.³

The 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957: 29–31) likewise lists only clothing, warrior costumes and shields, and foodstuffs as the tribute of this province. However, it does increase the number of obligated towns to forty-three. The recorded tribute consists of 400 loincloths, 400 women's tunics, 400 skirts, 400 large red-stripped *mantas*, 400 rich *mantas* bordered with feathers and *tobomil* (rabbit fur), 400 unspecified *mantas*, and 1,600 large white *mantas*. All this clothing was due every eighty days, according to the text. Annual tribute consisted of eight rich warrior costumes, forty-three shields,⁴ and a bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth.⁵

In the early Colonial period, Huiçilopochco continued to pay

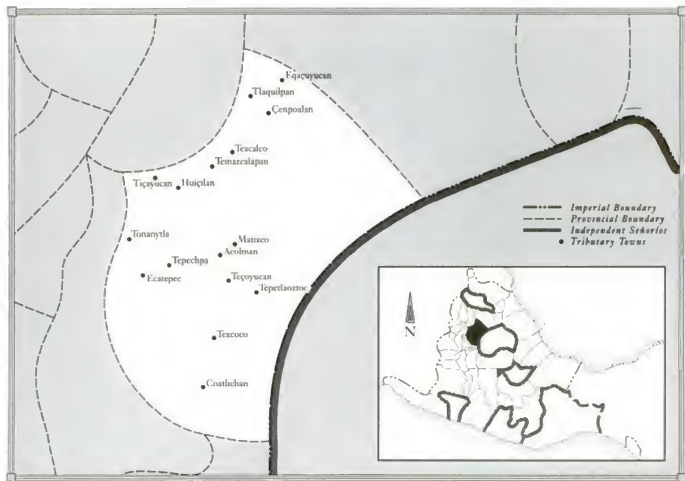
small pieces of cloth in tribute (PNE 1: 174); the record is silent on the Colonial obligations of the other towns in this Aztec tributary province.

REFERENCES

Information on this province and its environs is found in Barlow (1949a: 131–133), Gerhard (1972: 100–102, 178–180, 245–249), Gibson (1964: 12–13, 41, 338–342, 357, 359, 354; 1971: 386–389), Hodge (1984: 93–96), and Blanton (n.d.). This region is depicted on the 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948), and Huiçilopochco is mentioned in a brief sixteenth-century *relación* (PNE 1: 174).

NOTES

1. There is some question whether twenty textiles were demanded, or twenty loads of textiles. A load would contain twenty objects. See the Berdan essay on tribute (chapter 5 in volume 1) for a discussion of this problem.
2. In the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 2v), the first of these is colored deep red and the second shows a vague diagonal division with yellow on the bottom half. See Anawalt essay (chapter 8 in volume 1) for a discussion of tribute textiles containing a portion of the blue-and-white diaper design.
3. Only the gloss of the *papalotl* costume explicitly states *plumas valadas* (ordinary feathers). However, elsewhere in the *Mendoza*, costumes given in quantities of twenty were to be made of *plumas valadas*.
4. This is assuming the equivalency of 55.5 liters per *fanega* (Molins Fábrega 1956: 28). Molins Fábrega notes that the Spanish *fanega* of the time ranged between 53.10 and 55.84 liters (ibid.: 27). The Mexican *fanega* equaled 90.8 liters, but Molins Fábrega feels that the Castilian *fanega* of 55.5 liters provides the most likely measurement here (ibid.: 26–28). Clark (1938 1: 64) offers the rough equivalency of 5,000 *fanegas* = 8,000 bushels.
5. Ocar Lewis (1963: 186) describes the Tepoztlan *cuezcomatl* as a "vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay." The bins pictured in the *Matricula* and *Mendoza* more closely resemble Tepoztlan's *cincolote*: "This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored" (ibid.). According to Lewis, these latter structures were used for storing maize-on-the-cob.
6. On the pictorial manuscript that formed the basis for the 1554 text, five shields must have been depicted, two of them with the *pantli* (banner) symbol for the number 20. It is odd that three costumes would have been shown without shields.
7. The text states that each bin was to contain 6,000 *fanegas*. The more usual quantity mentioned for foodstuff bins in the *Información* is 4,100 *fanegas*.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Acolhuacan—"Place of the *Acolhua*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 5v)
2. Huiçilan—"Where There Are Many Hummingbirds"
3. Totolçinco—"On the Small Turkeys"
4. Tlachyahualco—"In the Circle of the Ball Court"
5. Tepeçapa—"On the Stone Foundation"
6. Aztaquemeca—"Place of the Snowy Egret Feather Capes" or
"Place of the White Heron Feather Capes"
7. Teacalco—"On the Stone Canoe"
8. Tonanytla—"Place of Tonantzin"
9. Cenpoalan—"Place of Twenty"
10. Tepetlaozotc—"In the Lava Cave"
11. Ahuatepec—"On the Hill of the Oak Tree"
12. Tiaçatepec—"On the Hill of Chalk"
13. Conflan—"Where There Are Many Pots"
14. Yxquemecan—"Place of Maguery Fiber Capes"
15. Matixco—"In the Place of Escape"
16. Temazcalapan—"On the Sweat Baths"
17. Tiaçuyucan—"Place Full of Chalk"
18. Tepetlapan—"On the Basalt"
19. Calyahualco—"In the Circle of Houses"
20. Teçoyucan—"Place Full of Black Pumice"
21. Tlaquilpan—"On the Polisher" or "On the *Tlaquilin* Herb"
22. Quauhquemecan—"Place of the Eagle Feather Cape"
23. Epaçuyucan—"Place Full of *Epaçotl*"
24. Ameyalco—"On the Spring"

25. Quauhyocan—"Place Full of Trees"
26. Ecatepec—"On the Hill of Wind" or "On the Hill of Ehecatl"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 12r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 red *mantas* with multicolored borders
- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*
- 400 quilted *mantas*
- 2,000 large white *mantas*
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 400 multicolored loincloths

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *tiztimitl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 20 yellow coyote warrior costumes and shield(s)
- 20 green *xopilli* warrior costumes and shields
- 20 white and red *papalotl* warrior costumes and shields
- 20 red warrior costumes with *cueçalpatzactli* devices, and shields
- 20 blue *cuextecatli* warrior costumes and shields
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth

The precise identity of the town or city-state labeled Acolhuacan on folio 21v of the *Codex Mendoza* lies in a web of confusion. The glyph for this town is a human arm with water pouring from its upper end. Similar, though not identical glyphs were drawn in *Mendoza's* conquest history. On folio 3v an arm-with-water is attached by a thin line to a tri-peaked mountain with flowers; the gloss indicates *texcoco*. On folio 5v the same pair of glyphs is glossed *acolhuacan*. And back on folio 3v, an arm with water spilling gracefully over it is glossed *acolma*. There are, indeed, three possibilities for the identity of "Acolhuacan," a term usually used to denote a region, the land of the Acolhua.¹

The first such possibility is Texcoco itself, for its glyph is paired with that of Acolhuacan on two occasions in the *Mendoza* (folios 3v, 5v). However, Barlow (1949a: 67) dismisses this out of hand, arguing logic and lack of corroborative evidence. In favor of Texcoco as Acolhuacan is the historical record of a probably mock battle between Tenochtitlan and Texcoco during the reign of Itzcoatl; the war was short, seemingly fought with little heart, and won by Tenochtitlan (Durán 1967 2: 125–131). Whether such a war was real or feigned, Hassig (1988: 136, 151, 317) accepts the reports that Texcoco submitted to Tenochtitlan at this time. Barlow (1949a: 67) does not believe it possible. If, however, such a victory were claimed by Itzcoatl, it might be represented in the *Mendoza* as Acolhuacan on folio 5v.

The second possibility is Acolman, in the north-central Valley of Mexico. This town is among Huitziluhitl's laurels and was conquered while the Mexica served as warriors for the powerful Tepanecs of Azcapotzalco. Indeed, Acolman appears to have been more loyal to Azcapotzalco than to the struggling Texcocan ruler, and may have willingly agreed to submission. However, after the defeat of Azcapotzalco, Acolman was defiant to the new rulers of the land; it and other "rebel" towns of the Acolhua realm were quickly and rather easily brought into the infant empire. Acolman might be the Acolhuacan shown on folio 5v, a conquest of Itzcoatl, except that the glyph for Texcoco is clearly attached to the arm glyph and, in any event, the glyph for Acolman is drawn somewhat differently (on folio 3v). Nonetheless, the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* glosses on the tribute folios are suggestive: the former adds *acolmecatli calpixqui* (Acolman tribute collector) to the name, while the latter glosses the place glyph as *acolmecatli* (1980: folio 3r).

The third possible identity for this town is Coatlichan, Barlow's preference (1949a: 68). He bases his judgment on a statement in a relation *geográfica* (PNE 6: 80) that Coatlichan was called Acolhuacan in its early days.

The question is unresolved, although Acolman and Coatlichan seem the most likely prospects. Neither town appears on any *Codex Mendoza* tribute folio. And, although it is not clear to whom Coatlichan owed tribute,² at least some of the lands of Acolman belonged to the Mexica ruler at Tenochtitlan, who was paid tribute in maguay fiber cloaks and maguay leaves (see below).³

The Acolhua ruler of Texcoco laid claim to the northeastern portion of the Valley of Mexico and beyond (see Barlow 1949a: 51–100). However, he did not have exclusive dominion in these regions. The Mexica ruler Itzcoatl inherited some of this domain from Tenochtitlan's earlier ties with Azcapotzalco and reasserted these claims by joining with Texcoco's Nezahualcoyotl in renewed conquests in the eastern and northeastern Valley of Mexico. At that time, the *Mendoza* towns of Çenpoalan and Tlaquilpan (and the non-*Mendoza* town of Tecpilpan) came under the rule of Te-

nochtlan, transferring their tribute duties from Texcoco to the island city (*Relación de Zempoala* 1952:30). Temazcalapan and Huicilan were also subject to the Mexica, and Epacuyucan's obligations were divided between the rulers of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco (Offner 1983:91–92). Gibson (1971:385) suggests that, in the latter fifteenth century, the Mexica gained lands and tributaries in the traditional Acolhua domain at the expense of Texcoco. The Mexica may also have strived to tighten their control on long-standing subjects in the region by increasing tribute demands (Offner 1983:91).⁴

Only some of the Acolhua towns owing tribute to the Mexica are shown on the *Codex Mendoza* Acolhuacan tribute folios, and many more towns in the same region owed their tribute to Texcoco rather than to Tenochtitlan. Some of the subject towns' obligations were divided between the two conquering city-states, as with Acolman, Teotihuacan, and Epacuyucan.⁵ The tribute duties of Çenpoalan were quite clearly defined: tribute in goods went to Tenochtitlan while tribute in labor was organized through nearby Otompan, a Texcoco dependency (ibid.:92). Barlow (1949a:67) nonetheless decides to include several additional towns in this tributary province; this, however, masks the political and economic complexities of dependency relations and tribute collection. In these arrangements, it is particularly interesting that only two of the *Mendoza* towns in Acolhuacan province were among the fourteen *Tlatoni* centers established by Nezahualcoyotl (Hodge 1984:129–130).⁶ Indeed, some *Mendoza* towns, such as Quauh-yocan (a subject of Acolman) and Tlachyahuaclo (subject to Tepechpa), were dependencies of these city-state centers. The relatively small amount of overlap between Acolhua administrative centers and Mexica tributary towns may reflect a purposeful design to avoid conflict (ibid.: 131).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Most of the towns of this province stretched along the eastern shore of Lake Texcoco to the valley's bordering piedmont. Some of the communities also fanned out into a northeastern spur of the valley toward Teotihuacan, while others extended north along a broad valley as far as the vicinity of Pachuca. Even the valleys lay at high elevations, and the area is generally described as cold and dry (e.g., Gerhard 1972:207, 273, 311). Nonetheless, moderate seasonal rainfall was sufficient to encourage and sustain irrigation agriculture, and at times severe enough to cause flooding in the island settlements of Lake Texcoco.

These highland regions have been divided into four natural zones, each offering somewhat different potentials for human use and settlement (Parsons 1971:8–16). The rugged volcanic mountains bounding the Acolhuacan domain formed a *sierra* zone, providing timber for construction, charcoal for fires, and game for food. Stretching down from the mountains were upper and lower piedmont zones, the former yielding abundant maguay and prickly pear cactus products, the latter a setting for irrigation and rainfall agriculture. Between the lower piedmont and the lake lay the lakeshore plain zone, known for irrigation agriculture, salt production, and exploitation of aquatic resources. Obsidian blades were a particularly prized specialty of the northeastern corner of Acolhuacan tributary province (Offner 1983:91). Among the towns listed in the *Mendoza* tally, Çenpoalan and Epacuyucan had notable specialties in obsidian production (Barlow 1949a:71), Ecatepec specialized in salt, fishing, and the processing of maguay products (Gibson 1964:318, 338–339), and Acolman also had an abundance of maguay for clothing and fuel (PNE 6:218).

The specialized products of this diverse region circulated through an efficient market system. Some markets were major regional mercantile centers, others were small distribution points for local produce, still others were known for their specialized offerings (such as the dog market at Acolman). Some markets met daily, others at five-day or twenty-day intervals.⁷

As a general rule, the population density increased from *sierra* to lakeshore; the largest towns tended to lie on the plain and/or along critical transport routes. Among the most impressive centers were Texcoco, Acolman, and Tepetlaotzotc, and the non-Mendoza towns of Otompan, Ozotitcāpac, Huexotla, and Teotihuacan.⁸ In the northern spur out of the Valley of Mexico, the Mendoza centers of Çenpoalan, Epaçuyacan, and Tlaquilpan and the non-Mendoza town of Tepepolco exhibited large populations.⁹ Beyond the major centers, the "population was dense and scattered in a great many small, generally contiguous settlements" (Gerhard 1972:311).

The predominant language of Acolhuacan province was Nahuatl and included the refined speech of Texcoco. Although Nahuatl was the most common language, Otomí minorities were present in some towns (PNE 6:212; Gerhard 1972:207, 233, 311). In the Teotihuacan Valley, pockets of Popoluca speakers were found along with the Nahua and Otomí (ibid.:273).

TRIBUTE

The tribute demanded of Acolhuacan province covers two pictorial folios in *Codex Mendoza* and contains the standard categories of clothing, warrior suits, and staple foodstuffs.

The clothing tribute mirrors that for the following province, Quauhnhuac. It begins with 400 deep red cloaks with bright multicolored borders; no special gloss is given for Acolhuacan's clothing in the *Matricula*, but this item is identical with one glossed *noçpalli* (red) in Quauhnhuac province (1980: folio 3v). The next pictograph shows 400 diagonally divided *mantas*, half in yellow and half in a blue tie-dye (see chapter 8 in volume 1). These cloaks also have bold multicolored borders and are glossed *nacazminqui* (diagonally divided) on Quauhnhuac's tribute folio (ibid.). The third type of *manta* due was a quilted textile with a black and white border, in quantities of 400. These are described as *cacamoliubqui* on the *Matricula* folio for Quauhnhuac. The remaining cloaks consist of 2,000 white *mantas*, of which 1,200 are described as "large" (*Codex Mendoza* folio 21v). The *Matricula* gloss suggests that these may be *quachtli*, large white cloaks. The Spanish commentary accompanying this *Mendoza* folio is a little confused (and some corrections were made in these descriptions). That commentary lumps together the 2,000 white cloaks as 2,000 large *mantas* made of twisted thread and combines the first three fancy cloaks as 1,200 *canahuac*, small rich cloaks for lords and rulers.¹⁰ In addition to this large quantity of cloaks, the people of Acolhuacan province had to provide their Mexico overlords with 400 women's tunics and skirts and 400 loincloths. All of these were to be richly decorated in reds, blues, and yellows. They were due semi-annually (*Mendoza*) or quarterly (*Matricula*).

As with other provinces in and around the Valley of Mexico, Acolhuacan paid tribute in a large quantity of warrior costumes. These were due in eight distinct styles, three of rich feathers and five of ordinary feathers. The three expensive suits were a yellow *quaxoloti* (with a *xicalcolubqui* shield), a blue *rzizimilit* (with *cuexyo* shield), and a spotted yellow *oceloti* (jaguar) with *cuexyo* shield. These were all given in single quantities, once a year. The remaining five styles were also due annually, but in quantities of twenty

each: yellow coyote suits (with *cuexyo* shields), green costumes with a *xopilili* device (and *cuexyo* shields), red and white *papaloti* (butterfly) devices (with eagle claw shields), red *cucalpatzacalli* back device and red *ebnatl* (along with *cuexyo* shields), and blue *cuexcecal* costumes with the popular *cuexyo* shields. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 3r) illustrates essentially the same items, although it includes the banner (*pantli*) symbol for the number 20 on all but the jaguar costume and colors the suits and shields in only red, yellow, and black.¹¹

The fertile and sometimes-irrigated lands of Acolhuacan province yielded surpluses of foodstuffs, some of which were collected for annual tribute payments: one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. This is shown in the *Matricula* as a single bin of maize and beans, with numerous small dots (chia and/or amaranth?) heaped atop.

The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:31–33) identifies the head town of this province as "Aculma" and indicates that thirty-five towns joined Acolman in tribute payments (the *Mendoza* lists a total of twenty-six towns). The quantities of cloth demanded from this province were essentially the same as recorded in the *Mendoza*, although the 1554 text mentions 1,600 *mantas* of no special attributes, 400 large blue and red striped cloaks, 400 blue *mantas*, 400 checkerboard-designed cloaks, 400 loincloths, 400 women's tunics, and 400 skirts. All this was to be paid on an eighty-day schedule. The annual tribute from these towns consisted of seven rich warrior costumes of various values (along with forty-five shields¹²) and 4,100 *fanegas* each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth.

It is curious that the abundant obsidian resources of this province are not reflected in the tribute lists, but these may have worked their way into the Mexica capital through other means (such as the market system or gift exchanges). Early on, Çenpoalan gave obsidian blades (for war clubs) to Texcoco, and Epaçuyacan's obsidian tribute was divided between the rulers of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco. However, under Mexica rule Çenpoalan's tribute changed to payment of one canoe annually and then, under Ahuitzotl, to clothing, turkeys, and offerings for his ceremonial dedication of the temple of Huitzilopochtli. Similarly, the enlargement of this temple was a stimulus to change the obsidian tribute of Epaçuyacan, Tlaquilpan, and Tezamalapan to clothing, maize, and turkeys (Barlow 1949a:71–72).

Acolman and its neighbor Teotihuacan paid tribute in maguey fiber clothing and maguey leaves (burned as fuel); Acolman's tribute seems to have been paid to the local ruler, while Teotihuacan's was divided between the rulers of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco (PNE 1:25; 6:213, 221).

The tribute of Tepeçpa reportedly evolved from gifts of maguey fiber *mantas* given to its local ruler to tribute in cotton clothing under Mexica rule.¹³ Most of these *mantas* were large,¹⁴ and some were adorned with rabbit fur. The people of Tepeçpa were also required to deliver in tribute twenty loads of Xocochochco cacao (with 24,000 beans in each load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty loads of small peppers (PNE 6:234).

The clothing and maize tribute continued for many of the towns in this province into the Colonial period. Acolman, Texcoco, Ecatepec, Çenpoalan, and Tlaquilpan all paid tribute in cloth to their new Spanish overlords; Acolman's clothing tribute included large bed coverings, perhaps similar to the quilted *mantas* seen in the *Mendoza* (González de Cossío 1952:11–12, 178, 481, 627). The people of these towns were also required to work a field of maize and to supply the usual daily provisions for the local cal-

pixqui's household.¹⁴ In the cases of Ecatepec and Temascalapan, this included cacao beans, which must have been imported (ibid.: 178; PNE I: 277).

REFERENCES

A great deal of ethnohistorical and archaeological information is available on Acolhuacan province. General works covering this area include Barlow (1949a: 66–72), Gerhard (1972: 67–69, 207–211, 273–275, 311–314), Offner (1983), Hodge (1984: 117–132), Sanders et al. (1970), and Hicks (1982, 1986). Archaeological studies have been reported by Brumfiel (1976, 1980), Evans (1988), Parsons (1971), and Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979). Obsidian production in the area is discussed by Spence (1985) and Charlton (1978), and markets are analyzed by Michael Smith (1979) and Blanton (n.d.). The Acolhuacan region in the Colonial period is described by Gibson (1964) and Leslie Lewis (1976, 1984). *Relaciones geográficas* and tribute accounts exist for some of the towns in this province (see PNE I: 25, 198, 277; 6: 82–84, 209–236, 291–305; González de Cossío 1952: 11–12, 178, 481, 627).

NOTES

1. Motolinía (1950: 32–33) mentions that the “whole province” of the Acolhua was called Acolhuacan. Offner (1983: 1) uses the term Acolhuacan broadly as well: “The heartland of the Texcocan empire was located in the eastern portion of the Valley of Mexico and was called Acolhuacan.”

2. Coatlichan, along with Huexotla, Acolman, Teotihuacan, Tecciztlan, and

2. Coatlichan, along with Huexotla, Acolman, Teotihuacan, Tecciztlan, and Tepechpa, was conquered by combined Mexica and Acolhua forces, and the spoils of war were therefore probably shared. Yet, of these towns, only Tepechpa appears on the *Mendoza* tribute list.

3. The leaves, called *melonchli* in the *Relación*, were used for fuel. Acolman was to pay tribute to both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco, as was neighboring Teotihuacan (which does not appear in the *Codex Mendoza* tribute tally).

4. This reportedly occurred during the reign of Ahuitzotl.

5. For a discussion of such complexities, see Berdan essay on tribute (chapter 5 in volume 1) and the page description for Quauhtitlan province.

6. These centers were Tepechpa and Tecoyucan.

7. For analyses of the intricate regional market system, see Michael Smith (1979), Blanton (n.d.), and Berdan (1985).

8. Offner (1983: 11) estimates the 1519 populations of these centers as follows: Texcoco (68,072), Acolman (27,229), Tetepalaotoc (26,641), Otumpan (44,194), Oztotitlac (29,449), Huexotla (22,275), and Teotihuacan (12,660). Parson's estimates are much more conservative; for example, he suggests a maximum population of 25,000 for Texcoco (1971: 216).

9. Offner's (1983: 12) 1519 population estimates for these towns are as follows: Çenpopalan (9,642), Epaçuyucan (14,799), Tlaquilpan (6,485), and Tepepulco (47,002). These estimates may well be high.

10. The *Mendoza* annotations indicate that these were *mantillas*, small mantas. *Canahuac* could mean “narrow” or “fine,” both of which are implied in the Spanish commentary and annotations.

11. *Mendoza's* green *xopilli* and blue *cuxtecatl* and *tzitzimitl* costumes are colored yellow in the *Matricula*.

12. In the pictorial that served as the basis for the 1554 document, two of the seven shields must have carried the *pantli* symbol for the number 20.

13. This reportedly occurred fifty years prior to Motecuhzoma's reign, which would place it at the time of the first Motecuhzoma (PNE 6: 234).

14. Fifty of these *mantas* were to be four *piernas* wide and eight *brasas* long, and thirty were to be four *piernas* wide and four *brasas* long (PNE 6: 234).

15. This is probably a reflection of pre-Spanish practices, when such daily support was provided to the household of the local ruler or tribute official.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Quauhnhuac—"Beside the Trees"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 2v, 6r, 7v)
2. Teocalçinco—"On the Small Temple"
3. Chimalco—"In the Shield"
4. Huicilapan—"On the Water of the Hummingbird"
5. Acatl ycpac—"On Top of the (Arrow) Reeds"
6. Xochitepēc—"On the Hill of Flowers"
7. Miacatlā—"Where There Are Many Reed Arrows"
8. Molotla—"Where There Are Many Common House Finches"
9. Coatlān—"Where There Are Many Snakes"
10. Xiuhtepēc—"On the Hill of Turquoise"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 6r, 7v)
11. Xoxovtla—"Where There Is Much Green" or "Place of Many Precious Greenstones"
12. Amacoztitla—"Among the *Amacoztic* Trees"
13. Yztla—"Place of Much Obsidian"
14. Ocpayucān—"Place Full of *Ocpatl*"
15. Yztepēc—"On the Hill of Obsidian"
16. Aticholoyān—"Place Where Water Spurts"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 red *mantas* with multicolored borders
- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*
- 400 quilted *mantas*
- 800 white *mantas*
- 400 multicolored loincloths
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 1,200 large white *mantas*
- 8,000 sheets (or reams) of native paper
- 2,000 yellow and red gourd bowls

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow coyote warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 green *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 red warrior costume and green *xopilli* insignia and shield
- 1 green and red *papalotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 red warrior costume with a *momoyactli* back device, and shield
- 1 brown *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

The area of this large and wealthy province was conquered and re-conquered between the reigns of Itzcoatl and Axayacatl (1426–1481). Part 1 of the *Codex Mendoza* shows Quauhnhuac as a conquest of Itzcoatl and Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (folios 6r, 7v), as well as the early Mexica ruler Acamapichtli (folio 2v).¹ But forceful moves into the Quauhnhuac region may have rather been made by Acamapichtli's successor, Huitzililhuitl (1391–1415), who actively courted a royal lady of Quauhnhuac and generated some sustained ill feeling between Tenochtitlan and that southern kingdom (*Crónica mexicanoyotl* 1949:94–95). Davies (1987:33) stresses the importance during Huitzililhuitl's reign of moving into the hot lands, and that cotton clothing is recorded as entering the Mexica wardrobe at this time. Cotton was grown in Quauhnhuac province.

Itzcoatl's move into the realm of Quauhnhuac, beyond the confines of the Valley of Mexico, was achieved rather late in his reign (sometime between 1430 and 1438).² The combined armies of the Triple Alliance capital cities were mobilized at the behest of Quauhnhuac's neighbor Xiuhtepēc. However, after providing military aid to Xiuhtepēc, that town also was placed in tributary status to the Aztecs at the end of the campaign (and is listed as a conquest of Itzcoatl in the *Mendoza*, folio 6r). Huiçilapan and Yztepec were probably also brought into the imperial domain at that time (Smith n.d.).

Itzcoatl's successor, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, found it necessary to again conquer Quauhnhuac and Xiuhtepēc, along with Coatepec (Hassig 1988:161; Michael Smith n.d.). Later, during Axayacatl's reign, Quauhnhuac was again subdued, but perhaps by neighboring Ocuilán rather than by imperial Aztec forces (Durán 1967 2:293; Hassig 1988:185). Quauhnhuac developed as a powerful polity in central Mexico and also carried on wars with Malinalco, Coahuico, Tlacheo, and Tepoztlán (Michael Smith n.d.; *Anales de Tlatelolco* 1948:57; PNE 6:242, 277).

At the time of the Spanish Conquest a fort manned by Aztec and local forces was maintained at Quauhnhuac (Barlow 1949a:76). According to the *Mendoza* commentary, each of the sixteen towns of this province was administered by a Mexica governor and tribute collector (folio 22v). But the imperial overlords had for years used other political devices to cement their control over this important province. In 1487 the imperial rulers installed new rulers in both Quauhnhuac and Xochitepec (*Códice Aubin* 1963:74). In addition, provincial nobles engaged in marriage alliances, gift exchanges, and ceremonial activities with Mexica nobles.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Quauhnhuac province was located in the western portion of the modern state of Morelos. The region exhibits considerable topographic variation, ranging from the slopes of high mountains to fertile, semitropical valleys (Gerhard 1972:94). Springs and streams were abundant (Barrett 1976:155–156). Elevations were sufficiently low and rainfall sufficiently high to permit successful cultivation of cotton, chile, maize, and other crops at Quauhnhuac, (Pan)Chimalco, Molotla, and Xoxovtla (Durán 1967 2:23; Villaseñor y Sánchez 1952:171–172; Sahagún 1950–1982 10:186; Carrasco 1972:229; 1976b:46).³ In addition, flowers from Quauhnhuac were prized for religious rituals in Tenochtitlan (Torquemada 1969 2:477); individuals specializing in flower growing or arranging (*xochipixque*) lived in the region (Carrasco 1976a), and the land was reputedly “full of a thousand kinds of fragrant

flowers” (Durán 1967 2:23). Along with neighboring Huaxtepec, the towns of Quauhnhuac province specialized in the manufacture of bark paper. Paper was given in tribute by both provinces and was also passed on to Tenochtitlan nobles as an item of gift exchange (ibid.:297). Stone “bark beaters” are a common archaeological find in the Quauhnhuac region (Michael Smith n.d.).

Quauhnhuac was a major commercial center in Aztec times; its regional market was notable for the great quantities of cotton textiles offered there (Durán 1967 2:23). Professional merchants apparently passed in and out of Quauhnhuac (ibid.:357). Many Valley of Mexico goods, primarily obsidian and pottery (salt containers, painted bowls, figurines, and other items), have been found in Aztec-period archaeological sites in this region.

Quauhnhuac province was the land of the Tlalhuica. The Tlalhuica spoke Nahuatl, although they were considered “untrained” and “cowardly” by Mexica standards. They are described as pompous in the manner of their dress and in carrying about flowers (Sahagún 1950–1982 10:186).⁴

TRIBUTE

The imperial tribute demands on this wealthy province consisted of the standard items of clothing, warrior costumes, and staple foodstuffs, along with paper and decorated gourd bowls. This apparently was to be delivered to Tenochtitlan, although Texcoco also named Quauhnhuac among its tributaries. Quauhnhuac reportedly paid tributes directly to Nezahualcoyotl during his reign, and a separate room in the Texcocan palace was designated to store those tributes. In addition, the people of Quauhnhuac (and other hot lands) were required to provide exotic plants for royal Texcocan gardens (Offner 1983:15, 107–108, 113).

With Quauhnhuac's local abundance of cotton, it is not surprising to expect a heavy tribute in cotton cloth. Fancy textiles were given in the form of 400 red *mantas* with a bold, multicolored border; 400 yellow and blue tie-dye diagonally divided cloaks; and 400 quilted *mantas*. The first is identified as *nochpalli* in the *Matricula de Tributos* annotations (1980: folio 3v), the second as *nacazminqui*, and the third as *cacamolubqui*.⁵ These were destined for use by lords and nobles (*Codex Mendoza* commentary, folio 22v). One of these may have represented a style known specifically as “mantas de Cuernavaca” (González de Cossío 1952:553, 557; Robert Haskett, personal communication).

Quauhnhuac's clothing tribute also included the 800 white cloaks. The *Mendoza* glosses distinguish these from the 1,200 *mantas* directly below by calling the former *mantillas* and the latter *mantas grandes*. The *Matricula* annotations identify the 800 cloaks as *canauac* (narrow cotton cloaks) and the 1,200 as *quachtli* (large cotton cloaks).

The remaining clothing tribute consisted of 400 women's tunics and skirts and 400 multicolored loincloths.⁶ All the clothing tribute was due in Tenochtitlan semi-annually, although the *Matricula* indicates a quarterly tribute.

The people of Quauhnhuac province paid part of their tribute in the form of eight richly feathered warrior costumes, each of a different style and due annually. The first is a yellow *cuactecal* costume with “hawk scratches,” followed by a yellow coyote costume, a yellow *tzitzimilli* costume, a green *xolaxolotl* costume, a red costume with a *xopilli* standard, a green and red “butterfly” (*papalotl*) costume, a red costume with a *momoyaclli* back device, and a brown spotted jaguar costume. All are accompanied by *cuexyo* shields except for the *xolotl* costume, which has a *xicalcolinbqui* shield, and

the butterfly costume, which has the unique "eagle claw" shield. The *Mendoza* commentaries and glosses state that all these warrior costumes were made of rich feathers, although the *Matricula* clearly indicates that only the *tezizimil* and *xolotl* devices were rich and precious, each worth two slaves.⁹ The rest of the costumes are presented in quantities of twenty each in the glosses, although the *pantli* (number 20) symbol is missing in the pictographs. Normally in the *Mendoza*, where costumes are given in quantities of twenty, they are made of "ordinary feathers." It is not clear what was actually meant in this case.

The lands of Quauhnhuac province were fertile and perhaps irrigated (Michael Smith n.d.). Some of the yield of these lands was surrendered to Tenochtitlan: one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth.¹⁰ The *Matricula* provides us with a rare gloss for the one bin of combined foodstuffs seen there: *yn tlaoilli yoañ etl . . . tlapoualli* (maize kernels and beans in numbered quantities).¹⁰

Quauhnhuac's remaining tribute consisted of local specializations: paper and gourd bowls. The paper was given in the form of 8,000 sheets semi-annually, although *Mendoza's* commentary corrected sheets (*piegas*) to reams (*resmas*). The *Matricula* glosses give only *cenxiqutpilli amat nappoualica* (8,000 papers every eighty days); the unit is difficult to assess. A Spanish gloss on the *Matricula* states "mil atados de papel" (a thousand bundles of paper), clearly misinterpreting the quantity. The *Mendoza* records a semi-annual schedule of payment for the paper.

The gourd bowls were likewise to be due semi-annually, all 2,000 of them. These were varnished yellow on the bottoms and rimmed in plain red (800 of them) or a red and white step-fret motif (the remaining 1,200). They are all shown with plain red rims in the *Matricula* and identified as 2,000 *xicalli* due every eighty days. These half-sphere gourd containers were manufactured from the fruit of the *xicalquahuil* (gourd tree: *Crescentia* sp.), a native of Quauhnhuac (Hernández 1959 2:214). An additional discussion of types of gourd bowls is presented in the page description for Xocochocho.

The 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:33–34) lists twenty-four towns for this province but records a roughly comparable tribute. Annual tribute was due in the form of eight rich warrior costumes of different values and sixty-five shields.¹¹ In addition, 4,100 *fancas* each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth were due on an annual basis. The clothing tribute, according to the *Información*, included 400 red-striped *mantas*, 400 red *mantas*, 400 *mantas* with a checkerboard design, 400 loincloths, 400 women's tunics, 400 skirts, and 1,600 large white *mantas*. All but the last are described as "rich." While the total numbers tally with those shown in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*, their composition varies, particularly with the substitution of red-striped cloaks for the quilted ones shown in the pictorials. The 1554 document also

specifies the 2,000 sheets of paper (this time due every eighty days), but omits the gourd bowls.

In early Colonial times, the town of Coatlan paid a tribute that probably reflected some pre-Spanish demands: unrefined gold, jars of honey, women's tunics, women's skirts, and the cultivation of fields of maize (PNE 1:80).

REFERENCES

- Quauhnhuac province is discussed by Barlow (1949a:75–78), Gerhard (1972:91–98, 111–114), Michael Smith (1983: 1987), and Mason (1980). The history of the Quauhnhuac region is covered by Durán (1967 2), Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2), and Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a). Riley (1973) and Martin (1985) have written colonial histories of Morelos, and Haskett (1988), Barrett (1976), and Carrasco (1972, 1976a, 1976b) provide additional discussion and analysis of Colonial conditions in this region. Sixteenth-century details are scantily available in the *Relaciones geográficas* (PNE 1:80; 6:237–250, 283–290). A brief characterization of the Tlaluha, from the Mexico point of view, is available in Sahagún (1950–1982 10:186).

NOTES

1. The conquest was surely undertaken and claimed by the Mexica while in the service of the then-powerful Azcapotzalco. Kelly and Palerm (1952:282) tentatively suggest that this particular Quauhnhuac may refer to a different, now-vanished town.
2. Kelly and Palerm (1952:266) cite dates of 1430 and 1433, while Smith (n.d.) mentions 1438.
3. The ideal climate of today's Quauhnhuac, Cuernavaca, is praised consistently in twentieth-century tour guides. In the sixteenth century, Durán (1967 2:23) describes the region as an "earthly paradise."
4. In the same breath the Mexica aimed derisive comments at the Otomí and Totonac as well (Sahagún 1950–1982 10:186).
5. The name derives from *nochetzli* (cochineal) and *tlapalli* (color) or *palli* (black clay for dyeing clothing [Molina 1970:79r]). See Sahagún 1950–1982 11:239–240.
6. In Molina (1970:10v), *cacamoluhqui* is defined as a bed covering.
7. The tunics are shown with red bands in the *Matricula de Tributos*.
8. The *Matricula's* Nahautl says *can otel yn tlaoqlauitzi in centei ipatrub ame tlacotli* (only two precious warrior costumes, each valued at two slaves). The annotation is drawn through the *tezizimil* and *xolotl* costumes.
9. The artist forgot to add the customary black dots on top of the bin of beans.
10. *Tlaoilli* translates as cured and dried maize kernels. The obscured part of the gloss may have read *ame can tlapoualli*, "in innumerable quantities." The many black dots may simply indicate vast quantity rather than additional seeds of chia and amaranth.
11. In the lost pictorial associated with the 1554 document, eight actual shields would have been drawn, three with *pantli* (20) symbols.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Huaxtepec—"On the Hill of the *Huaxin*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 7v)
2. Xochimilcaçinco—"On the Small Place of the Xochimilca"
3. Quauhtlan—"Where There Are Many Eagles"
4. Ahuehupan—"On the Cypress" or "On the Drum"
5. Anenecuilco—"On the Water That Twists Back and Forth"
6. Olintepec—"On the Hill of the Earthquake"
7. Quauhuiyxco—"On the Surface of the Tree"
8. Çonpanco—"On the Hair" or "On the Skull Rack"
9. Huiçilan—"Where There Are Many Hummingbirds"
10. Tlatiçapan—"On the Land of Chalk"
11. Coacalco—"In the House of the Snake"
12. Yacamitla—"Near the Ceiba Trees"
13. Tepoztlán—(Tepuztlan) "Where There Is Much Copper"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
14. Yauhtepec—"On the Hill of the Amaranth" or "On the Hill of *Yaubtli*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
15. Yacapichtla—(Yacapichtlan) "Where There Are Many Pointed Things"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
16. Tlayacapan—"In Front"
17. Xaloztoc—"In the Cave of Sand"
18. Tecpaçinco—(Tecpatzinco) "On the Little Flints"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)

19. Ayoxochapan—"On the Water of the Gourd Flower"
20. Tlayacac—"In Front"
21. Tehuizco—"On the Sharp Rocky Ground"
22. Necopoalco—"In the Place of the Count"
23. Adatlavca—(Atlatlauca) "Place of Red Water"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 7v)
24. Totolapan—(Totolapa) "On the Water of the Turkey"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 7v)
25. Amilçinco—"On the Small Irrigated Lands"
26. Ad huelic—"On the Pleasant Potable Water"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 loincloths
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 2,400 large white *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with multicolored borders
- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*
- 2,000 red and yellow varnished gourd bowls
- 8,000 sheets (or reams) of native paper

The following items were given annually:

- 20 red warrior costumes with *cueçalpatzactli* devices, and shields
- 20 red warrior costumes with a *momoyactli* back device, and shields
- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield

- 1 blue *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow coyote warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue and green *xopilli* warrior costume and shield
- 1 black and white *occlal* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *cuxtecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

The province of Huaxtepec was largely conquered by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, although Itzcoatl made some early inroads into the region, reputedly bringing Huaxtepec and Tepoztlán into the growing imperial net (Kelly and Palerm 1952:289–290). Seven towns of this province (Huaxtepec, Tepoztlán, Yauhtepec, Yacapichtla, Tecpañcino, Atlalavca, and Totolapan) are associated with the first Motecuhzoma in *Mendoza's* conquest history (folios 7v, 8r).

Like neighboring Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec was a rich and important province, quite powerful in its own right. Elite-level gift exchanges, marriage alliances, and joint ceremonial participation served to cement social and political ties at a high level between Huaxtepec and Tenochtitlan (Michael Smith 1983:120–134). Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina took advantage of Huaxtepec's delightful climate and setting, constructing a botanical garden and retreat there (Durán 1967 2:247). The temple at Tepoztlán drew the attention of the later ruler Ahuitzotl, who dedicated (or rededicated) it in 1502, the last year of his reign (Seler 1904b:347). Earlier, in 1487, the Mexica imposed new rulers on Huaxtepec and Tepoztlán, indicating a need or desire to control this area more tightly (*Códice Aubin* 1963:74). Mexica garrisons were stationed in Huaxtepec, Yacapichtla, and Yauhtepec in 1521.¹ But this may have been a response to Spanish pressures during the Spanish Conquest rather than a regular fixture in this province (Michael Smith n.d.).

At least five of the city-states in this province were ruled by important *Tlatoque* and other high-ranking officials. The *Códice Mendoza* commentary (folio 24r) indicates that a Mexica tribute collector and governor were stationed in each of the provincial towns, including the head town of Huaxtepec. But the *Relación de Huaxtepec* (1930:36) clearly distinguishes between only the local ruler (*Tlatoani*) and the imposed tribute collector (*Calpixqui*).² In 1519 the local ruler's title was *Tultecateteutli* (Toltec-lord), suggesting impressive ties with the legitimizing Toltec heritage (*ibid.*). As in other politically complex city-states of the period, certain nobles assisted the ruler in his tasks; in Huaxtepec the *Tlatoani* had at his beckoning twelve officials who served "as judges" (*ibid.*). Yacapichtla and Totolapan both claimed "absolute rulers";³ the former was served by two judges and the latter by four judges and several *Tequitlatos* in charge of labor and other obligations at the *barrio* level (Michael Smith n.d.). Tepoztlán likewise had a local ruler along with three judges (PNE 6:241–242).⁴

The towns of Huaxtepec province shared a border with the enemy states of Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco over the volcanoes to the east. Both Huaxtepec and Yacapichtla had hostile encounters with those states. Huaxtepec and Tepoztlán fought wars to the west with Xiuhtepec and Quauhnahuac respectively, and Yacapichtla warred with Mixtecs to the south (*Relación de Huaxtepec* 1930:38; *Relación de Yacapichtla* n.d.:227; PNE 6:242). Within the province, Tepoztlán and Yacapichtla warred with each other (*ibid.*).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Huaxtepec province lay in what is today eastern and central Morelos state. It extends from the volcanic slopes of Popocatepetl into the hot country to the south, along tributaries of the Balsas River (Gerhard 1972:94). It is largely a region of broad valleys, and adequate water sources allowed for irrigation on extensive expanses of land. Some cotton may have been grown on semitropical irrigated lands, as at Yacapichtla and Tecpatzincó, although cotton cultivation without the aid of irrigation is also mentioned in the documents (for Huaxtepec, Yauhtepec, and Tepoztlán: Michael Smith n.d.). Irrigated food crops were grown at Huaxtepec, Huiçilán, and Yzamattitla (*ibid.*). Huaxtepec was also noted for its local products of cacao, lime, paper, and rock crystal; Tepoztlán specialized in maguey, lime, and paper production; and maguey production was also a local speciality of Totolapan (*Relación de Huaxtepec* 1930; PNE 6:10, 237–250; Oscar Lewis 1951:83–85). Undoubtedly other towns in this province prided themselves on their local specialties, but they go unrecorded. For example, Yzamattitla, with its place glyph of a bundle of paper, may well have been a local center for bark paper production.

The specialized production of so many commodities was paralleled by a strong regional market system, to allow extensive and efficient distribution of these specialties. Huaxtepec and Totolapan carried on an active trade, as did Yauhtepec and Tepoztlán (PNE 6:11, 249). Markets were present at Huaxtepec, Yacapichtla, Totolapan, and Tepoztlán (Michael Smith n.d.; *Relación de Huaxtepec* 1930:37; PNE 6:11, 250). People from these towns also traded outside the region; for example, merchants from Yacapichtla carried cotton to the Valley of Mexico to sell in markets there (Michael Smith n.d.). While only these isolated instances of exchange are documented, such trade (especially in cotton) was surely a widespread activity in and around Huaxtepec province (see Durán 1967 2:23, 107; PNE 6:230).

This densely populated, semitropical land was inhabited by speakers of various dialects of Nahuatl. To the north and east, the people were linked to the Xochimilca and spoke a Xochimilca variant of Nahuatl (Barlow 1949a:80; Gerhard 1972:91, 94).⁵ The Tlaluca, another group of Nahuatl speakers, lived in the western and southern segments of this province, and inhabited much of neighboring Quauhnahuac province as well (*ibid.*).

TRIBUTE

The imperial tribute demands on Huaxtepec province closely resemble those imposed on Quauhnahuac. The second row of Huaxtepec's clothing tribute begins with 400 plain white *mantas* with multicolored borders. These are described simply as *ichcatimathi* (cotton cloaks) in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 4r). They are followed by 400 diagonally divided cloaks, half in brown and half in a blue tie-dye design. These also have a colored border, an unusual brown and yellow in the *Mendoza* and a variety of colors in the *Matricula*.⁶ As usual, when cloaks exhibit the distinctive diagonal division, they are glossed as *nacazmingui* in the *Matricula*. The *Mendoza* then shows six figures totaling 2,400 large white *mantas*; the *Matricula* depicts one of those as 400 quilted *mantas* with a black and white border, glossing them as *cacamolihubqui*.⁷ In addition, the *Matricula* distinguishes among the white cloaks, describing 800 of them as *canaauac* (narrow cotton cloaks) and 1,200 as *quachili* (large white cotton cloaks). The Spanish commentary in the *Mendoza* describes the 2,400 white cloaks as made of "twisted thread" (folio 24r). The remaining clothing tribute for Huaxtepec province consisted of

400 multicolored loincloths and 400 women's tunics and skirts. The tunics have a red step-fret motif. The omission of the second border, representing the skirts, was probably an error. The second band is present in the *Matricula* (folio 4r).

Like its neighbor Quauhnahuac, Huastecap paid annual tribute in eight different styles of warrior costumes and shields. However, as computed in the *Mendoza*, Huastecap paid a total of forty-six costumes and an equivalent number of shields. The first two styles depicted were each given in quantities of twenty and were made of ordinary feathers. The first is a costume with a *cuecalpatzactli* device, along with its *cuexyo* shield; the second is a red and white costume with a *momyactli* back device, again with a *cuexyo* shield. The next row of costumes shows a yellow *quaxolotl* costume with a *xicalcolubqui* shield and a blue *tzitzimil* costume with a *cuexyo* shield. These, like the remaining costumes, were made of valuable feathers and given in single quantities. The costumes on the following folio are a yellow coyote costume with *cuexyo* shield, a blue and green *xopilli* costume with a *xicalcolubqui* shield, a black and white jaguar costume with a *cuexyo* shield, and a blue *cuextecatli* costume with matching shield.⁴

With Huastecap's rich irrigated fields, it is to be expected that some of its tribute would have been in the form of foodstuffs. As with so many other provinces, this consisted of one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth, due annually.⁵ In early Colonial times, Tepoztlán grew a good deal of chile, beans, maize, cotton, melons, and *xicamas* (Oscar Lewis 1951:84).

Additional tribute from Huastecap province consisted of 2,000 yellow gourd bowls with red rims and 8,000 sheets of paper.⁶ The half-sphere bowls (*xicalli*) are from the tree gourd, abundant here and to the west (see page description for Quauhnahuac province). The paper was a local specialization of at least Huastecap and Tepoztlán. Paper was made from the inner bark of the *amaquahuil* (paper-tree), which grew in abundance in the vicinity of Tepoztlán (PNE 6:247; Hernández 1959 1:83). The bark was soaked, cleaned, and beaten with sticks and flat stones to make the sheet soft, flexible, and uniform. The paper was used in religious ceremonies and for decorations, as well as a medium for the written glyph. This native industry thrived for a time after the Spanish Conquest; a 1551 document states that the Tepoztlán Indians "have and make a great deal of paper, all of which they sell at excessive prices, dealing with Spaniards and with other Indian merchandise dealers" (Oscar Lewis 1951:84).

The 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:35–36) lists only the clothing, warrior costumes with shields, and foodstuffs; it completely omits the gourd bowls and paper. The clothing is divided into 400 red-striped *mantas*, 400 red *mantas*, 400 blue *mantas*, 1,600 white *mantas*, 400 loincloths, 400 women's tunics, and 400 skirts. These total 4,000 items of clothing, the same as shown in the *Mendoza*, but they are arranged quite differently. The total number of warrior costumes in the 1554 text is eight, along with eighty-four shields. All are described as "rich," and none of the costumes carries the *pantli* symbol for 20, although four of the shields must have (yielding a total of eighty-four). Equal quantities (4,100 *fanegas*) of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth were also required as part of this tribute.

Strikingly little is known about how the many towns of this province each paid their share. A *Relación* of 1580 states that the

people of Tepoztlán paid tribute to Motecuhzoma by working fields, building houses, and delivering clothing and turkeys (PNE 6:241).¹¹ Those of Yacapichtla, after asserting that they were free from tribute payments to that Mexica ruler, still admitted that they were required to deliver battlefield prisoners to Motecuhzoma (Barlow 1949a:82). The three *Mendoza* towns of Totolapan, Tlayacapan, and Atlalavca claim that they gave "no tribute" to Motecuhzoma, just warriors' arms (PNE 6:8).¹² Tribute in clothing carried on into Colonial times in at least Huastecap and Yauhtepec (González de Cossío 1952:198–200, 570–572).

REFERENCES

Huastecap province is discussed by Barlow (1949a:78–82), Gerhard (1972:91–98), and Michael Smith (1983). Sixteenth-century details are found in PNE 6:6–11, 237–250, 283–290; González de Cossío (1952:198–200, 570–572); *Relación de Huastecap* (1930); and *Relación de Yacapichtla* (n.d.). The Aztec-period temple above modern Tepoztlán is described by Selser (1904b), and differing ethnographic studies of that town have been written by Redfield (1930) and Oscar Lewis (1951). Data on native paper and paper-making are presented in von Hagen (1945), Lens and Gómez de Orozco (1940), Sahagún (1950–1982 11:111), and Hernández (1959 1:83–84).

NOTES

1. These were particularly powerful city-states. Yauhtepec apparently exercised direct control over Huiclan, Tlatlilcapán, Coacalco, Yzamatlilla, and Atlahuic; Yacapichtla dominated Xaloztoc, Tecapicán, Ayoxochapan, and Tlayacac (Gerhard 1972:94). Totolapan also had dependencies (Michael Smith n.d.).
2. The *Libro de las Tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:199) mentions a Colonial-period *calpixqui* in Huastecap.
3. The title of the Yacapichtla ruler was *Chichimecatec cunahuayac*, suggesting Chichimec affiliations.
4. Titles for two pre-imperial rulers are documented (*Chichimecahueryzintecatli* and *Cacamecatli*), as well as titles for the three postimperial judges (*Tlalcalcaltzimtle*, *Tepancatzimtle*, and *Zauacatzimtle*).
5. Totolapan, Tlayacapan, and Yacapichtla belonged earlier to the domain of Xochimilco (Barlow 1949a:80). Xochimilco may also share some of this heritage, if only by name.
6. Clark (1938 1:66) groups these two types of cloaks, identifying them as *amanepantli*; yet they are distinctly different. The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 24r) indicates that this was clothing for lords and rulers. Molina (1970:8r) defines *amanepantli* as "rich cloak with which *caiques* were arrayed and adorned."
7. One has the feeling that something is lacking in these textile drawings. One of the white *mantas* should surely have been quilted, the brown and yellow border on the *nacazmiqui* cloak must have been meant to include more colors, and the number symbols for 400 are awkwardly executed.
8. The three blue costumes in the *Mendoza* (*tzitzimil*, *xopilli*, and *cuextecatli*) are all colored green in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 4r).
9. This is shown as a single bin of combined seeds in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 4r).
10. The Spanish annotator crossed out "sheets" and replaced it with "reams." There is no way of knowing at this time if 8,000 individual sheets or 8,000 bundles was meant.
11. The Colonial-period document says "gallinas" (chickens); the pre-Spanish analogue is the turkey.
12. "Armas" is vague; the warrior costumes in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* are at times glossed *armas*.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Quauhtitlan—"Near the Trees"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 3v, 5v)
2. Tehuiloyocan—"Place Full of Crystal Stones"
3. Alhuexoyocan—"Place Full of Water Willows"
4. Xalapan—"On the Sandy Water"
5. Tepoxaco—"On the Soft Stone"
6. Cuezcomahuacan—"Place Where They Have Granaries"
7. Xiloqinco—"On the Small Tender Maize Ears"

- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 rich diagonally divided *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with black and white borders
- 400 white *mantas*
- 4,000 mats, called *petates*
- 4,000 seats with backs

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *tzitzimitl* warrior costume and shield
- 20 yellow coyote warrior costumes and shield(s)
- 20 red warrior costumes with *cueçalpatzactli* devices, and shield(s)
- 20 red and white warrior costumes with *momyactli* back devices, and shield(s)

CONQUEST HISTORY

The *Codex Mendoza* (folios 3v, 5v) lists Quauhtitlan as a conquest of both Huitzilihuitl (1391–1415) and Itzcoatl (1426–1440).¹ This same document attributes the conquest of Quauhtitlan's close neighbor, Toltitlan, to Huitzilihuitl (folio 3v).² The *Anales de Tlatelolco* grant both these conquests to Chimalpopoca, who ruled between Huitzilihuitl and Itzcoatl (Kelly and Palerm 1952:284), and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:77) states that Quauhtitlan was subdued as early as the reign of Acamapichtli (1372–1391). In the early 1400s (or perhaps earlier) Quauhtitlan fell to Azcapotzalco. In addition to burning the town's temple (the customary coup de grace), the Tepanec conquerors planted maguery in Quauhtitlan's plaza. Furthermore, the specialized market in slaves was at that time moved from Quauhtitlan to Azcapotzalco, where it gained fame in later times (Hodge 1984:59).

Whatever the precise dating, it is certain that Quauhtitlan and this northwestern segment of the Valley of Mexico had been overrun by stronger city-states (particularly Azcapotzalco with Mexica military aid) prior to the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1430. After that date, the Triple Alliance rulers Itzcoatl and Nezahual-

coyotl reasserted their control of the region by claiming new conquests there (Kelly and Palerm 1952:289). Itzcoatl probably conquered Quauhtitlan in 1434 or 1435 (Hodge 1984:60). In this conquest, some of Quauhtitlan's lands were given to victorious Mexica nobles (*Anales de Cuauhtitlan* 1975:183).¹

Following its incorporation into the empire, Quauhtitlan appears to have remained quite loyal to the Mexica. Between 1466 and 1473, warriors from Quauhtitlan aided those from Tenochtitlan in battles with nearby towns, including Xiloçinco (which is found in *Mendoza's* Quauhtitlan province). In the 1473 dispute between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, Quauhtitlan sided with the former.

Tenochtitlan apparently exercised considerable direct political control over Quauhtitlan. From 1494 until 1503, Quauhtitlan was ruled by a military governor; in 1503 Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin appointed the Quauhtitlan *Tlatoani* (*Anales de Cuauhtitlan* 1975:206, 208). Political ties were further cemented by the marriage of one of Motecuhzoma's daughters to the ruler of Quauhtitlan in 1512 (*ibid.*:216).

The Quauhtitlan domain extended north and east, but was blocked to the south by strong Tepanec city-states. Quauhtitlan's net of political control was not coincident with its status as head of an Aztec imperial province. For example, the rulerships of Tzompanco, Çitaltepec, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan were all under the control of the Quauhtitlan *Tlatoani* in the early pre-Spanish sixteenth century, and that same *Tlatoani* maintained lands in nearby Toltitlan, Tepexic, and Tepozotlan (Gibson 1964:41; Hodge 1984:71).² None of these towns is included in Quauhtitlan's tributary province (*Codex Mendoza* folio 26r).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Quauhtitlan itself was situated on the western shores of lakes Zumpanco and Xaltocan. The city was large and its *Tlatoani* important. Like other lakeside and island cities, Quauhtitlan was divided by canals used for travel, transport, and irrigation (Hodge 1984:57-59). It may have housed as many as 10,000-15,000 people, and its *Tlatoani* was overshadowed only by those of the Triple Alliance capitals (Torquemada 1969 1:287-288; Motolinia 1950:210).

All about the city (except to the east) stretched an alluvial plain, which was halted by hills and mountains to the north, west, and south (Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979:209; Hodge 1984:57). It was a high, cold and dry area, with seasonal rains (PNE 1:296; Gerhard 1972:127, 401). Food staples such as maize were grown here (although frosts must have posed an occasional threat), and maguey was abundant (PNE 1:190). The lakeshores provided large quantities of reeds from which mats and seats could be made. Lime was an important product in the more northern extremities of this province (around Xiloçinco), although it is not listed in the *Mendoza* as an item of imperial tribute (PNE 1:296). There were major clay deposits in this region, and Quauhtitlan was an important center of pottery production well into the Colonial period; in 1564 people from this town were making a variety of clay vessels including "pots, pitchers, bowls, human-head jars, and tripod vases" (Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979:292; Gibson 1964:350). Certain types of jars came to be associated specifically with Quauhtitlan (*ibid.*:351). It is no surprise that Quauhtitlan was the setting for an important pottery market in early Colonial times, and probably in the pre-Spanish era as well (*ibid.*:358). It is surprising, however, that pottery does not figure in Quauhtitlan's tribute obli-

gations. Undoubtedly this pottery was distributed through the efficient Valley of Mexico market system.

Quauhtitlan was also a center for professional merchant activity; long-distance merchants from Quauhtitlan were among the privileged few to trade beyond the bounds of the empire under the sponsorship of the Mexica ruler Ahuitzotl (Sahagún 1950-1982 9:17).

Both Nahuatl and Otomí were spoken in this province, although Otomí was more common in the north and Nahuatl predominated in the south. Xiloçinco was located just into the region called Teotlapan ("Land of the Gods"), which extended further north into Hueyapuctla and Axocopan provinces. Otomí was the predominant language there (Gerhard 1972:401). Quauhtitlan itself may have been a multi-ethnic center, combining Chichimecs and people from Colhuacan. The people of Quauhtitlan spoke Nahuatl, although a small Otomí minority was also present (Hodge 1984:58-60).

TRIBUTE

Quauhtitlan provides one of the best examples of the complexities of political organization and tribute demands in Aztec times. Gibson (1971:390) used Quauhtitlan to show that any single town might be subject to multiple tribute demands: people of this town "paid tribute in different amounts and principally from separate lands to [their] own tlatoani, to the tlatoani of Tlacopan, to Montezuma II (who had ten 'private' lands in the vicinity of Quauhtitlan and maintained calpixque in two of them as well as in Cuauhtitlan itself), to other owners in Tlatelolco, Culhuacan, Ixtapalapa, Mexicalcingo, Azcapotzalco, and Texcoco. . . . In spite of these various modes of dependence, Quauhtitlan was regarded as a Tepanec town, subject to Tlacopan, where tribute was paid to the Tepanec tlatoani" (*ibid.*). And, of course, tribute in manufactured goods and foodstuffs was paid to Tenochtitlan (*Codex Mendoza* folio 26r). The *Mendoza*, then, represents only a portion of the external economic duties and demands placed on the people of Quauhtitlan (and, similarly, on other provinces as well).

Following its conquest by Itzcoatl and Nezahualcoyotl, Quauhtitlan was required to pay tribute to Texcoco in 140 loads of royal *mantas* (each load containing twenty items), two fine feathered warrior costumes along with two shields, other feathers, jewels, and gold pieces, and all the vegetables, flowers, fish, and birds that lived in the region (Alva Ixtlilcochitl 1965 1:319).

The *Codex Mendoza* shows the clothing and warrior costumes, but none of the other luxurious objects and foods mentioned by Alva Ixtlilcochitl. Instead, it does indicate that the people of Quauhtitlan were required to pay tribute in staple foodstuffs and reed mats and seats.

The clothing tribute consisted of 400 fancy cloaks divided in half: the left is solid red, and the right is diagonally divided between solid yellow and blue tie-dye. They have a prominent multi-colored border. These *mantas* are glossed as *centzonitli macazminqui timatlil* (400 diagonally divided cloaks) in the *Maticula de Tributos* (1980: folio 4v). As elsewhere in the *Maticula* where cloaks show any diagonal division, they are labeled *macazminqui*. The only decoration on the second type of cloak is a black and white border; this is glossed as *tencapanqui* in the *Maticula* (*ibid.*). The final cloak is plain white; the *Maticula* illustrates this item with a triangle symbol and glosses it *canauac* (narrow cotton cloak). The *Mendoza* suggests that all these *mantas* were small (*mantillas*) and indicates that they were to be paid every six months (in contrast to the eighty-day pay period in the *Maticula*).

The warrior costume tribute from Quauhtitlan was extensive. The people were required to pay, annually, two rich costumes and shields; one was a yellow *quaxolatl* style with its *xicalcolihqui* shield, the other was a blue *tzirizimitl* (demon of the air) with its *cuesyo* shield. Beyond these costumes and shields made of fine feathers, the people of Quauhtitlan were required annually to supply their Tenochca overlords with sixty additional costumes and shields, in three styles of twenty each.⁶ The first style is a yellow coyote, the second a red costume with *cuecalpatzactli* insignia, and the third a red and white costume with a *memoyactli* back device. They are all associated with *cuesyo*-style shields. The *Matricula* mirrors these items with one exception: the *cuecalpatzactli* insignia is shown with an *ebualt* in the *Matricula*.

The people of Quauhtitlan province were also required to surrender part of their harvests to the imperial powers: one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth annually. The 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948), selectively illustrating Valley of Mexico landscapes and activities, shows trees and prickly pear cactus around Quauhtitlan, but no crops being grown. Nonetheless, Quauhtitlan's canal system undoubtedly provided irrigation for agriculture.

Quauhtitlan was the only province required to pay reed mats and high-backed seats in tribute. Certainly its proximity to the reedy lakeshore prompted this demand.⁷ Four thousand mats and an equal number of seats were to be paid every six months (quarterly according to the *Matricula*).⁸ The woven mats were used for sitting and sleeping and for laying out wares in the marketplace; the high-backed seats were the prerogative of high-ranking nobles and are seen throughout the codices (e.g., *Florentine Codex*; *Codex Mendoza* part 3;⁹ illustrations in Durán 1967 2). The reeds themselves, green and unwoven, can be seen bundled and toted in a canoe on folio 60r of *Codex Mendoza*.

The *Información* of 1554 lists only the cloaks and warrior costumes for this province (Scholes and Adams 1957:36–37). The clothing tribute, it says, consisted of 1,200 blue and white *mantas*, designed in a checkerboard fashion (perhaps the blue tie-dye seen in the pictorials). This was due every eighty days. Quauhtitlan also paid tribute in five rich warrior costumes and forty-three shields (of which two must have carried the *pantli* symbol for the number 20). As with the other entries in this document, a variety of everyday tribute is mentioned; while local specializations of woven mats and pottery are included, this is common for other provinces as well. This sort of “daily tribute” is shown for Quauhtitlan in the *Codex San Andrés*, which details laborers (men and women), *mantas*, turkeys, and perhaps cacao beans to be paid to Tenochtitlan in the

mid-sixteenth century (Hodge 1984:74–77). Other documented Colonial-period tribute consisted of seats and “beds” (surely mats), women's tunics and skirts, maguey honey, maguey fiber (*nequen*), and other small things from Quauhtitlan (PNE 1:190).

REFERENCES

Information on Quauhtitlan and its province can be found in Barlow (1949a:40–42), Gerhard (1972:127–128, 401–402), Gibson (1964:10, 16, 19–20, 41, 45, 137, 176, 329, 339, 350–351, 358, 1971:390), and Hodge (1984:57–79). The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1975) provides a wealth of historical information on this region, and Quauhtitlan and its environs are portrayed on the 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948). Colonial details are found in early *relaciones* (*Relación de Tequisquiac, Citlaltepec, y Xilociingo* 1952; PNE 1:190, 296) and in Colonial tribute accounts (González de Cossío 1952:149–150). Results of archaeological surveys in the region are reported in Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979).

NOTES

1. The *Códice Chimalpopoca* supports Quauhtitlan's conquest by Huitziluhuitl (Kelly and Palerm 1952:286), but lists Toltitlan as a conquest of Itzcoatl (perhaps a joint effort with Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco; see Kelly and Palerm 1952:288–289).
2. Toltitlan was an important center located close to Quauhtitlan, but it is not included with Quauhtitlan (or any other province) in *Mendoza's* tribute tally. Relations between Quauhtitlan and Toltitlan were not amiable.
3. Much later, in 1508, lands were again distributed among Mexica nobles, this time from the *Mendoza* town of Tehuilocoyacan (*Anales de Cuauhtitlan* 1975:214).
4. *Tzompanco* and *Citaltepec* are among the “lake towns” in *Codex Mendoza* (folio 17v). *Otlazpan* was included in Atonilco (de Pedraza) tributary province (folio 28r).
5. This is written in the context of Texcoco's defeating Tenochtitlan and then extracting tribute from a number of valley towns, including Quauhtitlan. Alva Ixtlilxochitl is known for his strong pro-Texcoco biases, and the information therefore is somewhat suspect.
6. However, the shields lack the *pantli* symbol for 20. This was probably an oversight or a lack of proper space on the page in the artist's eye. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 4v) omits the number symbol on the coyote costume's shield.
7. The reeds (*tollin*) were also called *iztollin* and grew in abundance near lakes and around standing water (Hernández 1959 1:126).
8. In the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 4v): *petlatl* (mat) and *yepalli* (seat).
9. Curiously, the Mexica rulers depicted in *Mendoza's* conquest history sit only on lowly mats.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Axocopan—"On the Bitter Water" or "On the Creeping Wintergreen"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Atenco—"On the Shore"
3. Tetepanco—"On the Stone Wall"
4. Xochichivca—"Place Where Flowers Are Cultivated"
5. Temohuayan—"Place Where Everyone Descends"
6. Tezcatepec—"On the Hill of the Mirror" or "On the Hill of Tezcatlipoca"
7. Myzquiyahuala—"Where There Are Many Mesquite Circles"
8. Yzmiquilpan—"On the *Itzmiquitl*"
9. Tlahuililpan—"On the Irrigated Land"
10. Tecpatepec—"On the Hill of the Flint Knife"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 richly decorated *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with black and white borders
- 800 white *mantas*
- 400 quilted *mantas*
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 400 jars of thick maguëy honey

The following items were given annually:

- 1 white *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 20 red warrior costumes with *momoyactli* back devices, and shield(s)
- 1 yellow coyote warrior costume and shield
- 20 blue *cuextecatli* warrior costumes and shield(s)
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

Axocopan and its region was subdued by Aztec imperial forces under the first Motecuhzoma (1440-1468).¹ Much earlier, the town of Tecpatepec had reportedly placed itself under the Tlatozolcan ruler Quaquahpitzatzi (Quaquauhpitzahtuac), who probably ruled from 1351 until 1418.² Barlow (1949a:45-48) includes Axocopan in the Old Tepanec Domain; Davies (1987:209) combines Yzmiquilpan (in this province), Actopan (in neighboring Hueyapuchtla province) and Atonilco (de Pedraza) into an Otomi confederation or alliance.

Once brought into the imperial net, this area may have been relatively loyal and peaceful to the Triple Alliance; there are no records of rebellions.³ Most of the towns in this province were comfortably bordered by imperial towns in Xilotepec, Huey-

puchtla, and Atotonilco (de Pedraza) provinces. The northernmost town, Yzmiquilpan, warred with nearby Metztlitan, also an enemy of the Triple Alliance.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The core of this region (but not including Yzmiquilpan to the north) constituted part of the general region called Teotlalpan ("Land of the Gods").⁴ This was predominantly Otomi land, although Nahuatl and Chichimec (Pame) were also spoken in the province (PNE 6:15, 32, 35; Gerhard 1972:155, 295).⁵

Axocapan province was high and dry, with relatively low rainfall. This plateau region sustained large stands of maguey and prickly pear cactus, and game was reasonably plentiful (PNE 1:21–22, 143, 217–218; 6:17, 32). The maguey provided a thick honey and fiber for *mantas* (PNE 1:217–218; 6:17, 19). The people of Axocapan grew a variety of foodstuffs including maize, beans, chiles, chia, amaranth, squashes, and large and small tomatoes (PNE 6:18). Sometimes these crops were produced with the aid of irrigation (PNE 1:21–22, 125). Lime was available in some towns of this province, but it does not appear as an item of tribute (PNE 1:22, 143, 217–218). The people of Axocapan were active, at least in the early Colonial period, as traders of many of these regional products: prepared maguey honey, maguey fiber, lime, maize, and the Spanish-introduced sheep and goats (PNE 6:19).

TRIBUTE

Imperial tribute payments shown in the *Codex Mendoza* partially reflect these regional resources. Clothing is given (although maguey fiber is not specified),⁶ as is maguey honey and the foodstuff quartet of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. In addition, the warrior costumes demanded of most conquered provinces were required in payment by Axocapan.

The clothing tribute begins with 400 decorated cloaks: the left half is solid red, while the right half is a blue tie-dye design (see Anawak 1990). With its multicolored border, it is identical to *mantas* paid by neighboring Atotonilco (de Pedraza). The people of this province also provided 400 plain white cloaks with a black and white border, 800 plain white *mantas* with no apparent border, and 400 quilted cloaks with a black and white border. The *Mendoza* glosses and commentary identify these cloaks as *mantillas*, suggesting a small size. Four hundred red-banded women's tunics (and an equal number of skirts) were also part of this tribute. The payments were due twice a year, according to the *Mendoza* commentary. The folio for Axocapan is missing in the *Matricula de Tributos*, but it would be expected that it would indicate a quarterly payment schedule.

Also included in Axocapan's tribute were four styles of warrior costumes. The first, manufactured of rich feathers, is a red and white *tzitzimitl*, or "demon of the air." It is accompanied by a *xicalotlhuqui* shield. The other costume made of valuable feathers is directly below, the yellow coyote style with a *cucxyo* shield. Only one of each of these types of costumes was due in tribute annually. However, costumes made of less valuable feathers were due in greater annual quantities: twenty red costumes with a *momeyactli* back device and twenty blue *cuxtecatl* costumes. Both are accompanied by *cucxyo* shields, although the *pantli* (20) symbol has been omitted. This was probably an error.

Axocapan also paid tribute in bins of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth,⁷ one bin of each annually. Maize and these other crops were grown throughout this province.

Thick maguey honey was paid in the form of 400 large jars due twice a year. Of the imperial provinces included in the *Mendoza*, only Axocapan and neighboring Hueyapuchtla paid tribute in thick honey from the abundant maguey plant. The honey was apparently derived from *agumiel*, the popular liquid extracted from maguey roots.⁸ The honey was produced by cooking *agumiel*, and different types of honey resulted depending on the extent to which the liquid was cooked (Carrasco 1979:55).

Although this folio is missing from the *Matricula de Tributos*, a few other records of tribute from towns in this province exist. A *Relación geográfica* (PNE 6:15) states that the town of Axocapan paid tribute to the Mexica in the form of maguey shields, small fire-hardened rods or lances, maguey *mantas* of various styles, and labor on nine maize fields. The more northerly town of Tezcattepec paid tribute in deer, rabbits, hares, snakes, bows and arrows, and deerskins to Motecuhzoma and his predecessors (PNE 6:32). None of these is reflected in the *Mendoza*. Colonial tributes included maize from Atenco; maize and small maguey fiber *mantas* from Yzmiquilpan; clothing from Tezcattepec; small cloths, lime, and the working of agricultural fields from Axocapan; and maize, lime, and clothing from Tetepanco (González de Cossío 1952:65–69, 96–98, 432–435, 480, 604–605).

The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:37–38) lists clothing, warrior costumes, and foodstuffs, but omits the maguey honey. The clothing, due every eighty days, consisted of 1,200 *mantas*, in contrast to the 1,600 shown in the *Mendoza*. But as in the *Mendoza*, four types of warrior costumes were due in tribute, although the shields totaled forty-two (two of them would have carried the *pantli* symbol designating the number 20). Maize, beans, and chia (but no amaranth) were paid in quantities of 4,100 *fanegas* annually.

REFERENCES

- Barlow (1949a:45–48) and Gerhard (1972:154–156, 295–300) discuss this province and region, while Granberg (1970), Carrasco (1979), and Sahagún (1950–1982 10:176–181) provide details on the Otomi and their life-style. Sixteenth-century records exist for selected towns in this province (PNE 1:20–22, 60, 125, 143, 217–219; 6:13–19, 34–38; González de Cossío 1952:65–69, 96–98, 432–435, 480, 604–605).

NOTES

1. Hassig (1988:165) includes Tezcattepec in this campaign, along with numerous towns in nearby provinces.
2. The sources provide conflicting data. See Barlow 1987:67–76.
3. The people of Axocapan worshiped Huizilopochtli, suggestive of close ties with the Mexica (PNE 6:15).
4. The Teotlalpan region also spilled over into neighboring Hueyapuchtla province and bordered with Xilotepec and Atotonilco (de Pedraza) provinces.
5. Otomi was the dominant language in Yzmiquilpan, Axocapan, Tezcattepec, and Tezcattepec. A minority of Chichimec (Pame) speakers lived in Yzmiquilpan; Nahuatl-speaking minorities resided in Axocapan and Tezcattepec.
6. Cotton was not a likely local product; it is mentioned specifically as unavailable to the people of Tetepanco in early Colonial times (González de Cossío 1952:432).
7. Otomi and Matlatzina dictionaries describe several varieties of amaranth, distinguished by colors of red, blue, black, ash-hued, yellow, and white (Carrasco 1979:53–54).
8. Depending on its preparation, *agumiel* could become *pulque*, honey, a vinegar, or a sugar (Hernández 1959 1:349). The honey is compared with Spanish *arropé* ("new wine boiled thick, mush"; Stevens 1726; see also PNE 6:17).

FOLIOS 27v-28r:
THE PROVINCE OF ATOTONILCO (DE PEDRAZA)



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Atotonilco—"On the Hot Water"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Guapalcalco—"On the House of Planks"
3. Queçalmacan—"Place Where Quetzal Feathers Are Captured"
4. Acoocolco—"On the Twisting River"
5. Tehuehuc—"On the Stone Drum"
6. Otlazpan—"On the Bamboo"
7. Xalac—"On the Sandy River"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 richly decorated *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with black and white borders
- 800 large white *mantas*
- 400 loads of lime

The following items were paid annually:

- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *tzizimil* warrior costume and shield
- 20 red warrior costumes with *cuçalpatzactli* devices, and shields
- 20 blue *cuçtecatl* warrior costumes and shields
- 20 red warrior costumes with *momoyactli* back devices, and shields

- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

There are two imperial provinces in the *Mendoza* headed by towns named Atotonilco. The only distinction between their glyphic representations appears to be size; on folio 8r, where both are depicted, one is decidedly larger than the other. To avoid confusion, Barlow (1949a: 38) labeled this one Atotonilco de Pedraza after the town's *encomendero*, a conquistador-surgeon named Maese Diego de Pedraza (Gerhard 1972:295).

Most of the towns of this province are undocumented and seem to have vanished or been drastically renamed. The only locatable towns are Atotonilco and Otlazpan. Barlow (1949a: 37-40) places this province in the Old Tepanec Domain, and Davies (1987:209) suggests that Atotonilco, with its neighbors Axocopan and Izniquilpan, formed a kind of Otomi confederation. The Atotonilco ruling dynasty was reputedly begun by a son of the Mexica ruler Itzcoatl (Chinalpahin 1965:197).

Atotonilco itself was brought into the Aztec empire by the first Motecuhzoma (1440-1468), although there is no record of the conquest of the component towns of this province (*Codex Mendoza* folio 8r). Once conquered, Atotonilco appears to have been quite loyal to its imperial overlords; warriors from that town fought in

the front lines in Tizoc's campaign against Metztilan (Davies 1987:199).

This province was buffered on most fronts by other Aztec provinces, which may explain the lack of reports of imperial garrisons in this area. A Colonial-period Spanish *calpixqui* (tribute collector) is mentioned at Atotonilco in 1548 (PNE 1:17) and could well reflect pre-Spanish conditions.¹

Barlow (1949a: map) extends the boundaries of this province to the Tarascan frontier, which is probably a bit too generous. The provincial head town (Atotonilco) lay in the northeastern part of the province and seems to have been more oriented toward Axocopan and its component towns, and to the enemy Metztilan to the north.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Atotonilco and Otlazpan (and presumably the other vanished towns of this province) were located just the north of the Valley of Mexico. This high, cold region experienced relatively low rainfall. In Colonial times some of the Atotonilco lands, planted in wheat, were irrigated; but irrigation was said to be impossible elsewhere on Atotonilco's lands (González de Cossío 1952:89; PNE 1:17).² Irrigation was also practiced at Otlazpan, and agricultural lands there were generally fertile (ibid.:292). With its high, dry landscape, the region produced abundant magueys and prickly pear cactuses and was a notable source of lime (ibid.:17).

Atotonilco was an Otomí center, and the predominant language of the region appears to have been Otomí and its relative Mazahua (Gerhard 1972:295; Barlow 1949a:39). There were Nahuatl speakers in the area, however; Otlazpan residents were Nahua and Otomí, with the majority being "Mexicana," or Nahua (PNE 1:292; Gerhard 1972:333). The people of Tepexic (located roughly between Otlazpan and Atotonilco) also spoke Nahuatl (Barlow 1949a:39).

TRIBUTE

The tribute paid to the Aztecs by Atotonilco province is quite straightforward, consisting of the usual clothing, warrior costumes, and foodstuffs, and the less usual loads of lime. The first item of clothing tribute consists of 400 rich *mantas*, destined for lords and rulers. These cloaks were divided in half, with one segment a plain red and the other a blue tie-dye. Multicolored squares march along the border. This was probably a regional style (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1), and an identical item is shown on nearby Axocopan's tribute list.

The remaining tribute on this folio consists of 1,200 plain white *mantas*; the first 400 carry a distinctive black and white border. No material is specified, although it would be most likely if they were made from the locally available maguey. This province is missing

from the *Matriculad de Tributos*, so Nahuatl annotations are lacking. As usual, this tribute was due in Tenochtitlan twice a year.

Atotonilco and its associated towns paid a total of sixty-two warrior costumes annually in tribute. The first costume is a yellow *quaxolotl* style, while the second is a blue "demon of the air"; both of these were made of rich feathers, according to the *Mendoza* glosses. The shields associated with these costumes are of the *xicalcolitubqui* and *cuexyo* styles. Only one of each costume and shield was required annually.

The remaining three styles of warrior costumes were manufactured of ordinary feathers, and twenty examples of each were due annually. The first is a red *cuelpatzaactli* style; the second, a blue *cuexteatl* regalia; and the third, a red and white costume with a *momoyaactli* back device. These costumes are accompanied by identical *cuexyo* shields.

Like many other provinces in the *Mendoza*, Atotonilco was required to send to Tenochtitlan one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. Maize continued to be grown in this area in Colonial times, although some of the best agricultural lands were by then planted in the introduced wheat (González de Cossío 1952:88–89).

Aside from Tepeacac, Atotonilco was the only province to pay tribute in lime, which was locally available (see above). Lime was widely used in central Mexico in building construction, food preparation, and curing (see page description for Tepeacac province).

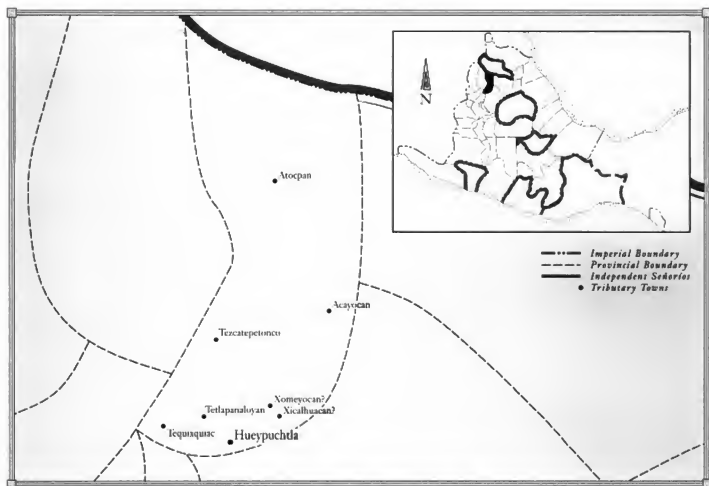
The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:38) records only 1,200 rich *mantas* (due every eighty days), and five warrior costumes with forty-three shields (all "rich") due annually.³ It also lists 4,100 *fanegas* each of maize, beans, and chia to be paid annually, but omits the amaranth. This document makes no mention of lime.

REFERENCES

Atotonilco and its component towns are discussed by Barlow (1949a:37–40) and Gerhard (1972:295–300, 332–333, 383). The *Códice de Otlazpan* (Leander 1967), part of the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, hails from this region. Some Colonial details are available for Atotonilco and Otlazpan (PNE 1:17, 292; González de Cossío 1952:88–90). The Otomí are described by Carrasco (1979) and Sahagún (1950–1982 10:176–181).

NOTES

1. The Nahuatl title *calpixqui* is used, but the occupant of that position was a Spaniard named Martín Hernández de Alanís.
2. This may reflect post-Conquest innovations.
3. The pictorial from which the *Información* was derived would have illustrated *pantli* (20) symbols on only two of the shields and on none of the costumes.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Hueyupchtla—(Hueyupchtlan) "Place of Great *Opochtli*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Xalac—"On the Sandy River"
3. Tequixquiac—"On the Saltpeter Water"
Also found in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 4v)
4. Tetlapanaloyan—"Stone Quarry"
5. Xicalhuacan—"Place That Has Gourd Bowls"
6. Nomeyocan—"Place Full of Elder Trees"
7. Acayocan—"Place Full of Reeds"
8. Tezcatpetonco—"On the Small Hill of the Mirror"
or "On the Small Hill of Tezcatlipoca"
9. Atocpan—"On the Heavy Damp Fertile Land"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*
- 400 white henequen *mantas* with black and white borders
- 800 white henequen *mantas*
- 400 jars of thick maguey honey

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *tzitzimitl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 green *quaxoloti* warrior costume and shield
- 20 yellow coyote warrior costumes and shields

- 20 blue *oclotl* warrior costumes and shields
- 20 white *cuxtecatl* warrior costumes and shields
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

The region to the north of the Valley of Mexico and somewhat beyond attracted the attention of the early Mexica rulers, who claimed victories here as early as the reign of Huitzilhuitl (1391-1415). The only actual conquest recorded for this ruler in Hueyupchtla province is Tequixquiac (Kelly and Palerm 1952: 283-284). Although the conquest of Tequixquiac is also claimed by Chimalpopoca (*Codex Mendoza* folio 4v), Hassig suspects that this town indeed fell to the earlier ruler (1988: 309). The conquest of Hueyupchtla itself is attributed to the first Motecuhzoma (*Codex Mendoza* folio 8r).

The three provincial heads of Hueyupchtla, Axocopan, and Atotonilco (de Pedraza) were all geographically close to one another and were all brought into the empire by this same Motecuhzoma (Kelly and Palerm 1952: 293). With the notable exception of Atocpan, the towns of Hueyupchtla province were clustered in the northern extremities of the Valley of Mexico and just into the modern state of Hidalgo. Atocpan lies considerably northward and was linked with Atotonilco (de Pedraza) and Yzmiquilpan (in Axo-

copan province) in a large Otomí confederation that maintained consistent loyalties to the Triple Alliance (Davies 1987: 199, 209). Atocpan participated in the Mexica's battles against enemy Metztlán to the north (ibid.: 199).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Hueyupchtla and its component towns lay on a high, dry, and cold plateau punctuated by low mountains (PNE 1: 110; Gerhard 1972: 44, 295). Maguey and prickly pear cactus thrived in this environment, and grinding stones (*manas*) and good stones for making lime were also abundant (PNE 1: 110, 207; 6: 29–30).³ Neither the lime nor the grinding stones figure on the *Mendoza* tribute tally for Hueyupchtla province, although lime does appear in Colonial tribute requirements for Acayocan and Atocpan (González de Cossío 1952: 3–4, 90) and continued to be produced in Hueyupchtla and Tequixiaco (Gibson 1964: 279).

A great market was apparently held in Hueyupchtla in pre-Hispanic times, although it had ceased to operate as a strong regional mercantile center in Colonial times (PNE 6: 26). Nonetheless, cotton continued to flow into this area from Metztlán in the north, probably reflecting pre-Spanish traditions (ibid.: 31). Residents of Hueyupchtla were active in the Colonial period producing lime, stone (perhaps grinding stones), maguey honey, and maguey fiber. They also hunted rabbits, hares, partridges, and other birds, and raised turkeys and chickens (ibid.). All but the chickens were surely Colonial continuations of pre-Conquest activities.

This was the region known as the Teotlalpan, "Land of the Gods."⁴ Many of the towns of this province, including Hueyupchtla, Atocpan, and Tequixiaco, belonged to the Old Tepanec Domain (Barlow 1949a: 49). Huitzilopochtli was apparently worshipped at Hueyupchtla, an indication of close ties with the Mexica (PNE 6: 29).

The predominant language of this area was Otomí, although Nahuatl was also spoken. In Hueyupchtla, for example, both languages were spoken, but Otomí was the most common (ibid.: 28). Strong Otomí majorities were found in Tequixiaco and Tetapanaloyan (Carrasco 1979: 34). Atocpan had a Chichimec (Pame) minority but was primarily an Otomí community (Gerhard 1972: 44).

TRIBUTE

The imperial tribute demanded of Hueyupchtla province consisted of the common categories of clothing, warrior costumes, and food staples, along with jars of thick maguey honey. Tributes did not include some of the more notable regional specializations (such as lime, grinding stones, and game); these items surely worked their way into urban households through the extensive Valley of Mexico regional markets.

The first item of clothing was certainly intended to appear identical to ones portrayed on folios 26r (Quauhtitlan), 31r (Xilotepc), and 32r (Quahuacan). This style of *mantla*, intended for the "lords and caciques of Mexico," was decorated with one half red and one half diagonally divided between solid yellow and a blue tie-dye motif. All these elements are clearly seen in the *Matrícula de Tributos* (1980: folio 5r), although the blue design has been left out of the *Mendoza* version. As elsewhere in the *Matrícula*, these cloaks are labeled *nacazminqui*, "diagonally divided." Being the dress of "lords and rulers," these 400 cloaks may well have been made of

cotton, an import into Hueyupchtla from more northerly regions (see above).⁵

The people of Hueyupchtla were also required to pay tribute in the form of 400 maguey-fiber cloaks with black and white borders and 800 plain white maguey-fiber *mantas*, all due semi-annually. This tribute demand drew on an abundance of maguey in the region. In Colonial times Atocpan paid tribute in clothing made of cotton and of maguey fiber (González de Cossío 1952: 90).⁶ Hueyupchtla provided maguey-fiber *mantas* in tribute (PNE 6: 28).

The *Mendoza* illustrates five styles of warrior costumes due in imperial tribute annually. Two of these were made of rich feathers: a yellow *tzatzimil* (demon of the air) with its *cuexyo* shield and a green *xicolotl* costume with its *xicolotl* shield. Only one of each style was due in tribute annually. The remaining three types were to be paid in quantities of twenty each and were made of ordinary feathers. The first is a yellow coyote costume with a *xicolotl* shield, followed by a blue jaguar costume and a white *cuxteatl* costume with black bands. These two latter costumes are accompanied by *cuexyo* shields.

The *Matrícula de Tributos* tells a considerably different story. The "demon of the air," *quaxolotl*, and *cuxteatl* costumes and shields correspond to those seen in the *Mendoza*. However, the jaguar costume is accompanied by a *xicolotl* shield in the *Matrícula*, and *Mendoza*'s coyote style is not included in the *Matrícula* for this province. In its place, however, the *Matrícula* illustrates two completely different styles of costume, a red *ebuatl* with *quetzalpatzacatl* device, and a red and yellow costume with an impressive *momyacatl* back device. *Cuexyo* shields are associated with these costumes. In addition to these differences with the *Mendoza*, the *Matrícula* adds no *pantli* (20) symbols to the costumes or shields, suggesting that only one of each type was due annually.

Hueyupchtla province was also required to allocate some of its production in maize, beans, chia, and amaranth to its Aztec overlords. One bin of each of these grains was due annually.⁷ Some of this may have been grown on irrigated lands.⁸

The final item of tribute required of Hueyupchtla was 400 jars of thick maguey honey, due every six months. The *Matrícula* gloss identifies the honey as *nevvtli* (honey). This is in contrast to the bees' honey delivered by Tlatchco province, glossed as *quauhnevvtli* (*Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 8v). Details on maguey honey are provided in the page description for Axocapan province.

Hueyupchtla is included in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957: 38–39) under the name Teopochtlan.⁹ The tribute consisted of 1,200 undistinguished *mantas* (as opposed to the 1,600 in the *Mendoza*) to be paid every eighty days. In addition, six rich warrior costumes and forty-two rich shields were to be paid annually, along with 4,100 *fanegas* each of maize, beans, and chia (but no amaranth). The maguey honey included in the pictorial tallies is absent in the 1554 document.

A sixteenth-century *Relación geográfica* lists Hueyupchtla's tribute to Motecuhzoma as deer, rabbits, nets, and some small maguey-fiber cloaks, as well as partridges, bows and arrows, and the cultivation of fields of maize, beans, squashes, and other crops (PNE 6: 28–29). Tolnacuhtla, a Mexica conquest in this region but not included on *Mendoza*'s tribute folios, reportedly gave eagles, partridges, deer, hares, and rabbits in tribute to the Mexica ruler Itzcoatl (ibid.: 25).¹⁰ Atocpan's Colonial-period tribute included cotton and maguey-fiber clothing due every eighty days and small maguey-fiber *mantas*, jars of honey, and sandals to be paid once every fifteen days, on market day (González de Cossío 1952: 90).

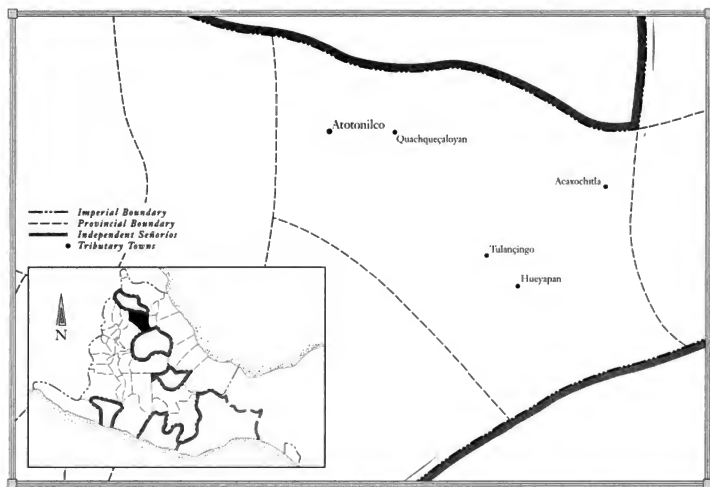
REFERENCES

Data on Hueypuchtlá province can be found in Barlow (1949a: 48–50), Gerhard (1972:44–47, 295–300), and Gibson (1964:39, 45, 203, 270, 275, 279, 336). Sixteenth-century records exist for Hueypuchtlá (PNE 1:110; 6:26–31), Tequixquiac (PNE 1:207), Acayocan (González de Cossío 1952:3–5), and Atocpan (ibid.: 90–93). Sahagún (1950–1982 10:176–181) and Carrasco (1979) provide details on Otomí culture.

NOTES

1. The grinding stones found here were reportedly “the best that can be found in this land” (PNE 6:30).

2. The Teotlalpan region also encompassed Axocapan province and bordered with Xilotepec and Atonilco (de Pedraza) provinces.
3. The material of these cloaks is not specific in either the *Matrícula* or the *Mendoza*.
4. Atocpan was the most northerly of the Hueypuchtlá towns and would have had access to cotton from Metztlitlan, just to the north.
5. The foodstuff tribute is illustrated in the *Matrícula de Tributos* as a single bin containing a bean, a maize kernel, and numerous small black dots.
6. Colonial records indicate that the people of Tequixquiac used irrigation, although those of Hueypuchtlá did not (PNE 1:110, 207).
7. *Tzo-* is frequently substituted for *Huey-* in Colonial documents.
8. The pictorial from which this text was derived must have illustrated six costumes but only four shields, two with the *pantli* (20) symbol.
9. Barlow (1949a:48) adds Tolnacuchela to Hueypuchtlá province on the basis of proximity.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Atotonilco—"On the Hot Water"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Acaxochitla—"Where There Is Much *Acaxochitl*"
3. Quachquecaloyan—"Place Where They Make Fine Cotton *Mantas*"
4. Hueyapan—"On the Lake"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 16r)
5. Çtziuinquilocan—"Place Full of *Itzibuinquitl*"
6. Tulancingo—(Tulancingo) "On the Small Reed"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 800 diagonally divided *mantas*
- 1,600 white *mantas* of henequen

The following items were given annually:

- 1 warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactl* device, and shield
- 1 *tsitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 *caextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

Atotonilco el Grande is distinguished from its namesake Atotonilco de Pedraza presumably by the size of its glyph and its association with present-day Atotonilco el Grande. Place glyphs for both towns are found on folio 8r of *Codex Mendoza's* conquest history, and it is assumed that the larger glyph pertains to this tributary province.¹

The *Mendoza* history (folio 8r) indicates that Atotonilco was conquered by the first Motecuhzoma and Hueyapan subdued by the second ruler of that name. The conquest of Tulancingo, the last-listed town in Atotonilco province, is associated with the early Mexica rulers Huitziluhuitl (1391-1415) and Chimalpopoca (1415-1426; Kelly and Palerm 1952:283-286). In this early pre-Triple Alliance period, it seems to have fallen under the expanding Tepanec domain of Azcapotzalco's Tezozomoc (*ibid.*:284). Nonetheless, the Acolhua (of Texcoco) had claimed Tulancingo as a tributary from the time of Icauhztin (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975:291).² Tulancingo apparently rebelled during the reign of the Acolhua ruler Quinatzin, and Acolhua governors and tribute collectors replaced the local rulership (Offner 1983:30). By the early 1400s, Tulancingo was sufficiently integrated into the Acolhua domain to be included in a Texcocan alliance (*ibid.*:42).

The turbulent political and military history of the Valley of Mexico and its environs prior to the formation of the Triple Alliance may have left Tulancingo without a firm overlord. Whatever the circumstances, the Acolhua apparently found it necessary to

conquer the town again, this time under Nezahualcoyotl (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:196). Tulañcino lay on the major route to Totonacapan and the coast, and was important as a supply center for troops on the march to the coast. When the people of Tulañcino rebelled against Nezahualcoyotl some four years later, the Acolhua ruler quickly put down the revolt. Although the local ruler was left in his former position, a Texcocoan tribute collector was placed in Tulañcino (ibid.:199). Nezahualcoyotl may have considered this land somewhat troublesome after his first conquest, for he had left troops in Tulañcino, housed in a "fort" or *presidio*—the Tulañcinos burned such a structure in their rebellion (ibid.). The Acolhua ruler may also have relocated some loyal Acolhuas to this area; he reportedly founded the town of Cztihuinquilcan and populated it with people from Texcoco (ibid.).

Aside from Tulañcino's importance as a major jumping-off spot to the rich coastal lands, it maintained generally unfriendly relations with Metztlitan to the north. It may have served the Triple Alliance as a buffer against this hostile region.¹ It normally maintained an Aztec "garrison," but was apparently again in rebellion in 1519 (Gerhard 1972:335).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The lands of Atotonilco el Grande province lay in present-day southeastern Hidalgo. This is a realm of considerable geographic diversity, from high plateau punctuated by rugged mountains to the beginnings of the hot country through the Sierra Madre Oriental (Gerhard 1972:335). Rainfall was likewise variable, being minimal in the Tulañcino region but increasing toward Atotonilco and the east. In the plateau setting maguery was an especially significant product.

Atotonilco lay on a major north-south route, and Tulañcino commanded the trunk line from the Valley of Mexico to the northern Gulf coast. It is not surprising that important marketplaces developed in this region, one of the largest being at Tulañcino. This market was held every twenty days, and markets were also held on a regular schedule in other towns of this region (Ruvalcaba 1984).

The population of Atotonilco province was predominantly Otomí. A minority of Tepehuas lived at Acaxochida (Gerhard 1972:335), and Nahuatl speakers were found in the major towns throughout the province (PNE 3:90). In fact, Nahuatl-speaking persons appear to have been confined to Atotonilco, Quauhqueçolayan, and Tulañcino, and not found at all in the outlying areas (ibid.:92; Ruvalcaba 1984:124). It is not clear whether these Nahuatl speakers were monolingual or bilingual, but it is suggestive that Nahuatl was the language of provincial administration and nobility.

TRIBUTE

The tribute demanded by the Mexica of Atotonilco el Grande province was completely standard: clothing, warrior costumes and shields, and staple foodstuffs. It may have been somewhat more varied than the *Mendoza* suggests; Torquemada (1969 1:168) mentions that young men of Tulañcino were required to pay tribute in reed mats and seats, pine torches, digging sticks, pigment, liquidambar, smoking tubes, gold tiles, gold shields, and objects made of feathers. When this same town was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl, that ruler demanded an annual tribute of clothing and beans, and added a requirement to plant trees in gardens and forests (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:199). Histories from the Mexica

point of view state that the people of Tulañcino were required to provide gifts of clothing, and a banquet, to Motecuhzoma I's troops passing through on a campaign to the Gulf coast (Durán 1967 2:165).

The clothing tribute shown in *Códex Mendoza*, due semi-annually, begins with 800 cloaks divided diagonally into segments of plain yellow and blue tie-dye. The *Mendoza* commentary indicates that these were to be worn by the lords of Mexico; the *Matrícula* glosses them as *nacazminqui* (1980: folio 5v). The material from which they were made is not specified, but maguery was locally available, and cotton could be obtained readily through the strong regional market system operating in this province. In addition, the people of this province were required to pay in tribute 1,600 plain white *mantas* woven of maguery fiber, a local resource. The *Matrícula* glosses suggest, however, that they were manufactured of cotton, for it labels them as 800 *canauac* and 800 *quachtli*.¹

Only four rich warrior costumes and shields were due from Atotonilco province annually. They consisted of one yellow costume with *quetzalpatzacatl* device along with its *xicalcolihqui* shield, one red *tzitzimil* costume with a *cuxeyo* shield, one blue *quaxolotl* device with a *xicalcolihqui* shield, and one yellow *cuxecatil* costume with its *cuxeyo*-style shield. The depictions of these costumes in the *Matrícula* (ibid.) are in complete agreement with those shown in the *Mendoza*, although no specific glosses were provided.

The final category of tribute demanded from this province consisted of basic foodstuffs: one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. The *Matrícula* shows two bins of combined seeds: a kernel of corn, a bean, and numerous tiny seeds in each bin. Some of these crops may have been grown with the aid of irrigation (Ruvalcaba 1984:127).

The tribute listed for Atotonilco el Grande in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:39–40) closely approximates that found in the *Mendoza* and *Matrícula*. Four costumes and twenty-three shields¹ are listed, along with 4,100 *fanegas* each of maize, beans, and chia (but no amaranth) due annually. The tribute in *mantas*, 2,400 of them, was due every eighty days, agreeing with the pattern in the *Matrícula de Tributos*.

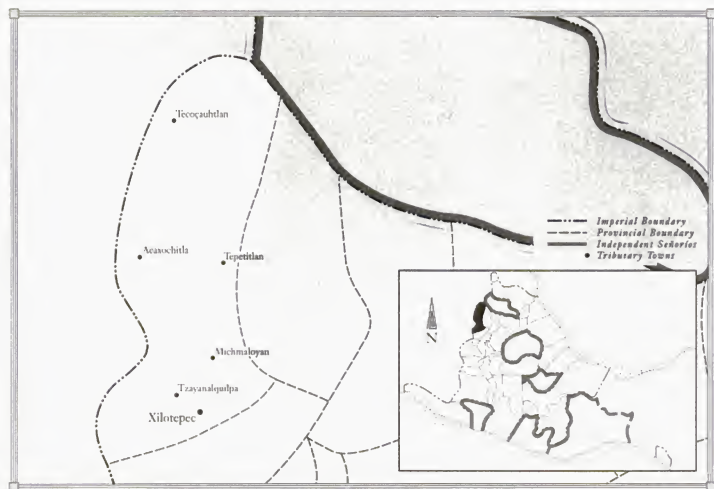
The clothing and foodstuff tribute continued into Colonial times. The people of Atotonilco provided their Spanish overlords with clothing and maize (along with quantities of the Spanish-introduced wheat), and a multitude of daily consumables such as tortillas, firewood, eggs, and labor duties (PNE 1:26–27). In 1539, Acaxochida's tribute consisted of a variety of men's and women's clothing items, loads of chiles and beans, chickens, and labor on a field of maize (ENE 8:23).

REFERENCES

- Surveys of Atotonilco el Grande province are found in Barlow (1949a:64–66), Gerhard (1972:335–338), and Ruvalcaba (1984). Offner (1983) discusses Tulañcino in the context of Aztec-period Acolhua administration, and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:196, 199) provides considerable detail about Tulañcino's history. Colonial details on Atotonilco are found in ENE 8:23, PNE 1:26–27, and PNE 3:90–92. Information on Otomi culture is found in Carrasco (1979) and Sahagún (1950–1982 10:176–181).

NOTES

1. The smaller Atotonilco glyph is drawn close to Hueypuchtlá and Axocopan, while the larger glyph is shown in proximity to Tlapacoyan and towns to the east. These listings often follow rough geographical proximities (see also page description for Atotonilco de Pedraza).
2. Icauhitzin appears to have ruled in mythical time; he was the earliest of Xolotl's ancestors and was said to have ruled 180 years (Offner 1983:19). Such a statement is probably analogous to the popular Spanish phrase, "from time immemorial."
3. The more northerly Atotonilco el Grande and Quauhqueçayolan may have served this function more handily, although no documentary record of this is available.
4. *Canana*: narrow cotton cloak; *quachili*: large cotton cloak. The *Matricula* representations show a graceful triangle shape on each cloak image.
5. Four shields, one with a *panthi* (20) symbol, must have been drawn on the pictorial from which the 1554 text was derived.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Xilotepec—"On the Hill of the Young Maize Ears"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Tlachco—"On the Ball Court"
3. Tzayanalquilha—"On the Water of the *Tzayanalquililtl'*"
4. Michmaloyan—"Place Where They Catch Fish"
5. Tepetitlan—"Near the Hill"
6. Acaxochitla—"Where There Is Much *Acaxochitl'*"
7. Tecoauhlan—(Tecoauhla) "Where There Is Much Yellow Ocher"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 16r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 richly designed women's tunics and skirts
- 400 *mantas* of a twisted obsidian-serpent design, each eight *brazas* long
- 400 half-quilted skirts
- 400 jaguar-design *mantas*
- 400 *mantas* with a red step-fret design, each eight *brazas* long
- 400 diagonally divided *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 or more live eagles

- 1 yellow *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 blue *cuetecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

Records of Aztec conquest in this region emphasize Xilotepec itself, barely mentioning the other towns of the province. Three Mexica rulers claim Xilotepec's conquest: Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, Axayacatl, and Ahuitzotl (Torquemada 1969 1:164; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:256; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:467-470). The *Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r) credits only Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina with this victory. Prior to the formation of the Aztec Triple Alliance in 1430, this region was under the domination of the Tepanecs. It was apparently taken by Ixtlilxochitl of Texcoco in his battles against the Tepanec ruler Tezozomoc in the late 1420s (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:86). Tecoauhlan, the final town listed for this province, is recorded as a conquest of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (*Codex Mendoza* folio 16r). This may refer to the crushing of a rebellion rather than an initial conquest, since this entire area was well incorporated into the imperial domain by the time of the second Motecuhzoma.

Xilotepec's Otomí ruler may have been related to the second

Moteczuhzoma. This relationship may stem from the recorded beginning of the Xilotepec dynasty, which was initiated by Itzacmixin-coatzin, a son of Itzcoatl (Chimalpahin 1965:197).

Barlow (1949a:43 and map) adds several towns to this province, although they are not included in the *Mendoza* or *Matricula*. They include Chiapan (a conquest of Ahuitzotl) and the legendary Tollan (a conquest of Itzcoatl and/or Moteczuhzoma Ilhucamina). These, along with nine other towns subject to the Mexica, are located roughly south and east of Xilotepec province.¹ In addition, however, the distant Zimapan (to the north) was apparently subject to Xilotepec.²

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

This was the land of the Otomí, with several towns consisting of only Otomí speakers: Tzayanalquilpa, Michmaloyan, Tepetitlan, and Acoachitla (PNE 1:57; Gerhard 1972:332). Otomí predominated in the province as a whole, although minorities of Mazahuas resided in the south and Chichimecs (Pames) in the north. Nahuatl speakers were few in number here (Gerhard 1972:383). Xilotepec itself was a major Otomí political center (Torquemada 1969 1:287).

The climate of Xilotepec province was predominantly cool and dry, and the landscape consisted of low barren hills. The rivers here, however, were apparently sufficient to allow for some irrigation at Tzayanalquilpa, Tlachco, and Tecoahtlan (PNE 1:57; 6:4; Simpson 1934:49–50).³ But a predominant resource in these high, dry lands was maguey, from which were extracted *palque* and fibers for clothing and mats (PNE 6:2–3, 201; 1:159–160, 226). Lime was also a product of the region (at least in Colonial times), although it does not appear as an Aztec tribute demand from this province in the *Mendoza* (PNE 1:21, 226, 310). The people of Zimapan gave game to their Xilotepec overlords (PNE 6:3), while those of Xilotepec provided tribute to the Mexica in the form of *mantas*, turkeys,⁴ hares, and rabbits (*Descripción de Querétaro* 1906:43). Chichimecs from this region carried bows and arrows and skins of deer, rabbits, and other wild animals to sell in Valley of Mexico markets (*ibid.*:21).

TRIBUTE

The imperial tribute for Xilotepec province only partially reflects its dryland resources. Abundant quantities of cloth were demanded, but there is no indication that these were to be made of maguey fiber.⁵

All the clothing shown on this folio is decorated. The first image is divided in half, one side depicting a woman's tunic and skirt set, the other representing only a skirt.⁶ The *tzontli* number symbol apparently indicates 400 of each. The *Mendoza* commentary and gloss indicate that these were very fine ("muy ricos"); the *Matricula* (1980: folio 6r) describes the skirt design as *xicalcolibiqui* (step-fret). The second item of clothing tribute, 400 rich *mantas*, is also highly embellished. This black and white motif is identified as *ytzouacolibiqui* in the *Matricula* (*ibid.*), a word that can be translated as "twisted obsidian-serpent."⁷ The jaguar spots are not referenced in the Nahuatl gloss. These cloaks were to be of extraordinary length; the eight fingers represent eight *brazas* (see Berdan 1980b:33).

The following item of clothing represents 400 skirts of an "irregular" or "twisted" design (*chicocueitl* in the *Matricula* 1980, folio 6r). Like the women's tunics and men's loincloths depicted in the

Mendoza and *Matricula*, this skirt is depicted against the backdrop of a folded cloak. It is, indeed, the only lone skirt marked for tribute in these pictorials.⁸ Its design suggests "quilting," but the Nahuatl annotation does not. Sahagún (1950–1982 9:17, 45, 51) mentions the *chicocueitl* among the rich clothing taken by Aztec *pochteca* on a long and arduous journey to coastal Xicalanco. The *pochteca* purchased these fine skirts and other rich clothing in the Tlatelolco marketplace with plain cloaks given them by the Mexica ruler Ahuitzotl; these elegant garments were considered Ahuitzotl's property in the trading venture, and surely represented his wealth and importance to the coastal rulers. The *chicocueitl* were also placed on slaves in the marketplace by slave dealers to make them more attractive, and these skirts adorned bled slaves to be sacrificed by an ambitious merchant. A skirt of this style, complete with fancy border, is depicted in Sahagún (*ibid.*: plate 14).

The people of Xilotepec province also paid 800 cloaks of a jaguar design, glossed *occlatimatl* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 6r).⁹ Xilotepec is the only province to provide cloaks of such a distinctive design. These *mantas* are followed by 400 cloaks of eight *brazas* each; they are decorated with a vertical red band enclosing a step-fret design (*tlapakolibiqui* in the *Matricula* 1980, folio 6r). The final item of clothing tribute consists of 400 multicolored *mantas*: half of the cloth is red, the other half is divided diagonally into yellow and blue (tie-dyed) segments. A multicolored border decorates the edge. These *mantas* are identical to ones paid by Xilotepec's neighbor Quahuacan. Like the Quahuacan tribute, this style is described as *nacazminiqui* (diagonally divided) in the *Matricula* (*ibid.*; Anawalt 1990). As usual, the clothing tribute was due semi-annually (*Mendoza*) or quarterly (*Matricula*).

Eagles enjoyed the habitat of Xilotepec province, and they are found here as an item of tribute. The only other *Mendoza* province to pay tribute in eagles was Oxitipan, the northernmost province of the empire. The quantities for both provinces seem a bit vague; they were to give a live eagle, or maybe two, or three, or four . . . sometimes more, sometimes less. This is uncharacteristic in the tribute documents, where quantities and periods of tribute collection are typically very specific.¹⁰ The *Matricula* (*ibid.*) gloss states "ten eagles," but does not supply the indigenous number glyphs. According to the *Mendoza*, they were to be delivered on an annual basis; their supply may well have been unpredictable, and the ability to capture eagles alive was surely a risky and uncertain business at best.

Xilotepec was also required to send its annual share of warrior costumes to Tenochtitlan. This consisted of one rich yellow jaguar costume with a *xicalcolibiqui* shield and one rich blue *cuextecatl* costume with a *cuexyo* shield. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 6r) adds the *pantli* (20) symbol to this latter costume and shield, but there is no way to verify whether one or twenty were intended (see below).

The people of Xilotepec province also grew sufficient staple foodstuffs to send one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth annually in tribute. The *Matricula* gloss (*ibid.*) specifies only *cucozmatl* in *el cintli* (bin of beans and maize), with no mention of the smaller grains.

Similar tributes are recorded in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:40–41). The pictorial from which this textual document was drawn must have included a *pantli* (20) symbol on one of the shields, but not on its corresponding costume. So the discrepancy between the two tribute pictorials is not resolved here. Ten live eagles are listed (the number in conformity with the *Matricula*), as are the maize and beans (but no chia or amaranth). The *Información* also includes the quarterly tribute in clothing,

listing 2,400 *mantas* of “diverse colors,” 400 women’s tunics, and 400 rich skirts. If this 1554 document was copied from a pictorial similar to the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*, then the item described as skirts (*chicocueitl*) in the latter documents had been considered *mantas* in the former.

REFERENCES

Information on Xilotepec and its region is found in Barlow (1949a:42–45), Gerhard (1972:70, 332–333, 383–386), PNE (1:57, 59, 159–160, 226, 6:1–5, 201), *Descripción de Querétaro* (1906), and Simpson (1934). Carrasco (1979) provides an extensive study of the prehispanic Otomí and their culture, and Sahagún (1950–1982 10:176–181) presents a description of Otomí culture through Nahua eyes.

NOTES

1. These miscellaneous conquests are situated between the provinces of Xilotepec and Atonilco (de Pedraza). Michael Smith (n.d.) groups them into a separate, strategic province under Chiapan.
2. This is claimed in the *Relación de las Mimas de Zimapan* (PNE 6:3). Barlow

(1949a:43) accepts this, although Gerhard (1972:70) is skeptical and feels that Xilotepec’s control of Zimapan reflects Colonial adjustments.

3. This practice is recorded for early Colonial times and may or may not reflect pre-Hispanic patterns in these areas. Irrigation is also mentioned for several towns in the Chiapan domain (PNE 1:17, 21, 59, 166, 193, 209, 289, 310).
4. The source says *gallinas*, chickens. If the pattern pertained in pre-Spanish times, the correlate would be turkeys.
5. Neither the *Mendoza* nor the *Matricula* mentions the type of material. Throughout, both documents seem to be quite careful about indicating magwey- or palm-fiber cloth; when neither is mentioned, cotton is assumed.
6. This is the only case in which tunic and skirt are shown together pictorially in the *Matricula* or *Mendoza*. In the former, the bands on the *huipilli* are black and white, not red.
7. Clark (1938 1:69) identifies this as *itzcuatitmatli*, “mantle full of obsidian snakes.”
8. Anderson and Dibble (in Sahagún 1950–1982 9:17, 45, 51) translate *chicocueitl* as skirts of “irregular design.” Molina (1970:20r) defines *chicocueitl* as “something twisted, like a hook.” This really more closely resembles the previous *manta* on the tally.
9. Clark (1938 1:69) considers this an error.
10. *Ocellotl*: jaguar; *ilmatl*: cloak. Clark (1938 1:69) identifies these as *acelotlapalli*: *ocelotl* (jaguar) + *tenchil* (border) + *tlapalli* (painted). However, the pictograph shows that the entire cloth is covered with the jaguar motif, and a distinct border is lacking.
11. The only other instance of numerical vagueness in these documents is the record of tribute in enemy captives given by the province of Tepeacac.



Tribute map of Quahuacan (31v-32r)

THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Quahuacan—(Quaguacan) "Place Where They Have Trees" or "Place Where They Have Eagles"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 5v)
2. Tecpa—(Tecpan) "Place of the Royal Palace"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 5v)
3. Chapolmoloyan—"Place Where They Catch Grasshoppers"
4. Tlalalavco—"On the Canal"
5. Acaxochic—"On the *Acaxochitl*"
6. Ameyalco—"On the Spring"
7. Ocoatepec—"On the Hill of Pines"
8. Huizquilocan—"Place Full of *Huitzquitil*"
9. Coatepec—"On the Hill of the Snake"
10. Quauhpanoayan—"Place Where the Water Is Crossed by a Wooden Bridge"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)
11. Tlalalavco—"On the Cultivated Land"
12. Chichiquavtla—"Where There Are Many *Chichiquaubtla* Trees"
13. Huitzilaplan—(Huiçilaplan) "On the Water of the Hummingbird"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 6r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 800 rich diagonally divided *mantas*
- 800 white *mantas* of henequen

The following items were given annually:

- 1 green *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 20 yellow and red *ebuatl* with *cuçalpatzactli* devices, and shields
- 20 red and white warrior costumes with *momoyactli* back devices, and shields
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth

The following items were given every eighty days:

- 1,200 loads of firewood
- 1,200 large wooden beams
- 1,200 large planks
- 1,200 pillars

CONQUEST HISTORY

Aztec military conquests in this region began as early as Itzcoatl's reign, and towns in the area continued to be brought into the

Aztec empire through the reign of Ahuitzotl (1486–1502). Itzcoatl reportedly conquered three towns: Quahuacan, Tecpa, and Huitziçilapa (*Codex Mendoza* folios 5v–6r; Kelly and Palerm 1952: 287–288). The following ruler, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, apparently ignored this area in favor of far-flung conquests elsewhere, but his successor, Axayacatl, invested heavily in bringing the western regions into the empire. Among his victories in Quahuacan were the town of Quauhpanoayan and the nearby non-Mendoza center of Atlapulco (ibid.: 296–297; *Codex Mendoza* folio 10r).¹ Several years later the Mexica ruler Ahuitzotl found it necessary again to subdue Quahuacan (Avarado Tezozomoc 1975a: 274).

This does not appear to have been a particularly troublesome area for the imperial administration; no rebellions were reported nor garrisons present.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Quahuacan province rested in the mountains between the Valley of Mexico and the Valley of Toluca. This cool, rugged, mountainous area provided an excellent habitat for pine forests, although it also offered fertile lands for the cultivation of staple crops (PNE 1:60, 292). Production in this region emphasized the abundance of local woods. In Colonial times, the people of Tlalachco were taxed in *vigas* (wooden beams), *tablas* (wooden planks), charcoal, and firewood (González de Cossío 1952: 319).² The residents of Cotepec carried wood to the mines at Tasco (PNE 1:109). The people of Atlapulco, a non-Mendoza town in the bounds of this province, carried one large load of charcoal to Mexico City each Saturday to sell in the market there (PNE 1:80). While these *Relaciones* record Colonial conditions, it is certainly likely that this region's economy was built around its abundant forests in pre-Spanish times.

The residents of Quahuacan province spoke a variety of languages, notably Nahuatl, Otomi, and Matlatzinka. While in some communities a single language predominated (as with Otomi at Huitziçilapa), in others all three were spoken (as in Tlalachco; PNE 1:292; Gerhard 1972: 168, 270). Barlow (1949a: 35) logically suggests that Otomi predominated in the north while Matlatzinka was common in the south. Quahuacan was certainly located in a geographically transitional zone between the two ethnic groups.

TRIBUTE

The tribute demanded of Quahuacan province reflects both standard imperial demands and local specialties. The clothing levy consisted of 800 fancy *mantas* (of unspecified material) and 800 maguey-fiber *mantas*.³ The decorated cloaks, divided into three decorated segments and bordered in many colors, are glossed as *ontzonli nacazminqui* (800 diagonally divided cloaks). The diagonal division was apparently the most diagnostic characteristic of these cloaks, even though only half of the cloth carries that motif (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1). The remaining 800 cloaks were undecorated and made of maguey fiber, a fact that undoubtedly reflects a local abundance of this cold-weather plant. These two cloak images are enhanced with an enigmatic symbolic triangle. While the *Matrícula de Tributos* usually glosses such cloaks as *canauc* (narrow or fine cotton cloaks) or *quachtli* (large cotton cloaks), in this case they are glossed as maguey fiber *mantas*.

Further tribute from Quahuacan province consisted of three styles of feathered warrior costumes with their accompanying shields. The first is a green *cuxteacatl* costume with its *cuxeyo* shield;⁴ only one such item of rich feathers was due in tribute an-

nually. The remaining costumes were manufactured of ordinary feathers, and twenty items of each were due annually. One is a yellow and red *cucalpatzactli* device worn with a long-sleeved *ebuatl* that has a feathered "skirt" in place of the usual body-encasing legs of the more prevalent warrior suits (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1). The other costume is a red and white garment worn with a feathered *momyocatl* back device.⁵ Both costumes are accompanied by *cuxeyo*-style shields.

Additional annual tribute consisted of one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. As occurs only rarely, the *Matricula* quantities closely resemble those depicted in the *Mendoza*. For Quahuacan province, the *Matricula* (1980: folio 6v) shows two bins, each with a kernel of corn, a bean, and numerous tiny black dots on top.⁶

The remaining tribute of this province reflects its specialization in wood products. The 1,200 loads of firewood,⁷ to be paid every eighty days,⁸ are packed onto carrying frames (*sacactli*), ready to be toted to the city.

Perhaps to supply the growing city of Tenochtitlan with adequate building materials, this nearby province was also required to pay large quantities of timber every eighty days to its Aztec overlords. This tribute consisted of 1,200 large wooden beams (*buepantli*), 1,200 planks (*xopetlatl*), and 1,200 pillars (*quammimilli*).¹⁰ These are all of different sizes and shapes, and the first (beams) are slightly curved at the top, with a rope passing through a hole bored through the beam.¹¹ Large beams were shaped from the trunk of a tree, and were rounded (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:115–116). The planks (*xopetlatl*) served as foundation beams with the following range of characteristics: "thick, wide, thin, slender, long, small, each one short, each one small and short, concave, scooped out, hollowed out" (ibid.: 115).¹² The *quammimilli* was a cylindrical pole with a thick base and thin top (ibid.).

The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 41–42) includes all these items, though in far less detail than shown in the pictorials. The 1554 document lists three rich warrior costumes along with forty-one rich shields¹³ to be given annually, and 1,600 *mantas* to be delivered every eighty days. Large quantities of maize (8,200 *fanegas*) and beans (4,100 *fanegas*) were due annually. The tally also mentions 1,200 beams (*vigas*), 1,200 planks (*cuarterones*),¹⁴ and 2,400 small beams (*viguetas pequeñas*) to be paid on an annual basis. The small beams (at least) were for the construction of houses; one such beam could be carried by one man.

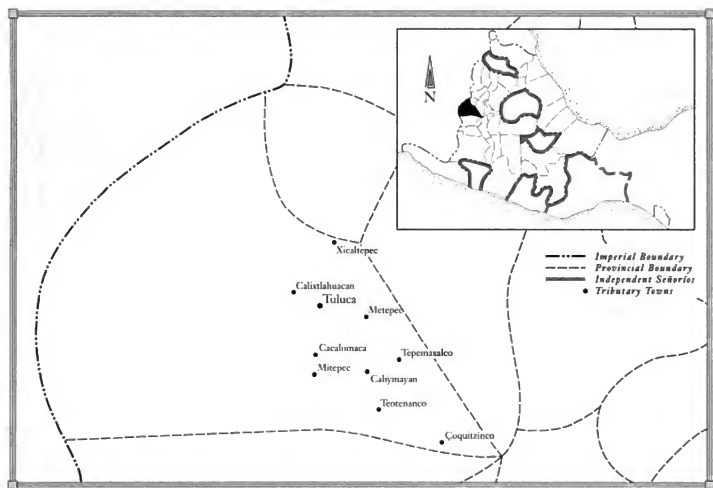
REFERENCES

Quahuacan province is discussed by Barlow (1949a: 33–36), Gerhard (1972: 100–101, 168–171, 270–273), and Gibson (1971). Parts of the *Código Oruna* (1947) pertain to this region. Colonial-period details on selected Quahuacan towns are found in *Papeles de Nueva España* (PNE 1:60, 109, 174, 292) and the *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952: 79–81, 319–321, 556–559). Sahagún (1950–1982 11:114–116) presents a discourse on the preparation of timber for construction.

NOTES

1. Barlow (1949a: 35) suggests that Tlalatlavco and Xalatlauhco (listed as a conquest of Axayacatl in *Codex Mendoza* folio 10r) are one and the same. Despite the similarity in names and the frequency of interchanging *xalli* and *talli* (as well as the presence of a twentieth-century Xalatlaco in the area), the glyphs for the two towns are distinctly different.
2. They also paid their tribute in eggs, salt, and chiles.

3. The type and purpose of the wood are not specified.
4. The clothing was to be delivered every six months according to the *Mendoza* (folio 31v) and every eighty days according to the *Matricula* (1980: folio 6v).
5. The *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 6v) version of this costume illustrates the customary short, black horizontal lines, while the *Mendoza* omits them.
6. The plain white field of this costume is covered with artfully layered white feathers in the *Matricula* version (1980: folio 6v).
7. It is more usual for one bin in the *Matricula de Tributos* to equal two in the *Mendoza*.
8. In the *Matricula* (1980: folio 6v): *yetzontli quantil yn tlatliloni* (1,200 loads of firewood). The *-tecpantli* suffix refers to a twenty-count; this may then constitute 1,200 loads of twenty items each. Clark (1938 1:70) translates firewood as *tlatlilquauitl*.
9. This period is the same in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendoza*.
10. The Nahuatl terms are found in the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 6v). Clark (1938 1:70) labels the planks as *nupalli* and the pillars as *tlanapattecontli*. They are called *vigas grandes*, *tablones grandes*, and *morillos*, respectively, in *Mendoza's* Spanish (folio 32r).
11. Sahagún (1950–1982 11:115) mentions a plank provided with a cord, although the exact meaning is elusive.
12. The short, wide features match those illustrated in the *Mendoza*.
13. This document does not distinguish between rich and ordinary feathers, as do the *Mendoza* glosses. Furthermore, it is clear that the artist of the *Información* pictorial must have omitted *pantli* (20) symbols on two of the costumes, but placed them on the accompanying shields, yielding forty-one shields (as in the *Mendoza*) but only three costumes.
14. Specifically, a *quarion* is a fourth of a large piece of timber, sawed lengthwise into four parts (Stevens 1726).



Tribute map of Toluca (32v-33r)

THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Toluca—(Tulucan) "Place Where Men Incline Their Heads" and "Place of the Matlatzincan"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 10v, 12r)
2. Calixtlahuacan—"Place of the Plain of Houses"
3. Xicaltepec—"On the Hill of the Gourd Bowls"
4. Tepetl huicacan—"Place of the Tall Mountain"
5. Mitepec—"On the Hill of the Arrow"
6. Capulteopan—"On the Temple of the *Capulin*"
7. Metepec—"On the Hill of the Maguey"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)
8. Cacalomaca—"Place Where They Hunt Ravens"
9. Caliymayan—"Place Where They Put Houses in Order"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)
10. Teotenanco—"On the Sacred Wall"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10r)
11. Tepemaxalco—"On the Divided Hill"
12. Coquitzinco—"On the Little Clay"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 white cotton *mantas*, with multicolored borders
- 400 henequen *mantas* with red stripes (Ocuiltecca-style)
- 1,200 white henequen *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 blue *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 green *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 20 red *cuxtecatl* warrior costumes and shields
- 2 bins of maize
- 2 bins of chia
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

Aztec military incursions into the Toluca Valley began with Axayacatl, who conquered Toluca, Calixtlahuacan, Mitepec (Tlacotepec), Metepec, Caliymayan, Teotenanco, Tepemaxalco, and Coquitzinco (Kelly and Palerm 1952:296-300; *Codex Mendoza* folios 10r and 10v).¹ According to one source (Durán 1967 2:267), the ruler of Tenantzinco (to the south, in Ocuilan province) called on the Mexica for military aid against the bothersome Tulucans, and the Mexica eagerly responded.² Another reason for conquest may have been the refusal of the Tulucans to accede to Mexica "requests" for building materials for Huitzilopochtli's temple (*ibid.*:286). However, either (or both) of these was merely a pretext, for the Mexica were surely interested in establishing a firm buffer zone between the Valley of Mexico and the powerful Tarascans to the west. Already the Tarascans had moved into the Valley of Toluca, perhaps as early as 1462 (Durbin 1970:170). Axayacatl's invasions took place between 1475 and 1478 (Hassig 1988:184).³ Durán

(1967 2:278) indicates that the Toluca losses were extreme. Hassig, however, suggests that Aztec military strategy was designed to minimize enemy losses and maintain a strong subject buffer for the Aztecs against the Tarascans to the west (1988:184). An efficient battlefield strategy could also be consistent with traditional Aztec goals to capture enemy warriors for sacrifice, rather than kill them at the scene of battle.

Following the defeat, the Mexica burned the Tuluca's temple, the characteristic symbol of military conquest. They then carried the image of the main Tuluca god (Coltzin), with his priests, to Tenochtitlan (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:402-404; Durán 1967 2:272). Apparently Aztec garrisons and a tribute collector named Yaof were left behind to maintain control of the newly conquered region and collect tributes (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:257). Gerhard (1972:174-175) mentions an Aztec garrison at Calixtlahuacan.

Apparently the region was not restful after Axayacatl's show of Mexico might. The following ruler, Tizoc (1481-1486), found it necessary again to subdue Tuluca, Mitepec (Tlacorepec), and Metepec (Kelly and Palerm 1952:301-303; Michael Smith n.d.).⁴ Much later, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (1502-1520) suppressed a rebellion at Caliyman (Chimalpahin 1965:121).

Barlow (1949a:27-28 and amp) adds two non-Mendoza towns to this province, extending its boundaries far to the west. However, it is likely that the province of Toluca was more compact and confined to the Valley of Toluca.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The Valley of Toluca is a large, fertile valley extending from the Nevado de Toluca (elevation 4,560 meters) in the south and flanking the Rio Lerma in its northwestward journey. The valley lies at a high elevation (ca. 2,500 meters at the river); frost therefore presents a hazard for agriculture. Nonetheless, maize, beans, and amaranth were grown here in abundance (Zorita 1963b:264-268), and considerable surpluses were stored for lean times and for tribute demands (ibid.). Such surpluses may have been produced with the aid of irrigation; this is recorded for Colonial times at Tuluca (PNE 1:227). Teotenanco, in the southern part of the province, sold some of its maize in the Colonial Mexico City market, an activity that may reflect pre-Conquest patterns (PNE 7[2]:7).

This was the land of the Matlatzincas, who also inhabited parts of neighboring provinces. Sahagún (1950-1982 10:181-183) describes the Matlatzincas in some detail, equating them with the Toloque (people of Toluca). They worshiped a unique god (Coltzin) and spoke a "barbarous" language, although some individuals also spoke Nahuatl (ibid.:182-183).⁵

Mazahua-Otomí-, and Nahuatl-speaking peoples shared the valley with the Matlatzincas (Gerhard 1972:174, 330). The Otomí and Mazahua may have been early inhabitants of the valley, followed by the arrival of the Matlatzincas (who were Chichimecs). Nahuatl probably became important in the region following Axayacatl's conquests in the 1470s.

TRIBUTE

Toluca province gave tribute to its Aztec overlords in standard categories of clothing, warrior costumes, and staple foodstuffs. The first item of clothing is a white *manta* with a multicolored border, given in quantities of 400. The Mendoza gloss indicates that these were small cloaks made of cotton. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 7r), illustrating a red and white border, presents a confusing

annotation: *centzontli ichtilma canahuac* (literally, 400 narrow or thin cotton cloaks of maguey fiber). Perhaps, in this case, *canahuac* means "narrow," "thin," or "fine" only.⁶ The remainder of the clothing from this province was made of maguey fiber, and the high elevation of the Valley of Toluca was conducive to extensive maguey production.

The second item of tribute consists of 400 Ocuilteca-style cloaks, also of maguey fiber.⁷ The presence of this design in Toluca province suggests either influence or immigrants from nearby Ocuilán. *Mantas* of this style were also paid in tribute by the more northerly Xocotitlan. In addition, the people of Toluca province were required to pay 1,200 cloaks of maguey fiber in tribute. As usual, the Mendoza states that all the clothing tribute was due biannually, while the *Matricula* indicates a quarterly tribute.

Toluca province also paid its tribute in the form of three styles of warrior costumes, due annually. The first is a blue *tzitzimitli* (demon of the air) with a *xicalcohuqui* shield, the second is a green *quaxolotl* style with the same type of shield, and the third is a red *cuxtecatl* costume and *cuxcoy* shield. The first two styles were made with rich feathers, and only one of each was required in payment. However, the *cuxtecatl* costume and shield were made from ordinary feathers, and twenty of these were required in payment.

The Toluca Valley, despite its risky elevation, was highly productive for the staples of maize, beans, and other crops. This productivity is reflected in the relatively large quantities of foodstuffs due annually in tribute from this region. The Mendoza illustrates three bins, two with maize kernels and small dots and one with beans and small dots. The glosses state that the former represent two bins of maize and two of chia, while the latter symbolizes one bin of beans and one of amaranth. The *Matricula* shows three almost-identical bins of maize, beans, and small dots, and provides no gloss.⁸ It is difficult to ascertain whether specified quantities were demanded or whether this roughly represented the yield from fields designated as tribute lands; Zorita (1963b:266) states that Axayacatl required the Matlatzincas to cultivate a field 800 × 400 *braças* in size. This was for "the lord of Mexico."

This entire tribute is similar to that demanded by the Aztecs following their initial conquest of the valley. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:257) states that Texcoco's annual share totaled 880 loads of fine *mantas* decorated and bordered with colored rabbit fur, 370 loads of other bordered *mantas*, and forty loads + seven *mantas* made of feathers to serve as bed coverings. The levy included, in addition, the cultivation of a field of maize "in each place," and gifts of gold jewels, adornments, and fine feathered warrior costumes. Tenochtitlan demanded a like amount of tribute, and Tlacopan half as much.⁹ The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:42) closely mirrors this tribute, merely glossing over some of the finer distinctions made in the pictorial. For example, all three warrior costumes are described as "rich," the chia and amaranth are not included, and the *mantas* are undistinguished.

REFERENCES

The Aztec-period Toluca Valley is discussed by Barlow (1949a: 27-29), Durbin (1970), Gerhard (1972:174-178, 330-331), and Zorita (1963b:263-270). The Aztec conquest of this region is detailed in Durán (1967 2:267-274), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 402-406), and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:253-257). Brief *Relaciones* exist for Tuluca (PNE 1:227) and Teotenanco (PNE 7[1]:1; 7[2]:6-7). Lockhart presents a study of Colonial-period Toluca (1976).

1. Tuluca, Metepec, Caliymayan, and Teotenanco are found in the *Codex Mendoza* conquest history.
2. Davies (1987:71) suggests that Tenantzinco was already an Aztec conquest, while Hassig (1988:185) argues that it was conquered a year after Tuluca fell.
3. Hassig suggests three separate invasions, each in successive years. Zorita (1963b:266) mentions that when Axayacatl first conquered the Matlatzínca he retained the native *Tlatuani* Chimaltecutli (though not his lesser, defiant lords). When tribute demands became too onerous, Chimaltecutli's subjects revolted against him, and Axayacatl returned to the valley a second time with his army to suppress the rebellion.
4. Of these, only Tuluca is included in *Mendoza's* conquest history (folio 12r). Conquest of the Matlatzínca is noted by several sources (see Kelly and Palerm 1952:302–303).
5. For more information on the Matlatzínca, see province descriptions for Ocuilán.
6. In the present-day Sierra Norte de Puebla, a Nahuatl-speaking weaver used *canahuac* to refer to gauze (see Anawalt and Berdan field notes, 1985, for "Cloth, Clothing, and Acculturation: Textile Traditions of Middle America," research funded by the National Geographic Society). Molina (1970: 12r) uses the term *delgada*, which could mean either "narrow" or "thin."
7. In the *Matrícula de Tributos* (1980: folio 7r), *centli* [centzontli] *ocuilteayo ichtimalli*.
8. As is customary in the *Matrícula*, each bin is shown with one bean, one maize kernel, and numerous tiny black dots. The third bin, however, adds an additional kernel of corn. This may relate to the relatively greater maize tribute shown in the *Mendoza* for this province.
9. This is according to the system whereby tributes were divided into five parts, Tenochtitlan and Texcoco each receiving two parts while the smaller Tlacopan received one part.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Ocuilan—"Where There Are Many *Ocuilteca*" or "Where There are Many Caterpillars"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
2. Tenantzinco—(Tenançinco) "On the Small Wall"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
3. Tequaloyan—"Place Where There Are Jaguars"
4. Tonatiuhco—"On the Place of the Sun God"
5. Coatepec—"On the Hill of the Snake"
6. Çincozcac—"On the Maize Jewel"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 800 rich henequen *mantas*
- 400 rich cotton *mantas*
- 400 large white henequen *mantas*
- 2,000 loaves of white refined salt

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 20 blue *cuextecatli* warrior costumes and shields
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

All the towns in *Mendoza's* Ocuilan province were apparently conquered by Axayacatl in his western campaigns. However, the conquest of Ocuilan itself is described by Durán (1967 2:293) as a "rebellion"; hence it may have been previously conquered by the Aztecs. Axayacatl's successful show of might against Ocuilan probably occurred in the year 1476.¹ Hassig (1988: 185) suggests that, in Axayacatl's campaign in the Ocuilan region, Ocuilan was the first to be subdued, followed by Tenantzinco and probably the other towns of this tributary province.²

As was customary, the Aztecs undoubtedly installed tribute collectors (*calpixque*) in this province. An official of that title is mentioned in a Colonial *Relación* for Tenantzinco, one of the towns of this province (González de Cossío 1952:395), but it is not known whether he had Aztec or local affiliations. Tenantzinco probably warred with Cuexcalan, to the south in Tepequacuilco province (PNE 6:140), and Ocuilan carried on traditional hostilities with Quauhnahuac, at least prior to its incorporation into the Aztec domain (Durán 1967 2:293).

The political situation in this province may have been historically and structurally complex. Gerhard (1972:170) suggests that Tequaloyan and Tonatiuhco had subrulers tied to Tenantzinco, but such a hierarchy is not evident in the *Mendoza*. He also mentions the possibility of Coatepec's dominance by Zaqalpa, an Aztec conquest not listed on *Mendoza's* tribute tally (ibid.:397). There is no evidence that Ocuilan itself held any particular politi-

cal control over its component towns, other than being designated by the Aztecs as the imperial tribute-collection and political center for this grouping of communities.

Barlow (1949a: 25 and map) adds two more towns to this province: Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec. These two are located far to the west of the towns in *Mendoza's* Ocuilan province, at the Tarascan frontier. They (and several other communities in the region) appear as Aztec conquests and carried on wars with the Tarascans (PNE 7[1]: 11, 20–21). The several towns in this borderland area were repeatedly conquered and reconquered by Mexica rulers from Axayacatl through the second Motecuhzoma (Michael Smith n.d.).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Ocuilan province lie to the south of the Toluca Valley, with Ocuilan itself quite separated from its associated towns. Indeed, Ocuilan lies to the northeast of Malinalco and was perhaps separated from its component towns by that province.

The land of this generally cool and dry province was mountainous and broken by numerous *barrancas*.¹ The area was probably conducive to the raising of maguey plants, as well as the cultivation of the usual staples of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth. Ocuilan itself contained good lands for the growing of maize, and the people of Tonatiuhco and Tenantzinco gave maize in tribute to their Spanish overlords in the mid-sixteenth century (Gonzalez de Cossio 1952: 395–396, 530; PNE 1: 167). Sahagún's informants (1950–1982 10: 183) emphasize that only maize, beans, and amaranth grew in this region; it lacked chiles and salt.⁴ However, Tonatiuhco did apparently produce salt, of excellent quality but in small quantities (PNE 6: 281).

Matlatzincan was the predominant language of the province, although Ocuiltecan (related to Matlatzincan) was the language of the people of Ocuilan. These people were sufficiently notable to warrant a brief description in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* (1950–1982 10: 183). In this source they are likened to the Toloque (the people of Tulucan), and "much given to bewitching others." Considerably greater detail is provided on the Matlatzincan, who, according to Sahagún (ibid.: 181–183) were so named because they shelled maize by beating it in a net, because they performed human sacrifices by crushing a commoner in a net (*matlatl* = net), or because they were skilled with slings (*tematlatl*).⁵ He goes on to describe these people as "strong, rugged, hard, sinewy." Their diet consisted mainly of tamales, beans, and fruit *atole*; their clothing was made of maguey fiber; and they made a potent *pulque*. Like the Ocuilteca, they were considered by the Nahuas to busy themselves with "the bewitching of people, the blowing of evil upon people."

TRIBUTE

Ocuilan's imperial tribute requirements consisted primarily of the usual items of clothing, warrior costumes, and food staples, along with the less typical salt. The people of Ocuilan produced distinctively designed cloaks, the main feature of which were two vertical bands with intermittent black and white curlicues. Either the design was particularly popular and widely adopted in the region or Ocuilan peoples also occupied areas to the north: *mantas* of Ocuilteca design were also given in tribute by neighboring Tuluca and nearby Xocotitlan. Those produced by these two latter provinces, however, were simplified from those provided by the core area of Ocuilan. The Ocuilan *mantas* add further embellishments

to the red and curlicue stripes: one contains two black vertical stripes, the other displays a series of interlocked conch shells. The former is glossed *huixtixtilla tlacovictelli*, "[*mantas*] designed with a hummingbird-wounded-with-a-stick" in the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 7v). The other Ocuilan-style cloak is described as *ocuiltecatzucatzatl* by Clark (1938 1: 71).⁶ He further notes that this "wind-jewel-spiral" served as a device on Quetzalcoatl's shield (ibid.). All of these were made of maguey fiber, according to the *Mendoza* glosses, and they were demanded in quantities of 400 each.

Located between these two Ocuilteca-style cloaks is an intricate red and white *manta* glossed *ixmexcalcuillolli* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 7v).⁷ In addition to its bold swirls and "eyes on the border" edging, it contains an eagle's head in the center. While this *manta* is similar to one paid by neighboring Tlachco province, it is nonetheless unique in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*. And, unlike the other cloaks paid by Ocuilan, these were manufactured of cotton, probably an import into this region.

The final item of clothing tribute consists of 400 plain white *mantas* made of "henequen" according to the *Mendoza* and of maguey fiber (*yctbilmatli*) according to the *Matricula* (1980: folio 7v). As is usual, the *Mendoza* indicates that these cloaks were given in loads (i.e., 400 loads), while the *Matricula* suggests that only 400 items were given in each case. And the usual pattern of biannual tribute in the *Mendoza* and quarterly tribute in the *Matricula* is maintained.

Ocuilan province also provided two styles of warrior costumes in tribute. The first is a *quetzalpatzactli* headdress with flowing green feathers worn with a yellow warrior suit; the costume is accompanied by a *xicalcoluhqui* shield. One such outfit and shield were demanded annually. The other warrior apparel, of which twenty were required in annual tribute, is a blue *cuextecatli* style, "of the people of Cuextlan" or the Huasteca. The shield design is a relatively uncommon one in the *Mendoza*, found also only for the provinces of Tepequacuilco, Huastecan, and Petlacalco. The shield's blue color matches that of the costume, and it is decorated with a tall triangle and two pairs of short black horizontal lines (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1).

The people of Ocuilan were also required to pay tribute in staple foodstuffs: one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth annually. The cultivation of these crops in this region (except for the chia) has already been mentioned.

Ocuilan was the only province listed in the *Mendoza* to provide salt in tribute. The salt is refined, in the form of 2,000 loaves semi-annually, and designated for use by the lords of Mexico (*Codex Mendoza* commentary, folio 33v). It is glossed as *yztamomitli* (containers of salt) in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 7v). This may have been the high-quality salt from Tonatiuhco, a town in this province. Salt of varying grades was obtained from numerous sources in Mexico, including the ocean, saline lakes, and underground water sources (Hernández 1959 2: 407). Fine salt could be obtained from some salty spring waters. The water was collected in pits and the sun allowed to evaporate the water, leaving a salty residue (ibid.). This damp product was then formed into molds, as illustrated for Ocuilan province.

The tribute listed for Ocuilan in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 42–43) is vaguely similar to that found in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*. The 1554 document lists an annual tribute consisting of two warrior costumes and twenty-one shields,⁸ all rich and gilded; 8,200 *fanegas* of maize; and 4,100 *fanegas* of beans. It also includes a tribute of 1,600 plain white *mantas* due every eighty days. This textual document omits the salt, the amaranth,

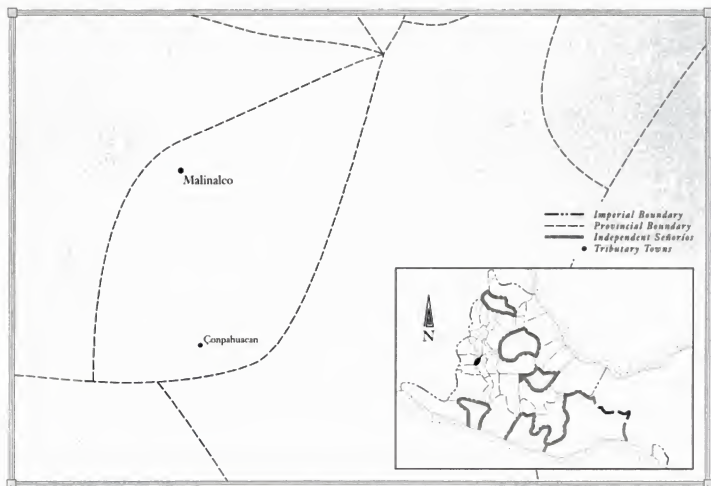
the chia, and the differentiation shown for warrior costumes and cloaks in the pictorial manuscripts.

REFERENCES

The Ocuilan provincial region is discussed by Gerhard (1972: 170–171, 397–398), Durbin (1970), and Barlow (1949a:25–26) and mentioned in passing by Durán (1967 2:96, 293, 307, 319, 335, 353) and Torquemada (1969 1:145, 149). Colonial descriptions of Tenantzínco and Tonatiuhco are found in the *Libro de las Tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:395, 530). Brief *Relaciones* exist for Ocuilan and Tenantzínco (PNE 1:166, 206), and Tenantzínco and Tonatiuhco are mentioned in passing in other *Relaciones* (PNE 6:140, 281). Sahagún (1950–1982 10:181–183) describes the Matlatzínca in depth and the Ocuilteca briefly.

NOTES

1. Chimalpahin 1965:105; *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* 1975:55).
2. Kelly and Palerm (1952:296–299) list Tenantzínco and Coatepec. Only Ocuilan and Tenantzínco are listed in *Mendoza's* conquest history (folio 10v).
3. Gerhard (1972:170, 397) places the elevation range of this region at 1,500–2,800 meters.
4. This may be more metaphorical than real. Among the Nahuatl, to eat food without chile and salt was equivalent to fasting.
5. Literally, “stone net.”
6. *Ehecatl* (wind) + *ilwatztic* (spiral) + *czucatl* (jewel).
7. For a detailed analysis of this term, see province descriptions for Tlaxcho and note 199 in the Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1.
8. This would result if a *pantli* (20) symbol were present on one shield but lacking on either of the warrior costumes.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Malinalco—"On the Grass"
2. Conpahuacan—"Place That Has a Skull Rack"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 1,200 large henequen *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

Malinalco is a small tributary province, containing only two towns: Malinalco and Conpahuacan. Malinalco itself was conquered by Axayacatl, while Conpahuacan was subdued earlier, by the first Motecuhzoma. The conquest of Conpahuacan appears to have been part of a massive military campaign that stretched south and west into present-day Morelos and Guerrero (Hassig 1988:159–161). The first mention of Malinalco as an Aztec subject appears under the reign of Axayacatl; however, this reference merely indi-

cates that the Mexica ruler appointed the ruler of Malinalco, perhaps suggesting an earlier conquest (Kelly and Palerm 1952:300). Nonetheless, Malinalco appears to have developed as a rather firm subject of the empire, as its ruler later attended the dedication of the great temple of Tenochtitlan and also provided combatants for a distant war in Tehuantepec.¹

No special fortifications or military garrisons are noted for this small province. This is not surprising, as it was insulated from the volatile Tarascan borderlands by Ocuilcan province. Likewise, no special imperial civil or military officials are mentioned, although surely tribute collectors were on the scene. This was, however, not a perpetually peaceful province, as wars with neighboring Quauhnahuac are recorded (Michael Smith n.d.). Townsend interprets the main Malinalco temple as a symbolic and political statement of imperial ownership and control and suggests that it was "created in response to the need for greater political integration in the Mexica realm" (1982:136).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The relatively small area of this province contained fertile valleys at approximately 5,000 feet in elevation (comparable to Quauhnahuac). The rivers in this mountain and valley region drained south, to the Balsas, sometimes cutting deep *barrancas* into the landscape. In a mid-sixteenth century *Relación*, Malinalco is described as sitting in a hot valley, with good springs and streams for irrigation;

the remainder of the territory was rough and mountainous (PNE 1:143). Native fruits were grown in the lower reaches, while stone was also quarried here, perhaps on the rocky hillsides (ibid.; *Código Aubin* 1963:77, 79).² While the Colonial and contemporary town is located within the valley, the Aztec-period ceremonial ruins of Malinalco rest above a steep hillside (García Payón 1946). In contrast, Çonpahuacan sat on a high rocky hill still in Colonial times, and its surrounding terrain was so treacherous that transport on horseback was considered impossible. While this town lay in the "hot lands," its water supply was limited, and cultivation was basically restricted to maguey (ibid.:55).

The predominant language of Malinalco and Çonpahuacan was Nahuatl, although this was also the land of the Matlatzineas. Nahuatl may have been a pre-imperial language, as the Malinalceas were among several southward-migrating Chichimec tribes (which included the Mexica); Malinalco was also the scene of the legendary abandonment of the goddess Malinalcoch by her brother, the Mexica patron god Huitzilopochtli (Davies 1987:18, 22).

TRIBUTE

In the *Codex Mendoza* (folio 35r) and *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 8r), the folio listing Malinalco's tribute is shared with the province of Xocotitlan. In the *Matricula* the division between the two provinces is made by a distinct vertical black line; in the *Mendoza* the provinces are stacked, with Malinalco above Xocotitlan, and no line divides them.

The most prominent item of tribute rendered by Malinalco and Çonpahuacan was clothing: 1,200 palm-fiber cloaks were sent in tribute twice a year (or every eighty days, according to the *Matricula*).³ Çonpahuacan was surely the major contributor to this levy; cloaks of palm fiber were still made and marketed by people from this town in early Colonial times (PNE 1:55).

In the *Matricula* each cloak has two fingers projecting from its top, indicating a length of two *brazas*. These fingers have been omitted in the *Mendoza*, but were probably intended (see note 3).

Each plain white *manta* figure is shown punctured with a sharp bone. This symbol provides a phonetic prompt for *yçotl*, or palm fiber,⁴ and these cloaks are indeed glossed *yçotilmatl* in the *Matricula*. The *Mendoza* commentary describes the material as "soft hequen." Hernández (1959 1:170–171) mentions that the leaves of the *yçotl* produced finer and stronger fibers than did those of the maguey. The leaves were first soaked in water, then pounded

and washed, and repeatedly beaten and dried in the sun until the fibers were ready for use (ibid.).⁵ Cloaks of this material were reportedly sold in the Tlatelolco marketplace (Sahagún 1950–1982 10:75). They came in a variety of sizes and shapes, differing degrees of fanciness, and weaves that ranged from "tight" to "net-like." The seller of these cloaks also reportedly made them, and traveled about with these wares (ibid.).

The only other tribute demanded of this province consisted of four bins of foodstuffs: one each of maize, chia, beans, and amaranth.⁶ The substantial agricultural production reflected in this tribute may have derived from irrigation in the vicinity of Malinalco.⁷

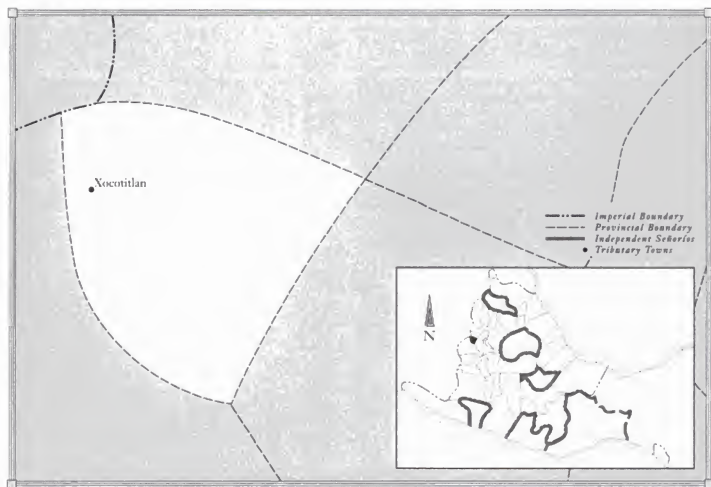
The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957) omits this province in its tribute listings.

REFERENCES

Additional information on Malinalco province can be found in Barlow (1949a:29–32), Gerhard (1972:170–171), García Payón (1946), Galván (1984), and Townsend (1982). Brief *Relaciones* exist for the two towns in this province (PNE 1:54–55m 143), and the Mexica quarrying of stone there is recorded in the *Código Aubin* (1963:77, 79).

NOTES

1. Durán 1967 2:304–305; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:538–539. Both activities took place under the Mexica ruler Ahuitzotl.
2. This documented quarrying took place in the years 1501, 1503, and 1515.
3. The *çontli*, or "hair" glyph for the number 400, appears to have been added by a different hand, and seemingly after the gloss was written. Its original omission was probably a scribal oversight. The number glyphs are clearly and boldly drawn in the *Matricula*.
4. The bone piercing the cloth represents *çutl* (to bleed or to perforate), as in the place-name glyphs for Çoçolan (folios 15v, 17v). The plant is identified as *Yucca aloifolia* L. by Clark (1938 1:71) and Anderson and Dibble (in Sahagún 1950–1982 11:205).
5. The plant is also described and illustrated in Sahagún (1950–1982 11:110, 205, ill. 691), although fiber from its leaves is not mentioned.
6. While the *Mendoza* illustrates two bins, the *Matricula* shows only one bin containing a kernel of corn, a bean, and numerous tiny black dots.
7. Irrigation is recorded for the Malinalco area in the Colonial sixteenth century; this may or may not have been an extension of pre-Spanish practices (PNE 1:143).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWN:

1. Xocotitlan—"Near the Fruit"

Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 designed henequen *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

Xocotitlan is included with Malinalco and Çonpahuacan on folio 35r of *Codex Mendoza*. Xocotitlan province is shown on the bottom half of *Mendoza*, while in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 8r) it occupies the right third of the folio, separated from Malinalco province by a thick black line. These provinces may have been grouped together for the sake of convenience (since their tallies were short enough to fit on a single folio); they are not geographically contiguous.

Xocotitlan was conquered by the Mexica ruler Axayacatl, in

league with Texcoco's Nezahualpilli and Tlacopan's Chimalpopoca (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:256). Interestingly, Xocotitlan seems to have been of lesser military importance than neighboring Xiquipilco, which is not listed on the tribute folios of *Mendoza* or the *Matricula*. As the Triple Alliance moved out of the Valley of Mexico to the west, Xiquipilco may have been the army's first target.¹ Also included in this western campaign were Xocotitlan and probably Tuluca. The year was probably 1478.²

These strategic conquests placed the Triple Alliance with subjects close to the enemy Tarascans, and indeed Axayacatl attempted a forceful campaign against the Tarascans after securing that frontier. The enterprise ended, however, in disaster, the Mexica being roundly defeated by their western enemies (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:229).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Xocotitlan lay along a fertile valley watered by the Lerma River. During the Spanish Colonial period, this was known as the Valley of Matalcingo, just north of and perhaps including the Valley of Tuluca. Most of the towns in this region were located 2,400–3,000 meters above sea level, and the climate was generally "cold with moderate rainfall" (Gerhard 1972:174).

At the time of their conquest by the Aztecs, the people of this region spoke a variety of languages: Mazahua, Matlatzinea, and Otomi (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:256). By the time of Spanish con-

tact, a smattering of Nahuatl may also have been present (Gerhard 1972:174). Ocuilteca people may also have lived (or at least their presence was felt) in this province, since cloaks of specifically Ocuilteca design were demanded in tribute. Today Mazahua and Otomi are in evidence (Barlow 1949a:37).

Sahagún (1950–1982 10:183–184) describes the Mazahua people (named after their first ruler, Maçatl tecutli) as “not well reared. The old women paint their faces with yellow ochre or with red. They even paste their arms, their legs with feathers.” They were always carrying gourd rattles with them. He also mentions that they were great farmers, although their land was very cold.

Little is known of the region’s resources. Sixteenth-century *Relaciones* indicate that irrigation was used in Xocotitlan and that fish were obtained from the river at Xiquipilco (PNE 1:298–299). Entries for both towns indicate that nothing special was grown there, just subsistence products. Maguey or yucca may also have been widely available, if the *Codex Mendoza* gloss for the tributary cloaks (“of henequen”) is correct. Certainly Xocotitlan lay at an elevation appropriate for the nurturing of maguey.

TRIBUTE

Xocotitlan’s tributary demands were limited to *mantas* and staple agricultural products. The image representing the 400 *mantas* has two ornate stripes of red alternating with black and white curls. These are described as cloaks of soft “henequen” in the Spanish commentary (folio 34v). In the *Matrícula de Tributos* (folio 8r) they are described as cloaks of Ocuilteca design and closely resemble *mantas* given by Ocuilan and Tuluca provinces, just to the south. As is customary in the *Mendoza*, these cloaks were to be paid

every six months; the *Matrícula* does not indicate a schedule for this payment.

In addition to tribute in cloth, the people of Xocotitlan paid their Aztec overlords bins of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth (one of each annually). The Spanish commentator (folio 34v) is at odds with the Spanish glosses (folio 35r); the commentator indicates that eight bins were due altogether, two of each seed. The *Matrícula* is unenlightening, illustrating one bin of combined seeds and providing no Nahuatl or Spanish gloss.

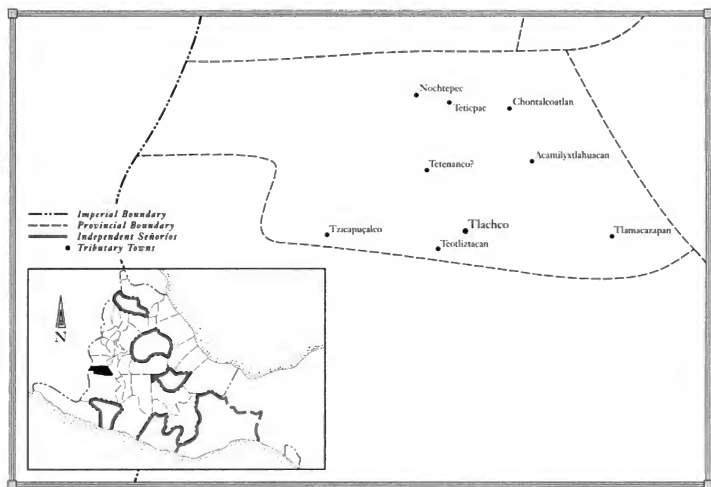
As with Malinalco, Xocotitlan province is not included in the textual 1554 tribute document (Scholes and Adams 1957).

REFERENCES

Information on Xocotitlan province is found in Barlow (1949a: 36–37), Gerhard (1972:174–178), Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:256), and PNE 1:298–299. Life in the Valley of Matalcingo (before and after the Spanish Conquest) is discussed by Alonso de Zorita, although he emphasizes Tuluca (1963b:263–271). This region and its history are also studied by Durbin (1970). The borderland Tarascan fort of Acambaro has been studied by Gorenstein (1985).

NOTES

1. Barlow (1949a:36). However, Davies (1987:70–71) suggests that Tuluca was the first Mexico conquest in the west.
2. *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1975:57) and Chimalpahin (1965:105). Xocotitlan, Xiquipilco, and Tuluca are all included in the *Codex Mendoza* as conquests of Axayacatl (folio 10v). Axayacatl received a serious wound in the battle against Xiquipilco, although Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:256) records massive captures by the Aztecs at Xiquipilco (more than 12,000 persons).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlachco—"On the Ball Court"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Acamilyxlahuacan—"Place of the Plain of Cultivated Fields of Reeds"
3. Chontalcoatlán—"Where There Are Many Strange Snakes"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
4. Teticpac—"On Top of the Rock"
5. Nochtepec—"On the Hill of the Prickly Pear Cactus"
6. Teotliztacan—"Place of the White God"
7. Tlamacazapan—"On the Water of the Priest"
8. Tepexahualco—"In the Painted Hill"
9. Tzacapuálco—"On the *Tzicatl* Sand Heap"
10. Tetenanco—"On the Stone Wall"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 richly decorated cotton *mantas*
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 1,200 large white hequequ *mantas*

The following items were given every eighty days:

- 200 little pitchers of bees' honey
- 1,200 yellow varnished gourd bowls

- 400 little baskets of refined white copal for incense
- 8,000 balls of unrefined copal, wrapped in palm leaves

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *tzizimilit* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of chia

CONQUEST HISTORY

Tlachco and its associated towns apparently did not attract Aztec military interest until neighboring Quauhnhuac was suitably subdued by the imperial forces. Then, under the Mexica ruler Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, at least the towns of Tlachco and Chontalcoatlán were conquered (*Codex Mendoza* folio 8r). Some of the towns included in this *Mendoza* province may not have been subdued until later, apparently Teticpac was not brought under imperial power until the time of Axayacatl (Chimalpahin 1965: 104). Çacualpan, relatively close to towns in Tlachco province but not itself on the *Mendoza* tribute tally, was conquered by the earlier ruler Itzcoatl (*Codex Mendoza* folio 6r). This town later welcomed Ahuitzotl after his successful military campaign against the more southerly Teloloapan, Oztoma, and Alahuiztlan (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a: 528).

It appears that the conquest of this region was only part of a

broader military sweep made largely by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina. Hassig (1988:159) suggests that, while Tlatchco itself was subdued by military force, Chontalcoatlán may have peacefully submitted to the Aztec show of force.

Michael Smith (n.d.) suggests that Tlatchco, well prior to its conquest by the Aztecs, may have been subject to Quauhnhuac. However, by the mid-fifteenth century it must have been sufficiently strong and independent to warrant its own conquest, separate from that of Quauhnhuac. Relations among towns in this area appear to have been rather belligerent. Despite the fact that Tlatchco, Quauhnhuac, and Tepequacuico were all Aztec provinces, these neighbors carried on traditional wars with one another (perhaps reflecting old wrongs, predating their common condition under the Aztec political umbrella). Tlatchco warred with Quauhnhuac and Ychcateopan (in Tepequacuico province; PNE 6:90, 277). Tzicapuácalco carried on hostilities with Alahuiztlan and Ychcateopan (both in Tepequacuico province; PNE 6:96). Ychcateopan also faced Nochtepec in battle (ibid.:90).

Despite the fact that the towns of this province lay along the hostile Tarascan border, no garrisons or fortifications are reported. However, a "governor" was installed at Tlatchco by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (and probably also by his predecessors); the governor's duties entailed the administration of justice and the collection and transmission of tributes to Tenochtitlan (PNE 6:276–277). The *Relación* of Tlatchco makes it clear that this official governed only Tlatchco and its *estancias*, not the entire province (ibid.). Little is known of the government of other towns in this province, except that Tzicapuácalco was ruled by a local *Tlatoani* called Ahuiccutli. He was assisted by four esteemed nobles in administering local justice (PNE 6:95–96).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The province of Tlatchco covered the northern tip of present-day Guerrero. It was a region of hills and low mountains, and a moderate climate; rainfall decreased from north to south (Gerhard 1972:252).

The predominant language of the province appears to have been Chontal, spoken in the *Mendoza* centers of Tlatchco, Acamiyltlahuacan, Chontalcoatlán, Nochtepec, Teotliztaccan, Teticpac, Tlamacazapan, Tepexahuaco, and Tetenanco (PNE 6:265; Gerhard 1972:252). However, "Mexicano" (Nahuatl) was mixed into the language mosaic, as were Mazatec (notably in Tzicapuácalco and Tlatchco) and Tarascan (PNE 6:94, 265).

The economy of the province was based on maize cultivation supplemented with beans, chiles, chia, squashes, and various other vegetables and fruits (ibid.:98, 280). In addition, small amounts of salt were produced at Tzicapuácalco (enough to attract purchasers from Teloloapan and Ychcateopan),¹ and the uplands around Tzicapuácalco were home to a tree called *huaxquahuil*, from which good ax handles and digging sticks were made (ibid.:92, 98, 216). Cacao also seems to have been produced in the region, though only in small quantities (ibid.:281).

TRIBUTE

Tlatchco's tribute begins with a variety of clothing, to be paid twice a year according to the *Mendoza* and every eighty days according to the *Matricula*. Heading the list are 400 richly decorated red and white *mantas* with the prestigious "eyes on the border" design. The body of the cloak shows bold swirls, lines, and circles, and an

eye. This cloak is glossed as *ymxetlacuilólli* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 8v). Elsewhere (ibid.:35) I have translated this as "painted *mantas* of maguey fiber,"² but there are other translation alternatives. Lorenzana suggests the rather unlikely "useless painting" (Clark 1938 1:71),³ but "wealthy painting" would be more reasonable.⁴ Whatever the meaning intended, the gloss is most certainly quite correct: the eye in the cloak design provides the *ix-* prompt (eye = *ixtelolotli*).

Accompanying these fancy cloaks are 400 women's tunics and skirts with red bands and 1,200 cloaks of palm fiber. The *Mendoza* glosses these latter as *mantillas* de *Enequen* (small cloaks of henequen),⁵ while the *Matricula* identifies them as *yçotilmatlí* (1980: folio 8v). They are labeled glyphically by the bone piercing the garment: this provides the *çotl* ("to bleed" or "to pierce") syllable, alerting the reader to the material *yçotl*. That material consisted of the fibers from *Yucca aloefolia*,⁶ threads made from these plants were considered finer and stronger than those produced from the maguey (Hernández 1959 1:171). Each of these three *manta* figures has two fingers protruding from its top, indicating a length of two *bravas*.⁷ In Colonial times Tlatchco continued to pay tribute in clothing made of "some leaves of trees called *yçitçotl*" (PNE 1:255). For more details on *yçotl* cloaks, see the page descriptions for Malinalco province.

The people of Tlatchco province were also required to pay annual tribute in the form of two warrior costumes. One is a yellow "demon of the air" style, the other is the style characterized as *cuextecatli*, "of the people of Cuextlan" or the Huasteca. Both are accompanied by *xicalcolihubqui* shields.

The *Mendoza* tribute roll for this province additionally depicts a wooden bin full of maize kernels and small dots; the annotation and commentary indicate that this represents two bins of maize and chia (to be paid annually). In contrast, the *Matricula* depicts a maize kernel, a bean, and numerous small dots, lacks a Nahuatl annotation, and contains a Spanish gloss that says only "measures of maize" (1980: folio 8v). It is difficult to know with certainty exactly what was demanded, since all these cultigens were grown in the province (see above).

Like its neighbor Tepequacuico, Tlatchco paid tribute in bees' honey (*quaubnecutli*). These 200 little jars were due every eighty days. The acquisition of this wild honey continued into Colonial times among (at least) the people of Tzicapuácalco; part of their Colonial tribute included five little jars of honey to be given every sixty days (PNE 1:79). In the same general time period, the people of Tlatchco and Tlamacazapan were required to pay tribute every 120 days in twelve large jars of honey (ibid.:255).⁸ For more information on honey, see the page descriptions for Tepequacuico province.

Further tribute from Tlatchco province included 1,200 yellow gourd bowls, to be paid every eighty days. The *Mendoza* commentary indicates that these were varnished yellow; the *Matricula* glosses merely identify them as *xicaltecomatlí*, and one of the bowls is drawn with a chevron design along its rim (1980: folio 8v). According to Molina (1970:158v), *xicalli* and *xicaltecomatlí* were the same, "gourd bowl." However, Clark distinguishes them, suggesting that the *xicalli* was a half-sphere shape while the *xicaltecomatlí* had a narrow mouth. If this were the case, the illustration and gloss on this folio are mismatched. A form of narrow-mouthed gourd bowl is found on the folio for Xoconochco province (folio 47r) and is glossed *tecomatlí* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 13r). For more information on varieties of gourd bowls, see the page descriptions for Xoconochco province.

Tlachco and its neighbor Tepequacuilco were the only *Mendoza* provinces to pay tribute in copal incense, and they gave it in the same form and quantities. Tlachco paid 400 little baskets of refined white copal for incense and 8,000 balls of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves, due every eighty days. According to Hernández (1959 1:177), many different types of plants yielded forms of *copalli*; apparently the plants in the Michoacan area typically emitted a yellow liquid, while the product of the Aztec provinces was white and transparent (ibid.:176). Sometimes the liquid would just ooze out by itself, but the tree (*copalquabuitl*) could also be cut to release the product (ibid.). *Copalli* was noted for its odiferous qualities and was used widely as an incense.

The *Matricula* (1980: folio 8v) glosses identify the baskets of copal as *yztac copalli* and the wrapped balls as *quaibulyo*.⁹ Both white incense and *quaubiocopalli* (unrefined incense) were included in the offerings to the god Huitzilopochtli during the month of Toxcatl (Sahagún 1950–1982 2:74). It is not clear whether *quaubiocopalli* was a particular variety of copal or merely a different form or stage in the “refining” process.

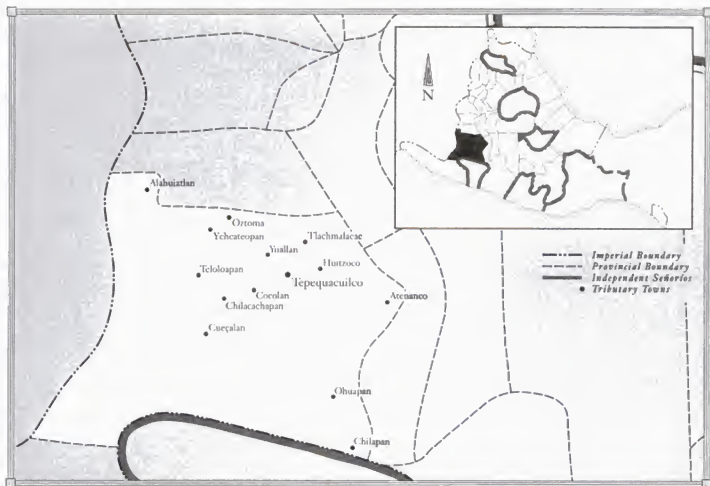
The tribute listed for Tlachco in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:43–44) is much reduced from that shown in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*. One entry in this midcentury Colonial document lists only an annual tribute of two costumes of gold, twenty-one shields decorated with rich feathers,¹⁰ 4,100 *fanegas* of maize, and a like quantity of beans. Two thousand *mantas* were also due every eighty days. A somewhat different entry lists the costumes and shields, the maize and beans, and the *mantas*. However, it also adds one hundred copper axes and two large copper bars (ibid.:76–77). The honey, gourd bowls, and incense are nowhere mentioned. In the realm of further small disparities, Nochtepec reportedly gave Colonial tribute in gold dust, and Tlachco paid wax to its Colonial overlords (PNE 1:163, 255). Yet these items do not appear in the Aztec imperial tribute lists. Perhaps, however, they made their way to the imperial capitals via other distribution channels, or represented more specifically Colonial interests.

REFERENCES

- Sources on Aztec-period Tlachco are rather limited. The region is discussed in general terms by Gerhard (1972:152–154, 252–255, 397–398), Barlow (1949a:22–25), Harvey (1971), and Coe and Whittaker (1982) in their introduction to the treatise of Ruiz de Alarcón. Some of the texts of Ruiz de Alarcón derive from this region (ibid.; Andrews and Hassig 1984). *Relaciones geográficas* exist for Tlachco and Tzicapuáleo (PNE 6:263–282, 93–100). Additional Colonial-period details are available in the *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:272–273, 357–358, 615–616) and the *Relaciones geográficas* (PNE 1:58–59, 79–80, 163, 255).

NOTES

1. These two towns were in the tributary province of Tepequacuilco.
2. *Ysnextlacuilalli: xchli* = maguey fiber; *nextli* = ash; *tlacuilalli* = painting or writing. For a different, more likely translation, see note 199 of chapter 8 in volume 1.
3. Clark bases his statement on Lorenzana, referring to this same gloss for cloaks paid by the nearby province of Ocuilán. It must have been derived from *ixnepapan*, “in vain” (Molina 1970:46r).
4. This would derive from *ixnestia*, to gain wealth or acquire something by hard work (Molina 1970:46r).
5. The gloss over the first figure adds *blando*, smooth or soft.
6. Both Clark (1938 1:71) and Anderson and Dibble (in Sahagún 1950–1982 11:110, 205) make this identification.
7. Sahagún (1950–1982 10–75) specifically mentions the *icxitlmaummatl*, palm-fiber cloak of two *brazas*.
8. The non-*Mendoza* town of Ačala was also included in this Colonial levy. The *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:357, 615) mentions Tlachco's honey tax and further notes that the non-*Mendoza* community of Čacualpan also paid a Colonial tribute in honey.
9. This is simply identified as *copalli* on folio 9r of the *Matricula*. For more information on *copalli*, see page descriptions for folio 61r.
10. The *Información* was derived from a pictorial; in this case two costumes and two shields would have been drawn. One shield would also have had a banner atop, signifying the number 20.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tepequacuilco—"Place Where Faces Are Painted"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 6r, 8r)
2. Chilapan—"On the Water of the Chile"
3. Ohuapan—"On the Stalk of Green Maize"
4. Huitzoco—"On the Digging Stick"
5. Tlachmalacae—"On the Thrown Spindle Whorl"
or "On the Ball Court Rings"
6. Yoallan—"Place of Night"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 6r)
7. Cocolan—"Place of Many Disputes"
8. Atecanoo—"On the Wall of Water"
9. Chilacachapan—"On the Water of the *Chilacaxtli*"
10. Tloloapan—"On the Water of the Pebbles"
11. Oztoma—"Cave Made by Hand"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v) and folio 18r
12. Yehcateopan—"On the Temple of Cotton"
13. Alahuiztlan—"Where There Are Many Gliding Swimmers"
14. Cueçalan—"Where There Are Many Scarlet Macaw Feathers"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 6r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:
400 quilted *mantas*, each two *brazas* long

- 400 black-striped *mantas*, each two *brazas* long
- 400 rich diagonally divided *mantas*
- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 400 white *mantas*
- 1,600 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 1 blue *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 20 red *cuextecatli* warrior costumes and shields
- 1 bin of maize
- 1 bin of chia
- 1 bin of beans
- 1 bin of amaranth
- 5 strings of *chalchibuitl* (greenstone)

The following items were given every eighty days:

- 100 little copper axes
- 1,200 yellow gourd bowls
- 400 little baskets of white copal for incense
- 8,000 balls of unrefined copal for incense
- 200 little jars of bees' honey

CONQUEST HISTORY

Triple Alliance military incursions into this region began early in the history of the empire and continued, in successive waves,

through the reign of its last ruler. The first Mexica Triple Alliance ruler, Itzcoatl, conquered a number of city-states in this area, including the *Codex Mendoza* towns of Tepequaculco, Yoallan, Cueçalan, and Teloloapan.¹ Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina continued his predecessor's interest in this rich area, apparently reconquering Tepequaculco and Cueçalan and adding Oztoma, Ychcateopan, Tlachmalacac, Alahuiztlan, Ohuapan, and Chilapan to his considerable laurels.² Of these conquests, it appears that only Alahuiztlan submitted voluntarily to the Mexica military presence (PNE 6: 101). Tizoc apparently achieved one conquest in this region, that of 'lonali ymoqueçayan (*Codex Mendoza* folio 12r). This town, however, does not appear on the *Mendoza* tribute roll.

Some of these same towns were seemingly unhappy with imperial rule, as they appear repeatedly on the conquest lists of successive Mexica rulers. Most notable of these was Oztoma, whose overthrow is claimed by both Axayacatl and Ahuiztotl.³ Ahuiztotl's conquest of this fortress is especially well documented in slightly conflicting accounts. Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 525–528) records fierce fighting and heavy casualties in this campaign, and concurrent difficulties with the nearby Tarascans. The chronicler also documents the need to repopulate this site, along with the devastated towns of Teloloapan and Alahuiztlan,⁴ with settlers from the Valley of Mexico. The *Relación geográfica* for Oztoma notes the conquest of the town of Oztoma, the subsequent building of a fortress there, and persistent attacks by Tarascans. The repeated Triple Alliance or Mexica conquests of Oztoma may reflect Tarascan incursions into the region and/or divided loyalties to Tarascans and Mexica on this volatile borderland.

Tepequaculco was a frontier province in the truest sense, sharing long western and southern borders with groups fiercely hostile to the Triple Alliance. To the west were the Tarascans, while the southern border faced the independent Yopes. It is not surprising, then, to find armed outposts in this region, of which the now-vanished Oztoma is the most famous.

Oztoma was located in a particularly volatile area, being the subject of repeated attacks, conquests, rebellions, reconquests, and colonization efforts. It is interesting, however, that it did not abut directly on the Tarascan border, but was insulated by other towns of this province. One of those towns, Alahuiztlan, was linked to Oztoma by its duties to send food, weapons, and aid to that "fortress" (PNE 6: 102). Nearby Iztapa, a subject of Alahuiztlan, was also fortified, on a round hill, to protect local salt resources from the Tarascans (ibid.: 105). Farther south along the Tarascan border, Totoltepec supported Mexican troops and also sent aid to Oztoma (ibid.: 149–150), and Tetela fought with the Tarascans (ibid.: 133).⁵ Curiously, Ychcateopan, another town in the western part of this province, records wars only with towns to the north, in Tlachco province.⁶

The *Mendoza* town of Chilapan lay at the very southern edge of Tepequaculco province, bordering on unconquered Yope territory. The people of that town were required to contribute to the wars the Aztecs fought with the Yopes (PNE 5: 178). Three other towns conquered by the Aztecs were strung along this southern border: Otlatlan, Tlacotepec, and Tzompanco;⁷ perhaps they served as a buffer in this militarily unstable region. Acapetlahuaya, near Oztoma, also served as an Aztec garrison site (PNE 6: 115).

Two other centers with possible military significance were located in this province: Tetenanco (or Quecholtenenanco) and Pocpeçte. These two, along with Oztoma, are included on the *Mendoza*'s enigmatic folios 17v and 18r. An important official (*Mixcoatl Tlacatecutli*) is associated with Tetenanco, which may well indicate

close administrative supervision from the imperial capitals. This is doubly true for Oztoma, which was favored with two Aztec officials, a *Tlacocacatl* and a *Tlacatecatl*.⁸

This province seems to have been unstable internally as well as with its troublesome neighbors. Some of the towns within the territory of the province fought among themselves: Cueçalan with Apaztla (a non-*Mendoza* town) and Otlatlan with Tlacotepec and Tetela (PNE 6: 141, 129). While all these towns were subject in some manner or other to the Triple Alliance, only Cueçalan is included in Tepequaculco province; if towns entered the empire on varying bases (those recorded in the *Mendoza* representing only one such base),⁹ these internecine hostilities, perhaps predated Aztec conquest, may have continued unimpeded. It is less easy to explain the wars carried on by Ychcateopan with towns in neighboring Tlachco province (see above).

In addition to stationing loyal men-at-arms close to hostile borderlands, the Triple Alliance powers orchestrated some colonization in this province. The most profusely documented instance of resettlement involves the towns of Oztoma, Teloloapan, and Alahuiztlan. As subjects of the empire, these three centers rebelled and were furiously reconquered by the Triple Alliance armies. The reconquest took a heavy toll in local lives, and, since it was important to the Aztecs that these borderland areas be well populated with loyal subjects, a resettlement effort was launched. In all, supposedly, 9,000 married couples from Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Tlacopan, and other Valley of Mexico centers were relocated to these depleted towns (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a: 533–536; Durán 1967 2: 351). Under somewhat different historical conditions, the borderland town of Chilapan was reportedly settled by a noble official (*Texolotecubtli*) sent there by the first Motecuhzoma, although it is unknown how many people he took with him. This story gains some support from the statements that the language of this town in the sixteenth century was Mexicana, though not as "polished" as that of the Mexica, and that the people's customs differed little from those of the Mexica (PNE 5: 176–177). It does appear that the Aztecs, whether through repeated military incursions, deployment of troops, or colonization efforts, expended considerable energy in securing this frontier and subduing restless subjects.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The region encompassed by Tepequaculco province was generally hot and dry, with considerable elevation variation. The land, in north-central Guerrero, was mountainous and dissected by large river drainages, especially the Balsas (Mezcala). Some of the towns of this province were situated along rivers or on major land routes; others, such as Oztoma, Iztapa, and Alahuiztlan, were built on hill-tops for defensive purposes (PNE 6: 102–103, 105, 111). According to Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 522), Teloloapan was large, having a wide, prominent street; Chilapa was also laid out with "straight streets" (PNE 5: 176). However, some towns in the province, like Ychcateopan, may have exhibited a more dispersed settlement pattern (PNE 6: 91).

Gerhard (1972: 152) aptly describes the language distribution of this region as a "thoroughly confusing picture." In a very general sense, it may be said that Chontal was spoken in the northwest of the province and Coixca in the northeast (including Tepequaculco itself). Cuiltepec formed a strip along the Balsas, and a pocket of Tuxtec sat in the east. South of the Balsas, the language picture is vague. The people of Chilapa spoke a rough form of "Mexicana"

(Nahuatl), while the people of Orlatlan and Tlacotepec spoke "Tepeusteca" (PNE 5:176; 6:123, 128). Tetela was a Cuitlatec town (ibid.:132) along the Balsas. A few other towns, north of the Balsas, are described as strictly "Mexicano"; these include Acapetlahuaya and Cueçalan (ibid.:116, 138). Others were Chontal towns: Totoltepec, Apaztla, and Alahuiztlan (ibid.:100, 144, 149). Ychcateopan and Oztoma were characterized as both Chontal and Nahuatl ("Mexicano"), while Teloloapan contained a mixture of Chontal, Mexicano, and "Ysucua" speakers (ibid.:89, 106, 146). The *Relación* suggests, for Oztoma, that the Nahuatl speakers were left over from the time when Motecuhzoma's troops were stationed there, but that the population was essentially Chontal. It also mentions that, for Teloloapan, the Chontal and "Ysucua" peoples lived in separate *barrios*, being the more ancient inhabitants of the town. As may be expected of a conqueror's tongue, the introduced language (Nahuatl) survived in this region largely as an overlay, except in towns such as Chilapa which may have been settled early on by Nahuas (see above).

The economy of the region was based on agriculture, combining cultivation of maize, beans, chiles, squashes, chia, and maguey. The towns of the province also produced an abundance of fruits (PNE 6:87–148 and *passim*). The major salt resources of the region were located around Alahuiztlan, Yztapa, and Oztoma. Salt from these sources was sold throughout the area and was considered well worth guarding (ibid.:104–105, 112). Farther south in the province, Cueçalan produced just enough salt and cotton for its own consumption (ibid.:143). Atenanco, Cocolan, Teloloapan, and Ychcateopan also produced cotton (ibid.:89; 1:51, 102, 216), but the most significant cotton-growing town was Tetela, a non-*Mendoza* community that sat at the confluence of two rivers. Tetela produced cotton in abundance, apparently enough to supply much of the region (PNE 6:136 and *passim*). The people of Tetela also grew small amounts of cacao, as did those of Alahuiztlan, Cocolan, Chilapan, and Oztoma (PNE 1:20, 102–103, 167). However, most of the region's cacao needs were supplied from the Pacific coast. Specialized products from the province included *copalli* and possibly jadeite from Cueçalan (PNE 6:140, 142), a yellow pigment (*tlalcozabuilt*)¹⁰ from Teloloapan (ibid.:146), and white honey, copper, and gold dust from the province's southernmost town of Chilapan (PNE 1:103; 6:181).

TRIBUTE

The tribute demanded from this large and rich province coincides quite closely with its towns' resources. Cotton growing in several communities is surely reflected in the large quantities of cotton cloth required in tribute. The first type of *manta* shown, quilted with a black and white border, was required to be two *brasas* long. These cloaks, 400 of them, are glossed *cacamolihuqui* ("quilted" *mantas*) in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 9r). The second type of cloak, also 400 in number and two *brasas* in length, was decorated with three black vertical stripes; it is labeled *tlilpapatlavac ommatl* in the *Matricula* (ibid.).¹¹ The third *manta* drawn is the most elaborate of those required of this province. It has a black and white Tlaloc mask design in the middle, a diagonal corner of pitch black, and the prestigious red, black, and white *tenemjo* border. Of these characteristics, the *Matricula* gives priority to the diagonal division, glossing the cloaks as *nacazmingui* (diagonally divided).¹² Tepequaculco province was also required to pay tribute in 400 women's tunics and skirts, decorated with black and red bands. The remaining cloth tribute consisted of 400 small white cloaks and 1,600

large ones; the *Matricula* glosses the former as *canavac* ("narrow" or "fine"), the latter as *quachtli*. *Quachtli* were large white cotton cloaks that also circulated as a form of money. The former may have been a responsibility of Teloloapan (PNE 6:146).

While the clothing tribute was due every six months (every eighty days according to the *Matricula*), the remaining items were paid on an annual basis. Three types of warrior costumes were demanded: a yellow costume with *quetzalparzaciti* device, along with its *xicalcolihuqui* shield, a blue *ocelotl* (jaguar) costume with its *cucyo* (variant) shield, and twenty red and black *cuetzextatl* costumes and shields. The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 36v) states that the first two were made of rich feathers, the *cuetzextatl* of ordinary feathers.

Tepequaculco was one of the more distant provinces to be required to provide bulky staple foodstuffs in tribute. According to the *Mendoza*, one bin each of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth were paid annually. The *Matricula* shows only one bin of combined seeds. The cultivation of maize, beans, and chia (but not amaranth) is mentioned repeatedly in the *Relaciones geográficas* for towns in this region (PNE 6:87–148).

Aside from these rather usual tribute items (cloth, warrior costumes, and foodstuffs), the people of Tepequaculco gave a wide array of specialized products in tribute. Among them were copper axes, one hundred of them every eighty days. Only one other province, nearby Quiauhateopan (folio 40r), also paid tribute in copper axes. Chilapan, in Tepequaculco province but close to Quiauhateopan, reportedly exploited copper locally (PNE 1:103). For more information on copper, see the page descriptions for Quiauhateopan.

The 1,200 gourd bowls given every eighty days were covered with a yellow varnish, perhaps the *tlalcozabuilt*, used as a "yellow wash," collected by people from the town of Teloloapan (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:257; PNE 6:146). While the rims of the bowls drawn in the *Mendoza* are plain, two of them in the *Matricula* are decorated with a chevron.

Chalchibuilt, probably jadeite,¹³ must have been important in this region, for five sizable strings of round and oblong beads were demanded in tribute annually. While the natural sources of jadeite are rather vague, Coe (1968:94, 102–103) includes the Balsas River drainage (in Tarascan territory) as a likely source area.¹⁴ Perhaps some of this jadeite trickled across the Tarascan/Triple Alliance border through trade, or perhaps people living along the Balsas in Tepequaculco province procured jadeite or greenstone locally. Cueçalan, a provincial town close to the Balsas River, reportedly had local greenstone resources (PNE 6:140). According to Aztec wisdom, experienced persons could locate greenstone by searching for it at dawn:

when [the sun] comes up, they find where to place themselves, where to stand; they face the sun. . . . Wherever they can see that something like a little smoke [column] stands, that one of them is giving off vapor, this one is the precious stone. (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:221)

This procedure may be associated with a particular physical property noted by Sahagún (ibid.:223)—he mentions that *chalchibuilt* "attracts moisture." Hence the "smoke column" may be the moisture that is rising in the early morning sun.

Tepequaculco and its northern neighbor Tlaxco were the only provinces required to pay part of their tribute in copal incense. Large quantities were usually required for ceremonial purposes; Tepequaculco gave 400 baskets of white copal (*yrzac copalli*) and 8,000 balls of copal to be refined for incense, due every eighty

days. For details on copal, see the entry under Tlaxco province.

Like four other southern provinces (Tlaxco, Tlaxcohuatlán, Quiahuotlán, and Yoaltepec), Tepequaculco was required to pay tribute in jars of bees' honey. The 200 jars were to be delivered every eighty days. While the *Metricula* gloss is largely obliterated, honey in identical jars given by neighboring provinces is uniformly labeled *quaubnevctli* (*quaubnevctli*). This type of wild honey was produced by a bee called *mimiauatl*, a slender, stinging bee that lived in forests and in *tierra caliente* (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:94).¹⁵ Honey was a popular sweetener for many foods and drinks.

It is interesting that, while some towns in this region reportedly developed local cacao and gold resources, these prestigious commodities were not demanded in tribute. It is likely, in the case of cacao, that production was limited and could satisfy only local demand. It is not clear why the gold obtained at the distant town of Chilpan was not a tribute item, although the *Relación* for this town lists radically different tribute overall from that shown in the *Mendoza*: jaguars, eagles, maize, and chile (PNE 5:178). Chile is also listed as an imperial tribute item for the town of Ychcateopan (*ibid.*:89).

Some of the tribute obligations of towns in this region were met by supplying local Aztec garrisons and by fighting in wars against the Tarascans. Teloloapan, Oztoma, and the non-*Mendoza* town of Tototepic provided food and troops for the garrison at Oztoma; Alahuiztlan, Teloloapan, and Oztoma fought wars with the Tarascans, perhaps helping to hold the western border for the Triple Alliance (PNE 6:102, 110, 147, 149).

The *Información* of 1554 presents a list of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin's tribute demands that differs slightly from that of the *Mendoza*. On an annual basis, the people of the province were required to send five strings of rich greenstones (*chalchibuitli*); three warrior costumes and forty-one shields; 8,100 *fanegas* of maize; 4,000 *fanegas* of beans; 16,000 baskets of copal; 2,000 men (figures) of copal; 800 large painted gourd bowls; and 2,000 sheets of native paper. Aside from this varied annual duty, the province paid certain items of tribute every eighty days: 3,600 cloaks, one hundred copper axes (to cut wood), two large bars,¹⁶ and one hundred copper bells¹⁷ (Scholes and Adams 1957:44–45).

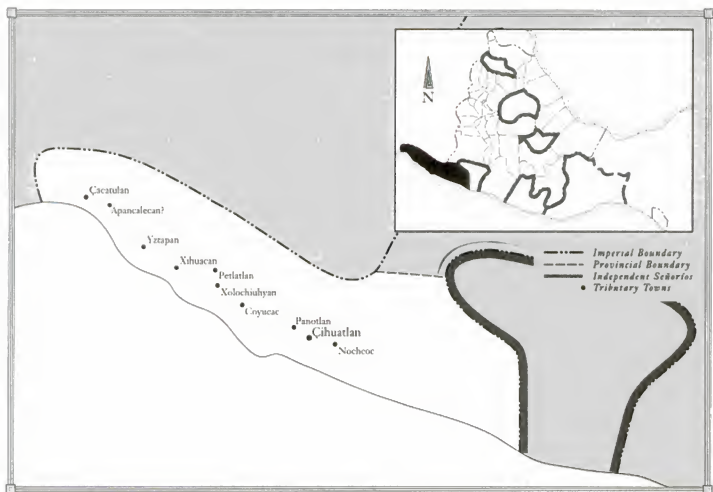
REFERENCES

Additional information on Tepequaculco province can be found in Litvak King (1971a), Harvey (1971), Barlow (1949a:15–22), and Gerhard (1972:111–114, 146–148, 152–154, 291–293, 316–318). A *Mapa de Tepequaculco* is found in Glass (1964:129, ill. 81). Several *Relaciones geográficas* exist for towns in this province (PNE 1:20, 51, 102–103, 140, 167, 216, 256, 287, 290, 296; 5:174–182; 6:87–148; *Relación de Iguala*: Toussaint 1931). The related histories of Durán (1967 2:347–355) and Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 525–536) describe in detail the conquest and repopulation of

Oztoma. Further details of life in this region can be gleaned from the texts of Ruiz de Alarcón (Coe and Whittaker 1982; Andrews and Hassig 1984).

NOTES

1. The first three of these conquests are recorded in *Codex Mendoza's* conquest history (folio 6r), while the conquest of Teloloapan is noted in a *Relación geográfica* (PNE 6:146). The same *Relación* (*ibid.*:138, 140) also mentions Itzoatl's victories over nearby Coatepec, a town not listed on the *Mendoza* roster. Kelly and Palmer (1952:288) record most of these conquests. However, they mistranscribe Tepequaculco as Tepequaculca, and thus are led geographically astray there.
2. Tepequaculco is the only one of these towns included in the *Mendoza* conquest history for the first Motecuhzoma (folio 8r). The conquests of Oztoma, Cuetzala, Chilpan, and Ychcateopan are mentioned by Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:201) and Torquemada (1969 1:157). Torquemada (*ibid.*) also notes the conquest of Tlachmalcac, and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:201) records the subduing of Ohuapan. A *Relación geográfica* (PNE 6:101) mentions the fall of Alahuiztlan. Most of these conquests are summarized and mapped in Kelly and Palmer (1952:291–295).
3. Oztoma's conquest is attributed to Axayacatl in *Mendoza's* conquest history (folio 10v), and to Ahuiztlotl by Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:344).
4. Teloloapan had already supposedly been conquered by Itzoatl, and Alahuiztlan subdued by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina.
5. Tototepic is not included in the *Mendoza* tribute tally or conquest history, but a *Relación geográfica* records its conquest by Axayacatl (PNE 6:149). Tetela was also an Aztec subject not listed in the *Mendoza* for this province.
6. Rather than warring with Tarascans, the people of Ychcateopan fought with those from Tlaxco, Tzicapuquelo, and Nochtepec (all in the Aztec province of Tlaxco; PNE 6:90).
7. Although not included in the *Mendoza* tribute tally for this province, all three towns are described as "subjects of Motecuhzoma" in *Relaciones geográficas* (PNE 6:123, 128, 317).
8. The glyph and gloss for the title *Tlacochcalatl* do not agree here; the gloss says *tlacochteclli* (folio 18r). For details and an interpretation of these outposts, see the page descriptions for folios 17v and 18r.
9. See Berdan et al. n.d.
10. Literally, "yellow earth" (*tlalli* = land or earth, *coyauhuqi* = yellow). Sahagún (1950–1982 11:257) describes a yellow coloring agent called *tlalocviti*. This is not quite the same as *tezcabuitli*, yellow ochre.
11. *Tlilpapatlavac ommitli* = wide black striped, two *bravas*.
12. Clark (1938 1:73) identifies this design as *coyauhuqi timmati* (*coatl* = snake; *coyauhuqi* = full of masks; *timmati* = cloak). The *cacique* on folio 60r wears a cloak decorated with two rondels containing Tlaloc masks.
13. There appear to have been several variations of *chalchibuitli*, neutrally called "greenstone." Sahagún (1950–1982 11:223, 226) describes *chalchibuitli* (greenstone), *quetzalchalchibuitli* (quetzal feather greenstone), *tlilaitic chalchibuitli* (like black water greenstone), and *iztac chalchibuitli* (white greenstone). In all these cases, the distinguishing feature is color, which ranged from white to a near black, including some that were spotted.
14. Coe also mentions the Motagua River valley (in Guatemala) and Costa Rica as sources of jade or jadeite.
15. Hernández (1959 2:48–49) discusses several types of bees and honeycombs, but identifies none as *quaubnevctli*.
16. The type or material of these bars is not specified.
17. The writer describes the material of the axes and bells as *bierra* (iron); however, copper is surely meant.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Çihuatlán—"Place of Many Women"
2. Colima—"Place Taken by Acolhuas"
3. Panotlan—"Place of River Fords"
4. Nocheoc—"On the Prickly Pear Cactus Fruit"
5. Yztapan—"On the Salt"
6. Petlatlan—"Where There Are Many Mats"
7. Xihuacan—(Xihuhuacan) "Place That Has Turquoise"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)
8. Apancalecan—"Place of House Canals"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)
9. Coçohuipilecan—"Place of the Yellow *Huipilli*" or "Place of the Yellow *Ehuatl*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)
10. Coyucac—"In the Place of the Coyuca"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)
11. Çacatulan—"Place Where Grass and Reeds Abound"
12. Xolochiuhyan—"Place Where Attendants or Slaves Are Made"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:
1,600 orange-striped *mantas*, each four *brazas* in length

2,400 large white *mantas*
80 loads of red cacao
400 loads of brown cotton
800 red seashells

CONQUEST HISTORY

Ahuizotl (1486-1502) conquered Xihuacan, Apancalecan, Coçohuipilecan, Coyucac, and Xolochiuhyan (*Codex Mendoza* folio 13r). *Códice Chimalpopoca* (1975:67) and *Anales de Tlaxelolco* (1948:17) both add Çihuatlán to Ahuizotl's conquests. Durán and Alvarado Tezozomoc are silent on conquests in this region, but Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:279-281) relates the story of the valiant Texcocan noble Teuhchimaltzin, who managed to kill the ruler of Çacatula and bring this coastal center under the sway of Texcocan power. The other towns listed on the Çihuatlán tributary page in the *Codex Mendoza* may have been subjects of the "conquered" towns and thus automatically part of a listed conquest. Or, perhaps just as likely, they may have simply been omitted from the telling. In contrast, Acapulco is included in Ahuizotl's conquest list (*Codex Mendoza* folio 13r) but excluded from the Çihuatlán tribute tally (even though it surely fell within these boundaries). These inconsistencies also lead to the possibility that towns were incorporated into the Aztec empire on different bases. Whatever the terms of conquest, no rebellions are recorded for this province.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Çihuatlan province, or those that have been thus far located, were situated just inland from the Pacific Ocean (see Barlow 1949a: map; Litvak King 1971a: map 5; Harvey 1971: 604). Areas inland were interrupted by the Sierra Madre, and it is difficult to know how much territory was indeed encompassed in this province.

Çihuatlan province shared a long northwestern border with the Tarascans and an eastern border with the Yopes; both were areas that remained unconquered by the Aztec empire throughout its short history. Çihuatlan was narrowly connected to Tepequacuilco, an Aztec province.

Linguistically and ethnically, the province was highly diverse. The eastern edge of the province was composed of Tepuzteco speakers; the central section, Cutlatze speakers; and on the west, a variety of languages and groups existed side by side. Apparently there were numerous pockets of different language groups dotted throughout the province; this variation may have been quite extreme, with each city-state exhibiting its own identifiable language (Andrés de Tapia did single out Zacatula, on the western border of the empire, as having its own language: 1971: 592). For more details on this distribution of languages, see Brand (1943), Litvak King (1971a: map 4), Barlow (1949a: 13–14), and Harvey (1971).

TRIBUTE

The Spanish commentary indicates that the white *mantas* were woven of “twisted yarn,” while the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 9v) calls them *quachtli*, a large white cotton *manta* frequently used as a medium of exchange. The *Información* of 1554 (1957: 114) seems to omit these plain *mantas* entirely, instead increasing the number of orange (yellow)-striped *mantas* to 4,000. For the striped *mantas*, the *Matricula* gives *nauhtzontli cozhuahuauqui nanmatl*: “1,600 yellow-striped *mantas* of four *brazas*” (Berdan 1980b: 36). The correspondence between tribute in raw cotton (reflecting cotton-growing areas) and the production of oversize cotton *mantas* is discussed in chapter 5 in volume 1 (see also Berdan 1987a).

Clark (1938 1:74) identifies the red cacao as *Myrodia funebris* B. and translates the Nahuatl annotation in the *Matricula* (*xochicacavatl*) as a cacao drink with certain dry, pounded flowers. Molina (1970: 160f) identifies *xochiayo cacaual* as a drink made of cacao with certain dried ground flowers, and indeed several varieties of flowers were combined with chocolate to produce aromatic and tasty beverages (e.g., see Sahagún 1950–1982 11:201, 203, 210). However, the *xochicacavatl* mentioned here is more likely one of four varieties of cacao discussed by Hernández (1959 1:304). He characterizes this type of cacao as a smaller tree, with smaller fruit than that of the two largest varieties; the tree, he says, produces a seed of reddish exterior. This is consistent with the depictions in the tribute rolls; the flower glyph attached to the bundle provides the clue identifying this as *xochi-* (flower) cacao. Given the great distance between Çihuatlan and Tenochtitlan, it is more likely that the sturdy beans would have been transported than their more perishable “ground and flowered” alternative. This item is included in the *Información* of 1554, but as one hundred loads.

Çihuatlan was the only province to deliver brown cotton (*co-*

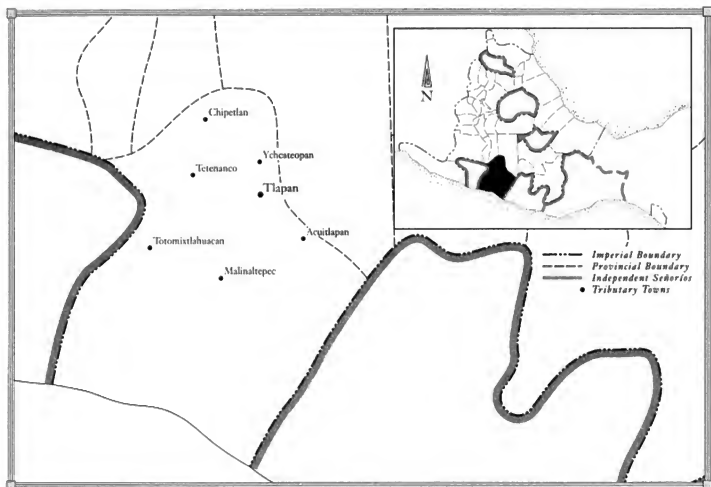
yochicatl) in tribute, although it was grown in both the Pacific and Gulf coastal regions (Foster 1942: 19; Kelly and Palerm 1952: 144–145). More is known about brown cotton from the ethnographic literature than from archaeology or ethnohistory. While Sahagún (1950–1982 10:75) distinguishes several types of cotton (basically by region), he does not specifically mention brown cotton as among the merchandise of the “cotton seller” in the great Tlatelolco marketplace. Alcorn (1984: 389–390) reports that informants in the Gulf coastal region used to identify four different types of cotton: two perennial tall varieties (one white, one brown) and two short annual varieties (one white, one brown). These informants also stated that the short varieties, more productive than the tall ones, have been lost from lack of cultivation, and that the tall forms remain but only grow spontaneously in dooryards. As remembered by these older informants, both white and brown cotton used to be planted, sometimes being intercropped with maize or beans (*ibid.*: 390). Hernández (1959), sometimes offering intriguing botanical and cultural details, is quite unlightening with regard to cotton. The *Información* of 1554 omits this tribute item from its Çihuatlan listings.

The 800 vermilion seashells also appear in the *Matricula* and are glossed as *tapachtli*. *Tapachtli* is a kind of seashell that “resembles a crystal; it is also translucent; it is also transparent, smooth, slick, ever slick, rough; it is rough, perforated” (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:230). They were cut and made into bracelets and necklaces (*ibid.*), and the *atzcalli* (a synonym for *tapachtli*) was called a “physician’s bowl” and used by physicians for divination (*ibid.*: 60). The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 114) calls these “piedras encarnadas de que ellos hacían mascarar.” Clark (1938 1:74) identifies these as *Spondylus princeps* and suggests that they were probably provided by the towns of Çihuatlan, Çacatulan, Nochooc, and Coyucac (*ibid.*).

There is little documentary information on the tributary towns and their individual tribute. Barlow (1949a: 9–12) provides some details on possible locations of the towns, noting also (*ibid.*: 15) the tribute of two towns that appear in the Çihuatlan region but go unrecorded in the *Mendoza*: the towns of Anecuilco and Citlaloma gave tribute to Motecuhzoma in the form of enemy slaves (this was a borderland), *mantas*, and gold dust taken from nearby rivers (see PNE 6:158). Díaz del Castillo (1963: 268) mentions three Spanish gold-seeking expeditions guided by Motecuhzoma II’s emissaries; one of these, he says, went to Zacatula (Çacatulan), although this is not supported by Cortés’s letters. Perhaps Díaz was influenced by the later, post-Conquest importance of Zacatula as a mining center. In any event, Çacatulan was close to the Tarascan border, so close that it is even uncertain whether it was affiliated with the Aztec empire or the Tarascan (Brand 1971: 646). In the internal economy of this area, gourd bowls (*tomates*), cacao, salt, nets, pottery clay, and fruits were important exchange items (*ibid.*: 164).

REFERENCES

For more information on Çihuatlan province, see especially Barlow (1949a: 8–15), Harvey (1971), Litvak King (1971a), Gerhard (1972: 39–41, 393–397), and *Papeles de Nueva España* (PNE 6: 158–166). See also individual town listings in *El libro de las tasas de pueblos de la Nueva España* (González de Cossío 1952).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlapan—"On the Dye" or "Place of the Tlapaneca"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 12r, 13r)
2. Xocotla—"Where There Are Many Fruits"
3. Yehcateopan—"On the Temple of Cotton"
4. Amaxac—"On the River That Divides into Channels"
5. Ahuacatla—"Where There Are Many Avocados"
6. Acocozpan—"On the Very Yellow Water"
7. Yoalan—"Place of Night"
8. Ocoapan—"On the Pine Water" or "On the Pine Canal"
9. Huitzamola—"Where *Huizamolli* Abounds"
10. Acuidapan—"On the Water Dung Heap"
11. Malinaltepec—"On the Hill of Grass"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 16r)
12. Totomixtlahuacan—"Place of the Bird-Hunter's Plain"
13. Tetenanco—"On the Stone Wall"
14. Chipetlan—"Place of Xipe"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 400 red-striped *mantas*
- 800 large *mantas*
- 800 gourd bowls (*recomates*) for drinking cacao

The following items were given annually:

- 1 red *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *cuxtecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 10 gold tablets
- 20 gourd bowls of gold dust

CONQUEST HISTORY

Tlapan is recorded twice in *Codex Mendoza's* conquest history, first as a trophy of Tizoc (1481–1486) and again as a conquest of Ahuiztlotl (1486–1502). Its "destruction" by a Triple Alliance army is recorded by *Códice Chimalpopoca*, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, and Torquemada, all of whom agree on a date of 1486 for the event (Kelly and Palerm 1952:276). This would have been the first year of the young Ahuiztlotl's reign.¹ In another account (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:271–272), the Texcocan ruler Nezahualpilli takes center stage in the conquest of Tlapan. This ruler, along with the Mexica ruler Ahuiztlotl and the Tepanec ruler Chimalpopoca, conquered Tlapan and other major provinces in southern Mexico with some difficulty, leaving *gente de guarnición* in the strongest centers.

It is not clear when the other towns in this province fell to Aztec military might. Several were apparently directly subject to Tlapan and may have been delivered to the Aztecs along with Tlapan. However, this may not have always been the case. Malinaltepec, for example, fell under the forces of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin in

the early 1500s (*Codex Mendoza* folio 16r; Kelly and Palerm 1952: 277, 311).

Despite this province's frontier location, squeezed between the two unconquered realms of Yopitzinco and Tototepec, no fortresses or garrisons are reported. However, two other nearby conquered districts may have taken over the function of maintaining the hostile borderlands. One such realm, that of Ayotlan, is added by Barlow to Tlapan province (1949a: 108). Ayotlan apparently ruled over ten other important towns in this area and carried on wars with nearby Nexapa, Xalapa, and the Yopes (PNE 4:260). One of the towns, Tototepec,² did house a resident *capixqui* (tribute collector) and a garrison representing Motecuhzoma's interests (PNE 1:29). The other political district conquered by the Aztecs (Omtepec) lay to the east of Ayotlan, near the border with the Mixtec state of Tototepec (Michael Smith n.d.).³

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The region encompassed by Tlapan province lay in present-day eastern Guerrero. The climate was hot and dry, and the terrain mountainous (Gerhard 1972:321). Nonetheless, agriculture was successful through irrigation in at least Ychcateopan, Yoalan, and Chipetlan (PNE 1:98, 137). Cotton was grown at Yoalan and probably at Ychcateopan.⁴ As with several neighboring provinces, some towns in Tlapan province produced honey, although this does not appear as part of their imperial tribute requirements.⁵

Gold was an especially important resource in this province and may have served as an incentive for Aztec conquest. Gold appears as an item of local tribute (Seler 1904a: 128–154; Glass 1964:165) and figures significantly in the province's imperial dues. Gold was mined in Tlapan, Ychcateopan, and Totomixtlahuacan (PNE 1: 137, 274) and taken from a river near Ayotlan (PNE 4:259). Gold extraction continued to be an important activity in Tlapan well into the Colonial period (González de Cossío 1952:511).

Ayotlan, at the edge of the Pacific coastal plain, also produced cacao; its tribute to Motecuhzoma, however, consisted of a gold bar three fingers thick, gourd bowls, cotton, fish, deerskins, and jaguar skins (PNE 4:259–260). Some of these types of items appear in the *Mendoza* as tribute also from Tlapan province.

The predominant language in Tlapan was Tlapanec; languages spoken in other towns of this province included Nahuatl and Mixtec, along with Tlapanec (Gerhard 1972:321; Barlow 1949a: 109).⁶ The non-*Mendoza* communities nearer the coast were both Tlapaneca and Yope. The Tlapaneca were given that name because they painted themselves with red ochre, called *tlauitl*. On one hand they were rich and “knowers of green stones”; on the other they were “completely untrained; they were just like the Otomi; yet they were really worse” from the point of view of the Aztecs (Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 187).

TRIBUTE

While gold is prominent in Tlapan's tribute, this province also gave tribute in the more usual categories of clothing and warrior costumes. The semi-annual tribute in clothing consisted of 400 loads of women's tunics decorated with a red band and a short band at the neck opening; an equal number of skirts shown with the *buipilli*; 400 loads of cloaks with three red stripes, each two *brazas* long; and 800 loads of large white *mantas*.⁸

The people of Tlapan also provided two warrior costumes in tribute annually. One was a red jaguar-style costume with a flow-

ing green and white feathered headdress and an accompanying *xicacolinbqui* shield. In the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10r), this costume is drawn with numerous black spots, replicating the jaguar's appearance. The second costume is a yellow *cuxtecatl* costume with a *caxeyo* shield.

The gold tribute was delivered in two forms: bars and dust. The bars consisted of ten tablets; each was to be four fingers wide and three-quarters of a *vara*⁹ long. These bars, to be delivered annually, were to be as thick as vellum. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 10r) glosses these tablets as *teocuitlatl coztic matlactli*, “ten (bars of) yellow gold.” Tlapan was the only *Mendoza* province to provide gold in the form of tablets, although nearby Ayotlan reportedly did (see above).

The gold dust was delivered annually in twenty gourd bowls. The amount to be contained in each bowl is specified as two *almoçadas*, or the quantity that fills “the hollow of both hands placed together” (Clark 1938 1:74). The gloss for this item in the *Matricula* reads *centepantli in xalli teocuitlatl coztic*, “twenty (bowls of) yellow gold dust.”¹⁰ Gold dust was obtained from rivers or streams. The emperor Motecuhzoma apparently told Cortés and his captains that “they collected [gold] in gourds by washing away the earth, and that when the earth was washed away some small grains remained” (Díaz del Castillo 1963:265). In another technique, reported from the Gulf coast region:

An Indian could leave here [near Veracruz city] and reach the source [of the gold] by midday, and have time before dark to fill a reed as thick as a finger. In order to get the gold they had to go to the bottom of the water and fill their hands with sand in which they searched for the grains, which they kept in their mouths. (Saville 1920: 14)

The final item of tribute for Tlapan province was 800 yellow gourd bowls, glossed as *ayotectli* in the *Matricula*.¹¹ These were the fine bowls from which cacao was drunk. The drinking of that prized beverage from these special cups is recorded for grand merchant feasts (Sahagún 1950–1982 9:35, plate 29).

The Colonial tribute from Tlapan resembled its Aztec demands only in the category of gold dust. In this later period, Tlapan also paid tribute in jars of honey and loaves of wax (González de Cossío 1952:511).

The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:46–47) records a similar tribute for Tlapan province, although it considerably reduces the tribute in gourd bowls, does not specify the *buipiles* in the *manta* tribute, and adds 2,000 balls of rubber and 400 rubber figures (in human form) used as offerings to the gods. The document indicates that each *jicara* of gold dust was valued at 232 pesos.

REFERENCES

Additional information on Tlapan province and its neighbors can be found in Gerhard (1972:148–151, 321–324), Barlow (1949a: 107–112), Harvey (1971), Lister (1971), Brand (1971), Radin (1933), Toscano (1943), Glass (1964:163–166), Seler (1904a), Noguera (1933), Oettinger and Horcasitas (1982), and Paso y Troncoso (PNE 1:30, 48–49, 98, 136–137, 184, 273–274; 4:255–260).

NOTES

1. However, *Códice Chimalpopuca* also records Tlapan as a conquest of Tizoc (Kelly and Palerm 1952:301–303).

2. This Tototepec is not to be confused with the Mixtec state of Tototepec to the east. This latter Tototepec was never incorporated into the Aztec imperial domain.
3. Michael Smith (n.d.) divides this region into one tributary province (Tlapan) and two strategic provinces (Ayotlan and Ometepec).
4. *Ychiatopan*: "On the Temple of Cotton."
5. The towns of Tetenanco and Atliztacan, although the latter was nearby and an Aztec conquest, it is not listed in the *Mendoza* (PNE 1:49, 274).
6. Malinaltepec and Totomixtlahuacan were Tlapanecan; the rulers of Chipeltlan and Tetenanco were Nahuatl (Gerhard 1972:321).
7. Glossed as *obonmati*, "two brazas," in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10r).
8. The *Matricula* (1980: folio 10r) gives the generic *tibmatli* for these cloaks.
9. Clark (1938 1:74) explains that a *vara* equals 2.78 feet, although that term was used for a variety of measurements.
10. *Xalli* = sand; *tocuitlatl* = gold; *coztic* = yellow.
11. *Ayotactli* = gourd bowl, from *ayotetl*, gourd or melon (Molina 1970:3v). Clark (1938 1:74) calls these pottery bowls, which seems unlikely.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlalcoçauhtitlan—"Among the Yellow Lands"
Also in *Códex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Tolimani—"Place of the Reed Cutters"
3. Quauhtecomacínco—"On the Little Gourd Tree"
4. Ycheatlan—"Where There Is Much Cotton"
5. Tepoztitlan—"Among the Copper"
6. Ahuaçinco—"On the Very Small Oak Trees"
7. Mizinco—"On the Small Arrow"
8. Çacatlan—"Where There Is Much Grass"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 large white *mantas*
- 100 little pitchers of bees' honey
- 20 pans of a yellow varnish called *tecoçauhtil*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield

CONQUEST HISTORY

The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan heads the only *Mendoza* folio to contain three provinces. These provinces are arranged in horizon-

tal rows, with Tlalcoçauhtitlan at the top, Quiauhteopan in the middle, and Yoaltepec at the bottom. The arrangement is different in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10v), with the three provinces (in the same order from left to right) placed in vertical columns. In both documents the initial town glyphs are the provincial capitals; these glyphs are found at the extreme left in the *Mendoza* and at the bottom of each column in the *Matricula*. The *Información* of 1554, however, replaces each of these provincial capitals with the last-listed town glyph: Çacatlan, Tequisquitlan (Xala), and Ychca atoyac (Scholes and Adams 1957:47-49).¹

Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:198) lists Tlalcoçauhtitlan among Nezahualcoyotl's conquests over which he placed a tribute official named Huitziltecuhtli.² However, other sources (Hassig 1988:159, 231-232; Kelly and Palerm 1952:292, 311) attribute the conquest of Tlalcoçauhtitlan to either the first or the second Motecuhzoma. Tlalcoçauhtitlan was under Aztec rule by the time of Ahuizotl's Great Temple dedication in 1487, for tributes from that town contributed to the commemoration (Durán 1967 2:341). Of the towns in this province, only Tlalcoçauhtitlan is listed in the *Mendoza* conquest history: it was brought into the empire by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (folio 8r).

The garrison of Pochotlan was probably located in this jurisdiction. This strategic town, subject to Ahuaçinco, was reportedly conquered by Nezahualcoyotl, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, Axayacatl, and/or Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:201; Kelly and Palerm 1952:293, 297, 313). This may be the

otherwise-unlocated Poctepoc on *Codex Mendoza* folio 17v (Michael Smith n.d.).⁵

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The area encompassed by Tlaloçauhtitlan province ran in a rather narrow sliver north and south of the Balsas River. Tlaloçauhtitlan itself lay close to the Balsas, near the region broadly called Mezcala. Numerous "Mezcala-style" greenstone masks, some of them bearing glyphs on their backs, were buried as offerings at Tenochtitlan's Great Temple.⁶

The terrain of this province was broken with mountains and *harrancas* and was generally hot and dry (Gerhard 1972:111).

The predominant language of Tlaloçauhtitlan itself was Coixca, a variant of Nahuatl; a sixteenth-century Spanish vicar described the language as "coarse compared to the refined speech of the Mexicans" (Harvey 1971:606). Tuxtéc, a language of unknown affinities, was also spoken in Tlaloçauhtitlan and neighboring towns, and Tlapanec and Matlame were also spoken in the vicinity (ibid.:608, Barlow 1949a:83).

TRIBUTE

Following its recorded conquest by Nezahualcoyotl, the province of Tlaloçauhtitlan owed to its Texocan overlords an annual tribute of sixteen pieces of colored lacquer, twenty loads of copal incense, 268 gourd bowls,⁷ and twenty loads of wood rods⁸ (Alva Ixtlilochitl 1965 2:198).

The tribute demands on the eight towns of Tlaloçauhtitlan province seem relatively light. The people of this province were required to deliver one Xolod head warrior costume with its *xicalcolinbiqui* shield annually, and 400 large white *mantas* semi-annually. The cloaks are glossed as *quacheli* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10v).

In addition, Tlaloçauhtitlan paid twenty pans of a yellow varnish called *tecoabuitl*.⁹ This material was used on gourd bowls as well as people's hands and feet (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:315). This yellow stone was ground up and used to make things particularly "brilliant" (Sahagún 1950-1982 11:242). Sauer (in Barlow 1949a:83) suggests that this may instead be a "yellowish lacquer base, prepared from *Coccus* insects." The Balsas River drainage and its surrounding highlands were known as a major source area for this material.

The final item of tribute for this province was one hundred little

pitchers of bees' honey. Honey may have been prevalent in the area; it continued to be given as tribute to the Spanish Colonial government in the sixteenth century (González de Cossío 1952:503).¹⁰ The procuring of honey is discussed under Tepequacuico province.

The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:47-48) replicates the Mendoza tribute, although it omits the honey and interprets the yellow varnish as gold dust.

REFERENCES

Information on Tlaloçauhtitlan province, however slim, can be found in Gerhard (1972:111-113), Barlow (1949a:82-84), and Harvey (1971). Sixteenth-century documentation exists in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (PNE 1:174, 290; 5:249-260) and *Epistolario de Nueva España* (ENE 8:119). Details on its conquest and early tribute are found in Alva Ixtlilochitl (1965 2:198).

NOTES

1. The pictorial manuscript from which the 1554 textual document was derived must have resembled the *Matricula* more than the *Mendoza* in format. Instead of reading from bottom to top in the indigenous manner, the interpreter must have read the columns from top to bottom, according to Spanish conventions. If the pictorial had resembled the *Mendoza*, the interpreter would have had to read the place glyphs from right to left. This seems unlikely. See Berdan 1976a for a fuller discussion.

2. Alva Ixtlilochitl stresses that this tribute collector owed sole allegiance to Texococ, the tributes belonging to that ruler alone.

3. Alva Ixtlilochitl (1965 2:201) includes Poctepoc among other conquered towns in this region, and van Zanwijk (1967:154) tentatively locates it in this general area.

4. While many caches contained materials from this region in Guerrero, the greatest concentration was in Chamber II on the side of the temple dedicated to the rain god Tlaloc (Matos Moctezuma 1988:102). Mezcala-style figurines and masks are discussed in greater depth by González González (1987). Broda (1987:90) suggests caution in defining these artifacts in terms of a regional style.

5. *Jacaros* and fine *tecomates*.

6. *Tlacuicil quachuite*. This thick, varicolored tree, from which drums were made, is described by Sahagún (1952-1980 11:111) and Hernández (1959 1:40).

7. The name derives from *teitl* (stone) and *coçauhtyui* (yellow). The picture of this item includes the glyph for "stone," informing the reader that the name of the material begins with *te-*.

8. Colonial tribute from Tlaloçauhtitlan also included wax and tiles of gold, demands not placed on this province by the Aztecs.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Quiauhteopan—(Quiyauhteopan) "Outside the Temple"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Olinalan—"Place of Much Movement" or "Place of Many Earthquakes"
3. Quauhtecomatla—"Where There Are Many Gourd Trees"
4. Qualac—"In the Place of Good Drinking Water"
5. Yehcatla—"Where There Is Much Cotton"
6. Xala—"Where There Is Much Sand"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 large white *mantas*
- 100 little jars of bees' honey
- 80 little copper axes
- 40 large copper bells

The following items were given annually:

- 1 blue *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 little pan of small turquoise stones

CONQUEST HISTORY

Quiauhteopan is the middle of three provinces occupying folio 40r of *Codex Mendoza*. While the last-named town is glossed Xala (and unglossed in the *Matricula*), the *Información* of 1554 implies that this place glyph could as well be interpreted as Tequisquitlan (Scholes and Adams 1957:48; Berdan 1976a:135).¹

The conquest of Quiauhteopan is claimed for Motecuhzoma II-huicamina in the *Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r), although its conquest is also attributed to Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco (Alva Ixtlilochitl 1965 2:201). Despite the fact that it appears as the provincial head town, it nonetheless may not have been the most important community in this province. It is listed as a *sujeeto* of Olinalan (PNE 5:210), and this latter town continued as the most important center of the region well into the Colonial period (Gerhard 1972:321). The political importance of Olinalan is also reflected in the invitation extended to its ruler in 1481 to attend Tizoc's coronation as new Mexico king. The ruler of Quiauhteopan was apparently not invited (Durán 1967 2:307; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:446). The designation of a less powerful town as Aztec provincial capital is unusual in Aztec imperial politics, but not unknown (see Coayxtlahuacan province).

Barlow (1949a: map) constructs the province as a rather long north-south sliver, but the identifiable towns actually cluster in a small area to the south, close to Tlapan province. While this rather compact province lay at a considerable distance from the Triple

Alliance capitals, there are no fortifications or *gente de guarnición* mentioned for any of its towns.²

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The small area encompassed by Quiauhteopan province lay in the present-day state of Guerrero west of the Rio Tlapaneco. The region was hot and dry, and the terrain mountainous (Gerhard 1972: 321). None of the towns of this province lay along any major transportation route; all roads in the area led to and from Olinalan.

Nahuatl was the predominant language in this province, although speakers of Tlapaneco, Matlame, and Mixtec were also present in the region (ibid.: Barlow 1949a: 85).

The local economy of Olinalan included cacao growing, although this valuable product fails to appear on the province's tribute tally (PNE 1: 172; ENE 8: 120). Similarly, gold was apparently mined in this region, but is also omitted in Quiauhteopan's tribute (Schmidt and Litvak King 1986: 42). Colonial tribute from the town of Olinalan consisted of cacao, cash from the sale of cacao, gold, and little jars of honey, presumably reflecting the area's local resources (PNE 1: 172).

TRIBUTE

Like the other provinces on this folio, Quiauhteopan paid one warrior costume with shield annually and 400 loads of large white *mantas* semi-annually. The warrior costume is a blue *cuextecatli* style, the shield a matching *cuexyo*.³ The *Matricula* glosses the cloaks as *quachtli* (1980: folio 10v).

Turquoise either was mined in this area or passed through it in trade, as one pan of small turquoise stones was demanded in tribute annually. Additional information on turquoise is found under Tutchpa province.

Like other nearby provinces, Quiauhteopan paid part of its tribute in honey. The one hundred jars of bees' honey were to be paid semi-annually. Honey is further discussed under Tepequacuilco province.

Quiauhteopan provided a considerable tribute in copper items: forty large copper bells and eighty copper ax heads, collected for tribute twice a year.⁴ This was the only province to deliver copper bells, although nearby Tepequacuilco paid part of its tribute in copper ax heads.⁵ The copper for these Quiauhteopan objects may have been obtained locally or perhaps from realms to the south. Pengergast (1962: 533) shows heavy concentrations of copper ar-

tifacts in west Mexico, the Mixtec-Zapotec zone, and western Guatemala. Copper bells were used to adorn representations of deities and to accompany the deceased on their journey to Mictlan, the land of the dead (*Codex Magliabechiano* 1983: folios 45r, 49r-59r, 68r). They also circulated as a form of money in Yucatan, as did small copper axes (Tozzer 1941: 95-96, 231).⁶

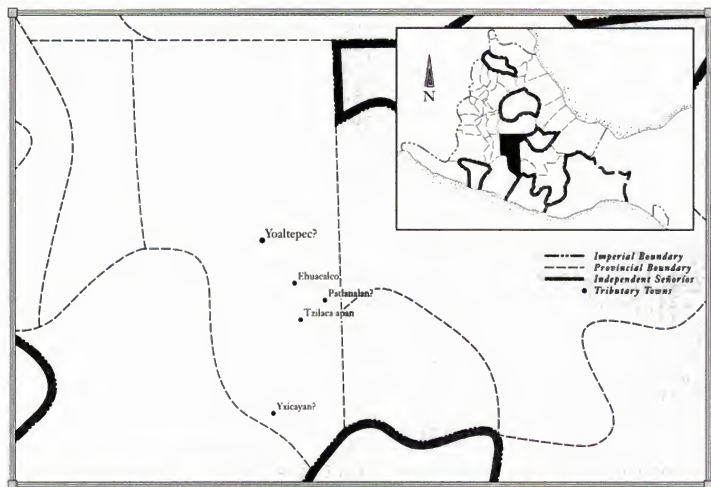
The tribute listed in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 48) omits all except for the warrior costume, shield,⁷ and *mantas*. As usual, the warrior regalia was to be delivered annually, the cloaks every eighty days.

REFERENCES

Only scattered bits of information exist for Quiauhteopan province; they are found in Gerhard (1972: 321-323), Barlow (1949a: 84-86), Harvey (1971), Lister (1971), and Schmidt and Litvak King (1986). Sixteenth-century *Relaciones* (PNE 1: 172; 5: 209-210, 251-252) and a short mention in the *Epistolario de Nueva España* (ENE 8: 120) round out the documentation.

NOTES

1. Tequisquiltan: *tequixquiltla*: "full of saltpetre" (Molina 1970: 105v).
2. However, Gerhard (1972: 321) mentions a Mexican garrison at Quiauhteopan.
3. This costume is adorned with horizontal black lines in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10v).
4. In the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10v) the bells are annotated as *coyotli* (bells) and the ax heads as *tepozotli* (copper).
5. These two provinces gave similar tribute in copper, although they were not contiguous. In addition, Quauxilolitan in Coyoacan province reportedly gave little copper hoops in tribute to Motecuhzoma (PNE 4: 197).
6. Numerous copper artifacts have been uncovered archaeologically in the state of Guerrero. Lister's archaeological synthesis of the area states that copper was most frequently cast into small bells with elongated resonators which are slit at the bottom and have a ring for suspension at the top. Sometimes they were similarly shaped by a process of wire coiling. Oblong hatchet-like axe heads, semilunar knives, finger rings, tweezers, fishhooks, rings with small shell pendants which must have been elements of necklaces, beads, and needles also have been collected. (1971: 628)
7. The copper axes are discussed at length by Easby (1961) and Pengergast (1962). Metalworking was well developed in the Tarascan area to the west, where copper was also used for tools: an ax head hafted to a wooden staff formed part of a burial at Tzintzuntzan (Weaver 1972: 271).
7. This 1554 relation says that twenty shields were due.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Yoaltepec—"On the Hill of Night"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Ehuacalco—"In the House of Skin"
3. Tzilaca apan—"On the Water of the *Tzilacayotli* Gourd"
4. Patlanalan—"Where There Is Much Flying"
5. Yxicayan—"Place Where Water Seeps Out"
6. Ychca atoyac—"On the River of Cotton"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 large white *mantas*
- 100 little jars of bees' honey

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 40 gold tiles
- 10 masks of turquoise-blue stones
- 1 large packet of turquoise stones

CONQUEST HISTORY

Yoaltepec is the last of the three provinces drawn on folio 40r of *Codex Mendoza*. Like Tlaloçauhuitlan and Quiauhcotepec, its head town may not be the first one listed, but rather the last (see discus-

sion under Tlaloçauhuitlan province). In this case, the elusive town of Ychca atoyac may have been the administrative and tribute-collection head of this province. Indeed, Gerhard (1972:128-129) raises doubts about the identity of the head town of the province and also poses questions concerning its precise location. He mentions the presence of an Aztec garrison at one of the possible Ychca atoyacs, which also served as a tribute-collection center (*ibid.*:108).

Regardless of the precise administrative structure of this province,¹ the only Aztec conquest information available pertains to the town of Yoaltepec. This town was probably conquered by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina as part of a broad conquest sweep from Tepeacac south.² The conquest of Yoaltepec is attributed to this same ruler in *Codex Mendoza*'s historical section (folio 8r).

Several other towns in the region were conquered by the Aztecs but not listed in this or other neighboring tributary provinces. To the south were the towns of Ycpatepec, Tecomaixtlahuacan, and Ayoxochiquilazala. All three paid tribute to their Aztec overlords, although Tecomaixtlahuacan paid only "some presents of stone" (*chalchibuitl*) from time to time, insisting on its independence from Aztec rule (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:137; Schmieder 1930:79). The people of Ayoxochiquilazala were required to support a local garrison of Motecuhzoma's warriors, who ate up all the turkeys, deer, rabbits, and maize that constituted their tribute to that exalted monarch. In addition, however, they paid gold dust in tribute, which apparently did reach the coffers of Tenochtitlan (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:147-148). Ycpatepec paid its tribute every

few months in green feathers, gold dust, and greenstones "of little value." They obtained these required goods from great distances, delivering them to Mexica tribute collectors in the non-Yoaltepec town of Teutla (PNE 4: 161).

To the north were the important "gateway" towns of Acatlan and Piaztla. Although Barlow (1949a: 103) places Acatlan in Yoaltepec province,¹ it probably had a political and tributary existence separate from either Yoaltepec or neighboring Tepeacac province. Its somewhat privileged status may have derived from kinship ties (PNE 5:59),² as well as from its strategic location along routes to and from the Valley of Mexico.

Both Acatlan and Piaztla were probably conquered by the first Motecuhzoma on his way south to take vengeful action on Coayxlahuacan (Hassig 1988: 166).³ Apparently Mexica armies made a habit of passing through Acatlan, for part of its tribute obligations consisted of military supplies and food provisions for these men on the march. In addition, Acatlan gave a present of *mantas*, rabbit skins, and hare skins now and then to the Mexica ruler; that ruler, in turn, reciprocated with gold and other things available in Tenochtitlan (PNE 5:59). Piaztla likewise supported the marching troops, notably with food and military arms (spears, shields, and arrows). It also sent an annual tribute of salt and wax to Tenochtitlan (ibid.:78).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Yoaltepec province lay in the Mixteca Baja, a generally hot, dry, and mountainous region in western and northwestern Oaxaca. It was, in fact, the only province recorded in the *Mendoza* to occupy this region. Nonetheless, the rugged area contained a number of Mixtecan city-states, of which Yoaltepec may not have been the most important.⁴ The predominant language of the towns of this province was Mixtec, although just to the north at Piaztla a variant of Nahuatl was current (ibid.:56-57). Both Mixtec and Nahuatl were spoken at Acatlan, the Nahuatl being a reflection of political and military dominance over the majority Mixtec population (ibid.:59).

The region was sufficiently productive to yield the traditional crops of maize, beans, chiles, and squashes and small game such as deer and rabbits. Liquidambar trees grew around the town of Yxicayan, as well as pines (which yielded resin for torches) and oaks (used for fashioning the ubiquitous digging sticks). The residents of this same town also occupied themselves in collecting bee honey, making pottery, and digging *amole*' roots; they sold these along with maize, beans, turkeys, and *mantas* in the markets of neighboring towns (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2: 154-155).

The people of the more northerly towns of Acatlan and Piaztla cultivated maize, beans, chiles, and chia; raised turkeys and ducks; hunted small game; nurtured fruit trees; and produced cochineal and a small amount of salt (PNE 5:62-65, 79-80). A variety of smaller plants and herbs were collected, including *ocobaxochitl*, a fragrant flower added to the prized chocolate drink and also valued as a medicine to cure "stupidity of mind" (ibid.:63; Gates 1939:98). Aromatic arrangements, in the form of mats, were also made from these small yellow flowers (Sahagún 1950-1982 11:202).

TRIBUTE

Like the two other provinces on this folio of *Codex Mendoza*, Yoaltepec provided one warrior costume with its shield annually and 400 plain white *mantas* semi-annually. The costume is yellow, with a flowing green "compressed quetzal feather" (or *quetzalpa-*

rsactli) headdress; the accompanying shield is of the *cuesyo* variety. The 400 large white cloaks are glossed *quacbtli* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 10v). The town of Yxicayan, at least, paid tribute in *mantas*.⁵

The people of this province also provided 100 little jars of bees' honey, which, as mentioned above, was abundant around the town of Yxicayan. This tribute was due every six months. A discussion of bees' honey is found under Tepequacuico province.

The forty gold disks resemble the plate-sized ones rendered by Coyalapan province. These annual contributions were to be a finger thick and "the size of a host." Clark (1938 1:75) concludes that these would have "measured about three inches in diameter." It is not known whether the gold used in fashioning these disks was available locally or imported.

The final item of tribute for this province consisted of one package of blue stones and ten masks of the same rich blue stones. It is clear that the stones in question are turquoise, which surely must have been imported into this area. A discussion of turquoise stones is included under Tluchpa province.

The textual *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:48-49) duplicates this list, though omitting the honey and *mantas*. It also mentions that the turquoise packages contained blue stones of mixed value, stone to stone.

REFERENCES

The region encompassed by this province is, overall, poorly documented. Major secondary works on the Mixtecs tend to emphasize the peoples of the Mixteca Alta, with some peripheral references to the Mixteca Baja (e.g., Spores 1967, 1984; Caso 1977). Nonetheless, Dahlgren (1954) gives considerable attention to the towns of the Mixteca Baja, and Spores (1965) includes a synthesis of the Mixteca Baja at the time of Spanish conquest in volume 3 of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Additional information on the region roughly encompassed by Yoaltepec province is found in Gerhard (1972:108-109, 128-132, 163-166), Barlow (1949a: 103-107), RMEH (1927-1928 app. T.2:137, 147-149, 151, 154-155), and Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:325-327). A short *Relación* exists for the town of Tzilacaapan (PNE 5:237-238). The western edge of this province is described by Gerhard (1972: 108-109), García Pimentel (1904:109-115), and Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:343), and mentioned in a few early sources (PNE 1:105; ENE 8:114-118). Ycpattepec, to the south of Yoaltepec tributary province, is mentioned in a *Relación geográfica* for the town of Cuahuítlan (PNE 4:155-162). The towns of Acatlan and Piaztla, to the north of this province but included in it by Barlow, are described in detail in a *Relación geográfica* (PNE 5:55-80), in the *Suma de Visitas* (PNE 1:446-447), in the *Epistolario de Nueva España* (ENE 14:88-89), by Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:345-346), and by Gerhard (1972:42-44). The neighboring enemy realm of Tototepec is discussed at some length by Davies (1968: 181-213).

NOTES

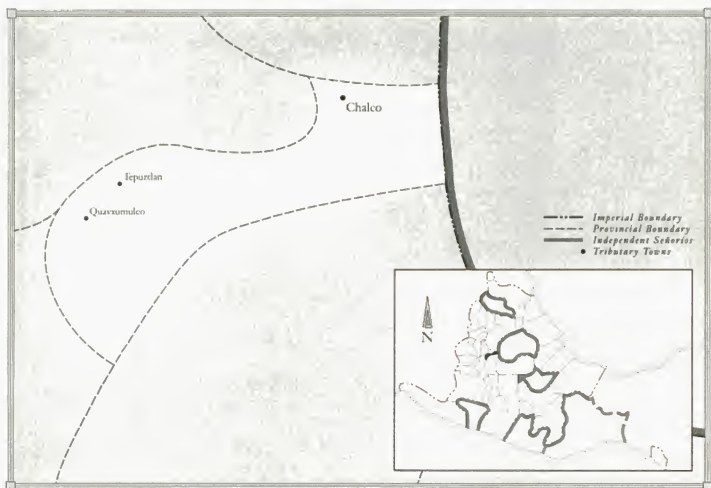
1. In addition to the confusion over the head town, it is recorded that two of the towns in this province, Tzilacaapan and Patlanalan, were subjects of the town of Tonalá. This last community does not seem to have experienced Mexica conquest (PNE 5:238).
2. Hassig (1988:332) includes Yoaltepec in a campaign that stretched through Morelos and on through Yizocan, Huehuettlan, Tepeacac, Tecalco, Quahuítlan, Acatzincó, Tecamachalco, Coatepec, Yoaltepec, Oztotitlan, and Tetlacyocan.

3. Barlow makes this association on the basis of the wars Acatlan had with Ytzocan and Tepexic, both in Tepeacac tributary province. But that region's history of warfare is tangled and unstable (see discussion under Tepeacac province).
4. Two nobles and their wives from Acatlan were required to be in attendance at Motecuhzoma's palace at all times; they carried this out in eighty-day shifts (PNE 5: 59).
5. Hassig (1988: 166) posits a route from Ytzocan conveniently through a series of valleys that included Piaztla and Acatlan.
6. Spores (1967: 57) lists "extremely important sites" in the Mixteca Baja as

Putla, Justlahuaca, Tecomastlahuaca, Tecomavaca, and Huajuapán, none of which is in Yualtepec province. Similarly, Gerhard (1972: 128) lists numerous Mixtecan states in the region, the majority of which are not listed on the *Códex Mendoza* tribute tally.

7. *Amolli* was a thick, fibrous root used for cleaning clothes (Hernández 1959 1:93).

8. Ysicayan also paid its tribute in small chile peppers, which do not appear on the *Mendoza* tally. Ysicayan is the only town in this province for which such detailed data are available (RMEH 1927–1928 app. T.2:154–155).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Chalco—"On the Greenstone" or "In the Place of the Chalca"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 3v, 4v, 6r, 7v)
2. Tecmilco—"On the Noble's Cultivated Lands"
3. Tepuztlan—"Where There Is Much Copper"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
4. Xocoyoltepec—"On the Hill of the *Xocoyolli*"
5. Malinaltepec—"On the Hill of Grass"
Also perhaps in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 16r)
6. Quavxumulco—"On the Corner of the Tree(s)"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following tribute was given every six months:

800 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 blue *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 red *caextecatl* warrior costume and shield
- 6 bins of maize
- 2 bins of beans
- 2 bins of chia
- 2 bins of amaranth

CONQUEST HISTORY

Chalco and its constituent towns, in the southeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico, were long a thorn in the side of the Mexica. The Chalca were among the many groups of Chichimec migrants who moved into the Valley of Mexico from at least the thirteenth century onward. As they arrived, in separate waves, they settled in different parts of the Chalco region and developed distinct *altepetl* (city-states). Over time, these became ranked in political importance, based on the chronological order of each group's arrival. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Chalco was clearly divided into four such ranked *altepetl*: Tlalmanalco in the north, Amaquemecan in the east, Tenanco Tepopolla in the west, and Chimalhuacan in the south (Schroeder 1984). None of these was directly named "Chalco," and none appears on *Mendoza's* Chalco tribute folio (41r). Nonetheless, Chimalpahin, the major chronicler for this region, mentions Chalco frequently, apparently referring to the four-part collectivity.

It is not entirely clear what is meant by "Chalco" on the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* tribute pages for this province; the same place glyph appears four times in *Mendoza's* conquest history (folios 3v, 4v, 6r, 7v).¹ It may well imply the politically unified quarter of *altepetl*, or perhaps only its leading town, Tlalmanalco. Motolinia (1950:210) mentions "Tlalmanalco, with its province of Chalco, where there are infinite numbers of people." Barlow (1949a:74) feels that this Chalco is intended to be Chalco Tlalmanalco rather

than the lakeside Chalco Atenco. If this were indeed the case, it would break the usual pattern of Valley of Mexico head towns being located close to the lakes, with their subject towns "fanning out toward the Valley rim" (Gibson 1964:45). All four of the Chalco *altepetl* had nonlacustrine settings.

According to Chimalpahin (1965), Tenochtitlan and Chalco carried on sporadic wars, some more in earnest than others, from 1385 until 1465. The *Codex Mendoza* conquest history shows Chalco's conquest by the Mexica four times, under Huitziluhuitl, Chimalpopoca, Itzcoatl, and Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (folios 3v, 4v, 6r, 7v). Whether overcome by Huitziluhuitl or the earlier Acamapichtli,² Chalco again apparently rose up against the Mexica by breaking canoes and killing five Mexica; for this they were put down by Chimalpopoca (*Codex Mendoza* folio 4v). During Huitziluhuitl's reign, in 1407, the Mexica made attempts to dethrone the Chalca rulers and replace them with Chalca from nonruling lineages (Chimalpahin 1965:184–187). There was a loud outcry from other Valley of Mexico *tlatoque* at this treatment of traditional, lineage-based rulerships. Bending under threats of war, the Mexica restored the proper Chalco rulers to their prior offices (ibid.:187–188).

The conquest of Azcapotzalco and the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1430 upset established dependency relations in the Valley, and a number of towns had to be reconquered by the new lords of the land. Chalco must have been among them, for it appears again as a conquest of Itzcoatl. Up until this time it seems that the wars between Tenochtitlan and Chalco were of the flowery variety (*xochiyaotl*), designed to capture enemy warriors and maintain a relatively stable stalemate. But shortly before the advent of the Triple Alliance, Mexica warfare aimed at conquest began in earnest. In the early 1430s the Mexica systematically conquered nearby lake cities of Xochimilco, Mixquic, and Cuiclahuac, moving close to Chalco territory (ibid.:194).³

The war accelerated in 1445, when the Chalca refused to carry building stones to Tenochtitlan for the construction of a temple for the god Huitzilopochtli (ibid.:199). The "request" by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina for this service was a not-too-subtle demand for subservience. The refusal by the Chalca led to even more intense warfare, with the eventual collapse of the Chalco entities in 1465 (ibid.:203–207). Davies (1987:56–58) argues that the actual end of the war may have come twelve years earlier, in 1453. He cites conflicting sources and also considers that, logically, it would be unlikely for Motecuhzoma to undertake a distant war in Coayxlahuacan with nearby Chalco an imminent threat. The Mexica armies would, most surely, have had to pass through Chalco territory to wage that war, at the same time leaving Tenochtitlan relatively unguarded. Hassig (1988:151), while not critical of Chimalpahin's chronology, also stresses the importance of the Mexica conquest of Chalco; a hostile Chalco barred Mexica movements to the east and south out of the Valley of Mexico and also threatened the security of the Mexica at home. Tepuztlan may also have been conquered by the first Motecuhzoma at this time,⁴ but Quaxumuleo may not have been subdued until the reign of the second Motecuhzoma (*Codex Mendoza* folios 8r, 16r).

Following their definitive conquest of Chalco, the Mexica began seriously to integrate Chalco into their nascent imperial organization. First of all, Chalco rulers (at least nine of them) were replaced by Mexica military governors (*quauhtlatoque*);⁵ the traditional rulerships, somewhat transformed, were not reinstated until some twenty years later (Hodge 1984:41). In Amaquemecan, for example, five of the traditional ruling lines were reinstated in 1486–

1488; this did, however, reduce the organization to a five-part system from its original seven parts (ibid.:51). The twenty years under a military governorship also allowed Mexica rulers and Chalca nobles to intermarry, and the later-instated rulers were in some cases the children and grandchildren of these marriages; the new leaders, then, had close ties to both Tenochtitlan and Amaquemecan (ibid.:47–48).

Secondly, prime lands in Chalco were distributed to privileged members of the Triple Alliance nobility, with the three imperial *tlatoque* taking as much as they wished (Gibson 1964:263).

A third transformation of Chalco involved demands by its overlords that its people participate in "Mexica life." This necessitated their attending religious ceremonies in Tenochtitlan and sending warriors to fight in distant Mexica wars (Chimalpahin 1965:211–214, 232). For these latter efforts, valiant Chalca warriors were rewarded with Mexica warrior costumes and titles (Hodge 1984:44). However, they do not seem to have received lands in conquered territories, as was customary for Triple Alliance nobles (ibid.). Nonetheless, Triple Alliance forces did come to the aid of Chalco in at least one instance, forcing the Huexotzinco from Chalco in 1482 (Chimalpahin 1965:216).⁶

The Mexica also dabbled in the internal structure of Chalco. They may have moved the regional market from Amaquemecan to Tlalmanalco, and they surely disrupted the royal lines of succession (Hodge 1984:51–52; Hassig 1988:258). Hodge (1984:51–56) argues that the Mexica imposed a hierarchical administrative structure on a system that was essential segmentary (that is, consisting of relatively equal parts). Tlalmanalco became the preeminent center in this hierarchy, ruling over the other three traditional Chalco centers (Amaquemecan, Tenanco, and Chimalhuacan).⁷ In addition, a tribute hierarchy was established, containing five towns (plus Chalco). These towns, seen on folio 41r of *Codex Mendoza*, bear no resemblance to the politically significant centers, and indeed are difficult even to locate both historically and today. The tribute-collection centers, therefore, were not at all coincident with the political centers. It may be that Texcoco exacted tribute from the more important *altepetl*, for that Triple Alliance capital also claimed conquest of its long-standing enemy (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:196).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The tributary province of Chalco extended generally south and east of Lake Chalco. If the Chalco on the tribute folio is Chalco Atenco, then the province extended from the lakeshore, south through a fertile valley, and up the mountain slopes. However, if the Chalco intended is Chalco Tlalmanalco, then the province was confined entirely to the eastern and southern edge of the valley and to the piedmont. More than half of the towns are impossible to locate with certainty today, so the borders of this province are fuzzy.

The high valley contained fertile agricultural fields where maize, beans, squash, grains, and fruits were grown (Hodge 1984:33). If the province extended to the lake, *chinampas* would have provided high yields of staple foodstuffs, vegetables, and flowers, and fish would have been abundant (Gibson 1964:340). Oaks and conifers grew on the mountain slopes rimming this province, and building stone may also have been available locally (see below). The 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948) illustrates forested reaches above Tlalmanalco and Amaquemecan.

Cortés (1977 1:228) estimated that some 20,000 people lived in Amaquemecan and its environs, and archaeological surveys have

concluded that Amaquemecan itself probably housed 5,000–10,000 people (Hodge 1984:33). Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979: map) place Amaquemecan, Tlalmanalco, and Chalco all at the same high level of “provincial center,” implying similarity in size and function.

The people of Chalco claimed distinct heritages but a common Chichimec background (Schroeder 1984). This was a province of Nahuatl speakers.

TRIBUTE

Chalco's regularly scheduled tribute, as shown in *Codex Mendoza*, consisted only of the standard categories of clothing, warrior costumes, and foodstuffs. The 800 white *mantas* are undecorated, beyond a symbolic triangle. Sometimes the *Matricula de Tributos* glosses such images as *canauar* (narrow cotton cloaks), but in this case the *Matricula* (1980: folio 11r) gives us only *tilmatl* (cloak). The *Matricula* explicitly states that these were to be delivered every eighty days, while the *Mendoza* records a semi-annual schedule of payment.

The people of Chalco were required to deliver only two warrior costumes and shields in tribute: one a blue *tzitzimilt* costume (with its *xicalcolubqui* shield), the other a red *cuextecatil* costume (with *cuexyo* shield). Both the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* designate this as annual tribute.

Chalco paid the richest foodstuff tribute of any imperial province: six bins of maize, two of beans, two of chia, and two of amaranth. The *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 11r) illustrates the same number of bins and their contents, although the two bins full of only maize kernels exhibit a square instead of a circle symbol.⁴ The Nahuatl gloss of the *Matricula* is uncharacteristically verbose: *ynin cenca mic yn tlallli yn etl yn quicallaquiaya amo can tlapoualli* (this very great quantity of innumerable maize [kernels] and beans was given in tribute). No specific quantities are indicated. Such a large tribute in staple foodstuffs is suggestive of *chinampa* cultivation, although high yields from the fertile valleys and proximity to Tenochtitlan may also have prompted demands of such quantities.

Exceptionally large quantities of maize are not reflected in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:49–50). Only 4,100 *fanegas*⁵ of maize (and an equal quantity of beans and chia) were required annually, along with an annual tribute of two warrior costumes and forty shields, and 800 *mantas* due every eighty days.

The *Mendoza* tally says nothing about the locally available woods and stone. Yet periodic demands of these products were made by the Mexica, and tribute in labor was demanded by Texcoco as well as by Tenochtitlan (Durán 1967 2:133–137, 373; Chimalpahin 1965:216; Hodge 1984:52–53). Motecuhzoma (presumably the second of that name) demanded that the people of Chalco provide

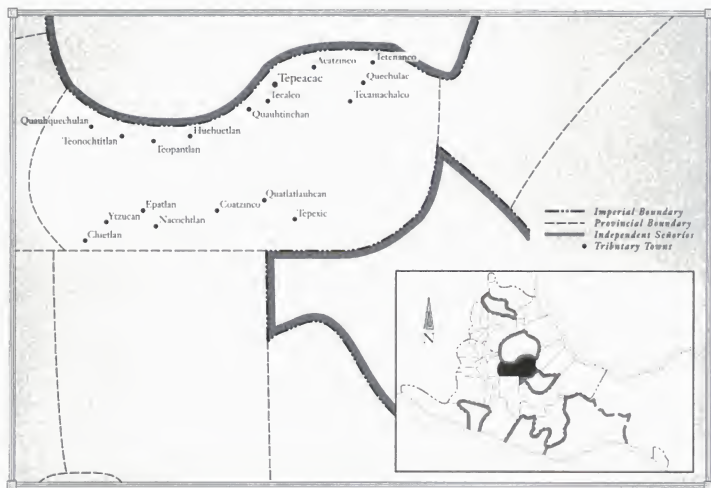
stone, sand, and wood for construction in Tenochtitlan two or three times a year. They were also to provide maize and participate in wars for the Mexica. In addition, the lords and nobles of Chalco were to attend dances and ceremonies in Tenochtitlan, on which occasions they would present Motecuhzoma with gifts of clothing, precious jewels, and food and drink (turkeys and cacao) (ENE 7:260–261). Woodcutting as a major occupation in Chalco province continued in the Colonial period (Gibson 1964:389). Also in Colonial times, large quantities of maize were demanded in tribute from Chalco (PNE 1:105), Tlalmanalco, and Amaquemecan (González de Cossío 1952:508, 510).

REFERENCES

- Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (1965) wrote a detailed history of the Chalco politics, focusing on Amaquemecan, and Durán (1967 2) provides considerable historical information on Chalco. Syntheses of this province are found in Barlow (1949a:73–75), Hodge (1984:33–56), Gerhard (1972:102–106, 245–246), Durand-Forest (1974), and especially Schroeder (1984). Early Colonial documentation for this region is found on the 1550 Santa Cruz map (Linné 1948), in the *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:508–510), in a very brief *Relación* for Chalco (PNE 1:105), and in slightly more ample relations (ENE 7:259–266; 8:232–244). Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979) and Parsons et al. (1982) present archaeological studies of the region, and Gibson (1964), Davies (1987:50–58, 237–238), and Hassig (1988:171, 173, 258) analyze the history and political geography of this province.

NOTES

1. These are not to be confused with Chalco Atenco, shown as a lake town on folio 17v.
2. The *Anales de Cuauhtlan* (1975:32) dates the beginning of this conflict at 1385. Huitziluhit did not assume the Mexica throne until 1391.
3. These towns all appear as trophies of Acamapichitl in the *Codex Mendoza* folio 2v.
4. There is also a Tepoztlan in Huasteca province, which is probably the modern town of Tepoztlan. Barlow (1949a:74), however, feels that the Tepoztlan in Chalco province is that well-known town.
5. The rulers fled in 1465.
6. This may not have been a favor. The people of Chalco had long-standing (though at times turbulent) relations with those of Huexotzinco, including elite-level marriages (Hodge 1984:46).
7. The center of Tepetixpan is added at this level (Hodge 1984:55).
8. Harvey (1982:195–196) suggests that the square may signal a larger quantity than the circle.
9. See page descriptions for Petacalco province.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tepeacac—(Tepeyacac) “On the Beginning of the Hill”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
2. Quechulac—“On the Water of the Feather Tuft”
3. Tecamachalco—“On the Stone Jaw”
4. Acatzinco—“In the Small Reeds”
5. Tecalco—“In the Stone House”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
6. Ycōchinanco—“On the Yucca *Chinampa*”
7. Quauhtinchan—“Home of the Eagles”
8. Chietlan—“Where There Is Much Chia” or
“Where There Are Many *Chinampas*”
9. Quatlauhcān—“Place of Red Heads”
10. Tepexic—“On the Crag”
11. Ytzucan—“Place of Obsidian”
12. Quauhquechulan—“Where There Are Many Feather-Tufted
Eagles”
13. Tconochtitlan—“Among the Sacred Prickly Pear Cactus
Fruits”
14. Teopantlan—“Place of Many Temples”
15. Huehuetlan—“Place of Many Old Men” or “Place of the Old
God”
16. Tetenanco—“On the Stone Wall”
17. Coatzinco—“On the Small Snake”
18. Epatlan—“Where There Are Many Skunks”

19. Nacochtlan—“Place of Many Earplugs”
20. Chiltecpintlan—“Place of Many Small Red Peppers”
21. Oztotlapechco—“On the Platform of the Cave”
22. Atezcahuacan—“Place That Has a Pool of Water”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 12r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following were given at undetermined intervals:

War captives from Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huexotzinco

The following items were given every eighty days:

- 4,000 loads of lime
- 800 deerskins
- 4,000 loads of canes, called *otlatl*
- 8,000 loads of canes for making arrows
- 8,000 loads of perfumes, called *acayatl*
- 200 carrying frames, called *cacasitles*

The following items were given annually:

- 2 bins of maize
- 2 bins of beans

Tepeacac was reportedly conquered more than once by the forces of the Triple Alliance. The first and most elaborately recorded conquest was by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440–1468) and warriors from eleven other Valley of Mexico cities.¹ This armed movement on Tepeacac and its neighbors was provoked by the assassination of traveling merchants from the Valley of Mexico, although Tepeacac's geographic location made it a prime target for Aztec conquest in any event. Not only did this province lie astride the southern borders of Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huexotzincó but its towns also controlled major thoroughfares to the rich lands to the south.

The formalities and strategies of Motecuhzoma's Tepeacac campaign are described in detail by Durán (1967 2:155–158) and Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 306–309). In proper Mexica fashion, Motecuhzoma sent four messengers to Tepeacac bearing shields, "swords," chalk (*tizatl*), and feathers. With these symbols of submission, the messengers gave the lords of Tepeacac the opportunity to submit without bloodshed; when the lords refused, the envoys alerted them of the war to come. When the attacking army arrived, the captains sent out scouts to assess Tepeacac's defenses; they reported that there were none.² The army then divided its forces and attacked four important towns of this region simultaneously: Tepeacac, Tecalco, Quauhtinchan, and Acatzincó.³ Tecamachalco also fell at this time, perhaps yielding after witnessing the fate of its neighboring towns (Hassig 1988: 173).⁴

Perhaps this claim of conquest was premature, for the area remained restless and insecure under Motecuhzoma. Whatever the prior events, the towns of Tepeacac and Tecalco are included in Axayacatl's (1468–1481) laurels (*Codex Mendoza* folio 10v). Two additional towns included in this tributary province entered the imperial realm after Axayacatl's reign. The incorporation of Atezahuacan (Tehuacan) occurred under Tizoc (1481–1486), and Tepexic fell to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (*Codex Mendoza* folio 12r; Gerhard 1972: 281). In the latter case, the Mexica came to the aid of one of their conquered subjects (Quatlalauhcan) in this province, which had been attacked in 1502 by the ruler of Tepexic. Tepexic was then incorporated into the administrative structure of Tepeacac province (*ibid.*).

Prior to its conquest by Aztec armies, the "province of Tepeacac" was jointly governed by four towns: Tepeacac, Tecalco, Quechulac, and Tecamachalco (PNE 5:16). Each of these towns had its own defined boundaries, including woodlands (*ibid.*: 25). These towns were further divided administratively: Tepeacac had three "señores," and Tecalco and Tecamachalco each had four lords and divisions.⁵ Presumably Quechulac had a similar political structure; it was in fact joined with Tecamachalco under a single ruler prior to the Spanish Conquest (*ibid.*: 27), and the two were considered as "a single province" (PNE 1:201).

These four administrative centers, along with the towns of Quauhtinchan, Acatzincó, and Tetenanco, formed the northern edge of this province and served as bulwarks against the imperial enemies of Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huexotzincó. In fact, Tepeacac province ran along almost the entire hostile borderland. The remaining towns of the province were spread broadly to the south, primarily along major transportation routes. Ytzucan, for example, was a gateway to the south through which many an Aztec army passed on its way to distant battlefields. Atezahuacan served a similar function.⁶

Given its strategic geographical location, it is not surprising to

find Mexica troops stationed in some towns of this province. What is perhaps surprising is that this military presence is clearly documented for only two towns: Tepeacac and Ytzucan. Gerhard (1972: 278) describes Tepeacac as a "mountaintop fortress," and Mexica *gente de guarnición* were present here at the time of the Spanish arrival (Díaz del Castillo 1963: 308–309).⁷ Ytzucan, a major jumping-off point for military incursions and commercial caravans to the south, was also the site of a Mexica garrison (Torquemada 1969 1:518; Cortés 1977 1:315). Both of these towns were major market centers; hence Holt (1979:399) classifies the installments as commercial garrisons.

Tepeacac itself not only held a major market on a regular schedule but was actually required to do so as a condition of its conquest. A vast variety of luxury goods were to be available there, presumably for the relative ease of traveling *pochteca* and other merchants.⁸ A formidable Mexica garrison would have assured the "terms of agreement" as well as the general protection of merchants passing through the region.

Towns in the southwestern part of Tepeacac province, including Ytzucan, were known generally as "the province of the Coatlapaneacas" (PNE 1:124). This included three towns clearly subject to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin and his *pasados*, but not listed in any tributary province (PNE 5:82–83, 86, 90). The tribute of two of these towns, Ahuatlan and Çoyatitlanapa, included shields of stout canes, large stout canes, blades to insert in lances, raw cotton for armor, and white lime (*ibid.*: 83, 90). The third town, Texalocan, gave captives from its wars with enemies Totomihuacan, Cholula, Huexotzincó, and Coixco (*ibid.*). Apparently this tribute did not pass through the administrative structure of Tepeacac province but went directly to Tenochtitlan. To enhance his control of the area, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin placed two high-ranking Mexica officials in Texalocan as judges (*ibid.*: 87).⁹

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Tepeacac province covered much of central and southern Puebla state. The core of the region, around the four head towns, was cold and dry, with occasional snows reported for Tecalco (PNE 1:215). These towns lay in a broad valley bordered to the northwest by the isolated volcano Malinche and on the extreme east by Citlatepetl (Pico de Orizaba).

Other provincial towns lay largely along thoroughfares to the south. To the southeast ran a long valley to Tehuacan (perhaps Atezahuacan); to the southwest a narrower valley led to the hotter lands around Ytzucan and the "province of the Coatlapaneacas." The Tehuacan region, like the core of the province, was dry but somewhat warmer. Ytzucan and its surroundings were also relatively hot and dry, although irrigation allowed for the cultivation of cotton at least around Ytzucan, Epatlan, and Coatzincó (PNE 1:107, 125; 5:97; Gerhard 1972: 160).

The crops cultivated around Tepeacac were the usual maize, beans, and chiles, along with the fruit of the prickly pear cactus (PNE 5:37). Woods from a variety of trees (including pines, cedars, oaks, and poplars) were a valuable resource in this region, as were the products of the ubiquitous maguey plant and dyes from the tiny cochineal insects (PNE 1:207; 5:34–35, 37). There was an important jasper quarry at Tecalco (PNE 5:40), which also thrived from its production of maize, lime, native soap (surely *amolli*), firewood, and prickly pear cactus fruit, and the manufacture of red mats (PNE 1:215). The people of Teopantlan, in the southwestern corner of the province, gained their livelihood from

collecting firewood and honey, hunting, and producing wax (ibid.: 226). Fruits, cotton, and the manufacture of reed baskets and seats provided a living for the people of nearby Coatzinco (PNE 5:97). Nearby, the non-Mendoza towns tied to Ahuatlan (see above) lived from hunting deer and rabbits, making baskets, producing cotton, growing a variety of fruits, and cultivating staple foodstuffs (PNE 1:202; 5:82-83, 85-88, 92-93).¹⁰

Three languages were prominent in this dispersed province. Nahuatl was common in the core area and may have been the language of dominance and administration. Popolucan was spoken in Tecamachalco and Quechulac, although "all the nobles speak Mexicano to a greater or lesser degree" (PNE 5:20). Tecalco had Popolucan and Otomi minorities, although most of the people (including the local ruler) spoke Nahuatl (Gerhard 1972:255). Popolucan was the predominant language at Quauhtinchan (ENE 16:12). The towns associated with Ahuatlan (including the Mendoza town of Coatzinco) were Nahuatl-speaking (PNE 5:82, 85, 89, 95).

TRIBUTE

Despite Tepeacac's claim that it recognized Motecuhzoma only as a friend and ally in its wars against Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco (PNE 5:14-15), it nonetheless is recorded as an Aztec tributary province in the *Matrícula de Tributos* (1980: folio 11v) and *Codex Mendoza* (folios 41v-42r). This tribute is unusual in its lack of both clothing and warrior costumes, a feature shared only with the distant province of Xoconochco.

The first (and unique) tribute demand is prisoners from the nearby towns of Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huexotzinco. These are of an undetermined number and delivered at unspecified periods. Warfare was endemic in this region, with Tepeacac fighting regularly against the Aztec's archenemies (PNE 5:31). Tepeacac also warred with nearby Calpan and Totomihuacan, roundly defeating the latter in 1470 and nearly depopulating it (ibid.; Gerhard 1972: 222). A tribute demand in prisoners of war would have the consequence of maintaining these borderland wars with Motecuhzoma's enemies. Coatzinco also continued a steady state of war with four enemy towns to the north (PNE 5:96).¹¹

Aside from the Spanish annotations, this prisoner tribute is indicated by a symbol for warfare (a woven shield in front of an obsidian-studded club)¹² and the heads of three men with glyphs of their town names attached.¹³

Tepeacac was the only province to pay tribute in lime, deerskins, and certain wood products. Four thousand loads of lime (*tenextli*) were due every eighty days. Lime was important in building construction, and maize kernels were soaked in lime water overnight before they were ground into *masa* the next morning. In addition, lime was combined with various plants as medicines for chronic ulcers and skin rashes (Hernández 1959 1:57, 66) and was also used to renovate capes (Sahagún 1950-1982 1:29).

The delivery of 800 deerskins is testimony to the importance of hunting to this region, especially in its southwestern corner. The people of Tepeacac and other towns of the province primarily worshipped Camaxtli, god of the hunt (PNE 5:29-30).

The deerskins are followed by 4,000 loads of canes and 8,000 loads of canes for making arrows. In the first case the material is identified as bamboo (*otlatl*). There were many varieties of these canes, some stout enough for use as a building material (Hernández 1959 1:397). The second bundle of canes appears different in color and structure from the *otlatl* and is identified as a type of cane used specifically for making arrows. These are glossed as

tlacotecli (noble arrows) in the *Matrícula* (1980: folio 11v) and have decidedly pointed ends. Canes of whichever kind must have been abundant in the region; Coatzinco itself delivered in tribute cane shields, strong canes, and bows and arrows, along with white lime and blades for lances (PNE 5:95). The tribute of nearby Ahuatlan consisted of canes; that of Coyatitlanapa, canes and shields of cane (along with white lime and cotton for armor; PNE 5:82-83, 90). Tepeacac was the only tributary province to "recognize Motecuhzoma" with martial tribute, undoubtedly a result of its natural resource endowments and its history of endemic warfare.

Tepeacac was an important maize-growing area, so its annual tribute consisting of two bins of maize and two of beans is not surprising. It is, however, somewhat surprising that chiles were not demanded, since they were grown abundantly in the region (see above).

The people of Tepeacac also paid their Aztec overlords 8,000 loads of smoking canes (*acayatl*).¹⁴ Smoking normally accompanied special feasts, especially those of nobles and wealthy merchants (Berdan 1982:33, 91).

The final item of tribute paid by Tepeacac province was 200 *caaxtli*, or carrying frames. These were used throughout Mesoamerica as back frames, to which were attached loads of cargo. The entire apparatus was hefted onto the shoulders and held in place with a tumpline across the forehead. A common load for a bearer might be fifty pounds.

All this tribute, with the exception of the annual duty of foodstuffs, was due on an eighty-day schedule. While this is the most common period for tribute collection in the *Matrícula*, it is extremely unusual in the *Mendoza* record.

Some of these same items were included in the "perpetual tribute" agreed upon by Tepeacac and its Aztec conquerors upon its conquest: maize, white beans, and deerskins. However, other commodities demanded at that time do not reappear in the *Mendoza* tally; these include salt, chiles, narrow maguey-fiber *mantas*, fine sandals, reed seats, and seats made of rushes (*alabuacpetlatl*; Durán 1967 2:158; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:308). People from this province were also held responsible for service in the Mexica palace (sweeping and toting water and firewood), repairs on roads, aid in wars, and service in bearing loads (ibid.).¹⁵

Tributes listed for this province in the 1554 *Información* (Scholes and Adams 1957:50) only vaguely resemble the *Mendoza* demands in number and type. It adds 200 shields, 4,000 loads of *pinolli* (a beverage), and a bin of chia. It reduces the bean tribute to one bin, decreases the tribute of arrow-making canes to 200 annually, and increases the tribute in carrying frames to 4,000 annually. It completely omits the deerskins, smoking tubes, lime, and other canes.

These tribute demands, and those listed in *Codex Mendoza*, are vastly different from the gifts the conquering warriors carried home to their lords in Tenochtitlan; these wares included cloaks, animal skins, sandals, stones, jewels, gold and other precious things, rich feathers, shields, and warrior costumes (Durán 1967 2:158-159). These are reminiscent of the finery available in the Tepeacac marketplace and underline the fact that, despite the "everyday" nature of the tribute goods, luxuries passed through Tepeacac on a notable scale.

REFERENCES

Information on Tepeacac province is available in Gerhard (1972: 160-163, 220-223, 260-264, 278-283), Barlow (1949a:100-102), Olivera (1973; 1978), Cayetano Reyes García (1973), Luis

Reyes García (1972, 1977, 1978), Carrasco (1963, 1966, 1969, 1973), Cook de Leonard (1961), Simons (1968), Dávila and Dávila (1973), and Kirchhoff (1940). Details on towns in this province are found in the *Suma de Visitas* (PNE 1:58, 107, 112, 124–125, 206–207, 214–216, 225–226), *Relaciones geográficas* (PNE 5:12–45, 94–98, 273–274, 284), and *Epistolaria de Nueva España* (ENE 8:155; 16:9). The region around Tehuacan is exhaustively discussed in MacNeish (1967). A *Relación geográfica* exists for Ahuatlán (PNE 5:81–93).

NOTES

1. The army included warriors from Tenochtitlan, Azcapotzalco, Tlacopan, Quauhtitlan, Acolhuacan, Texcoco, Chalco, Xochimilco, Colhuacan, Cuitlahuac, Mizquic, and Coyoacan (Hassig 1988:172).
2. This is reminiscent of the "scouting and reconnoitering" scene on folio 67r of *Codex Mendoza*.
3. The four principal towns of this district were Tepeacac, Tecalco, Quechulac, and Tecamachalco. Acatzinco was a *subjecto* of Tepeacac (Gerhard 1972:278). Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:306–309) highlights Tecamachalco more than does Durán.
4. Some actual dates for these conquests are available in the documentary record, although, as is usual, there is some disagreement. This conquest of Tepeacac is dated at 1459 by Torquemada but at 1466 by the *Anales de Tlatelolco* and Chimalpahin. The fall of Tecalco and Quautinchan is also dated at 1466 by Chimalpahin, as is the conquest of Coatepec. However, the *Anales de Tlatelolco* places this latter event at 1441. Chimalpahin provides a date of 1465 for the fall of Huehuetlan (Kelly and Palerm 1952:269).
5. This recalls the four-part political structure of Tlaxcala just to the north.
6. Kelly and Palerm (1952:302) equate the ancient Atezcachacan with the modern Tehuacan. Neither Barlow nor Gerhard makes the correlation, Barlow (1949a:101) leaving the town unlocated. The discussion here of Atezcachacan relies on its identification as Tehuacan.
7. There is some debate about whether such installments were permanent fortresses or transitional settlements of "movable" troops (see Davies 1978; van Zantwijk 1967; Holt 1979). Tepeacac and Ytzuacan may have had rather permanent settlements of troops; however, the Spanish report of an Aztec

permanent settlements of troops; however, the Spanish report of an Aztec *guarnición* at Tepeacac may have been a response to an enemy presence rather than a regular fixture in that town.

8. Goods included in this "order" were rich cloaks, stones, jewels, feathers of different colors, gold, silver (and other metals), jaguar skins, ocelot skins, cacao, rich loincloths, and sandals (Durán 1967:2:62).
9. Ahuatlán, however, seems to have been the more important town among these three, with Texalocan its subject town (PNE 1:202). The titles of the Mexican officials stationed in Texalocan are *Tzispayn Tlaxcohuacatl* and *Acolhuacatl Tlaxcohuacatl*. These titles suggest military duties as well as legal ones.
10. Not all these towns engaged in all these activities. For instance, the people of Texalocan cultivated cotton, but those of Ahuatlán and Coyatitlanapa obtained their cotton from Ytzuacan (PNE 1:202; 5:88, 93). The production of maize was quite unreliable in all three towns, but somewhat less so in Coyatitlanapa, which benefited from irrigation. When the maize crop failed, the inhabitants of these towns purchased this essential staple in Tepeacac (PNE 5:83, 85, 88, 92–93). The baskets were made in Texalocan (*ibid.*:85, 88).
11. Tlaxcala, Hueuotzinco, Cholula, and Totomihuacan.
12. In the historical section of *Codex Mendoza*, this is symbolized by a shield with feather balls, darts, and an *atlatl* or spear thrower (Clark 1938 1:27).
13. The first is glossed *tlaxcaltecatl* (person from Tlaxcala), the second *chulalteca* (people from Cholula), and the third *huetzozincoatl* (person from Hueuotzinco). The glyph for Tlaxcala is a hand patting a tortilla (*tlaxcal(tli)* = tortilla; *(t)la(n)* = abundance of "Place of Many Tortillas"). Cholula is represented by a deer's foot (*cholo(a)* = to flee or jump; *(t)la(n)* = abundance of: "Where There Is Much Fleeing"). Hueuotzinco's glyph consists of three leafy branches above the bottom half of a man's body (*huexo(tli)* = willow tree; *zinco(tli)* = rump; *zin* = small, *co* = on or in: "On the Small Willow Tree"). Each man wears a distinctive headpiece: the Tlaxcalan wears two white feather tufts on top of his head; the Cholulan, a red headband along with the two feather tufts; and the man from Hueuotzinco, a red headband and the curved ladder characteristic for the men of this town. In the *Matricula* (1980: folio 11v), this last figure also has the feather tufts.
14. *Acatl* = reed; *yel* = tobacco. See page descriptions, folio 68r, this volume.
15. These tribute demands bear a rough similarity with tributes required by the local lords: cotton *mantas*, loincloths, women's tunics and skirts, sandals, mats, smoking tubes, cacao, and turkeys, along with household service and the cultivation of a field of maize. If their local *señor* needed precious stones, feathers, gold dust, or similar objects for religious ceremonies, these also would be collected (PNE 5:28–30).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Coayxtlahuacan—"Place of the Plain of Snakes"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 7v)
2. Texopan—"On the Blue Color"
3. Tamaçolapan—"On the Water of the Frogs"
4. Yancuitlan—"Where There Are New Towns" or "Place of the New Town"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 12r)
5. Tepuzcululan—"Where There Are Many Copper Hooks"
6. Nochtatlan—"Where There Is Much Cochineal"
Also possibly in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 15v)
7. Xaltepec—"On the Sand Hill"
8. Tamaçolan—"Where There Are Many Frogs"
9. Mictlan—"Where There Are Many Dead"
10. Coaxomulco—"On the Corner of the *Coatli* Tree"
11. Cuicatlan—"Place of Song" or "Place of the Cuicateca"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 rich quilted *mantas*
- 400 red and white striped *mantas*
- 400 black and white striped *mantas*
- 400 loincloths
- 400 women's tunics and skirts

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow warrior costume and *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 1 yellow *tozocalli* warrior costume and shield
- 2 strings of rich green *chalchibuitl* stones
- 800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
- 40 bags of cochineal
- 20 gourd bowls of fine gold dust
- 1 feathered headpiece, called *tlalpiloni*

CONQUEST HISTORY

Coayxtlahuacan was one of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina's most important conquests. Following his first military incursions into Cuetlaxtlan and the Gulf coast area, Motecuhzoma learned of the killing of 160 merchants in the distant realm of Coayxtlahuacan. The merchants, from Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Chalco, Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Tlacopan, Azcapotzalco, and other cities, had been trading in this especially rich market for goods such as "gold, feathers, cacao, finely worked gourds, clothing, cochineal, and dyed thread made of rabbit hair" (Durán 1967 2:185). When word of the massacre reached the Mexica ruler, an army was immediately formed to march on distant Coayxtlahuacan, which was apparently conquered without major complications.¹

Of the other towns included in this *Mendoza* tributary province, only Tamaçolan is recorded as a conquest of this first Motecuh-

zoma (Kelly and Palerm 1952:291). Later Triple Alliance conquests into this region added Yancuitlan (under Tizoc and again under Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin), Xaltepec (under Ahuitzotl), and Texopan and Nochitzlan (under the second Motecuhzoma; Kelly and Palerm 1952:302, 304, 310; *Codex Mendoza* folios 12r, 15v).

Çoçolan, a town recorded on folio 17v of *Codex Mendoza* as serving as a seat for two Mexica governors, was also conquered by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (ibid.:15v; Kelly and Palerm 1952:310). As in many other outlying provinces of the Aztec empire, rebellion lay close to the surface. Yancuitlan and Çoçolan took hearty advantage of a disastrous Aztec defeat in a flowery war against Huexotzincó to rise up against their Aztec overlords. The lords of these two towns ordered the roads blocked and guarded against the Mexica, and when Motecuhzoma's messengers arrived in the vicinity they encountered merchants who had been wounded and robbed by the people of these two rebellious towns (Durán 1967 2:436). However, Motecuhzoma was apparently capable of quickly regrouping, and he neatly quelled the rebellion, subduing Yancuitlan and finding Çoçolan abandoned.²

Although Çoçolan is not included on this folio as a tribute-paying town, it counted as an Aztec conquest and was the seat of two Mexica governors, a *Tlacatecutli* and a *Tlacotecutli* (*Codex Mendoza* folio 17v). The presence of these officials in this distant town may well be tied to the importance of Çoçolan as a gold-producing region (see Berdan 1987b:163–167).

The only major fortification or *gente de guarnición* in this province appears to have been at Coayxtlahuacan itself (PNE 4:165). Tribute collectors stationed at Coayxtlahuacan collected tributes from the towns of Atlatalauca and Malinaltepec; these towns are located considerably to the east of Coayxtlahuacan and are not included on the *Codex Mendoza* tribute tally. The nearby towns of Tepeucilla and Papalotitac were also under the imperial thumb, but not as "Mendoza towns."³

Robert Barlow (1949a: map) places in this province additional towns that are not included in the *Matticula/Mendoza* tribute list. These include three towns far to the northwest of Coayxtlahuacan: Petaltzincó, Chila, and Ixcitlan. These communities indeed paid tribute to Motecuhzoma, but on a different basis from that of those towns on the *Mendoza* tally. Petaltzincó and Ixcitlan were on main travel routes and fulfilled their tribute obligations by supplying Aztec troops with provisions and warriors (PNE 5:70, 75). The lords of Chila, however, recognized Motecuhzoma by sending him presents of gold jewels and cloaks "when it pleased them," receiving presents in return (PNE 5:66).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of this province were, for the most part, important ancient Mixtec centers in northern Oaxaca state. The core area of this province was centered in the Mixteca Alta, a land of mountains and valleys and cool, dry climate (Gerhard 1972:199, 283). The major centers tended to be associated with the region's valleys, of which the Valleys of Yanhuitlan-Nochitzlan, Tamaçolapan-Tepuzcululan, and Coayxtlahuacan were apparently the most important in this province. While Coayxtlahuacan was the head town of the tributary province, it does not seem to have been the most significant in terms of strategic location, traditional hereditary leadership, agricultural potential, or size (Spoes 1967:56–57).⁴ Coayxtlahuacan was (and is) situated in rugged, mountainous country off the main routes of travel; Tamaçolapan, Texopan, Yancuitlan, and Nochitzlan, in contrast, are all located along the main

Valley of Mexico-to-Oaxaca route. Yancuitlan, Nochitzlan, Tamaçolapan, Texopan, and Tepuzcululan, along with Coayxtlahuacan, were all important seats of hereditary leadership in the days prior to Aztec conquest (Spoes 1984:48).

The core area of this province was Mixtec. However, the head town of Coayxtlahuacan was a Popolucan (Chocho)-speaking city-state, and Chocho-speaking peoples also lived in the vicinity of Tamaçolapan and Texopan (Gerhard 1972:283; Spoes 1967:53). The very eastern edge of this province, around Cuicatlan, was Cuicatec.

The larger valleys of the province, around Yancuitlan, Nochitzlan, and Tamaçolapan, provided the greatest agricultural potential. The Nochitzlan Valley was the most productive area (Spoes 1984:81), while "the valleys around Coaxtlahuaca are restricted, dry, and largely unproductive" (Spoes 1967:56). Not surprisingly, the Nochitzlan Valley was the most heavily occupied area during Aztec times; Spoes (1984:95) calculates that 159 sites in the valley were occupied at that time and estimates a population for the valley at 50,000. Next in size was the Tamaçolapan Valley, with some 219 sites occupied and a likely population size of 20,000. Spoes estimates the population of the Coayxtlahuacan Valley also at 20,000 people (ibid.:96). The choice of Coayxtlahuacan as a head town for this Aztec tributary province may have been politically motivated; focusing administrative and tribute-collection functions at this more peripheral center may have served to weaken the stronger Mixtec centers in the region.

The highly varied environment of this province provided opportunities for a broadly based economy. Agriculture provided the staff of life, with the cultigens including maize, beans, squash, chiles, *zapotes*, avocados, maguey, and *napales* (PNE 4:209; Spoes 1984:80). Additionally, highland areas supplied woods and resins, and specific locales throughout the region provided materials such as fine and coarse clays for pottery, chert for tools, basalt for grinding tools, palm fiber for mats and baskets, pigments for colorings, cochineal for dyes, and gold for luxury ornaments (ibid.:81–83; PNE 4:210).

Since these many products, and others that had to be acquired from outside the region (such as cotton, cacao, and salt), were not uniformly available, trade and market networks served important distribution functions. Coayxtlahuacan had a large and varied market that attracted merchants from long distances (see above). Tamaçolapan, Texopan, and Tepuzcululan all had active marketing and trade networks (Spoes 1984:82). In Colonial times the people of Nochitzlan traveled from market to market selling dried chiles, fruits, *mantas*, and women's tunics and skirts; this may well reflect a pre-Hispanic pattern (PNE 4:211). Archaeological investigations have substantiated the documentary record of widespread regional interaction. Artifacts analyzed from the site of Coayxtlahuacan suggest strong relationships with other communities in the Mixteca Alta, and also with the Valley of Mexico, Cholula, and the Oaxaca area (Bernal 1948–1949; Spoes 1967:56). Archaeological investigations in the region have yielded an abundance of spindle whorls (suggesting the importation of cotton from lower elevations); remains of fish, shells, and stingrays (indicating ties with the Pacific coast); jade objects from the south; and obsidian from the north.

TRIBUTE

At the time of its conquest by the Aztecs, Coayxtlahuacan's tribute was set at *mantas* ten *brasas* long, loads of chiles, loads of cotton, ocean salt, and various colored dyes (Durán 1967 2:185). Alvarado

Tczozomoc (1975a:337) expands on this list, adding *juaras* and *tecumates* (gourd bowls). He further specifies the cloaks as *quachtli* (large white cotton cloaks) and *coznahuauqui* (yellow-striped; *ibid.*).

In the *Mendoza* and *Metricula*, Coayxtlahuacan gave in tribute three styles of *mantas* (1,200 loads) along with loincloths and women's tunics and skirts. Each of the three *manta* figure shows two fingers, indicating a length of two *brasas* each. The first of these, quilted with a black and white border, is glossed as *cacamo-liubqui* (quilted) in the *Metricula* (1980: folio 12r). The second cloak has two red and white vertical stripes, glossed as *tlalpalolitecayo* (red cloak of Ocuilan). The third, with numerous wide and narrow black vertical stripes, is labeled as *tlipapatlacac* (wide black cloak). All of these represent styles characteristic of other areas of the empire,⁹ and their presence in Coayxtlahuacan suggests connections with other provinces, perhaps through migration or through movements of goods and ideas via trade and the ever-active marketplaces (Berdan 1987a:253-258).

The next item of clothing consists of 400 red loincloths with a black and white step-fret band. In the *Metricula* (1980: folio 12r) red and white stripes continue below the decorated band. This loincloth design is unique in the *Mendoza* and *Metricula*, but unfortunately the *Metricula* provides only the gloss *centzontli maxtlatl* (400 loincloths). The design on the *huipilli* and skirt, however, is more usual, with the customary red rectangle at the neck opening and two horizontal red bands. Also customary was its quantity: 400 loincloths were due every six months, along with the rest of the clothing tribute.⁶

The people of Coayxtlahuacan province also were required to deliver two rich warrior costumes with their shields. The first is a yellow costume with a green and yellow "quetzal feather" head-dress; beside it is a *cuxyo* shield. The other yellow costume, also accompanied by a *cuxyo* shield, is unique in the *Mendoza* and *Metricula*. Clark (1938 1:78) argues that this is a *toxicoollit*, "winding navel string" (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1). In the *Metricula* (1980: folio 12r) this tall device is supported on a wooden frame.

In addition to the clothing and warrior costumes demanded of almost all Aztec tributary provinces, Coayxtlahuacan recognized its overlords with annual payments of greenstone, feathers and featherwork, cochineal, and gold dust. As with other southern provinces that provided greenstones in tribute, Coayxtlahuacan's contribution of two strings was most likely acquired through trade or other means from outside its own territorial bounds.⁷

Many types of feathers were prized, but none so highly as the shimmering green quetzal. This now-rare bird lived in some abundance in the "cloud forests" of southern Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guatemala, characteristically at elevations of 4,000-7,000 feet (Edwards 1972:114). The male tail feathers were especially prized, draping some twenty inches beyond the end of the tail (*ibid.*). The birds preferred to nest in the highest trees and presented some problems of "proper feather procurement." According to one account,

the native Indians [of Verapaz, in Guatemala] . . . painstakingly capture [the quetzal birds] alive with some little nets and other devices which they have for the purpose. They pull out three or four of the prettiest tail feathers and release the bird so that they may bear more of the same fruit the following year. (Medel, mid-sixteenth century, in McBryde 1945:72)

Other accounts tell of different techniques: luring the birds to places where they habitually fed, then catching them and plucking

the few treasured feathers. By this means some 10,000 feathers were procured annually in the Vera Paz district of Guatemala.⁸ According to the *Mendoza*, a total of 2,480 bunches of quetzal feathers were paid by Aztec tributary provinces annually. Of these, Coayxtlahuacan paid 800, an amount equalled only by that of Xocnocho. Much of this may have entered the province through trade; feathers were among the fine commodities attracting long-distance merchants to the market at Coayxtlahuacan (see above).

Once obtained, these precious feathers were subjected to elaborate and time-consuming processes to form them into glamorous and exquisite objects of special value.¹⁰ One such manufactured item was provided by this province: the quetzal feather-bedecked *tlalpiloni* was the prerogative of rulers and is discussed in more detail under Cuertlaxlan province.

The Mixteca Alta was a major center for the production of cochineal dye. Virtually every community in the region engaged in the production of cochineal, if only on a small scale. But it constituted a major enterprise in the Nochitzlan, Tamaçolapan, and Tepuzcululan valleys (Spores 1984:128). Small amounts of cochineal were included in the tribute demands on Texopan, along with parrot feathers and slaves (neither of which is reflected in the *Mendoza* tribute tally; PNE 4:55). In the Colonial period the towns of Tamaçolapan, Nochitzlan, and Yancuitlan continued as prominent centers of cochineal production (Lee 1947-1948:464). This highly valued red dye was derived from a microscopic insect (*Coccus cacti* or *Dactylopius coccus*) which lived on the prickly pear cactus;¹¹ the bodies of some 70,000 insects yielded one dried pound of cochineal (*ibid.*:451). The Nahuatl name for cochineal was (and is) *nocheztli*, from *nochtli* (prickly pear cactus) and *eztli* (blood).

The final item of tribute demanded from Coayxtlahuacan province was twenty gourd bowls of fine gold dust. Gold was procured in the vicinity of this province, and Çoçolan itself (at the southeastern edge of the realm) was a known gold-producing area (Berdan 1987b:166-167). Cuicatlan, at the far eastern border of Coayxtlahuacan province, gave gold (along with feathers and "stones") as its tribute.¹² Gold acquisition is discussed more fully under Tlaplan province.

The tribute listed for this province in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:51) adds one rich feathered device but does not include the gold dust or cochineal. It also mentions 2,000 rich *mantas*, even though the *Mendoza* shows 1,600 *mantas*, 400 loincloths, and 400 women's tunics (and skirts).

The *Relaciones geográficas* document the tribute of some towns that were conquered by the Aztecs but not incorporated into a *Mendoza* tributary province. One such town cluster lay in the vicinity of Coayxtlahuacan and may nonetheless have paid its tribute through the tribute collectors stationed there. The types of tribute paid consist largely of items shown in the *Mendoza* for Coayxtlahuacan province. To the east of the province, the towns of Atlatlauca and Malinaltepec paid their tribute in cochineal, cotton cloaks, green feathers, varicolored feathers, and greenstones; these items do not seem to have been produced locally, for the people used little cotton *mantas* to buy them from other towns (PNE 4:165). They were also required to provide warriors for Motecuhzoma's wars (*ibid.*). In the same area, the town of Tepeucila gave *mantas* and jaguar skins purchased from its neighbors, along with a few feathers (PNE 4:95). Its neighbor Papalotzacpac paid its tribute in gold dust and garrison provisions (PNE 4:90).

In the Colonial period, Tamaçolapan paid its tribute in gold dust and local provisions of turkeys (or chickens), maize, firewood, and *yerba* or grass (González de Cossío 1952:335). Nearby Tamaçolapan's local Spanish tribute included gold dust, women's tunics

and skirts, cacao, and honey, along with the customary subsistence products (ibid.:321). Texopan also gave gold dust (ibid.:467).

REFERENCES

- The Mixteca Alta is the land of the famed Mixtec codices, among which the most famous are the *Codex Nuttall*, *Codex Vindobonensis*, and *Codex Bodley*. The relationships between glyphs (especially place-name glyphs) shown on these codices and those in *Codex Mendoza* are discussed thoroughly and carefully by M. E. Smith (1973). Additional information on the region is covered in Barlow (1949a:113–118), Gerhard (1972:48–52, 54–55, 199–203, 283–290), Caso (1961; 1977), Cook and Borah (1968), Flannery and Marcus (1983), Dahlgren (1954), and especially Spores (1965; 1967; 1984). Conquest information is presented in Durán (1967 2:185–189), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:334–342), Kelly and Palerm (1952:269), and Hassig (1988:105, 166, 230). Archaeological investigations at Coayxtlahuacan are reported by Bernal (1948–1949). Ethnohistorically, the *Códice de Yanhuitlan*, *Códice Sierra* (León 1982), and *Relaciones geográficas* (PNE 4:88–99, 163–176, 183–189, 206–209; 5:65–77) provide additional insights into the nature of this province. Quetzal birds and feathers are discussed by Edwards (1972), McBryde (1945), and Gasco and Voorhies (1989). Featherworking is described in detail by Sahagún (1950–1982 9). Past and present uses of cochineal are examined by Lee (1947–1948), Cordry and Cordry (1968:6–7), and Sayer (1985:139–140). The costumes and textiles of the region are discussed by Anawalt (1981) and Berdan (1987a).
- NOTES
1. This probably took place in the year 1458, although 1455 and 1461 are also possible dates (Kelly and Palerm 1952:269). Part 1 of *Codex Mendoza* shows this as a conquest of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, and the subdued Coayxtlahuacan ruler as Atonal (folio 7v).
 2. Torquemada gives a date of 1508 for these events (Kelly and Palerm 1952:278). Torquemada also attributes a conquest of Coayxtlahuacan to Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, in 1506 (ibid.).
 3. Tepeucila was reportedly conquered by the second Motecuhzoma; Papalotipac paid tribute to Motecuhzoma through its native lord (PNE 4:95, 90).
 4. Bernal, in his archaeological report on Coayxtlahuacan (1948–1949:71–72), stresses that Coayxtlahuacan was not typical of the Mixteca Alta.
 5. The quilted cloaks were prevalent in the northwest part of the empire and the black-striped ones to the northeast. The Ocuilteca style was specific to Ocuilteca people, in Ocuilan, Toluca, and Xocotitlan provinces (see Berdan 1987a:255).
 6. Every eighty days according to the *Metricula*. The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 42v) indicates that skirts were to accompany the tunics.
 7. This is glossed as *cwezalparzoactli* in the *Metricula* folio showing Huasteppec's tribute (4r).
 8. A more detailed discussion of greenstone is provided under Tepequacuico province.
 9. This was in 1575; it might be guessed that the annual production in pre-Spanish times was greater, assuming higher demand and probably a generally larger quetzal bird population during Aztec times.
 10. See especially Sahagún (1950–1982 9).
 11. In sixteenth-century Tlaxcala the prickly pear cactus was planted with the express purpose of "hosting" the tiny cochineal-producing insects (Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson 1986:79–84).
 12. This was in addition to the *mantas* and food given to the tribute collectors, and fruit sent on occasion to the Mexico garrisons (PNE 4:185).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Coyolapan—"On the Water of the Bell"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13v)
2. Etlan—"Where There Are Many Beans"
3. Quauvilitlan—"Among the *Quauvilitotl* Trees"
4. Guaxacac—(Huaxacac) "Where the *Uaxin* Trees Begin"
Also in *Codex Mendoza*, folio 17v
5. Camotlan—"Place of Many Sweet Potatoes"
6. Teocuitlatlan—"Place of Much Gold"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13v)
7. Quatzontepēc—"On the Hill of Much Hair"
8. Octlan—"Where There Is Much Pulque"
9. Teticpac—"On Top of the Rock"
10. Tlalcuechahuayan—"Place of Damp Land"
11. Macuilxochic—"Place of the God *Macuilxochitl*"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 richly worked quilted *mantas*
- 800 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 2 bins of maize
- 1 bin of beans

- 1 bin of chia
- 20 tiles of fine gold
- 20 bags of cochineal

CONQUEST HISTORY

Coyolapan was probably conquered by the Aztecs in the late 1580s, early in Ahuitzotl's reign.¹ Earlier, under Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440-1468), Huaxacac had fallen to Aztec military might after the people of Huaxacac had killed and robbed Aztec emissaries and merchants.² Other conquests of towns in this province are recorded for Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin: Quatzontepēc and, again, Huaxacac (Torquemada 1969 1:420; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:318), while Teocuitlatlan was conquered by Ahuitzotl. A number of other towns in this region were also conquered over the last three decades of the Aztec empire. Barlow (1949a:119) plots twenty-four of these on his map, in addition to the nine locatable towns from the *Mendoza*.³ These included Miahuatlan (by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina); Teoçapotlan and Mictlan (by Ahuitzotl); and Itztitlan, Xalapan, Xaltianquico, and Atepec (by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin). Reconquests of Teoçapotlan and Mictlan are also documented for this last ruler (Kelly and Palerm 1952:291-317).⁴ It appears, as Davies (1974:181, 335) has noted, that conquest of this region was achieved "not by a single lightning thrust but by a series of expeditions."

If only the *Mendoza* towns are considered, the tributary prov-

ince of Coyolapan focused on the Etla Valley in Oaxaca, at the edge of which stood the garrison of Huaxacac. The other towns added to this province by Barlow fall into definable clusters to the north, east, south, and west of that valley.

To the east lay five towns that had been anciently subject to the powerful Zapotec kingdom of Teoçapotlan (Zaachila).¹ This kingdom had been overthrown by the Mixtecs of Coyolapan shortly before its Mexica conquest, and its leaders traveled south to Tehuantepec to establish a "government in exile" (Spores 1967:67; Barlow 1949a:121). Despite Mexica claims to the contrary (see above), Teoçapotlan staunchly reported its independence and autonomy from Aztec rule, claiming that its tribute payments to the garrison at Huaxacac were made "out of friendship" (PNE 4:194). Aside from this suggestion, there is no documentary evidence for tribute payments from Teoçapotlan and its subject towns flowing through the Coyolapan provincial administration.

To the west of Coyolapan province lay a mountainous region with six towns which recognized Motecuhzoma with tributes in gold and cotton *mantas* (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:185, 187). Apparently these tributes did not pass through the officials at Huaxacac. Similarly, the nearby town of Teotzacualco paid tributes to Motecuhzoma in greenstones (*chalchibuitl*), feathers, cotton and henqueñ *mantas*, and cultivated fields of maize, beans, chia, and cotton for a garrison of Mexica warriors stationed in that town (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:175). These towns lay on the Mixtec/Zapotec cultural border.²

South of the Valley of Oaxaca, dipping into the realm of Tototepec, lay three towns that may have gained special consideration in their relations with Motecuhzoma by virtue of their proximity to that enemy kingdom. Cuixtlan carried on wars with a Tototepec town (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:115), while Coatlán paid the Mexica ruler gold dust and *mantas*. Motecuhzoma reciprocated with *gente de guaración* for their borderland wars (PNE 4:133). Coatlán was politically uneasy; the people of that town rebelled against their local ruler and requested to be incorporated into the Aztec empire (*ibid.*). None of these towns, however, appears to have had any actual ties with Coyolapan province, and Barlow seems to have included them there by reason of geographic convenience.

To the north were a series of mountain towns that had been conquered by the Aztecs; four of them paid tribute to Motecuhzoma in green feathers and greenstones.³ They obtained these exotic goods by trading small *mantas* for them in towns fifteen to twenty leagues distant (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:124). While these towns are not listed on the Mendoza tally, two of Motecuhzoma's tribute collectors from the "Province of Huaxacac" collected this tribute for the Mexica ruler (*ibid.*). The Zapotec town of Itepechi, slightly north of Mendoza's Coyolapan province, paid its tribute in gold, green feathers, deer, maize, turkeys, firewood, and personal service to the garrison at Huaxacac. The nonlocal gold and feathers were reportedly acquired by working on fields in Tehuantepec for approximately six months of the year.⁴ While the conquered towns in this northern region are not actually listed in the Mendoza for Coyolapan province, they may have nonetheless contributed to its gold tribute. The other goods helped support the garrison and, perhaps, the locally stationed tax collectors and governors.

While Coyolapan was the head town of the tributary province, the focus of administration and tribute collection seemed to be at Huaxacac. There, Motecuhzoma had a garrison stationed to assure open avenues of transportation (presumably for troops and merchants) to Tehuantepec and Guatemala (PNE 4:194).⁵ Two Mex-

ica governors were assigned to Huaxacac, a *Tlacatecutli* and a *Tlacotecutli* (*Codex Mendoza* folio 17v). The designation of Coyolapan as provincial head town may have been due to its importance as the dominant political and military power in the region at the time of Aztec conquest.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Coyolapan province fall squarely in and around the Valley of Oaxaca, concentrating in the Etla arm of that wishbone-shaped valley. The settlements were dispersed and distributed among a number of political units (city-states). The largest concentration was at Coyolapan itself, with a population estimated at 13,500 (Blanton and Kowalewski 1981:112).

The towns tended to be situated in the valley along the base of the surrounding mountains. Huaxacac, however, was situated on a hilltop called Acatepec (*ibid.*). Blanton's survey of a hilltop on the west side of the Atoyac River yielded the only "significant concentration of Aztec sherds we have found anywhere in the valley" (1983:318). It is only very tentatively suggested that this may have been the site of the Aztec garrison of Huaxacac.

According to the *Relación de Cuilapan* (1581), Coyolapan was settled in a "fine valley" with a "favorable climate." A later *Relación* for that town (1777-1778) describes the climate as "mild and healthful."⁶ The mountain and valley terrain yielded considerable variation in temperature and production potential. Above the alluvial plains flanking the Atoyac River (providing especially fertile and well-watered lands), extended a semi-arid thorn forest piedmont (with mesquite and prickly pear cactus). At higher elevations the thorn forest gave way to mountain forests of oak and pine (Smith and Hopkins 1983:14-15). Lowland irrigation agriculture benefited from usually reliable water sources: rivers, streams, springs, and a generally high water table (Flannery 1983:324). Therefore, the upper reaches of the mountains were cold and forested, the lowlands pleasant enough to support crops of sweet potatoes, *xicamas*, and various fruits, and the piedmont conducive to exploiting mesquite, maguey, and prickly pear cactus (*ibid.*; Paddock 1966:42). This last plant served as host for the tiny dye-producing cochineal insects. Wild animals and birds, ranging from deer and wild boar in the mountains to macaws, parrots, and rabbits in the lowlands, were plentiful (*ibid.*:43). The staple crops of maize, beans, squash, and chiles could be grown throughout the Valley of Oaxaca and up the mountainsides, risking frost damage at high elevations (Smith and Hopkins 1983:14). A river running down from the sierra just to the north of Huaxacac reportedly carried gold (ENE 4:142).

Most of the territory in Coyolapan province had traditionally been controlled by Zapotec rulers. However, in the two centuries prior to Aztec conquest of the region, Mixtecs from the west and north had gained political footholds in the area. Marriages formed between Mixtec and Zapotec ruling families provided the groundwork for these incursions, leading to the settlement of Mixtecs at Coyolapan and their eventual conquests of Teoçapotlan, Mictlan, and Teticpac (Spores 1965:965-967, Paddock 1966:41). The *Relación de Cuilapan* (*ibid.*) relates that "these Mixtecs claim that they subjugated almost all the Zapotecs in the Oaxaca valleys and received tribute from them." Archaeological explorations in the region have revealed Mixtec influence at a majority of Valley of Oaxaca sites, although Zapotec and Mixtec cultural traditions appear to have continued "side by side with little or no visible blending" (Spores 1965:965). Despite Mixtec political importance, Zapotec

continued to be the reigning language of the region, with only the western portion of the province being predominantly Mixtec (ibid.; Barlow 1949a: 123).

TRIBUTE

The tribute paid by this province to its Aztec overlords reflects, to some degree, the natural resources of the region.

The province's semi-annual clothing tribute was rather unremarkable. Coyolapan paid 400 loads of richly decorated quilted *mantas*, with borders of yellow, green, and red. These quilted *mantas* somewhat resemble those paid by other provinces (e.g., Acolhuacan, Axocapan, Tepequacuilco), although Coyolapan's have multicolored rather than black and white borders, and its quilted design is more elaborate. Perhaps the people of Coyolapan province had their own traditional style of such *mantas*, which the Aztecs then demanded in tribute. Aside from these specially worked items, Coyolapan delivered 800 loads of large, plain white cloaks, labeled *quachtli* in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 12v).¹¹ Cotton for the weaving of cloaks was imported, some at least from Tehuantepec, Xalapa, and Nexapa, all south and east of this province (PNE 4: 103, 107, 113).

Coyolapan was the most distant province from Tenochtitlan to have paid tribute in bulky staple foodstuffs. The Spanish annotations and comments in the *Mendoza* state that two bins of maize, one of beans, and one of chia were due annually. The *Matricula* (folio 12r) shows only one bin with a kernel of corn, a bean, and numerous small black dots (probably representing the chia).¹² Other staples produced in the region were surely delivered to support the garrison at Huaxacac.¹³

Specialized goods from this province consisted of annual deliveries of gold and cochineal. The gold was to be delivered in the form of twenty round tiles, "the size of a medium plate and the thickness of a thumb" (*Codex Mendoza* folio 43v). Coyolapan was one of six roughly contiguous provinces to pay tribute in gold; if not locally available, it was certainly in a region through which merchants passed carrying such high-value commodities. The land of the Chinanteques, bordering the extreme northern part of Coyolapan province, was a known gold-producing area, and Díaz del Castillo (1963: 265, 268) speaks of the Chinanteques and Zapotecs in a single breath regarding the availability of gold.¹⁴ Spores (1965: 968), however, feels it is likely that metals were imported. Blanton and Kowalewski (1981: 112–113) emphasize the high degree of economic specialization and interregional trade in the Late Post-classic Valley of Oaxaca.¹⁵ Whatever the sources of the raw materials, this seems a small tribute in luxuries for an area so lauded for its artistry in gold and mosaic work (see Saville 1920).

As with the lands of the Mixtecs to the north and west, the Valley of Oaxaca was an important cochineal-producing area. Coyolapan province paid twenty bags of this dyestuff annually or every eighty days (according to the *Matricula* 1980: folio 12v). For more details on cochineal, see the discussion of Coaxtlahuacan province.

If indeed tribute from the northern peripheral town of Itepechi was gathered at the Huaxacac garrison, then their gold tribute may be represented in Coyolapan's provincial tribute. Similarly, the gold dust contributed by Teotitlan del Valle may have been hammered into the round gold tiles, and their tribute *mantas* added to Coyolapan's total.¹⁶ Tributes from individual towns listed for this province in the *Mendoza* may have been used locally and not served as part of the annual and semi-annual assessments. For example, the white cotton *mantas* and maize paid by the town of Quaxvi-

lotitlan may have reached Tenochtitlan,¹⁷ but the women's tunics, loincloths, copper hoops, and *xiabtototl* birds may have been used by resident Mexico at Huaxacac (PNE 4: 197–198). Likewise, Teticpac's tribute of turkeys, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey could have easily been consumed locally (ibid.: 111).

The tribute listed for Coyolapan in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 51–52) mirrors that in the pictorial atlases. The 1554 account does specify that the 1,200 *mantas* were to be paid every eighty days and indicates that each bin (one each of maize, beans, and chia) contained 4,100 *fanegas*. The *Memorial de las Poblaciones* names Etla and Coyolapan as towns whose tributes were divided among the three Triple Alliance rulers (ENE 14: 120–121).

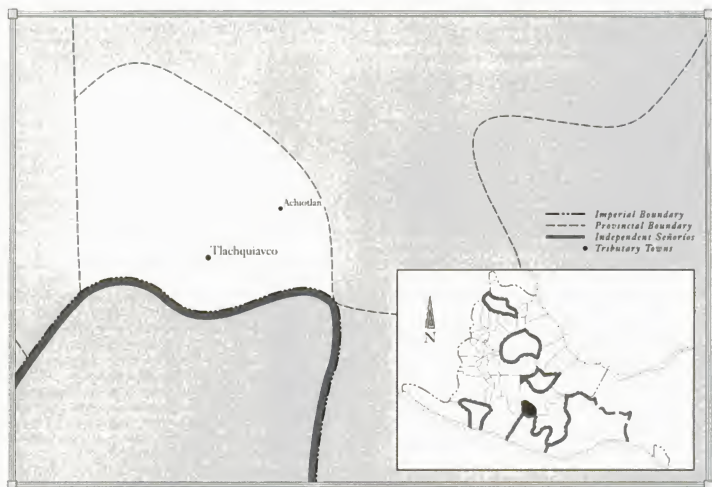
REFERENCES

A great deal of archaeological and ethnohistoric work has been done on and around the Postclassic Valley of Oaxaca. An excellent recent review, analysis, and bibliography of such work is found in Flannery and Marcus (1983); especially notable here are Topics 3 and 81–99. Other informative works on the area include Blanton et al. (1981), Blanton and Kowalewski (1981), Whitecotton (1977), Caso (1962), Spores (1965), Chance (1978), Nadler (1969), DeCicco (1985), Marcus (1980), M. E. Smith (1973), Barlow (1949a: 118–125), and Gerhard (1972: 48–52, 71–74, 88–91, 143–144, 158–160, 190–192, 258–260). Tototepec, the Mixtec kingdom to the south which escaped the Aztec imperial net, is discussed by Davies (1968: 181–213). *Relaciones geográficas* for towns in the province and region are found in PNE (4.9–23, 100–154, 177–182, 190–205) and RMEH (1927–1928 app. T.2: 114–146, 180–191). Some of these have been translated in Paddock (1962). Additional information is found in García Pimentel (1904: 59–70) and *Epistolario de Nueva España* (ENE 4: 142–146; 14: 120–121).

NOTES

1. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948: 60) place its conquest in 1488, Torquemada (1969 1: 186–187) in 1489, and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2: 283) in 1486. *Codex Mendoza* (folio 13v) places the conquests of Coyolapan and Teocuitlan (also in this province) during the rule of Ahuitzotl (1486–1502). Kelly and Palerm, however, identify the Coyolapan of these documented conquests as Coyulapa, Puebla (1952: 305).
2. Four Mexica noblemen, accompanied by twenty-eight merchants, were transporting gold dust, deep blue stones (*matlatl xibuitl*: for Motecuhzoma's diadem and for setting with feathers), rich feather bracelets with gold (*macchoncetl*), shields, shells, and a yellow coloring agent for painting (*ocoletecoztli*) (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975: 354). These luxuries for god and king were being carried from the Gulf coast when the bearers were intercepted near Huaxacac.
3. The towns of Quatzontepetec and Teocuitlan still elude geographic identification.
4. According to the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 40v), Mictlan was conquered in 1494 and Teocuitlan in 1495, during Ahuitzotl's reign.
5. Teotitlan del Valle, Mictlan, Chichicapan, Tlacolula, and Taliztaccan (PNE 4: 105, 116, 145, 148, 179). Macuilxochic, included in Coyolapan province, was also apparently once subject to Teocuitlan (ibid.: 102).
6. Of the six "pueblos peñoles," three were Mixtec, two were Zapotec, and one was unspecified (RMEH 1927–1928 app. T.2: 185–191).
7. These towns were Atepec, Xaltianqueco, Teocuitlan, and Coquiapan. The greenstones were considered of "poco precio," small value (RMEH 1927–1928 app. T.2: 124–125).
8. PNE 4: 16. The people of Itepechi paid concurrent tribute to Mixtec and Mexica lords, who had conquered them in turn. The Mixtec kingdom of Coyolapan had extended its conquest into this Zapotec region shortly before the Mexica armies arrived.
9. Holt (1979: 373) classifies this as a commercial garrison.

10. Both of these *Relaciones* are translated into English in Paddock (1962: 38–44).
11. *Mantas* with the triangular insert are found throughout the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*, and are variously glossed as *quachtli* (large white cotton cloaks), *ca-naua* (narrow), *ichtimatl* (maguey-fiber cloaks), or just *tilmatl* (cloak; *Matricula de Tributos* 1980: folios 4v, 5r, 5v, 6v, 11r, 12v).
12. This would suggest one bin each of maize, beans, and chia.
13. There was also a garrison at nearby Teotzacualco (Barlow 1949a: 125).
14. In the early Colonial period, Tetzcac and Edan paid part of their tribute in gold dust (González de Cossío 1952: 185, 442).
15. The authors cite the large quantities of obsidian found archaeologically in the valley; the sources of obsidian were far to the north in and around the Valley of Mexico.
16. Teotitlan del Valle also paid its tribute in turkeys, chiles, and “yndios por esclavos” (PNE 4: 106).
17. The tributes from this town were gathered up by three different tribute collectors: one local, one from Huaxacac, and one from Coayxtlahuacan. The *mantas* and maize were delivered to Motecuhzoma through this last *calpixqui* (PNE 4: 198).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlachquiuhco—(Tlachquiuhco) "On the Place Outside the Ball Court"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 16r)
2. Achiotlan—"Where There Is Much *Achiotl*"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 15v)
3. Çapotlan—"Where There Are Many Zapote Trees"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

400 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 20 bowls of fine gold dust
- 5 bags of cochineal
- 400 handfuls of quetzal feathers

CONQUEST HISTORY

Of the thirty-eight provinces recorded in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*, Tlachquiuhco was the last to be conquered by the Aztec armies. This occurred during the reign of Motecuhzoma

Xocoyotzin, probably in 1511 or 1512 (*Anales de Tlatelolco* 1948: 17–18; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 42v; Anderson and Barlow 1943: 414–415; Hassig 1988: 232). However, there had been a history of earlier Triple Alliance military incursions into this region,¹ probably incited by the killing of traveling Aztec merchants (Durán 1967 2: 417; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a: 597–599).²

It is usual that the *cabeceras*, or "head towns," were conquered before or at the same time as other towns recorded in a given *Matricula/Mendoza* province. However, this last conquest recorded in these documents may have reversed this: Tlachquiuhco itself was conquered by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, as was the town of Achiotlan. But the third town included in this tributary province, Çapotlan,³ was probably conquered earlier, by Ahuizotl (*Codex Mendoza* folios 13r, 15v, 16r; Kelly and Palerm 1952: 305). This rather fragmented conquest history reflects the complexity of the political organization in the Mixteca Alta prior to Aztec imperial onslaughts.

This, along with the province of Coayxtlahuacan, was the land of shifting Mixtec kingdoms. In the Tlachquiuhco region, both Tlachquiuhco and Achiotlan were important Mixtec centers, and Tlachquiuhco was ruled by a "great lord" who may have been to some small extent controlled by the lord at Tilantonco (Spores 1967: 66). If Çapotlan were to be equated with Teoçapotlan (today's Zaachila), then this would include a rather distant Zapotec kingdom in the tributary province of Tlachquiuhco.⁴

The Mixteca Alta was a region of well-developed warfare and shifting alliances. Tlachquiuhco and Tututepec fought against Midlatonco (PNE 4: 79), but Tlachquiuhco and Achiotlan also had

their wars against Tututepec (Spores 1967:14). The region controlled by Tututepec, directly to the south of Tlachiquiahuco province, was never conquered by the Triple Alliance forces. Despite its location along a historically hostile border, no Mexica fortresses or garrisons seem to have been installed in this province. With its late incorporation into the empire's tributary and administrative system, there may not have been sufficient time to develop fortifications or garrisons in this area, or the Triple Alliance powers may have preferred to deploy their forces along other, more pressing borders.

Although not included in this *Mendoza* province, the town of Mixtepec appears to have maintained some relationship with Tlachiquiahuco (Spores 1967:55), perhaps as a direct dependency (Barlow 1949a:112). It maintained a rulership with specific legitimacy and succession requirements (Spores 1967:139). Formal rules of succession may also have applied to the nearby town of Tlacoatepec (Spores 1967:142-143), although its relationship with Tlachiquiahuco is unclear.¹

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Tlachiquiahuco was located in the Mixteca Alta, in an area described as generally cool and dry (Gerhard 1972:283). Tlachiquiahuco itself lay in a valley, although in general the region encompassing this province was rough and mountainous. Achiotlan, in Tlachiquiahuco tributary province, was located well outside Tlachiquiahuco's valley, as presumably was Capotlan.² The domain of this Mixteca *cacicazgo* (kingdom), then, appears to have extended over a considerable area.³

While this area seems to have been densely occupied in pre-Spanish times, valleys to the north (Nochitlan and Tamaçolapan) had considerably denser populations (Spores 1984:49, 96). The population of the Tlachiquiahuco and Achiotlan Valleys may have reached a maximum of 20,000 each, with, of course, additional populations in more isolated subject towns (*ibid.*).⁴ The dominant language of the region was Mixtec, with a Trique minority to the south (Gerhard 1972:283).

Tlachiquiahuco (today's Santa María Asunción Tlaxiaco) was situated on a north-south route leading from the Mixteca Alta to the Pacific coast. It was apparently a major trade and market center serving a wide area, as it does today (Spores 1967:55; 1984:82). Major crops in the area where the traditional maize, beans, squash, and chiles, although specialties such as cochineal were significant to the pre-Spanish and post-Spanish economy of the region. Perhaps reflecting pre-Hispanic patterns, Tlachiquiahuco's Colonial specializations focused on lumber and wood products and cloth production.⁵

TRIBUTE

The tribute demands of Tlachiquiahuco province paled somewhat in comparison to its Mixteca Alta neighbor, Coaxtlahuacan.¹⁰ Tlachiquiahuco gave only 400 loads of large cotton cloaks, undecorated.¹¹ It also was required to deliver only one warrior costume annually: this was a yellow costume with green-feathered headdress, identical to one paid by nearby Coaxtlahuacan. The shield behind the Tlachiquiahuco warrior costume is a green and yellow *xicalcolihqui* style, while that accompanying the Coaxtlahuacan costume is a *cueyo* shield (see folio 43r).

The remaining annual Tlachiquiahuco tribute repeats that found for Coaxtlahuacan, although in lesser quantities. Tlachiquiahuco gave twenty bowls of fine gold dust. This province is among a clus-

ter of six contiguous tributary provinces that paid tributes to the Triple Alliance in gold or gold objects (see Berdan 1987b:164-168). The gold was probably procured locally, as it continued to be in Colonial times: at some time prior to 1560 Achiotlan was required to pay eight containers of gold dust (each worth ten pesos) every sixty days (González de Cossío 1952:13).

Cochineal, of which Tlachiquiahuco gave five bags in tribute, was an important product of the Mixteca Alta. This prized dye is discussed in greater depth under Coaxtlahuacan province.

The final item of tribute for Tlachiquiahuco and its two component towns was 400 bundles of quetzal feathers. Quetzal birds were probably not native to this region, the feathers arriving in the province through trade with either Miahuatlan or Tututepec (Ball and Brockington 1978:113).¹²

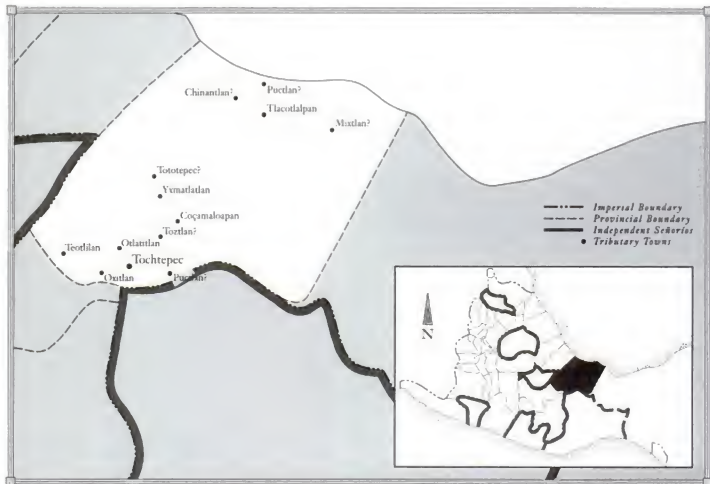
The *Información* of 1554 precisely reiterates these tribute demands in type and quantities. It describes the warrior costume headdress as resembling the wing of a large bird and specifies that each bowl of gold dust equaled 232 pesos of gold (Scholes and Adams 1975:52).

REFERENCES

The Mixteca Alta is broadly documented, although Tlachiquiahuco is often only peripherally mentioned. Nonetheless, major works on the region by Dahlgren (1954), Flannery and Marcus (1983), Cook and Borah (1968), Spores (1965, 1967, 1984), and Caso (1977) all contribute to an understanding of Tlachiquiahuco in the broader region. Other references on the province include Barlow (1949a:112-113), Gerhard (1972:283-290), Hassig (1988:223-235), M. E. Smith (1973), the *Relación de Tlilantongo* (PNE 4:69-87), *Relación de Mixtepec* (RMEH 1927-1928 app. T.2:142-146), Ball and Brockington (1978), González de Cossío (1952:13-15), and the *Suma de Visitas* (PNE 1:282-283).

NOTES

1. The Triple Alliance armies had devastated the nearby towns of Xaltepec, Ipatatepec, and Cuatzontecan, possibly as early as 1503-1504 (Hassig 1988:223).
2. Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:597) identifies the merchants as *ocotomeca*. These were the disguised merchants often used by the Mexica rulers as spies.
3. Kelly and Palerm (1952:305) identify Capotlan as Zaachila, "formerly Teozapotlan" (see PNE 4:190).
4. This identification, however, is somewhat unlikely if only on the basis of geographical distance. See the discussion of Zaachila under Coyolapan province.
5. Barlow adds Tlacoatepec to this tributary province, it was conquered by the Aztec armies, but its relationship with the empire and with Tlachiquiahuco province is not specified (Barlow 1949a:112).
6. Mixtepec, if a dependency of Tlachiquiahuco, was located in the mountains to the west, while Achiotlan was to the east. Gerhard (1972:285) mentions that Achiotlan was an important religious center.
7. Spores (1967:55) indicates that Tlachiquiahuco's subject towns were located as far as eight leagues from Tlachiquiahuco.
8. Gerhard (1972:289) mentions eight subject *cabeceiras* and possibly one hundred *estancias* under the jurisdiction of Tlachiquiahuco.
9. The wood products included furniture, plows, and ox yokes that were undoubtedly Spanish introductions, and hoes and containers that could have had pre-Hispanic antecedents. While cloth was made of both wool and cotton in Colonial times, only the cotton-cloth production would be a continuation of pre-Spanish native patterns (Spores 1984:134-135).
10. This folio is missing in the *Matricula de Tributos*.
11. In the *Matricula*, cloaks with a triangular design (as seen on this cloak image) are variously glossed (see Coyolapan province, note 1). These cloaks were to be delivered twice a year (every eighty days according to the *Matricula*).
12. Although Tlachiquiahuco and the Aztecs warred with Tututepec, trade often transcended such hostilities (see Berdan 1985).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tochtepec—"On the Hill of the Rabbit"
 2. Xayaco—"On the Mask"
 3. Otlatitlan—"Among Much Bamboo"
 4. Coçamalospán—"On the Water of the Captive Weasels"
 5. Mixtlan—"Where There Are Many Clouds"
- Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
6. Michapan—"On the Water of the Fish"
 7. Ayotzintepec—"On the Pyramid Hill"
 8. Michtlan—"Where There Are Many Fish"
 9. Teotitlan—"Place of the Sacred Ink"
 10. Xicaltepec—"On the Hill of the Gourd Bowls"
 11. Oxtitlan—"Where *Oxiti!* Abounds"
 12. Tzinacanoztoc—"In the Cave of the Bat"
 13. Tototepec—"On the Hill of the Bird"
 14. Chinantlan—"Where There Are Many Chinanteca"
 15. Ayoçintepec—"On the Hill of the Little Turtle"
 16. Cuezcomatitlan—"Among the Granaries"
 17. Puctlan—"Where There Is Much Smoke"
 18. Tetevtlan—"Where There Are Many Gods"
 19. Yumatatlan—"Place of the Blue Face (Tlaloc)"
 20. Yaotlan—"Where There Are Many Enemies" or "Place of War"
 21. Toztlan—"Where There Are Many Yellow-Headed Parrots"
 22. Tlacotalpan—"On the Divided Lands"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 1,600 richly decorated *mantas*
- 800 striped *mantas*
- 400 women's tunics and skirts

The following items were given annually:

- 1 *quetzaltototl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 *tlabauitectli* shield
- 1 back device of yellow feathers
- 1 gold diadem
- 1 gold headband
- 1 necklace of gold beads
- 1 necklace of gold beads and bells
- 3 large greenstone (*chalchibuitl*) beads
- 3 necklaces of all-round greenstones (*chalchibuitl*)
- 4 necklaces of greenstones (*chalchibuitl*)
- 20 lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold
- 20 lip plugs of crystal, set in blue smalt and gold
- 80 handfuls of rich green (*quetzal*) feathers
- 16,000 balls of rubber
- 4 bundles of rich green feathers trimmed with yellow feathers
- 8,000 little handfuls of rich blue feathers

8,000 little handfuls of rich red feathers
8,000 little handfuls of rich green feathers
100 pots of fine liquidambar
200 loads of cacao

CONQUEST HISTORY

Tochtepec was the southernmost of the provinces claimed as a conquest for the Texcocan ruler Nezahualcoyotl (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:197–198). He reportedly conquered Tochtepec after finalizing conquests further north in Tochpan and Tzicoac. According to a Mexica-oriented chronicler, however, it was the armies of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina that penetrated this region, as part of Motecuhzoma's conquests of Tepeacac and Huaxacac (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:360). The historical section of *Codex Mendoza* sheds little more light on the conquest of this region; of all the towns listed on Tochtepec's tribute page (twenty-two of them), only one (Mixtlan) is also found in part I. Mixtlan is reported there as conquered by Axayacatl, not the first Motecuhzoma.¹ Kelly and Palerm (1952:219) attribute the conquests of Tochtepec, Chinantlan, Otatitlan, and Coçamalapan to the first Motecuhzoma.

According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl's account, Nezahualcoyotl placed a tribute collector named Toyecetzin along with a garrison of warriors in conquered Tochtepec. Beyond this small statement, the actual administration of this region remains rather obscure. Tochtepec itself had a large Mexica garrison (Cortés 1977; PNE 4:61); towns in its province and region sent their tributes as well as judicial problems directly to Tochtepec's garrison or governor (PNE 4:48, 61–62).² Additionally, Tlacotalpan and Totzlan had resident Mexica tribute collectors (PNE 5:2, 5).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Tochtepec and its tributary towns were largely oriented along major inland-to-coast rivers, and only a few towns in this province were situated at any distance from these major arteries.³ Aside from easing transportation, the rivers were valued sources of fish and gold (PNE 4:64). The climate tended to be hot and humid, with heavy summer rains (PNE 4:45–46, 59, 63).

On the basis of proximity, Barlow (1949a:93) adds the town of Učila to Tochtepec tributary province. Učila recognized Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin as its overlord, but paid tributes directly to him rather than through Tochtepec (but also see note 2). These annual tributes consisted of a "present" of a golden shield, a quetzal feather device, and two necklaces of rich gold beads for Motecuhzoma and his wife (PNE 4:47–48).⁴ Despite the fact that Učila is not included on folio 46 of *Codex Mendoza*, its "presents" closely resemble some of the items depicted on that page.

The southwestern portions of Tochtepec province bordered on the lands of the Chinantec, parts of which remained unconquered by Aztec forces. This border is vague, and peoples described as Chinantec inhabited parts of three Aztec tributary provinces as well as residing in towns outside the imperial net (Berdan 1987b:167).⁵ It, along with Tochtepec, was a region rich in gold, as Motecuhzoma told Cortés (1977:242–244; Díaz del Castillo 1963:265, 268). While Chinantec and also Mazatec were languages spoken along this southwestern frontier, Nahuatl appears to have been the general language of the province. Nahuatl communities were strung along the Alvarado River, although some of them, including Tochtepec itself, may have earlier been Popolucan towns (Gerhard 1972:85, 301).

Tochtepec province was densely populated and rich in resources, including gold, cacao, cotton, fish, aquatic birds, and a wide variety of foodstuffs (Motolinía 1971:229–230; PNE 4:46, 67–68; PNE 5:3, 8). Pottery, textiles, and mats were important manufactures in the colder reaches around the town of Chinantlan (PNE 4:68).

In addition to its wealth in natural resources, Tochtepec was a major Aztec trading entrepôt. Long-distance professional merchants from several Valley of Mexico cities frequented Tochtepec, using it as a "resting and regrouping station" as they prepared for difficult journeys beyond the imperial boundaries (Sahagún 1950–1982 9: passim).⁶ *Pobtecaca* from those cities apparently maintained factors in Tochtepec in resident *barrios* of the community, and grand feasts and banquets were hosted by the merchants there (ibid.). Tochtepec was indeed situated at a convenient transportation nexus linking routes to Huaxacac (Oaxaca), Teotitlan, and Tehuacan (and thence to the Valley of Mexico), and along the coast.

TRIBUTE

The richness of Tochtepec province is vividly reflected in the tribute demands placed on it. Nezahualcoyotl's recorded annual tribute from this province included forty loads of rich *mantas*, twenty loads of rich shirts "woven in fine colors," thirty-three loads of cacao (in addition to the cultivation of a field of cacao), 2,000 rubber balls, 400 sacks of cochineal, many feathers, and warrior costumes made of quetzal feathers. To this was added an unspecified amount of service in Texcoco's royal palace (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:198).⁷

This is one of the most resplendent of *Mendoza's* tribute folios; unfortunately, it is missing from the *Matricula*. There are, therefore, no Nahuatl glosses by which to identify unique items (of which there are several in Tochtepec province).

The tally of tribute begins, as is customary, with the clothing tribute. Tochtepec province paid especially large quantities of fancy cloaks.⁸ The first cloak (400 loads) is woven in a red and white swirling conch-shell pattern, identifiable as a *tecucizio tilmatli tenixio*, "the cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes" (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:23; Clark 1938 1:80). Clark (ibid.) suggests that these cloaks were woven using rabbit fur (*tochomiltl*) and feathers. The next three *manta* images (totaling 1,200 loads), woven in gray, yellow, and red respectively, all display the symbol of the god of *pulque*, *Ometochtli*. Inside the central pot figure is the curled *yacametzli* (*pulque* gods' nose ornament) symbol, a prominent feature of the *pulque* gods (see ibid. and *Codex Magliabecchiano* 1983: folios 37r–45r, 73r).⁹ These *mantas* all have the prestigious *tenixio* border.

Tochtepec province also paid tribute in 800 loads of striped cloaks¹⁰ and in 400 loads of women's tunics and skirts with their characteristic red bands.¹¹

The single warrior costume on this folio is a one-of-a-kind item in the *Mendoza*. The suit itself is plain yellow, but its back device is a graceful green bird in flight. The bird has a red breast speckled with white, a yellow bill, and flowing green tail feathers.¹² The costume with its device is accompanied by a green and yellow *xicalcolihqui* shield.

Tochtepec was also the only province to deliver a shield unaccompanied by a costume, which appears to have yellow and red feathers attached. This is the *tlabauitctli*, or "whitewashed shield" (see appendix G). It is also rare to see a back device without its attendant costume; Tochtepec paid one of yellow feathers, fanned like a bird's wing, on a wooden standard.

This province was reputedly rich in gold, and this is reflected in its tribute requirements. The people of Tochtepec were required

to deliver a golden diadem and a gold headband, both with cords attached. The latter item was to be one hand wide and as thick as parchment.¹¹ Gold was also paid in the form of strings of gold beads. One of these strings was made of small round beads, the other of oblong beads with little bells attached.¹² The latter is specified as a collar or necklace.

While jadeite or other greenstones are not noted as resources native to Tochtepec, they nonetheless were prominent items of tribute from this province. Tochtepec gave three large greenstone beads, three strings of rich round greenstone beads, and four strings of greenstone beads, alternating round and oblong. Some sources of jadeite lay to the south, and this may have been Tochtepec's source.¹³

Among the many manufactures paid by Tochtepec were forty lip plugs, adornments for nobles. Noblemen, such as those shown on folio 65r of *Codex Mendoza*, would wear these from their lower lip as a sign of their exalted status. Twenty of the lip plugs given by Tochtepec were made of amber and decorated with gold; the other twenty were made of crystal with a blue feather insert and set in gold. Among the ruler's dancing array, Sahagún (1950–1982 8:27) includes “a long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting” and “a long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his (lower) lip.” While the shapes of lip plugs given in tribute from Tochtepec, Xoconochco, and Cuexatlán were very straightforward, such adornments could also come in the imaginative forms of pelicans, eagles, fire serpents, boating poles, and water plants (ibid.: 27–28). Of the materials, gold and feathers could have been obtained locally, while the amber most likely arrived through trade from the Chiapas area.

Tochtepec province was rich in tropical feathers. Its feather tribute included eighty bundles of prized quetzal feathers (shown wrapped at the base and held by a hand); four bundles of green and yellow feathers, arranged with the yellow feathers at the base; 8,000 little bundles of turquoise-blue feathers; 8,000 little bundles of red feathers; and 8,000 little bundles of green feathers. These last three varieties probably parallel those delivered by Xoconochco and are identified as feathers of the lovely *cotinga*, scarlet macaw, and green or Pacific parakeet (see discussion under Xoconochco province).

Tochtepec was the only province to pay tribute in rubber, and it delivered 1,600 balls of rubber annually. This was, indeed, the land of the Olmeca (“People of Rubber”), although rubber is not specifically observed as a local natural resource in the sixteenth-century documents. Rubber was used frequently in rituals, as in adorning images of gods and goddesses with liquid rubber, spattering rubber on paper banners, painting dried maize with liquid rubber, and molding rubber into the images of gods (Sahagún 1950–1982 1:7, 17, 19, 26, 37, 40, 47; 2:43, 85, 124). It was also essential for the popular and ritually important ball game. The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 45r) states that these balls could bounce very high when thrown on the ground. They were probably very hard, as the ballplayers competed wearing protective garb, and injuries could be serious (see Durán 1971:312–319).

Tochtepec also gave in tribute one hundred pots of fine liquid-amber, although the region noted for this product, Totonacapan, lay just to the north of this province. Liquidambar is discussed in detail under Tlaltlahuquitepec province.

Tochtepec, with its hot and humid climate, was an important cacao-producing area. It is no surprise, then, to find an assessment of 200 loads of cacao. The characteristics and uses of cacao are discussed under Xoconochco province.

With the exception of the clothing, which was paid semi-annually, all this tribute was due on an annual basis. Motolinía (1971:396) indicates that the tribute was divided among all three Triple Alliance rulers.

A little is known about the tribute obligations of specific towns. The riverine communities of Tlacotalpan and Toztlan paid their tribute in cotton clothing, some of it decorated with images of the sun and moon (PNE 5:2, 5). Tlacotalpan also delivered cacao, parrots, jaguar skins, alligator teeth, and greenstones (PNE 5:2). In the westernmost part of the province, Chinantla gave gold and cacao to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (PNE 4:60).

The textual *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:53) presents a significantly different version of the tribute obligations of this province. In particular, it adds one hundred jars of honey, 8,000 pieces of red ocher, 8,000 skins of blue birds with their feathers attached, 400 human statues of rubber, one string of stones tied to “dolls,” and one handful of large feathers set in a stone. It omits the 8,000 small blue feathers, mentions 2,000 rather than 1,600 balls of rubber, and requires fewer strings of greenstone. The clothing tribute, while lacking the *Mendoza*'s detail, is comparable.

In the Spanish Colonial period Tochtepec continued its importance as a cacao-producing region; in 1565 it paid more than five loads of cacao annually in tribute (González de Cossío 1952:552). Most of the culturally prescribed luxuries provided by Tochtepec in pre-Spanish times largely fell into disuse under Spanish Colonial rule.

REFERENCES

The conquest of Tochtepec province is recounted in Alva Ixtlilochitl (1965 2:197–198), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:360), and Torquemada (1969 1:160). Aztec conquests and control of this region are also discussed by Kelly and Palerm (1952:219), Holt (1979), and Hassig (1988). The conquistadors Hernando Cortés (1977:242–244) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1963:265, 268) also discuss this region, as does Motolinía (1971:229–230). Additional information on the region and its inhabitants is found in Barlow (1949a:93–97), Gerhard (1972:85–88, 300–305), Bevan (1938), Scholes and Warren (1965), and PNE (4:58–68; 5:1–9). The Chinantla region is discussed by Delgado (1960), Espinosa (1961), and Weitlaner and Castro (1954). Ucila is described in PNE (4:45–52). *Pochteca* activities in Tochtepec are presented in detail in Sahagún (1950–1982 9).

NOTES

1. The entire Tepeacac-Huaxcac-Tochtepec campaign attributed to Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina by the chroniclers is quite ignored in *Mendoza's* conquest history. Tepeacac is listed as a conquest, but by Motecuhzoma's successor, Ataxacatl. Torquemada (1969 1:160), however, does add Tochtepec to Motecuhzoma's laurels.
2. Even Ucila, not listed as a tribute town in the *Mendoza*, reportedly sent a tribute to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin's governor at Tochtepec. This consisted of gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chiles, beans, *mantar*, mats, and fruits, and was paid in addition to that delivered directly by Ucila to Tenochtitlan (PNE 4:48). Some of these commodities may have helped support the Tochtepec garrison.
3. The dimensions of this province, including only locatable towns listed in *Codex Mendoza*, are greatly reduced from Barlow's conception (1949a: map).
4. The document does not specify which wife.
5. Tochtepec, Coyolapan, and Coaytlahuacán.
6. Especially to Xicalanco and Xoconochco.
7. This was the tribute of twelve towns, although *Codex Mendoza* lists twenty-two.

8. Tochpan and Cuexatlaxlan paid tribute in highly decorated cloaks, but in smaller quantities.
9. See chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1 for a discussion of the geographical distribution of these types of *mantas*.
10. The first image shows narrow red and blue stripes; the second, only the red stripes.
11. The gloss and commentary indicate that skirts accompanied the tunics.
12. This is the *quetzaltonil* (see chapter 8 and appendix F in volume 1).
13. Mesoamericans were adept at fashioning exquisite objects of gold. These particular items were most likely hammered into their proper shapes and sizes.
14. A similar small gold bell was uncovered in the Templo Mayor excavations in Mexico City.
15. Greenstone was also paid in tribute by the neighboring provinces of Coahuahuacan and Cuexatlaxlan, as well as the more distant Xoconochco, Tepequacuilco, and Tuchpa. See Berdan 1987b.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Xoconochco—"On the Sour Cactus Fruit"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 15v)
2. Ayotlan—"Where There Are Many Turtles"
3. Coyoacan—(Coyoacan) "Place of the Lean Coyotes"
4. Mapachtepec—"On the Hill of the Raccoon"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13v)
5. Maçatlan—"Place of Many Deer"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13v)
6. Huiztlan—"Place of Many Thorns" or "South"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 13v, 15v)
7. Acapetlatlan—"Place of Many Reed Mats"
8. Huebuetlan—"Place of Many Old Men" or "Place of the Old God"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13v)

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 2 large strings of *chalchibuitl* stones
- 800 handfuls of rich blue feathers
- 800 handfuls of rich red feathers
- 800 handfuls of rich green feathers
- 160 hird skins, of turquoise-blue feathers and purple breasts
- 800 handfuls of rich yellow feathers

- 800 handfuls of rich quetzal feathers
- 2 lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold
- 200 loads of cacao
- 40 jaguar skins
- 800 bowls for drinking cacao
- 2 large pieces of clear amber

CONQUEST HISTORY

Xoconochco was conquered toward the end of Ahuitzotl's reign (1486–1502). According to Sahagún's merchant-informants, it was Mexican *pochteca* and *oztomeca*, besieged in Quauhtenanco by people from the Xoconochco region and other towns, who conquered this Pacific coastal province. The merchants reported being embattled for four years, during which time they took numerous captives, keeping the fancy accoutrements¹ of the vanquished warriors for themselves and delivering the regalia to Ahuitzotl² (Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 3–7). In this same report, Ahuitzotl sent military aid to the beleaguered merchants; the forces were led by the then-*Tlacohcalatl* Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin. However, the merchants claimed to have already assumed control of the land for the Mexica god Huitzilopochtli and could only politely apologize for the fatigue Motecuhzoma had suffered in his travels and suggest he return home. By other (less self-serving) accounts, however, Triple Alliance troops under the generalship of Ahuitzotl moved on the

troublesome towns, first conquering Maçatlan, then Ayotlan and Xolotlan, and finally Xoconochco (Duran 1967 2:386–389).

The incentives for conquest were perhaps twofold. Shortly before his move on the Xoconochco region, Ahuizotl had conquered Tehuantepec on the Pacific coast; people from Xoconochco, Maçatlan, and Xolotlan had begun to harass and mistreat the inhabitants of the conquered town because they had "let" the Aztecs overpower them (ibid.:383). The Aztecs were obligated to defend their subject towns against such troublesome neighbors; their reaction to such problems historically had been to seek conquest against the "troublemakers." This was the strategy they used here. Alternatively, the Aztecs may have been stung into action by the killing of Aztec merchants in the Xoconochco region (ibid.), which may have some relationship to the merchants' story related by Sahagún. Whether harassment of Tehuantepec or the killing of merchants (or both) was the overt motivation for conquest, these problems suggest severe unrest in the region, an area of great interest to the Aztecs for commercial enterprise and tributary potential.

Despite the detail provided in these conquest reports, they are not all in agreement. The *Codex Mendoza* conquest history, for example, attributes the conquest of Xoconochco to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (folio 15v), as does Sahagún's *Book of Kings and Lords* (1950–1982 8:5). Huiztlan, in Xoconochco province, is recorded as a conquest in *Codex Mendoza* for both Ahuizotl and the second Motecuhzoma (folios 13v, 15v). Mapachtepec, Maçatlan, Huehuetlan, and Xolotlan¹ were reportedly all conquered by Ahuizotl (*Codex Mendoza* folio 13v). Voorhies (1989) suggests that the region probably fell to Aztec forces in 1486.

At such a distance, and with such commercial and tribute significance, Xoconochco warranted special political attention. Two governors were installed to assure tribute payments and maintain peace in the region: a *Tezacocatl* named Omequauh and a *Tilan-calqui* with only a glyphic name, probably Acueyotl, "Wave."²

Xoconochco apparently had a history of tense relations with its neighbors. Prior to its conquest by the Aztecs, some towns of the Xoconochco were included in the Quiche state,³ which continued to exert pressures on this rich cacao-growing region in the latter fifteenth century. When the ruler Ahuizotl conquered this land, he was tempted to proceed further to clash with neighboring Quiche and Mame peoples, who had traditionally warred with those of the Xoconochco (Duran 1967 2:389). However, he decided to return with his Xoconochco prize and not push his troops or his supplies further. And a prize it was: Quiche, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, and Pipil groups all competed for control of the region's wealth of cacao (Miles 1965:279). Despite the political and military competition, the towns in this region appear to have been unfortified (ibid.).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Xoconochco lay along a strip of the Pacific coast in present-day Chiapas and barely into western Guatemala, in a region well suited for both agriculture and commerce.⁴ The towns of this province are situated along rivers that spill from the mountains to the coast. The region ranged from steep mountains to foothills to alluvium, and finally to mangrove swamps along the coast (Voorhies 1989), providing a variety of possibilities for human use of the land, rivers, and sea. There was a marked difference between wet and dry seasons (MacLeod 1973:72): in the latter, travel from town to town, traversing the rivers, was possible; in the wet season, however, the swollen rivers made travel by foot impossible. A natural

inland canal system provided suitable and convenient transportation at such times (Navarette 1978:80).

The linguistic history of the Xoconochco reflects its significance as a commercial region, a meeting ground for peoples from neighboring districts. The ancient languages spoken there were probably of the Mixe-Zoquean family (Voorhies 1989); in 1522 most of the Indians of the Xoconochco spoke Huehuetlaccan, a Zoquean dialect (Gerhard 1979:166). Barlow (1949a:98) adds Mame, a Mayan language, to this linguistic potpourri. Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec conquerors, was also spoken, much as a lingua franca; it was common in Xoconochco itself (Gerhard 1979:166).

The population in this region declined rapidly in the early sixteenth century, after the arrival of the Spaniards. Gerhard (ibid.:169) estimates a population of 80,000 in 1519, with the highest densities in the most intense cacao-producing areas to the southeast. This may have already declined to 60,000 by 1524, Spanish diseases and other influences having preceded the arrival of the Spaniards themselves (ibid.). MacLeod (1973:71) compares an estimated 30,000 pre-conquest tributaries⁵ with a mere 1,600 in the 1560s and 1570s. This may have dipped as low as 1,200 families (Gerhard 1979:169).

TRIBUTE

The tribute arriving in Tenochtitlan from Xoconochco province was especially rich in tropical luxuries. Unlike most other conquered provinces, Xoconochco paid no textiles, no warrior costumes, and no staple foodstuffs (maize, beans, chia, and amaranth). These goods and products were available in the Xoconochco, but the Aztec conquerors in this case took advantage of the proliferation of tropical preciosities in this and neighboring regions.⁶

The pictorial layout of Xoconochco's tribute assessment is markedly different from that of any other province in the *Mendoza* or the *Matricula*. At the top of the folio, in both documents, are painted the glyphs for two Aztec months: Ochapiztli ("Sweeping of the Road") and Tlacaxipehualiztli ("Flaying of Men"). These twenty-day months fell in the early fall and late winter, respectively.⁷ Gasco and Voorhies (1989:84) observe that these periods of tribute payment would be roughly coincident with the two major cacao harvests, one in December and the other in late June. They note that the intervening time between harvest and delivery would be needed for drying and packing the cacao and transporting it to central Mexico.

The tribute goods drawn on the folio are set up rather neatly in pairs, with one group of tribute goods beneath one of the month glyphs and the other set of goods arranged below the other month glyph.⁸ There are two possible interpretations to this arrangement: (1) all the goods were due twice a year, making the total annual tribute of the province twice what is shown; or (2) half of the tribute was due during the month of Ochapiztli, the other half during Tlacaxipehualiztli. This remains an unresolved dilemma (Gasco and Voorhies 1989:83–84).

In *Codex Mendoza* the tribute listing begins at the top with two strings of worked greenstones. Each string shows eight stones, four oblong and four round. These are identified as *chalchibuitl* in the *Matricula* (folio 13r) and in the *Mendoza* commentary (folio 46v). While always precious, there were several types of greenstone classed under *chalchibuitl* (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:222–223), and this might refer to any of them. If jadeite is meant, the sources for this precious stone lay beyond the bounds of the Xoconochco, es-

pecially to the north and east.¹¹ However, Gasco and Voorhies (1989:62) note that serpentine was present locally.

The next row of tribute consists of six bunches of feathers, indicating in total 800 blue feathers, 800 red feathers, and 800 green feathers. The blue plumes are identified as *xiubtototl* in the *Matricula*. The bird that bore these feathers was the lovely *cotinga* (*Cotinga amabilis*), described by Sahagún as "an inhabitant of Anahuac, a dweller in Anahuac. . . . The bill is pointed, black. Its breast is purple, its back a really light blue, a very light blue, its wings pale, and its tail mixed, part blue-green, part black" (1950-1982 11:21).¹² This bird, with its prized feathers, would have been locally available for tribute payment purposes.

The red feathers are glossed as *tlauquebol* (roseate spoonbill) in the *Matricula*. However, Gasco and Voorhies (1989:63-65) suspect that this may have been misglossed and that the *alo*, or scarlet macaw, was really meant here. They note that while both birds inhabited the Xoconochco, the *tlauquebol* had pink feathers while the *alo* had red; they make a strong case for identifying these feathers as those of the scarlet macaw.

The final type of feather in this row is identified as *tzinitzcan* in the *Matricula* gloss. While the *tzinitzcan* bird had glistening, resplendent green feathers (Sahagún 1950-1982 11:20), Gasco and Voorhies (1989:65-66) find this identification troublesome, preferring the green parakeet or Pacific parakeet (*Aratinga* sp.) as alternatives.¹³

Two more types of feathers are drawn on the next row. The identification of the yellow feathers is somewhat problematical. They are glossed as *toztli* in the *Matricula*, a bird described and illustrated in Sahagún (1950-1982 11:23; plate 56). Gasco and Voorhies (1989:66) feel that the identification of this bird by Dibble and Anderson as *Amazona ochrocephala* may be in error. They tentatively suggest the Montezuma oropendola (*Gymnostinops montezuma*), a Xoconochco native, as an alternative.¹⁴

The remaining bunches of feathers shown on this folio are the long, shimmering tail feathers of the quetzal bird. These feathers are discussed in detail under Coayxtlahuacan province.

In addition to feathers, whole bird skins were to be delivered to the Aztec overlords. These were the skins and attached feathers of the *xiubtototl*, which must have been a fairly common bird given the additional payments of 800 *xiubtototl* feathers. The birds are shown with red breasts, blue heads, and blue wing and tail feathers.¹⁵

The remaining tribute items in this row are two lip plugs of clear amber, set in gold, glossed as *teacatl* in the *Matricula*. Similar lip plugs were also given by Cuetlaxtlan and Tlaxtepec provinces; they are described in more depth under Tlaxtepec province. It is notable here that neither amber nor gold, materials used in these lip plugs, was found naturally in the Xoconochco. However, both could have worked their way into the region from Chiapas, just over the mountains, through trade and market channels (Gasco and Voorhies 1989:68-69).

The people of Xoconochco province were also required to pay in tribute 200 loads of cacao (*Theobroma cacao*). Cacao was a prize; it may have been a major incentive for the Aztec conquest of this province, and its harvest schedule may have conditioned the periodicity of tribute payments (see above). To be used for the chocolate drink, the cacao bean was removed from its pod, dried, roasted, and ground into a fine flour. It was then mixed with water and flavored with chile, honey, *achiote* (a yellow or red vegetable dye), *bucnucatzli* (blossoms of a native tree), or other additives (MacLeod 1973:69; Sahagún 1950-1982 11:120). It was also accepted widely as a medium of exchange, a use that continued long into the

Colonial period (Berdan 1986:297; Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart 1976:208-213).

Xoconochco was the only province recorded in the *Mendoza* to pay tribute in jaguar skins, *ocelloyeualt* (*Matricula de Tributos* 1980: folio 13r). The jaguar was "the lord, the ruler of the animals" (Sahagún 1950-1982 11:1). The most obvious use of these skins was as coverings for the nobles' high-backed seats.¹⁶ Shamans also covered the jaguar skin for its magical properties (*ibid.*:2).

Two rather different images of gourd bowls, *tecomatl*, constitute the next row. While the *tzontli* (400) glyph on one bowl is rather feeble, it is clear that a total tribute of 800 gourd bowls is intended, either annually or semi-annually. These hourglass-shaped gourds grow on the tropical vine *Lagenaria siceraria*, still cultivated in the Xoconochco today (Gasco and Voorhies 1989:70-71). The gourd on the left has a cacao bean¹⁷ in its opening, suggesting that these were the special gourds used by nobles for drinking cacao (Sahagún 1950-1982 11:40). The *Mendoza* commentary (folio 46v) states that these were the type used for drinking cacao. Clark (1938 1:81) suggests that the one type of bowl (on the left) was of stone, the other of pottery.

The final items of tribute from the people of Xoconochco were two pieces of amber, glossed *apozonalli* in the *Matricula*.¹⁸ Amber is discussed in detail by Sahagún (1950-1982 11:225), who describes yellow amber (*coztic apozonalli*) "as if little sparks continually fly from it, as if a flame stood within it. Its flame appears like a torch, a candle, very marvelous." The two shown in the *Mendoza* were to be "the size of a brick" (commentary, folio 46r). Amber is fossilized tree resin, and the only known sources in Middle America are in nearby highland Chiapas (Berdan 1987b:171; Gasco and Voorhies 1989:75). Raw amber was transformed into jewelry, and amber lip plugs were delivered in tribute by Tlaxtepec and Cuetlaxtlan as well as Xoconochco. All three of these provinces were well situated on trade routes to and from highland Chiapas.

The tribute listed in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:54) agrees quite closely with that listed in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*. The greatest discrepancies come with quantities: for example, only forty annual loads of cacao are mentioned (instead of at least 200), three strings of greenstones are listed (instead of two), and 800 bird skins are tallied (as opposed to *Mendoza's* 160). The writer of the 1554 document may also have been somewhat confused about the bird skins and related feathers: he associated red rather than blue "bunches" of feathers with the bird skins.

REFERENCES

The Xoconochco region and province are discussed by Barlow (1949a:97-99), Gerhard (1979:165-172), MacLeod (1973:68-79), Navarrete (1978), Miles (1965), Lowe and Mason (1965), Helbig (1964), García Soto (1963), and PNE (1:194). Sahagún (1950-1982 8 and 9) discusses the Aztec conquest of this region, as do Durán (1967 2:383-389) and Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a: 550-560). The most recent, thorough, and insightful discussion of the Xoconochco is edited by Voorhies (1989); that volume includes an exhaustive chapter by Gasco and Voorhies on Xoconochco's tribute to its Aztec overlords.

NOTES

1. These precious goods taken as the merchants' special prerogative were amber lip plugs, curved green ear pendants with bells attached, black staves,

crested guan feather fans, and netted capes and loincloths (Sahagún 1950–1982 9:4).

2. It was apparently at this time that the *quetzalpatzactli*, “compressed quetzal feather device,” was introduced to central Mexico. But the merchants also delivered to their ruler tropical feather banners, *ebauitl* of blue *cotinga* and trogonous feathers, upper-arm bands with a “spray of precious feathers,” turquoise mosaic shields, golden butterfly-shaped nose ornaments, and golden ear pendants (Sahagún 1950–1982 9:5–6).

3. Xolotla was not part of Xoconochco tributary province but is repeatedly mentioned in conquest histories of this region. The exact location of this town has not been established.

4. *Codex Mendoza* folio 18r. See the page description for folio 65r for a discussion of these titles.

5. Ayotlan, Tapachula, and Maçatlan (Carmack 1981:142–143).

6. Huehuetlan, one of the towns included in Xoconochco province, continued as a cacao-trading entrepôt in the Colonial period (MacLeod 1973:75).

7. Heads of household.

8. Distance may also have been an important factor in transporting bulky goods such as textiles and foodstuffs from this province.

9. There are many differences of opinion concerning the correlation of these months with the Christian calendar. Dates for Ochpaniztli range from as early as August 13 to as late as October 6. Caso (1971:341) places it September 1–20. The twenty days of Tlacaxipehualiztli may have fallen sometime between February 14 and April 9. Caso (*ibid.*) places it March 5–24.

10. This dual arrangement is even more obvious in the *Metricula* (1980: folio 13r).

11. The Motagua Valley in Guatemala is the most notable of these (Berdan 1987b:169).

12. These feathers are indeed colored a very light blue in the *Metricula*. The *xubtatatl* is also described by Hernández (1959 2:345).

13. The Mexican trogon lived at higher elevations, above the Xoconochco, while the parakeets resided locally. More important to Gasco and Voorhies (1989:65), however, is the pictographic representation of the feathers: the parakeets had flexible pointed feathers (as depicted in the documents), while the trogon had squared-off feathers. Nonetheless, *tanizcan* feathers were highly valued and widely used by skilled featherworkers (Hernández 1959 2:351–352).

14. They question the Dibble and Anderson identification on the basis of wing and tail feather color. In addition, Sahagún (1950–1982 11:22) states that the “breeding place” of the *tecnene*, the young *tectli*, was much farther north, in the Huasteca.

15. Sahagún (1950–1982 11:21) describes this bird’s breast as purple. Although the *Metricula*’s Nahuatl and Spanish annotations indicate “100” by each bird figure, the glyphs show only four banners, a total of eighty for each bird shown.

16. These reed seats were delivered in tribute by Quauhuitlan province (folio 26r).

17. Alternatively, this may represent a stone, providing the initial *te*-sound of *tecomatl* (stone = *te*).

18. The Spanish annotator in the *Metricula* described this as *dos vasos para calentar agua*, “two glasses for heating water.” Parsed, *apozonalli* yields “water-bubble” (*atl* + *pozomalli*). Sahagún’s illustrations of this material (1950–1982 11: plates 773–775) depict it with water spilling off its top or side. The inclusion of the water (*atl*) glyph provides a phonetic clue that the name for this object begins with an “a” sound.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Quauhtochco—"On the Tree-Rabbit"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Teuhçoltzapotlan—"Where There Are Many Teçontzapotl Trees"
3. Tototlan—"Where There Are Many Birds"
4. Tuchçonco—"On the Rabbit's Hair"
5. Ahuilizapan—"On the Irrigation Canals"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
6. Quauhtetelco—"Tree on the Mound"
7. Ytzeoyocan—"Place Pertaining to Obsidian"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

400 large white mantas, each four brazas long

The following items were given annually:

20 loads of cacao

1,600 bales of white cotton

CONQUEST HISTORY

Quauhtochco was included in Nezahualcoyotl's eastern conquests (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:196). Nezahualcoyotl reached Quauh-

tochco in a campaign that first stretched south as far as Coayxtlahuacan, east to Cuextlaxtlan, and then northwest to Quauhtochco.

Despite Alva Ixtlilxochitl's claims, other sources credit various Mexica rulers with the conquest of Quauhtochco. The *Codex Mendoza* historical section (folios 8r, 10v) attributes the conquest of this eastern center to Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440-1468) and the overpowering of its neighbor Ahuilizapan to Axayacatl (1468-1481). Dominguez (1943:22) places the conquest of Quauhtochco in 1456 (under the first Motecuhzoma) and that of Ahuilizapan in 1457.¹ Torquemada (1969 1:160-161) provides some detail: the provocation for conquest came from the "traitorous killing" of some Mexicans in Quauhtochco province. Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina and the other two Triple Alliance rulers launched a military campaign against Quauhtochco, conquered it, and took many captives to be sacrificed at a ceremony dedicating the temple called Yopitli. Ahuilizapan seems to have been conquered later by the same Triple Alliance rulers, included in a campaign against Cuextlaxtlan (*ibid.*: 162).

Atzacan, not included on the Quauhtochco tribute page in the *Mendoza*, was apparently conquered by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (1502-1520) and was located close to Ahuilizapan (Kelly and Palerm 1952:313). It had a garrison or fortress, and two governors assigned to it, a *Tlacatecutli* and a *Tlaochtecutli* (*Codex Mendoza* folio 18r).

This region appears to have been relatively well fortified. In addition to Atzacan, the tributary towns of Quauhtochco and Ytze-

yocan served as military outposts. The site of Quauhtochco has been investigated archaeologically by Medellín Zeñil, who describes it as a "fortified city" (1952:23). Yztzeyocan is included on folio 17v of *Codex Mendoza*, indicating its special importance (see "The Imperial Tribute Roll of the *Codex Mendoza*" by Berdan in volume 1). Holt (1979:397) includes Ahuilizapan in his list of "security garrisons," suggesting to quiet unrest and suppress rebellions in outlying areas. They may have served as well to bound the strong Tlaxcalan state, immediately to the west. Given Tlaxcala's tendency to stir up rebellion in nearby Cuertlatlan province, the Mexica may have established these fortifications and garrisons to inhibit such Tlaxcalan strategies in the east. Whatever Quauhtochco's strategic purpose, the garrison there remained loyal to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin during the Spanish Conquest.

Although Barlow (1949a: map) shows Quauhtochco as a province that extended from the eastern sierra to the coast, the locatable towns listed in *Codex Mendoza* are all concentrated along the mountains, creating an oval-shaped, inland province. The fortresses or garrisons were situated in a rough north-to-south line, in the heart of the province.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The land encompassed by Quauhtochco province was rugged and full of *barrancas*; Torquemada makes special note of Quauhtochco's inaccessibility (1669 1:161). Quauhtochco itself was further isolated (or made defensible) by its location on the north side of the Atoyac River; the modern town of Huatusco is located to the south of the river, along the major transportation routes.

The climate of this region ranged from hot and humid to *fría* (Villaseñor y Sanchez 1952 1:258-264). The vegetation was lush and the crops plentiful in the hotter lands, while the colder regions were rich in wood products (*ibid.*; Domínguez 1943:20). Aguirre Beltrán sees the climate of the region as generally temperate, neither too hot nor too cold; people here produced quantities of maize, beans, chiles, and tobacco (1940:16-17).

Quauhtochco and its associated towns were located in the region generally known as Totonacapan, which stretched to the north, south, and east. However, its proximity to Totonacapan seems to have been its only tie to that region. The artifact types and styles found at Quauhtochco show close affinities to the Valley of Mexico and the Mixteca (Medellín Zeñil 1952:47, 55, 57, 63). The large quantity of Valley of Mexico imported objects at Quauhtochco reinforces the claim of an Aztec military garrison there, or the possibility of entire families relocated from central Mexico (*ibid.*:92).

TRIBUTE

The tribute requirements for Quauhtochco province appear rather light compared with the demands on its neighboring provinces. This may have been due somewhat to the generally fortified and military character of the province. It was not uncommon for the

Mexica to require conquered towns in outlying regions to provide sustenance for a locally stationed garrison of Mexican warriors, this instead of the regularly assessed tributes (as recorded in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*).

Only 400 (loads of) large white cotton cloaks were required as the clothing component of Quauhtochco's tribute. These *mantas* were, however, of extra length, each to be four *brazas* long. Demands of extra-long cloth correlate quite nicely with cotton-growing regions, and Quauhtochco appears to have been just that (Berdan 1987a:243). The major item in its tribute tally is 1,600 loads (bales) of white cotton.² An abundance of cotton must have been grown in the lower, hotter reaches of this environmentally diverse province.³ Only three other provinces gave raw cotton in tribute (according to *Codex Mendoza*): Atlan and Tzicoac in the eastern part of the empire and Cihuatlan in the west.⁴ *Codex Mendoza* specifies that the cloth was to be paid semi-annually and the cotton annually; the *Matricula de Tributos* indicates payments at eighty-day intervals.

In addition to the cotton and clothing tribute, Quauhtochco paid twenty loads of cacao annually (every eighty days in the *Matricula*). Cacao was probably grown in the province (rather than acquired through trade); it continued as an item of tribute into the Colonial period.⁵

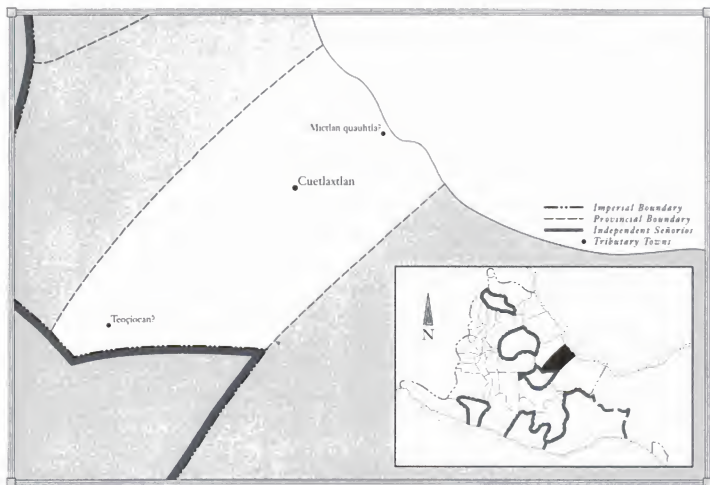
The *Información* of 1554 specifies the same categories of tribute but differs from the *Mendoza* in the demanded quantities: Quauhtochco province was to pay twenty loads of cacao and twenty loads of cotton annually, and 1,600 *mantas* every eighty days, along with "gallinas" (Scholes and Adams 1957:86).

REFERENCES

- Quauhtochco and its region is discussed in Barlow (1949a:89-91), Gerhard (1972:83-85, 205-207, 228-231), Krickeberg (1933), Domínguez (1943), Aguirre Beltrán (1940), Cline (1961), and Aguilar (1977). Medellín Zeñil (1952) reports on excavations at Quauhtochco. Holt (1979), Hassig (1988), and van Zantwijk (1967) all discuss military installations in the Quauhtochco area. The conquests of Quauhtochco and Ahuilizapan are recorded by Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:196) and Torquemada (1669 1:160-161). Concerning cotton, see Rodríguez Valjejo (1976) and Berdan (1987a).

NOTES

1. This obviously does not correlate with the *Mendoza* record, which would place the fall of Ahuilizapan considerably later. Tototlan, also in Quauhtochco province, may have been subdued by Axayacatl (Kelly and Palerm 1952:297).
2. *Gossypium hirsutum*.
3. A Colonial tribute obligation of the inhabitants of Quauhtochco and Yztzeyocan was to cultivate two fields of cotton (Domínguez 1943:31).
4. Cihuatlan gave brown cotton (*ayocahual*); the others all gave white cotton.
5. Large quantities were assessed (thirty-six and one-half loads), as reported in Domínguez (1943:31).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Cuetzlaxtlan—"Where the Dressed Leather Knots Abound"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folios 8r, 10v)
2. Mictlan quauhtla—"Forest (at the) Place of the Dead"
3. Tlapanicytlan—"At the Foot of the Broken Hill"
4. Oxichan—"Home of Oxomoco"
5. Acozpan—"On the Yellow Water"
6. Teoicoan—"Place of the Sacred Young Maize Ears"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 women's tunics and skirts
- 400 half-quilted *mantas*
- 400 white *mantas* with a black and white border
- 400 black and white striped and checked *mantas*
- 400 large white *mantas*, each four *brazas* long
- 160 elaborately decorated *mantas* in red and white
- 1,200 black and white striped *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield
- 1 warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 1 string of greenstones
- 400 handfuls of rich green feathers

- 20 lip plugs of crystal, with blue smalt and set in gold
- 20 lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold
- 200 loads of cacao
- 1 royal badge of quetzal feathers

CONQUEST HISTORY

Triple Alliance military campaigns by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440–1468) against Cuetzlaxtlan and other centers in southern Totonacapan are recorded in considerable detail.¹ In the campaign described by Durán (1967 2: 177–183), Cempoallan seems to have been the ultimate conquest goal, since its coastal location gave access to valued marine products.² Nonetheless, Cuetzlaxtlan is identified as head of the province, and Ahuilizapan was at that time associated with Cuetzlaxtlan province (*ibid.*).³

When the Mexica emissaries arrived at Ahuilizapan, they sent a message on to Cuetzlaxtlan, reiterating their requests for delicacies from the sea. The Cuetzlaxtlan ruler was shamed and cajoled into defying the request; Tlaxcalan rulers who were at that moment being entertained in Cuetzlaxtlan found it to their advantage to incite rebellion against their archenemies, the Mexica. The ruler of Cuetzlaxtlan ordered the people of Ahuilizapan to kill not only the Mexica messengers but also any merchants from Valley of Mexica cities then in the province.⁴

Angered, Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina sent a large army⁵ against Ahuilizapan and Cuetzlaxtlan. The Tlaxcalans, who had promised

to rush to the aid of Cuertaxtlan should Motecuhzoma move on it, failed to deliver on their commitment. First Ahuilizapan, then Cuertaxtlan, Cempoallan, Quiahuiztlan, and many other towns of the region were overwhelmed by the military might of the Mexica. A substantial tribute was set (see below), battle captives were taken to Tenochtitlan for sacrifice, and a Mexica governor, named Pinotl, was assigned to oversee the province and guarantee delivery of the tribute every eighty days.⁸ These events apparently took place in the 1450s, shortly before Motecuhzoma's incursions into the Mixteca (Kelly and Palerm 1952:270–271).

Not many years passed until the Tlaxcalans again convinced the Cuertaxtlan lords to revolt against their Aztec overlords. They assured the Cuertaxtlaec that they would "guard their backs" and persuaded them to kill the Mexica governor and all other Aztecs who might enter their territory (Durán 1967 2:197–198). Thus the lords of Cuertaxtlan assassinated the governor, and when messengers arrived inquiring about the lapse in tribute payments, they were sealed in a room and suffocated with chile smoke, their bodies later being maltreated and humiliated (ibid.:198).⁹ Reports of this violent insurgency reached the ears of Motecuhzoma, who dispatched forces to quell the uprising. Again the Tlaxcalans failed to support Cuertaxtlan, leaving it vulnerable to Aztec attack. According to Durán (1967 2:200–201), the Cuertaxtlan lords fled; the population of Cuertaxtlan pleaded innocence to the Mexica general, rooted out their lords, and offered them up to the Mexica for execution. Following these events, new Cuertaxtlan rulers were chosen and a new Mexica governor installed.¹⁰ Apparently Cuertaxtlan revolted once again, in 1475 during Axayacatl's reign (Kelly and Palerm 1952:273). These successive revolts and conquests may explain the inclusion of Cuertaxtlan as a conquest of both Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina and Axayacatl in part I of *Codex Mendoza* (folios 8r, 10v). Cuertaxtlan may have again been in revolt under Tizoc (1481–1486; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:249), and relations remained tense during Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin's rule (Torquemada 1699 1:214). Cuertaxtlan itself was reportedly fortified (García Icazabalca 1943 1:158). Holt (1979:397) categorizes it as a "security garrison."

Closer to the coast, Cempoallan and Quiahuiztlan (neither recorded in *Mendoza's* tribute section) were important Totonac centers conquered by Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina and/or his successor Axayacatl (Kelly and Palerm 1952:294, 299). Cempoallan's *cacique* in 1519, however, apparently told Cortés that he had only recently been subjugated by the Aztecs (Díaz del Castillo 1963:108). The Triple Alliance had such a tentative hold on these city-states that they may in fact have required more than one military conquest. Cortés found Cempoallan reticent but ready to rise up against Mexica tax collectors in defiance of their dominance (Cortés 1977:188; Díaz del Castillo 1963:110–113). The practice of slaying Mexica emissaries was obviously not a new idea to the people of this region. Quiahuiztlan was apparently strongly fortified (ibid.:105, 109), but whether by the Mexica or by its own rulers is not clear.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Cuertaxtlan and its associated towns lay in the hot, coastal lowlands; some of the towns may have lined the lower reaches of the Xamapa River, which spills into the Gulf of Mexico just south of modern Veracruz (Gerhard 1972:362). Cuertaxtlan itself was sited on the Atoyac River (PNE 5:10). The riverine and marine resources of these communities must have been considerable and did

not escape the notice of the Aztecs.¹¹ In fact, the region was obviously desirable enough to merit several military campaigns to assure tribute payments and prevent alliances with Tlaxcala.

People in the towns of Cuertaxtlan province, as defined by the *Codex Mendoza* tribute list, spoke Nahuatl (PNE 5:9). Cuertaxtlan itself had seemingly amiable if frustrating relations with Nahuatl-speaking Tlaxcalans, and the other towns of the province, closer to the coast, may have been composed largely of Aztec colonists.¹² Cempoallan and Quiahuiztlan, close to the coast further north, were important Totonac centers. Díaz del Castillo (1963:110) speaks of thirty villages in that area, and Cortés boasts of pacifying the province of Cempoallan, "which contained some fifty thousand warriors and fifty towns and forts" (Cortés 1977:188). The population of Cuertaxtlan province in 1519 was reported as more than 40,000 "casas" by Fray Francisco de Aguilar (1977:68).

TRIBUTE

When conquered by the Triple Alliance, Cuertaxtlan agreed to pay in tribute rich *mantas* ten *brazas* long, cacao, feathers, *buynacastli*,¹³ and amber (Durán 1967 2:181). Shortly thereafter, when its first Mexica governor was installed, Cuertaxtlan's tribute requirements totaled much gold dust, *mantas* (of unspecified length), feathers, rich stones, jewels, amber, cacao, animal skins, large conch shells, scallops and other crustaceans, and all manner of dried fish (ibid.:183). Although the Aztecs came to this coast ostensibly in search of conch shells, live turtles, scallops, and other marine products, they left with a far greater variety of goods in conquest tribute.

The first rebellion by Cuertaxtlan apparently cost the province dearly. Supposedly its tribute was doubled in the following manner: cloaks twenty *brazas* long replaced those of ten *brazas*, red and white stones replaced greenstones, white jaguar skins were demanded in favor of spotted ones, and live snakes were added to the list (ibid.:199). This "doubling" of tribute demands was a statement attributed to the Mexica *Cihuacauatl* Tlaccelotl prior to marching on Cuertaxtlan and may not have been actually imposed. If it was, it indicates a tribute involving not just increased quantities but also increased difficulty in acquisition.

Cuertaxtlan was one of the richest tribute-paying provinces recorded in *Codex Mendoza*. Its clothing tribute displays an interesting variety. Cuertaxtlan gave 400 women's tunics and skirts with their characteristic red bands, although in the *Matricula* (1980: folio 14r) the garments are more intricately decorated. Clark (1938 1:82) and the Spanish commentaries continue to interpret this image as tunics and skirts. This is followed by 400 half-quilted *mantas* with a black and white border, glossed as *centzonitli tilmatli cacamolubiqui* (400 quilted cloaks) in the *Matricula*. The following item is similar, but lacks the quilting effect; these 400 *mantas* are identified as *icbatimatli* (cotton cloaks) in the *Matricula*. The following image is divided into black and white stripes and cross-hatching.¹⁴ The four fingers indicate a length of either two or four *brazas*.¹⁵ The final figure on the first row of clothing indicates 400 large white cloaks, each four *brazas* long.¹⁶

The people of Cuertaxtlan were also required to pay their tributes in very fancy clothing, 160 red and white richly worked cloaks destined to be worn by nobles.¹⁷ Clark (ibid.) identifies the first design as *xaolaquaubio tilmatli tenixio* and the second as *papaloio tilmatli tenixio*.¹⁸ Both of the cloaks drawn carry the prestigious *tenixyo* border (see chapter 8 in volume 1). The former style of cloak was apparently presented to Juan de Grijalva in 1518 when he explored

the Gulf coastal region (Clark 1938 1:82). The clothing tribute concludes with 1,200 black and white striped *mantas*, glossed *tlil-papatlavac* (wide black) in the *Matricula*. All of this was to be delivered twice a year according to the Mendoza commentator, every eighty days according to the *Matricula*.

The people of Cuertlaxtlan were also required to deliver two feathered warrior costumes annually, one a *quaxolotl* style, the other a *quetzalpatzactli* variety. The former is accompanied by a *cuxyo* shield, the latter by a *xicalcolubqui* shield.

Perhaps the string of greenstones is a continuation of Cuertlaxtlan's initial-conquest tribute. These are identified as "precious greenstones" (*tlacochakbiuitl*) in the *Matricula*. Greater quantities of such strings were paid by neighboring Tochtepec.

The people of Cuertlaxtlan must also have had access to significant quantities of quetzal feathers, although these coastal lowlands did not provide the customary habitat for these birds. The feathers may have arrived in the province through trade; conquest histories indicate that long-distance merchants did traffic in this province (see above). Quetzal-feather tribute included 400 bunches or handfuls of quetzal feathers¹⁷ and a *quetzallalpiloni*, two pompoms of blue, red, yellow, and green (quetzal) feathers tied together and worn on the back of the head. These prestigious accoutrements were only for the highest-ranking men, such as the titled nobles shown on *Codex Mendoza* folios 64r, 65r, and 67r, and the Texcocan ruler Nezahualpilli in *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (1976: folio 108r).

Of the forty lip plugs required in tribute, twenty were of clear amber and decorated with gold. The amber was probably brought through trade and marketing channels from Chiapas, the closest source to Cuertlaxtlan (Berdan 1987b:171). These, and the crystal lip plugs with blue smalt¹⁸ and set in gold, parallel those paid by Tochtepec province.

The final item of tribute required of the people of Cuertlaxtlan was 200 loads of cacao. Cacao must have been an important crop or trade item throughout this broad coastal region, for it was also demanded of Cuertlaxtlan's two neighboring provinces, Quauh-tochco and Tochtepec.

In the textual *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:55), the large amounts of clothing tribute are conspicuously absent. In fact, no clothing tribute is mentioned at all for this province. However, other items of tribute relate fairly closely to those shown in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*. These include two feathered warrior costumes with their shields, one string of rich greenstones (*chal-chibuitl*), 400 large rich feathers (probably the quetzal feathers), 200 loads of cacao, forty lip plugs, and two handfuls of large rich feathers set in blue stones (surely the *quetzallalpiloni*).

In the later sixteenth century Cuertlaxtlan paid its Spanish overlords clothing (skirts and *bupilli*), maize, and pesos according to one account, and cacao and cotton *mantas* according to another (ENE 9:5; PNE 5:9). The cloaks were to be both plain white and decorated. Some of the pre-Hispanic tribute patterns were, then, continued into the Colonial period.

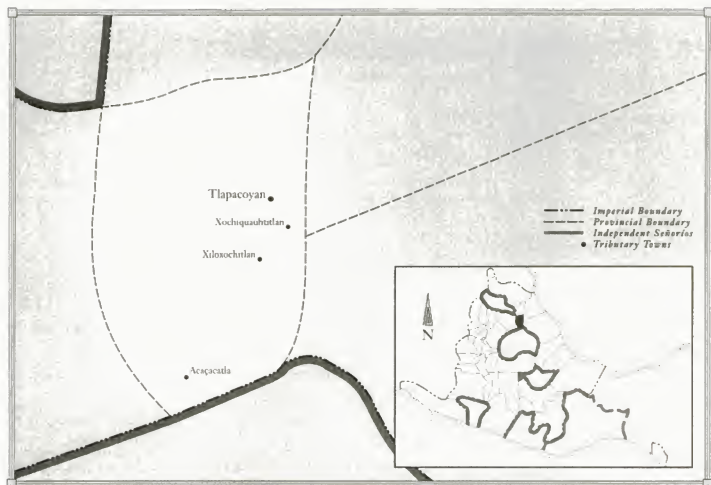
REFERENCES

Details on the conquest of Cuertlaxtlan and its neighbors is found in Durán (1967 2:177–183, 197–203), Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:128–131), Torquemada (1969 1:161–162, 214), Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:196), Holt (1979), and Hassig (1988). Additional information on the province is found in Barlow (1949a:

91–92), Gerhard (1972:340–343, 360–367), Krickeberg (1933), Kelly and Palerm (1952:270–277), PNE (5:9–11), Sanders (1953), Dahlgren (1953), and Williams García (1963). Cempoallan and Quiahuitlan are discussed by the Spanish conquistadors Diaz del Castillo (1963:105–125, 140), Cortés (1977 1:188), and Aguilar (1977:68). The archaeological site of Cempoallan is described by Galindo y Villa (1912).

NOTES

1. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:196) claims this victory for Nezahualcoyotl, as he does with most of the Aztec coastal conquests. However, the details provided by Durán and Alvarado Tezozomoc (albeit related sources) and information in Torquemada (1969 1:162) weigh heavily in favor of a Triple Alliance or Mexico conquest.
2. The Mexica ruler Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina requested the rulers of Cempoallan to send him conch shells, live turtles, scallops, and other products of the sea. This was not an unencumbered, friendly request, but rather carried strong political overtones: acquiescence symbolized military subservience.
3. However, Ahuilizapan is included in Quauhtochco province for tribute-paying purposes (*Codex Mendoza* folio 48r). The Aztecs may have found it strategically wise to separate Ahuilizapan from Cuertlaxtlan, thus breaking up old loyalties.
4. This included merchants from Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Tlacopan (Tepanecs), Xochimilco, Chalco, and Iztapalapa (Durán 1967 2:178).
5. This army was apparently composed of warriors from Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, and Xochimilco (Durán 1967 2:182).
6. Although Durán (1967 2:182–183) goes into some detail about this governor and his duties, Cuertlaxtlan is not listed among the towns with governors on folios 17v and 18r of *Codex Mendoza*. This campaign is also related by Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:128–131), although in less detail.
7. Smoke from burning chiles was very painful; it is shown as a punishment for ill-behaved children on *Codex Mendoza* folio 60r.
8. A detailed analysis of the Cuertlaxtlan campaigns is found in Kelly and Palerm (1952:270–277).
9. In addition to marine resources, notable local staples included maize, beans, squash, fish, deer, turkeys, dogs, cherries, and other fruits. Parrots and other birds were also common in the area (PNE 5:9–10).
10. The region may have had difficulty sustaining a stable population due to its hot, wet climate (Gerhard 1972:360).
11. *Hueymacztli* was the name for both the fruit and the blossoms of the *teonacaztl* tree (*Cymbopetalum penduliflorum*). They were added to cacao in making the famed chocolate drink. The fruits were yellow, fuzzy, and juicy; they were also pleasantly fragrant (Sabagún 1950–1982 11:120, 203).
12. With this and the "half-quilted" *manta* it is unclear whether each item was to replicate the drawing or whether 200 were to be of one style and 200 of the other. The latter alternative seems more likely.
13. Clark (1938 1:82) suggests that the "opposite facing thumbs" indicate two *bracax*; this is indeed glossed *onmali* (two *bracax*) in the *Matricula*. The Spanish commentator states "four *bracax*."¹⁴
14. This time the *Matricula* gloss says *nammali* (four *bracax*).
15. Aside from Tochtlan, Cuertlaxtlan was the only province to pay clothing tribute in units of less than 400. In both cases this involves the fanciest of workmanship. However, neighboring Tochtepec was required to pay 400 similarly decorated cloaks.
16. This parses as *xaxauili* = painted, *quanbio* = full of eagles, *tlimatl* = cloak, and *tenxco* = eyes on the border. The second style divides into *papabio* = full of butterflies, *tlimatl* = cloak, and *tenxco* = eyes on the border. The former type of cloak has an analogue on folio 7v of the *Matricula* (glossed *tenxco-tlacuoli*); the latter is found in Sahagún (1950–1982 8:23). The *Matricula* glosses these collectively as "160 *mantas* of a shell design," a bit off the mark since the central designs are of an eagle and a butterfly.
17. The *Matricula* gloss suggests simply "400 quetzal feathers."
18. Smalt is a blue glass, and may have seemed reasonable to the interpreter. However, a "blue feather insert," as seen on an identical lip plug on folio 40r, is more likely.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlapacoyan—"Place Where They Wash"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Xiloxochitlan—"Near the *Xiloxochitl*"
3. Xochiquauhtlan—"Among Many Liquidambar Trees"
4. Tuchtlan—"Place of Many Rabbits"
5. Coapan—"On the Canal of the Snake"
6. Azta apan—"On the Canal of the White Heron"
7. Acaçacatla—"Land Full of Reed-Grass"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 black and white striped *mantas*
- 800 large white *mantas*

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow *tzitzimil* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *cuextecatl* warrior costume and shield

CONQUEST HISTORY

Conquest information on Tlapacoyan tribute province is slim and spotty. Tlapacoyan is included in part I (folio 8r) of the *Codex*

Mendoza as a conquest of Motecuhzoma I (1440-1468), although none of the towns accompanying Tlapacoyan on the tribute page (folio 50r) is listed in part I of the *Mendoza* as a conquest. They may simply have not been particularly important, from the capital's point of view, or they may have been subsumed under the general conquest of Tlapacoyan. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2: 198) mentions the conquest of the province of Tlapacoyan along with several other conquests of the Texcocan king Nezahualcoyotl. While Alva Ixtlilxochitl tends to glorify the deeds of Texcoco and its leaders, in this case he does concede that the kings of Mexico and Tlacopan accompanied Nezahualcoyotl on this far-flung military campaign. The *Códice Chimalpopoca* likewise lists Tlapacoyan as a conquest of Motecuhzoma I.

Acaçacatlan, listed with Tlapacoyan on the *Mendoza* tribute page, lay close to the Tlaxcalan border and indeed warred with Tlaxcala. Acaçacatlan may have been "semi-independent," as Davies (1968: 79) suggests, since the people of that town claimed they were free and not subject to anyone, because Motecuhzoma II gave them aid in their wars with Tlaxcala (García Payón 1965: 38), and since they claimed to have given gifts (but not tribute) to this same Motecuhzoma. On the other hand, Torquemada (1969 1: 280) places Acaçacatlan as a subject of Mexico. On the northern border of Tlaxcala, it may have fluctuated in its loyalties: Durán (1967 2: 265, 377, 345) includes Zacatlan (Acaçacatlan) with Tlaxcala and its confederates in wars against the Mexica; this political/military association with Tlaxcala, Cholula, Huexotzincó, and a few other

border states spanned at least from the time of the fall of Tlatilulco (1473) into the reign of Ahuitzotl (1486–1502).

Acaçacatlan must have had a rather powerful ruler, as he was reputedly invited to Ahuitzotl's Templo Mayor dedication, along with other famous enemies of the Mexica (ibid.: 339). Gerhard (1972: 390) suggests that the ruler of Acaçacatlan may have been a military governor, subject to or allied with the Triple Alliance; this may have been the case by the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Barlow, on his 1949a map, includes two additional towns not listed in this Mendoza province. These are Xicotepec and Cuauhchinanco (today Xicotepec de Juárez and Huauhchinango, respectively). Both are handily situated on a main thoroughfare from central Mexico to the northern Gulf coast. While neither of these appears on the Mendoza conquest or tribute pages, they were apparently subject in some fashion to the Triple Alliance rulers. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975–1977 2: 106) mentions that Xicotepec and Cuauhchinanco were conquered by Nezahualcoyotl, who left the local rulerships in place. These towns, along with Tlapacoyan, are also listed with a number of other towns in the *Relación de Tributos* (Motolinía 1971: 394) as subject to the government of Texcoco under Nezahualcoyotl and his successor, Nezahualpilli. In this relationship, they were responsible for rendering labor tribute (*tequitl*) to Texcoco.

Also geographically close to Tlapacoyan (just to the southeast of Tlapacoyan center), but not listed in the *Mendoza*, were Chila, Matlatlan, and Xoxopanco.¹ These all apparently shared an Aztec governor (García Payón 1965: 46, 53).

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Kelly and Palerm (1952: 268) wrestle with the problem of firmly locating the somewhat evasive Tlapacoyan. Unfortunately, Tlapacoyan was a popular place-name, and there are more than one in the same general region. I concur with Kelly and Palerm, and with Barlow, that the Mendoza Tlapacoyan is the present-day Tlapacoyan located in the Sierra Norte de Puebla (see Barlow's 1949a map).

The towns in Tlapacoyan province lay at highly diverse elevations in a geographically mountainous countryside. Acaçacatlan, for example, is in *tierra fría*, although a deep *barranca* drops from the town's edge, creating a variety of ecological and production zones within a short distance. This is not atypical of the region. Low-altitude cotton was grown in the Tlapacoyan area (García Payón 1965: 47, 54), while the higher-altitude maguey thrived at Acaçacatlan (ibid.: 38).

The towns associated with Tlapacoyan lay in a corridor joining the *mesa central* with the Gulf coast, with the main transportation artery passing generally north of the cluster of Tlapacoyan tribute towns. To east and west lay conquered Aztec provinces: Tlatlahuquitepec and Tochpan to the east and Atotonilco el Grande to the west. Directly to the north lay the Aztec province of Atlan. Just to the northwest sat Metzitzilan, a perpetual enemy of the Aztec alliance. To the south, as already mentioned, spread the powerful state of Tlaxcala, with which Tlapacoyan may well have been allied in enmity to the Mexica, perhaps until the end of the fifteenth century. At the time of the Spanish Conquest, a subject town of Acaçacatlan carried on warfare with a subject town of nearby Tetela, perhaps also only weakly attached to Aztec rule (see Tlatlahuquitepec province description).

Tlapacoyan tribute province was part of the vaguely defined Totonacapan region, many parts of which fell to the Aztec Triple Alliance under Motecuhzoma I and perhaps Nezahualcoyotl (Kelly

and Palerm 1952: 268; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2: 198). Some of these conquests may have been motivated to provide a safe and supportive avenue for access to the coast, and intermittent wars with the more northeasterly Huasteca are recorded (see Kelly and Palerm 1952: 269 for a summary). The name Totonacapan suggests Totonac peoples, and Tlapacoyan is indeed described as part of Totonac, part Nahuá in the sixteenth century (García Payón 1965: 44, 52). Acaçacatlan, in the southernmost part of the province, was said at the same time to have a majority of Nahuatl-speakers and a minority of Totonac-speakers (García Payón 1965: 38; Ponce 1872: 130). Xicotepec and Cuauhchinanco are given similar ethnic and linguistic compositions, with the addition of Otomí speakers (PNE 5: 223; Toussaint 1948: 294). The nearby but remotely related (in a governmental sense) Xoxopanco, Chila, and Matlatlan were also Totonac and "Mexicano,"² with the majority of the Xoxopanco inhabitants Totonaca (García Payón 1965: 44, 52–53; ENE 14: 78).

Sahagún (1950–1982 10: 184) describes the Totonac as "beautiful, fair, tall, slender, firm." They lived "humane" and "civilized" lives. Being highly skilled in weaving and embroidery, they were elegant dressers, much like their northern neighbors, the Huasteca. Many Totonac were apparently bilingual or multilingual, as they lived in close proximity to the Nahuá, Otomí, and Huastec, and some Totonac spoke those languages as well (ibid.).

TRIBUTE

The tribute levy on Tlapacoyan province was comparatively small, consisting only of *mantas* and warrior costumes. Of the *mantas*, 400 had vertical black stripes, and 800 were plain white *mantas* (*quachtli*). According to the *Mendoza*, these were paid every six months; according to the *Metricula de Tributos*, every eighty days (or four times a year). The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 56, 87–88 and passim) indicates a levy of 3,200 plain white *mantas* to be paid every eighty days, considerably more than drawn in the *Metricula* or *Mendoza*.

The Nahuatl glosses of the *Metricula* describe the striped *mantas* as *centzontli [tlil]papatlauac*: "400 wide black-striped *mantas*." This design appears to be quite characteristic of this region as a whole, since it also was given in large numbers by neighboring Tlatlahuquitepec (and also by Cuextlatlan to the southeast and Coayxtlahuaca to the south). The large white *mantas* were a frequent item of tribute throughout the Aztec realm: see the discussion of these *mantas* on the page description for Tlatelolco.

The two warrior costumes are both yellow, and the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 56, 87–88 and passim) describes them as "de oro": gold. Similarly, it describes the shields as gilded and rich. The Nahuatl glosses of the *Metricula* do not specifically identify these two items, but elsewhere the one is labeled as *tzitzimilit*, the other as *cuextecatl* (1980: folios 3v, 4r). The *tzitzimilit* is described by Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 34) as "the yellow demon of the air," made of gold and quetzal feathers. *Tzitzimilit* is simply "demon of the air." The *cuextecatl* style was characteristic of the people of Cuextlan, or the Huasteca. For additional, detailed information on these costumes, see chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1. These warrior costumes were to be rendered in tribute once a year (according to all three major tribute documents).

While colonial sources provide little further information on the tribute of Tlapacoyan itself, some tribute listings are available for other provincial and neighboring towns. An "old tax" is mentioned for Acaçacatlan, consisting of much clothing and 800 fa-

negas (bins) of maize (ENE 8:8; González de Cossío 1952:607). Another source on Acaçacatlan, however, states that the town only gave some gifts to Motecuhzoma, "when they wished" (García Icazbalceta 1943 1:469). Xoxopanco apparently gave cotton *mantas* to Motecuhzoma (García Payón 1965:46). The 1537 tribute of Matlatlan and Chila consisted of clothing, honey, wax, cotton, salt, and chiles, with the addition of fruit and fish for Matlatlan alone (González de Cossío 1952:226). Xicotepec and Cuauhchinanco gave in tribute, in the mid-sixteenth century, clothing, honey, wax, and liquidambar. Hernández (1959 1:113) specifically mentions Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec as areas where liquidambar trees thrived. Xicotepec had an additional tax in "sillas" (chairs) and the responsibility of cultivating cotton and maize fields (PNE 1:115-116).⁴ In general, these products are consistent with those Sahagún (1950-1982 10:184) lists for the "Totonac country," notably cotton and liquidambar. While he does not mention chiles as a major local product, he does emphasize that they were the Totonacs' "staff of life" (*ibid.*).

Cotton and maize were grown successfully in the region, and Tlapacoyan reports three crops of maize per year (García Payón 1965:47, 54). Cotton was used locally and also sold by merchants in the area and beyond; the region was apparently dotted with *ferias de algodón* (*ibid.*:41, 54). This was even true of the higher-altitude Acaçacatlan, which had cotton merchants and apparently a lively cotton market, although its major local products consisted of white lime, *amole*, and *pita* (maguey thread; *ibid.*:41).

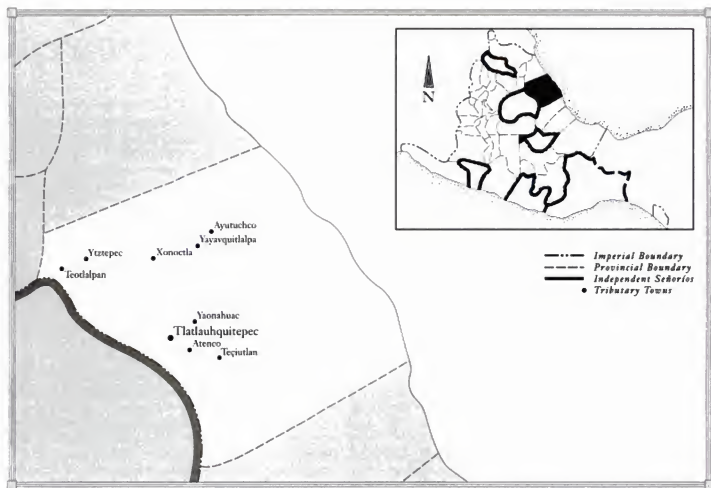
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For additional information on Tlapacoyan province, see especially Barlow (1949a:62-64), Bernal and Hurtado (1953), Krickeberg

(1933), Toussaint (1948), García Payón (1965), Gerhard (1972:116-121, 390-393), Kelly and Palerm (1952:268-269), and PNE (1:115-116). A pictorial manuscript from the region has been published by Breton (1920a) and further described by Breton (1920b) and Guzmán (1939). It is noteworthy that Juan de Torquemada worked for a time at Zacatlan (Acaçacatlan). Present-day Eloxochitlan, probably the Xiloxochitlan of the tribute codices, is discussed by Palerm and Viqueira (1954) and Wolf and Hansen (1972). See also individual town listings in *El libro de las tasaciones de pueblos de la Nueva España* (González de Cossío 1952).

NOTES

1. Barlow places these towns in Tlatlahuquitepec province and clearly misplaces Matlatlan. Xoxopanco is surely present-day Xoxopango, Puebla. Chila and Matlatlan remain unidentified, although both were reportedly located four leagues from Xoxopanco (ENE 14:78). This little constellation of towns may not have been associated with either Tlapacoyan or Tlatlahuquitepec in a formal governmental hierarchy.
2. "Mexicano" can refer to varieties of Nahuatl or Nahuatl (see Hill and Hill 1986).
3. Sahagún (1950-1982 8:47) has a similar item, *tlilpilitzauac*, translated as "thin black lines" (*tlilli*: black; *pitzauac*: thin; + *pi-*: reduplicative, repetitive). By extension, *tlilpapatlahuac* could be translated "wide black lines."
4. This is in addition to the customary personal services provided the Spaniards in Colonial times; such services (household provisions and labor) were also provided Indian nobles in pre-Spanish times.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tlatlahuquitepec—"On the Red Hill"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 8r)
2. Atenco—"On the Shore"
3. Teçitlan—"Place of Much Hail"
4. Ayutuchco—"On the Armadillo"
5. Yayavquitlalpa—"On the Brown Land"
6. Xonoctla—"Place of Much *Jonote*"
7. Teotlalpan—"On the God's Land"
8. Yztzepec—(Yztzepec) "On the Hill of Obsidian"
9. Yxcoyamec—"On the Face of the Peccary"
10. Yaonahuac—"Near the War"
11. Caltepec—"On the House on the Hill"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 1,600 black and white striped *mantas*, each two *brazas* long
- 8,000 lumps of liquidambar for incense

The following items were given annually:

- 1 *acochtli* warrior costume and shield
- 1 yellow *cuestecatli* warrior costume and shield

CONQUEST HISTORY

Tlatlahuquitepec, in the eastern Sierra Madre, was reportedly conquered by the Acolhua under Nezahualcoyotl (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:198) but is listed among the towns that divided their tribute payments among Texcoco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlacopan (Motolinia 1971:396). Tlatlahuquitepec is listed in part 1 of the *Codex Mendoza* (folio 8r) as a conquest of Motecuhzoma I (1440-1468). However, as with Tlapacoyan, none of the other towns included on the Tlatlahuquitepec tribute pages is listed in the Mendoza conquest history. Xonoctla, one of the towns in this tributary province, apparently did not relish war with the Mexicans and submitted to their rule, retaining its own local rulers (PNE 5:128, 140). Hueytlalpan (Teotlalpan) was apparently at one time the head of a large Totonac confederation (García Payón 1965:20); sometime after its conquest by the Mexica, Motecuhzoma II installed a governor there (*ibid.*:32).

Tlatlahuquitepec, Teçitlan, Atempan (Atenco), Hueytlalpan (Teotlalpan), and Xonoctla (Xonoctla) were major centers. In early colonial times, Ayotocheo was a *sujeeto* of Xonoctla, Yztzepec a *sujeeto* of Hueytlalpan, and Yayavquitlalpa a *sujeeto* of Tlatlahuquitepec.

This *Mendoza* tributary province was far more diminutive in area than that represented in Barlow's 1949a map. The towns listed for this province cluster in the extreme northwestern portion of Barlow's Tlatlahuquitepec province. This leaves a large geographical gap to the east and south of Tlatlahuquitepec, extending to the Gulf. Another spatial gap is at the junction of Tlatlahu-

quitepec province, Tlapacoyan province, and the domain of Tlaxcala. There sat the important center of Tetela.

By the early 1500s, Tetela (today Tetela de Ocampo) was strategically situated between the tributary province of Tlatlahuquitepec, the city-state of Acaçatlan (in Tlapacoyan province), and the hostile state of Tlaxcala. Tetela warred with Tlaxcala and Acaçatlan; in these wars it was supported by the "king of Mexico," who gave the Tetela warriors shields and other offensive arms (PNE 5:147). In return, Tetela sent Tlaxcalan and Acaçatlan war captives to the "king of Mexico" by way of friendship and kinship (ibid.:161). The Nahuatl-speaking Tetela claimed to have never been physically conquered by the Aztecs (ibid.:144); its people worshiped Huitzilopochtli, patron god of the Mexica, whom they brought from Mexico (ibid.:147). However, while Tetela proper seems to have worshiped Huitzilopochtli, and one of its *subjectos* (Çuçumpa) followed suit, other subject towns had different patron gods: the people of Tzanaquatl especially worshiped the god Haztacoatl ("Crane Serpent"), Capulapa revered Malatlucuhé ("Blue Skirt"), and Tutula included Nahua and Totonac gods in its pantheon (ibid.: 154, 160, 165, 170).

In the give-and-take of war materiel and battlefield captives, Tetela proper played an indirect role. Instead of Tetela warring directly with Tlaxcala or Acaçatlan, one of Tetela's subject towns fought with subject towns of the enemy states. Captives won in these battles were given to the *subjecto's* "señor," who in turn presented them to the "señor" of Tetela, who then sent them on to Mexico (ibid.:161). Instead of major wars breaking out between the *cabeceiras* of these city-states, it appears that wars were fought and captives gained through smaller-scale battles between their subject towns; the object may have been more to maintain a balance of power than to effect a conquest.

Tetela seems to have had a special "diplomatic" relationship with the Mexica; the local leaders originally came from the "province of the Chichimecs" (ibid.:145), and they seem to have shared some elements of language, kinship, and religion with the Mexica. Most important to the Mexica, Tetela held a portion of the unstable Tlaxcalan border, in effect insulating the nearby tributary provinces of Tlapacoyan and Tlatlahuquitepec from borderland hostilities. The entire arrangement strongly resembles Edward Luttwak's "client states" (1976).

To the east of Tlatlahuquitepec province, toward the Gulf coast, sat additional Aztec conquests. While Barlow includes these in Tlatlahuquitepec province in his 1949a map, they appear to have been incorporated into the Aztec domain on a different conquest/tributary basis. Misantla was one of these major centers: an early Totonac center, it was apparently conquered by the Nahuas of Huexotla (near Texcoco; Ramirez Lavoignet 1953:316). Coastal Nauhla, associated with Misantla, was reportedly conquered by Nezahualpilli of Texcoco in 1486 (Krickeberg 1933:109, 187).¹

The people of Misantla did pay tribute to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin: they annually carried to Mexico forty loads of liquidambar (*Relación de Misantla* 1962:16-17). The people of Misantla appear to have been especially enterprising: they manufactured stuffed cotton armor and took it to battlefields to sell it there (ibid.:17). The region generally was highly fortified, with several fortresses recorded for the area (ibid.:151).

South of Misantla lay Xalapa, which recognized Motecuhzoma and paid tribute to him (PNE 5:102-123). While Xalapa supposedly had no wars with its neighbors (ibid.:103), there was a Mexican garrison and governor at nearby Acatlan (Gerhard 1972: 373; PNE 5:113).²

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns listed in the *Codex Mendoza* for Tlatlahuquitepec province all sat in the eastern sierra (despite Barlow's map, which includes areas to the coast). Tlatlahuquitepec, Teçitlan, and Atempan are all located on the southern edge of the sierra, and with one possible exception (Yxcoyamec), all the *subjectos* and other major towns are north and west, away from the Mesa Central and the southeastern coast. Neither the *cabeceiras* nor their subject towns penetrate the mountains directly to the east (a big empty area on Barlow's map).

The towns in this *Mendoza* sierra province were located at vastly different elevations and in a variety of different resource areas: towns ranged from the *tierra caliente* to *tierra fria*. Teotlalpan and Xonocla were important cotton-growing areas (García Payón 1965:34; PNE 5:134); the region around Tlatlahuquitepec was notable for its liquidambar trees and pines (PNE 1:202). The terrain was one of steep mountains, deep *barrancas*, and stretches of intermontane valleys. The major transportation corridor through this area ran between the coast and the Mesa Central, through Xalapa, Teçitlan, and Tlatlahuquitepec; the other towns in this province, to the north, were not situated on major thoroughfares.

This province was part of the ancient region of Totonacapan, the land of the Totonacs. Both Teotlalpan and Xonocla had early Totonac populations that were later conquered by Nahua peoples (PNE 5:125; García Payón 1965:20). Today in the region, the indigenous people speak mainly Nahuatl, called "Mexicano."

TRIBUTE

The range of tribute given by Tlatlahuquitepec province was relatively limited, consisting only of *mantas*, liquidambar, and two styles of warrior costumes. According to the *Mendoza* commentaries, the *mantas* and liquidambar were rendered every six months and the warrior costumes annually. The *Matricula de Tributos* glosses (1980: folio 15r) indicate that the cloth and liquidambar were paid every eighty days and the warrior costumes annually. The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 57, 88) deviates considerably from this list. Two warrior costumes (style unspecified) are included as annual tribute. The *manta* tribute, however, specifies 3,200 *mantas* (apparently plain) given every eighty days, with no cloth length indicated. The text also includes 8,000 loaves of liquidambar, called *oozote*,³ and twenty loads of "a different kind" of liquidambar, from which some tobacco for smoking were made. While Hernández (1959) does not discuss types of liquidambar trees, there may have been different varieties, or, alternatively, the resin itself may have been prepared differently for its use as a tobacco from its preparation for incense and medicinal applications.

The striped *mantas* given by Tlatlahuquitepec and its component towns were the same *tlilpapatlanac* (wide black-striped) style paid by Tlapacoyan province. They are glossed as *nauhtzontli tlilpapatlanac tilmatl* (1,600 wide black-striped *mantas*) in the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980:42). In the *Mendoza*, each of these *mantas* also bears two fingers, signifying a length of two *bruzas* for each piece of cloth.⁴ Demanding cloth of extraordinary lengths was fairly common in cotton-growing areas (see Berdan 1987a:243-244). While three other provinces paid *mantas* with black and white stripes, the stripes in all cases are vertical. The people of Tlatlahuquitepec, however, gave 400 horizontally striped *mantas* along with 1,200 vertically striped ones.

In both the *Mendoza* and *Matricula*, the initial *manta* figure has an attached symbol, a yellow lip plug or *tentel*. Clark (1938 1:83)

suggests that this may serve as an ideograph for *tentilauc*, "wide border." Whether "wide" or not, undoubtedly some feature of the cloth's border is meant to be conveyed here. Perhaps more likely is the use of the *tentel* glyph as suggestive of *tentia*, "to attach a ribbon, border, fringe, fringe trimming, or stripe to clothing" (Molina 1970:99v).

Totonacapan was noted for the availability of liquidambar, so its presence on this tribute page is no surprise. Both the *Mendoza* and the *Matricula* provide the Nahuatl name for this product: the *Mendoza* glosses it as *xochiocotl*, the *Matricula* as *xochiocotztl* (1980: folio 15r). The glyph shows a bundle with a flower (*xochitl*) on top, giving the phonetic prompter *xoch-* so the proper item can be identified. The sacrificial bag or *xiquipilli* stands as a homonym for the number 8,000. A particularly fine (and large) representation of this numerical glyph is drawn on folio 15r of the *Matricula*.

Hernández (1959 1:112–113; 2:176) describes the liquidambar tree (*xochiocotzquahuil*) and its resinous product (*xochiocotztl*) in considerable detail. The tree was large and had a pleasant scent. The liquidambar resin was extracted by making incisions in the bark of the tree (ibid. 1:112; Sahagún 1950–1982 11:112). The sweet-smelling liquid could be mixed with tobaccos to fortify the head, stomach, and heart; to induce sleep; and to reduce headaches caused by cool air. Alone, it was effective in relieving additional head, internal, and skin ailments (Hernández 1959 1:112; 2:176). Hernández includes liquidambar (*xochiocotztl*) in his discussion of various tobaccos, warning against its immoderate use, which may lead to an excessively heated liver or the development of a general lack of vigor (ibid. 2:176).

During the early Colonial period, the tribute paid to the Spanish overlords differed only somewhat from that delivered to the earlier Aztec overlords. At an unstated time in the sixteenth century, Xonoctla gave *mantas*, maize, and other foods; in 1533 the town was taxed in clothing and honey (PNE 5:140; González de Cossío 1952:217). Similarly, in 1533 Ayutuchco provided clothing (some worked with rabbit fur) and honey in tribute (González de Cossío 1952:218). Hueytlalpan (Teotlalpan) paid in cotton *mantas*, at an unspecified date in the early to mid sixteenth century.

Tlatlahuquitepec itself provided considerable amounts of clothing, liquidambar (forty loads, with five "loaves" per load), and honey, and cultivated fields of maize and cotton (ibid.:520).

REFERENCES

Additional information on Tlatlahuquitepec province is found in Barlow (1949a:87–89), Bernal and Hurtado (1953), Krickeberg (1933), Toussaint (1948), García Payón (1965), Gerhard (1972: 228–231, 257–258, 388–390), Kelly and Palerm (1952:31, 268, 272–273), and PNE (5:124–131). Tetela is especially well documented in PNE (5:143–173); the *Relación* contains a map. The Gulf coastal area to the east of Tlatlahuquitepec province is also well documented. See especially Rodríguez (1931), Pasquel (1969), Ramírez Lavoignet (1953), *Relación de Misantla* (1962), Gerhard (1972:363–367, 373–378), García Payón (1947), and Kelly and Palerm (1952:278–279). Information on garrisons and fortresses throughout these regions is found in Holt (1979). Fray Andrés de Olmos worked in Hueytlalpan (Teotlalpan) from 1539 to 1553. Gregory Reck (1986) has written an ethnography about present-day Jonotla (Xonoctla).

NOTES

1. These wars may have continued only until Acaçacatlan was conquered by the Triple Alliance. See the discussion of Acaçacatlan under Tlapacoyan province.
2. Ramírez Lavoignet (1953:317) mentions that Axayacatl conquered Nauhla the same year that he conquered Xalapa (1480). Nauhla (Almeria) was a major fortress/garrison site of the Triple Alliance empire.
3. Acatlan had "gente de guarnición y muchas armas" ("troops and many weapons"), according to the *Relación geográfica*.
4. *Ocotztl*: "resina de pino o trementina" (pine resin or turpentine; Molina 1970: folio 75v).
5. The term *brasa* has been applied to several different dimensions. For a discussion of the possibilities, see Berdan (1980b:33) and Castillo (1972). In the *Matricula de Tributos*, the third *manta* figure from the left is oddly drawn and does not include the fingers. This was probably an error on the part of the scribe.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tuchpa—(Tuchpan) “On the Rabbit”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v)
2. Tlatiçapan—“On the Land of Chalk”
3. Çihuanteopan—“On the Woman’s Temple”
4. Papantla—“Place of *Papanes*” or “Good Moon”
5. Oçelotepec—“On the Hill of the Jaguar”
6. Miahua apan—“On the Canal of the Maize Flower”
7. Mictlan—“Where There Are Many Dead”

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 black cross-striped *mantas*
- 400 red *mantas* of a shell design
- 400 multicolored loincloths
- 800 large white *mantas*, each four *brazas* long
- 800 orange-striped *mantas*, each eight *brazas* long
- 400 multicolored striped *mantas*, each two *brazas* long
- 400 women’s tunics and skirts
- 240 red-bordered *mantas* of various shell designs.

The following items were given annually:

- 800 loads of dried chiles
- 1 yellow *quaxolotl* warrior costume and shield

- 1 yellow warrior costume and *quetzalpacatzcli* back device, and shield
- 20 bags of small white feathers (down)
- 2 strings of greenstone beads
- 1 string of turquoise stones
- 2 round mosaics of small turquoise stones

CONQUEST HISTORY

As with other provinces in this northeastern realm of the empire, Tuchpa was reputedly conquered by Nezahualcoyotl in the mid-fifteenth century in his sweep to the Gulf (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:197). Durán, however, mentions Tuchpa as a Mexica conquest and, in more detail, as a military goal of armies from several Valley of Mexico cities marching jointly under Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440–1468; 1967 2:205, 164). This massive military campaign to the northeast was prompted by the assassination of merchants from the Valley of Mexico cities who were traveling and trafficking in the Huastec country (*ibid.*:163). Durán’s account includes the Huastec city-states of Tamapachco and Tzicoac with Tuchpa. The two former realms were situated just inland from coastal Tuchpa; Tzicoac (Çtziçoac) is a *Mendoza* province. To confuse the historical accounting further, Tuchpa and Miquiyetlan (perhaps the Mictlan of Tuchpa province) are listed as conquests of Axayacatl (1468–1481) in the first section of the *Codex Mendoza*

(folio 10v), and Tuchpa is also claimed by Tizoc (1481–1486) on his northern stone (although there the glyph lacks the *pantli*, or flag element).

The only other town in Tuchpa province on which there is conquest information is Papantla; this major Totonac center was apparently not defeated until the reign of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (1502–1520). The warriors of Papantla were not easily defeated by Motecuhzoma's forces; the fighting was intense and continued until they finally tired of defending their lands (García Payón 1965:66).

While in most conquered areas the Mexica or Triple Alliance rulers installed only tribute collectors (however feared they were), in this distant realm they reportedly also settled "gente de guarnición" at Tuchpa and Papantla and a military governor at Papantla (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:197; García Payón 1965:66; Gerhard 1972:218). The conquest of this region was very important to the Valley of Mexico powers, so important that the specific name of a tribute collector stationed at Tuchpa by Nezahualcoyotl (Huetli) is provided in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's history (1965 2:197).

At the time of its reported conquest by Nezahualcoyotl, the great province of Tuchpa was divided into seven provinces, which altogether contained sixty-eight towns as subjects (*ibid.*). It is interesting that there are also exactly seven towns included in the *Codex Mendoza* tribute roll for Tuchpa province.

Despite Barlow's broadly encompassing map of Aztec provinces (1949a), the towns of Tuchpa province were almost completely contained between the Tuxpan and Cazonnes rivers (about the northern half of Barlow's mapped province). Papantla is the only town included in this *Codex Mendoza* province which is located outside this "core": it lies south of the Cazonnes River in the region generally called Totonacapan. Papantla was reportedly not conquered until the second Motecuhzoma and hence may have been tacked onto an already-formed Tuchpa province nearby for purposes of tribute collection and political administration.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Tuchpa province lie on the hills and plains stretching to the Gulf coast, with the town of Tuchpa on the northern river. Tuchpa¹ itself seems to have been a site of geographical convenience: the *Lienzo de Tuxpan* show three roads and the river all converging on Tuchpa; they serve on major connecting routes to points west and south. Reportedly the region was noted for its good woods and chicle (Krickeberg 1933:113) and coastal products such as fish, shrimp, and tortoises (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:315). Tuchpa may have served as a major mercantile hub. Alvarado Tezozomoc mentions that a market (*general tianguis o mercado*) was held there every twenty days; long-distance merchants (*pochteca*) from several Valley of Mexico cities and other merchants and inhabitants from Tulancingo traded there (*ibid.*:310). Papantla, farther to the south, also was rich in trees and fish, but was noted as well for an abundance of wild game, fruits, birds, cotton, cacao, honey, and chile (García Payón 1965:69; PNE 1:176; Kelly and Palerm 1952:138).

The majority of the towns listed for this province lay in Huastec country, which stretched on to the north through Tzicaco and Oxtipan provinces and beyond. Papantla was a major regional center in the lands inhabited by the Totonac; Kelly and Palerm (1952:10) feel that Papantla was the only real urban center in all the Totonacapan region.² While Huastec was the predominant language in the north and Totonac in the south, some persons (probably high-ranking) in both regions spoke Nahuatl (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:315; García Payón 1965:62).

TRIBUTE

Judging by its tribute, Tuchpa was an extremely rich province. According to Alvarado Tezozomoc (1975a:315), Tuchpa, when conquered, offered the following tribute to its Mexican overlords on an annual basis:³

- Rich cloaks of *Tuchpacayotl* (of the people of Tuchpa) style
- Colored *quechquemil*
- Colored cloaks called *tlalapacucacbtli*⁴
- Parrots (*tonene*)⁵ and macaws⁶
- Birds called *Xachtinacaltonotl*⁷ and *Tlalancuezalintotl*⁸
- Yellow colorings (*tecuecalin* and *tecozahuil*)⁹ for dying gourd bowls
- Various "fruits" (*apetztili*, *cuambayhuacbtli*)¹⁰
- A variety of chiles (*chiltcepin*, *totocuitlatl*, *pacchile*)¹¹

As the Triple Alliance armies were returning home from their conquest of the Huasteca, the vanquished offered them clothing, paper, and white feathers for quilts or blankets (*ibid.*)¹²

Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2:197), elaborating on his claim that Nezahualcoyotl conquered Tuchpa, enumerates the following annual tribute to that ruler:

- 1,580 loads (*fanos*) of *mantas*, some fancy and striped with many colors, and others plain
- 25 *mantas*¹³ and women's tunics
- 400 loads + 10 *mantas* called *ilacatzubqui*,¹⁴ narrow and each eight *brazas* long
- Some more loads of narrow *ilacatzubqui* cloaks, each four *brazas* long

Diego Durán (1967 2:168) also discusses the early tribute demands on the people of the Huasteca. His enumeration provides us with a picture of the richness of this region: to cease the slaughter of the Huastecs, the Huastec lords promised their conquerors rich tributes in cloaks, cacao, gold, jewels, feathers, parrots and other types of fine birds, macaws, large and small chiles, seeds, and all manner of foods. When the killing stopped, the Huastec lords offered their conquerors gifts of fish and shrimp, white honey, chickens, pineapples, and many types of fruit, topped off with loads of many varieties of *mantas*. These were all presents offered "on the spot" as an appeasement and a sign of subjugation, and only barely resemble the regular tribute represented in the *Matricula* and *Mendoza* tallies.¹⁵

The regular, "established" tribute sent by the province of Tuchpa to its conquerors was rich indeed. The bulk of the tribute listed in the *Codex Mendoza* and *Matricula de Tributos* for this province was in clothing, much of it very fancy. It was to be given semi-annually (quarterly according to the *Matricula*). The *Mendoza* begins with 400 black cross-striped *mantas* (on a white background).¹⁶ Unfortunately, this item goes un glossed in the *Matricula*, so its specific name is not available. Its neighbor, however, is called *yeacocayo* in the *Matricula*, or "jewel of ebecat" design,¹⁷ and consists of four seashells arranged symmetrically over a red background; the border has a fringed appearance. It is followed by 400 multi-colored loincloths and 800 plain white *mantas*, each four *brazas* in length. These last are glossed *nan(mail)* in the *Matricula*, meaning "four fingers" or four *brazas*.

The second row of clothing tribute paid by Tuchpa province begins with 800 orange-striped cloaks, identified in the *Matricula*'s Nahuatl only by their length (eight *brazas*: *chibicuetic*). These are followed by 400 cloaks, again eight *brazas* long. While this item carries no readable gloss in the *Matricula*, it is drawn with the triangle associated with the *canauac* (narrow) cloaks seen in earlier

provinces. The next brilliantly colored *mantas* may well hark back to the *tlalapacucabtlil* cloaks mentioned by Alvarado Tezozomoc and to those listed by Alva Ixtlixochitl which were "fancy and striped with many colors." Indeed, the gloss for this item in the *Matricula* says *centzontli omatl tlalapalli* (400 dyed *mantas*, two *brasas* in length). In both documents these cloaks are shown with two protruding fingers, indicating the specified length. The final item of tribute in this row is 400 women's tunics and skirts,¹⁸ decorated with the familiar horizontal red bands.

The third row of clothing tribute consists of three intricately decorated cloaks, all on red backgrounds. This is only one of two cases in the *Mendoza* where quantities less than 400 are specified for clothing; in this case, the glyphs and glosses specify eighty (loads) of each. The *Matricula* annotation is suggestive that these cloaks may be those referred to by Alvarado Tezozomoc as *Tuchpanecayotl*, characteristic of the people of Tuchpa. Clark (1938 1:84) offers specific Nahuatl names for the designs on each of these. The first he identifies as *omtochtetcomato*, a design also found on tribute *mantas* from the province of Tlaxtepec.¹⁹ The second he calls *centzuntimatlil*,²⁰ and the third he labels as *coaxayacuo*.²¹ All these richly decorated capes were clearly designated for rulers and high-ranking nobles.

While the clothing tribute predominates, the people of Tuchpa were also required to pay other items to their overlords. This included two yellow warrior costumes with their devices to be given annually, one of a *quaxolotl* design, the other of a *quetzalpatzactli* style. Each is accompanied by its appropriate shield. Warrior regalia as tribute is not at all mentioned in the accounts for this province by Durán, Alvarado Tezozomoc, and Alva Ixtlixochitl; this may have been added to the tribute as it became regularized.

Chiles of many varieties are mentioned by both Alvarado Tezozomoc and Durán as tribute and gifts by the people of the Huasteca to their conquering overlords. The importance of chiles as a major product of this region is reflected in the large quantities recorded in the *Mendoza* and *Matricula* tribute tallies: 800 loads annually (quarterly in the *Matricula*). The *Mendoza* specifies that the loads (shown bound up in woven matting) be dried chiles, while the *Matricula* just mentions *chilli*.²² Some of these chiles may have come from the Papantla area.²³

Additional tribute from this rich province included twenty sacks of small white feathers, or down. It is not clear from what bird these soft feathers came (or whether it even mattered), but the abundance and variety of fancy birds in the Huasteca are well documented (see above). In fact, it is surprising that neither the *Mendoza* nor the *Matricula* records precious feather tribute from Tuchpa. The *Matricula* is relatively uninformative on the details of this feather-down tribute (beyond possibly indicating that the feathers were white); the *Mendoza* indicates that they were to be used to decorate cloaks. This is reminiscent of Alvarado Tezozomoc's mention of white feathers for bed coverings or blankets (1975a:315; see above). They certainly would have offered an element of warmth in the often chilly highlands.

Durán insisted that the Huasteca had an abundance of precious stones, and the *Mendoza* supports this assertion, listing goodly quantities of greenstone and turquoise to be paid in tribute. Two strings of precious worked greenstone beads were given annually, along with a string of worked turquoise stones and two turquoise mosaic discs. There is little archaeological evidence for the native occurrence of these fine stones in this region, and they may have been imported.²⁴ However, they must have been sufficiently available to have been considered regular tribute items.²⁵

While the inclusion of Tuchpa on the *Mendoza* tribute tally sug-

gests that these tributes were destined for the coffers of Tenochtitlan, the *Relación de Tributos* (Motolinía 1971:395) indicates that the tributes from Tuchpa were to be divided among Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan. Furthermore, Motolinía's "list" of tribute-paying towns (*ibid.*) states that five of the towns of Tuchpa province recognized all three Triple Alliance capitals equally.²⁶

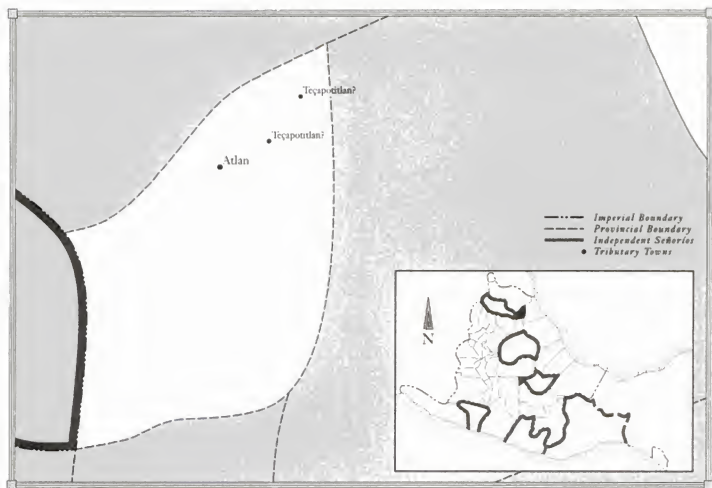
REFERENCES

Further information on Tuchpa province is found in Barlow (1949a:58–61), Gerhard (1972:116–121, 218–220), García Payón (1965), Krickeberg (1933), Bernal and Hurtado (1953), and Ekholm (1944). In addition, the major historical chroniclers (Alvarado Tezozomoc, Durán, Alva Ixtlixochitl) record the conquest of this region in some depth. The *Lienzos de Texcapan* (Melgarejo Vivanco 1970) provides stylized maps of the Tuchpa region, with numerous place glyphs as well as roads, rivers, and other geographic points of reference. Kelly and Palerm (1952) discuss the southern part of Tuchpa province (around Papantla) extensively.

NOTES

- Melgarejo Vivanco (1970:17) suggests that Tuchpa was called Tabuco in the Huastec language. This center (Tabuco) was located approximately four kilometers east of present-day Tuxpan (Ekholm 1953:81-84).
- García Payón (1965) estimates 15,000–16,000 heads of households in 1519 for Papantla and its "distrito" (probably its dependencies). He translates this into 60,000–64,000 persons. Estimates made later in the sixteenth century are dramatically lower (Kelly and Palerm 1952:254), representing the rapid depopulation so noticeable on the coast or the ways in which population estimates were made—or (most likely), both.
- Alvarado Tezozomoc is a little vague as to whether this tribute applied only to Tuchpa or to Tzicoco and other centers of the Huasteca as well. Certainly the *Tuchpanecayotl* cloaks would pertain quite directly to Tuchpa.
- Tlalapacucabtlil* would derive from *tlalatl* (mud), *palli* (black mud for dyeing clothing), and *cucabtlil* (large cotton cloak). Sahagún (1950–1982 11:258) says that *palli* was scarce and was used to blacken the face (as well as other objects). In that Alvarado Tezozomoc (or his printer) makes several critical Nahuatl spelling errors, these cloaks may correspond to the *mantas* described as *tlalapalli* in the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 15v). These dyed cloaks are striped red and yellow (and perhaps orange). The corresponding cloak image in *Codex Mendoza* shows green, yellow, blue, and red stripes. Molina (1970:138v) defines *tlalapalli* as "something striped in various colors."
- Alvarado Tezozomoc has probably made another spelling error here, undoubtedly meaning *tezene* for *tonne*. This was the young yellow-headed parrot, a special feature of the Huasteca (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:22).
- Alvarado Tezozomoc is undoubtedly referring here to the scarlet macaw (Nahuatl: *alo*), an inhabitant of the Huastec region (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:23).
- This is the emerald toucanet, a Totonac and Huastec forest-dweller. Its name comes from the "flower-yellow" feathers around its throat and neck (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:22). Hernández (1959 2:356–357, 359) describes three varieties of *zuebttenatl* birds; all are colorful maritime avians.
- This would be the red-crowned parrot (*talacuacali*) described by Sahagún (1950–1982 11:23).
- Techabuntl*, or yellow ocher, was used to produce especially brilliant yellows (Sahagún 1950–1982 11:242).
- Molina (1970: 6v) defines *apetzili* as "margaxita," perhaps intending *margarita*, or daisy. For *cuahbayocubtlil*, Alvarado Tezozomoc surely intended *cuahbayocubtlil*. Four varieties of this tree are described by Hernández (1959 1:55–56); the one type that grew in the Huastec area yielded pods that had medicinal value.
- Chiltecpin* (its name deriving from "flea" or "mosquito") is a variety of small chile; *noncuatlil* (bird excrement) consists of three varieties of chiles, all related to the *chiltecpin*; and *pacbilil* is a large, red, rather sweet chile (*tevecubtlil*) which is dried by smoking so that it is preserved for an entire year (Hernández 1959 1:148–149).
- In the *Codex Mendoza* the people of Tuchpa province give bags of white down feathers in tribute.

13. Alva Ixtlixochitl probably meant *enaguas* or *naguas* (skirts) here, for they are often paired with the women's tunics.
14. *Ilatatzinbqai* = "something twisted," perhaps referring to the mode of manufacture or to a design.
15. The tribute listed for this province in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:89) also differs considerably from the *Mendoza* tally. It enumerates an annual tribute of two warrior costumes with rich shields, one more shield of blue stone (perhaps meant to be one of the turquoise mosaic discs), one string of greenstone stones, and 6,400 *mantas* to be paid every eighty days.
16. The order of the three rows of clothing tribute is slightly different in the *Matricula* and the *Mendoza*. While the rich Tochpan-style *mantas* constitute the third row in each case (although it is officially the first row in the *Matricula*, reading from bottom to top), the next two rows are reversed. The individual items in each row, however, maintain an identical order.
17. Clark's Nahuatl for this is *ecailacatzucuzcatl*, or "twisted wind jewel" (1938 1:84). The design on this *manta* differs somewhat from another also called *yaocozcatl* in the *Matricula* (province of Atlan, folio 16r).
18. The illustration shows the *buipilli* and skirt by the two horizontal bands.
19. Clark (1938 1:84) translates this as "two rabbit full of pots," while Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:23) translate this term as "wine-god jar [design]." Both are correct, as Two Rabbit is the name of a *pulque* deity and the essential symbol for *pulque*, the wine of that time and place.
20. Clark (1938 1:84) translates this as "mantles of a thousand different colors," although only red and white are shown. Tribute cloaks of very similar designs were also given by the eastern provinces of Tlaxtepec and Cuicatlan.
21. This translates as "snake-masked," although the design is clearly a shell. Cloaks of this name also appear in Sahagún (1950–1982 8:23), though without illustration.
22. If the chiles were dried, they may have been *pochibile* (see note 11 above).
23. García Payón (1965:66) states that the tribute from Papantla to Motecuhzoma II consisted of *mantas*, maize, *pepitas*, and chiles.
24. Few precious stones have been found archaeologically (Ekholm 1944:487). Raw (or perhaps worked) turquoise may have been imported from the north, where there were active mines (Weigand 1982).
25. The abundance of these and other precious items is also suggested by the presence of gain-seeking *pochteca* in this region, and by the fancy accoutrements worn by Huastec warriors (including gold, feathers, and mirrors; Alvarado Texozomoc 1975a:314).
26. Cihuateopan, Papantla, Oçelotepec, Miahua apan, and Miquetlan (Mictlan).



THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Atlan—"Place of Much Water"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* folio 18r
2. Teçapotitlan—(Tetzapotitlan) "Among the Zapote Trees on the Rock"
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 10v) and on folio 18r

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 800 red-bordered *mantas* with a shell design
- 800 multicolored loincloths
- 400 large white *mantas*, each four *brazas* long

The following items were given annually:

- 1,200 bales of white cotton

CONQUEST HISTORY

Atlan is one of the most obscure provinces recorded in *Codex Mendoza*. Not only are the two towns listed for this province difficult to locate but its conquest also seems to have aroused relatively little documentary interest. Some of this confusion may be due to the rapid Colonial depopulation in this area (Gerhard 1972: 119–121).

Neither Atlan nor Teçapotitlan seems to remain today (at least not under those names). However, they were surely located west of Tuchpa province and north of Tlapacoyan. Atlan may have been situated on or near the Pantepec River, northeast of Xicotepec and Pantepec.¹ Teçapotitlan may also have carried the name Valpopocotl, which could also be Uitzilpupucatlan² (González de Cossío 1952: 230), which could be today's Huitzilac. Van Zantwijk (1967: 154) suggests that both towns were in the Río Pantepec basin (although today's Huitzilac is not). It is also possible that Teçapotitlan (as Tzapotitlan) may have been close to Castillo de Teayo, or perhaps was Castillo de Teayo itself (Breton 1920a: 19). Both towns seem to have been relatively near the town of Metlatoyuca.

Although the date of Atlan's conquest is unknown, Teçapotitlan is recorded as a conquest of Axayacatl (*Codex Mendoza* folio 10v). However, Hassig (1988: 232) suggests that both towns were conquered during the reign of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin.

Both Atlan and Teçapotitlan appear to have been important military outposts to the Mexica. A Mexica *Tlacochteclli* (*Tlacotecubtli*), also glossed as *governador*, presided at Atlan (*Codex Mendoza* folio 18r), and although no such official is pictured for Teçapotitlan, this town is included on that same Mendoza page, which designates high officials in outlying regions (folio 18r).

The Mexica presence was probably considerable in these two towns. They may have served as garrisons (Gerhard 1972: 116; van Zantwijk 1967). Holt (1979: 365–366) classifies Atlan as a "frontier garrison." Aztec troops were stationed at such garrisons near

hostile borders; they were supported at least in part by the local populace (ibid.:357–358). However, statements on such a local obligation do not appear in the documentary record for Atlán.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The area encompassed by Atlán province was essentially in the eastern foothills of the Sierra Madre, and cotton was a notable resource. The province's landscape was dominated by the Pantepec River, flowing here south to north, later to meet the Tuxpan River and empty into the Gulf at Tuchia. This riverine artery may have been a major highland-to-coast commercial and transportation link; the placement of Aztec outposts along or near its basin may have served Aztec military goals well in controlling the region.

This area was one of considerable linguistic diversity. Nahuatl, Otomí, Tzetzhuatl, Huastec, and two mutually unintelligible versions of Totonac are all recorded as being spoken here (PNE 5:219–220). In the *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952:76) the region is described generally as “Huastec” and, to a lesser degree, “Mexican.”

TRIBUTE

The tribute from Atlán and Teçapotitlan consisted only of cotton clothing and raw cotton, consistent with the report that cotton was grown in this region. The most elaborate clothing was the 800 (loads of) red and white “jewel of *ebecat*” cloaks.¹ The two images of these cloaks have borders of blue, yellow, dark green, light green, and red; the borders for these cloaks in the *Matricula* (folio 16r) show only red and yellow. Additionally, the people of this province gave in tribute 800 (loads of) multicolored loincloths (again only red and yellow in the *Matricula*). Additionally, 400 (loads of) large white *mantas* were required in payment; each of these was to be four *brasas* long. The *Mendoza* states that all this clothing was to be paid twice a year; the *Matricula* indicates every eighty days. Aside from the woven goods, 1,200 “bales” of raw white cotton were demanded in tribute annually (every eighty days according to the *Matricula*).² Clothing is also the only tribute category listed for this province in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:89).³

The emphasis on cotton and cotton cloth continued into the Spanish Colonial period in this area. Prior to 1546, Teçapotitlan's

tribute duties consisted of twenty-five loads of small cloths, twenty skirts, and twenty shirts (*buipilli?*), to be paid every eighty days, in addition to chickens, eggs, fish, tortillas, maize, chiles, beans, *acote*, and fruit (these subsistence goods to be paid regularly to the *corregidor* and *alguacil*; González de Cossío 1952:474–475). Atlán also gave clothing, but in relatively small amounts (ibid.:475).

The limited range of tribute from this province may reflect the Aztecs' intense interest in cotton from the Atlán region, a relatively low level of local specialization in goods appealing to the Aztecs, and/or limited access to special resources beyond their boundaries.

REFERENCES

Information on the Atlán-Teçapotitlan region can be found in Barlow (1949a:61–62), Gerhard (1972:116–121), and Bernal and Hurtado (1953). Garrisons in this area are discussed by Holt (1979), van Zantwijk (1967), and Hassig (1988). A *lienzo* reportedly from Metlatoyuca is discussed by Breton (1920a, 1920b). Towns in this area are also mentioned in the *Libro de las tasaciones* (González de Cossío 1952) and PNE (5:219–220).

NOTES

1. Barlow, however, associates the ancient site of Atlán with today's Atla near Pahuatlán (1949a:61). This Atla was identified as a *syeto* of nearby Huauhchinnanco (as was a Çapotitlan); its location makes it unlikely that it was the Atlán of old. Holt (1979:366) correlates it with today's San José Atlán, Hidalgo. Tepantepec (perhaps today's Pantepec) is listed as a subject town of Atlán (González de Cossío 1952:76–77).
2. Gerhard (1972:116) suggests quite tentatively that this may be Metlatoyuca.
3. While the two “jewel of *ebecat*” images are essentially the same in the *Mendoza*, they do differ in the *Matricula*. The first image correlates with those in the *Mendoza* (and is in fact glossed *yecacoçayo*—“jewel of *ebecat*”); the second cloak lacks the vertical stripes and instead has four shell images (it is glossed *camapallo*—“purple”—in the *Matricula*). However, the four-shell cloak drawn for Tuchia province (folio 52r) is glossed *yecacoçayo* on folio 15v of the *Matricula*. The “jewel of *ebecat*” cloak as seen on folio 53r of *Codex Mendoza* is worn by a *Tlacuicacatl* on folio 65r.
4. Brown cotton was, however, also supposedly grown in this general region (Alcorn 1984:389–390).
5. The document lists 45,000 *mantas* annually (along with the ubiquitous “chickens”). This seems quite excessive.


THE TRIBUTARY TOWNS:

1. Tzicoac (Tzicoac)—“On the Turquoise-Blue Snake”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r)
2. Molanco—“In the Place of Many Rubber Bowls”
Also in *Codex Mendoza* conquest history (folio 13r); a Molanco is also on folio 16r.
3. Cozacatecutlan—“Where the Nobles’ Beads Abound”
4. Ychcatlan—“Where There Is Much Cotton”
5. Xocoyocan—“Place of Fruit Trees”

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 400 white *mantas* with multicolored borders
- 400 multicolored loincloths
- 800 large white *mantas*, each four *brazas* long
- 400 women’s tunics and skirts

The following items were given annually:

- 1 yellow warrior costume with *quetzalpatzactli* device, and shield
- 1 red *ocelotl* warrior costume and shield
- 800 bales of white cotton
- 400 loads of dried chiles

CONQUEST HISTORY

The Aztec conquest history of Tzicoac closely parallels that of Tuchpa, as both seem to have been included in the same conquest efforts. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1965 2: 197) attributes its conquest to the Texcocan king Nezahualcoyotl, while Durán (1967 2: 164) presents it as a Triple Alliance effort, spearheaded by the Mexica ruler Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (1440–1468). Their military move on the Huasteca was reputedly spurred by the assassination of Valley of Mexico merchants traveling in that region, although they may have had their eyes on this rich area in any event. The Valley of Mexico peoples had just survived a devastating four-year famine, during which time some people had to sell family members as slaves to Huastecs; corn had remained plentiful in this northeast coastal region. The conquest of Tzicoac (glossed as Chicaoque) is recorded for the year 1458 in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 33r); this would place it during the reign of the first Motecuhzoma. However, this distant realm may have been only weakly attached to the Triple Alliance powers, since later conquests for both Tzicoac and Tuchpa are also recorded. The town of Tzicoac is listed in *Codex Mendoza* part 1 as a conquest of Ahuizotl (1486–1502); Molanco, a town included in this province, is listed in *Codex Mendoza* part 1 as a conquest of Ahuizotl and/or Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (1502–1520). Indeed, this area may have had only marginal political ties with the imperial powers; Durán records that the lord of Tzicoac was one of the “external

visitors" invited by Ahuitzotl to view the dedication of the Templo Mayor in 1487. This implies that the Tzicoac "señor" was not yet conquered by the Mexica, but was ripe for intimidation.

However weakly this region may have been consolidated into the Triple Alliance empire, tribute collectors were supposedly assigned here. This is implied in the *Codex Mendoza* and overtly stated by Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975–1977 2:196).¹ In addition, the imperial powers established five *fortalezas* in the Huastec region overall (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:311).

The subject towns in this region appear to have been dispersed over a very large area, but the locations of most of them are in some dispute. Tzicoac itself was most likely located on the Tuxpan River, upstream from Tuchpa. However, it may have been situated farther inland, perhaps closer to Chicontepec (Gerhard 1972:133).² The hypothesized locations of the other towns of this province place them inland from the coast: this is not a coastal but rather an upland province.

Barlow (1949a: 54–55) adds four additional towns to this province which are not included on the *Mendoza* or *Matricula* tribute roll.³ Detailed information is available on only one of these, Huexotla. Huexotla did not pay tribute through Tzicoac, but rather seems to have existed as a semi-independent enclave. Huexotla was situated conveniently on major north-south and east-west travel routes, close to the borderlands of Metztlitlan. Its conquest status is unclear: Torquemada (1969 1:193) states that Ahuitzotl reconquered it after a rebellion, the local inhabitants having assaulted the imposed mayordomos and officials and having failed to deliver their tribute to Tenochtitlan and Texcoco. This implies that it was conquered earlier, but Williams García (1963:52) mentions that Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, the last Mexica ruler, conquered Huexotla. It warred with towns in the northern Metztlitlan domain, but this may have been an expression of their own independence rather than an effort on behalf of the Triple Alliance. Whatever its political status, Huexotla was certainly a significant mercantile center, serving especially as an entrepôt for the marketing of salt (PNE 6:186, 190–191). This trading center seems to have attracted merchants from far and wide; names of some of Huexotla's *sujetos* suggest enclaves of groups from commercially active towns in central Mexico.⁴ In a general sense, the flourishing of Huexotla as a trading entrepôt near hostile borders recalls the similar situation of Cholula on the tense Tlaxcalan borderlands.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

The towns of Tzicoac province, although only provisionally located, fell in general in the hot country along the foothills of the eastern Sierra Madre. Tzicoac itself may well have been a riverine town and as such had considerable quantities of fish, tortoises, and shrimp, and enjoyed a substantial twenty-day market (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975a:310, 315). Cotton was grown at Huexotla (PNE 6:186) and probably also at Ycheatlan ("Where There Is Much Cotton").

The region encompassed by Tzicoac province was mainly Huastec in language and culture, with some enclaves of Tepehua and Nahuatl speakers. The Huastec language belongs to the Mayan family of languages. Huastec culture was quite distinctive, sufficiently so to have quite amazed the Aztecs of central Mexico (see discussion under Oxitipan province).

TRIBUTE

The tribute from Tzicoac province (as recorded in *Codex Mendoza*) was substantial, but not as diversified or as rich as that paid by neighboring Tuchpa. However, the tribute imposed on this province by Nezahualcoyotl upon its initial recorded conquest was both heavy and varied (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1965 2:197):

- 1,800 loads of *mantas* (some rich and striped with many colors, to hang in the king's rooms; others simple, skirts and *buipilli*)
 - 100 loads of "twisted" *mantas*, called *ilacatzubque*; each *manta* to be of three lengths, each length eight *brazas* long
 - 100 loads of *mantas*, delicate and of premium quality, each four *brazas* long
 - 400 mats
 - 400 deerskins
 - 100 live deer
 - 100 loads of chiles
 - 100 loads of *pepatas*
 - 100 large parrots
 - 40 sacks of white feathers for making cloth
 - 40 sacks of feathers from different-colored birds
 - 200 loads of underclothing
- Service in the royal palace as required

Tzicoac and Ycheatlan are listed among the towns serving Texcoco under a labor draft (González de Cossío 1952:53, 56),⁵ although Tzicoac's tribute was destined to be divided among the three Triple Alliance capitals (Motolinía 1971:396).⁶ Molanco is also included in this listing, as are nearby Chicontepec and Tamaoc.

Codex Mendoza begins its tribute listing for Tzicoac province with one row of clothing tribute. The first item is 400 (loads of) plain white cloaks with borders colored in red, blue, yellow, and green. This item is almost entirely obliterated in the *Matricula de Tributos* (1980: folio 16v). This is followed by 400 (loads of) colorful lincolths, 800 (loads of) large white *mantas* (each four *brazas* long), and 400 (loads of) *buipilli* and skirts. These items are represented by two bands of red decoration and a red rectangle at the *buipilli* neck slot. These items only tangentially relate to the clothing in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's listing; perhaps the large white *mantas* compare with the delicate and premium *mantas* mentioned for Nezahualcoyotl's tribute. The *Mendoza* clothing tribute was due twice a year (quarterly according to the *Matricula*).

The people of Tzicoac were also required to send two fancy warrior's costumes with their shields in tribute once a year. One is a yellow costume (with its *quetzalpatzactli* headdress of flowing green feathers) and a *xicalcolubqui* shield; the other is a red jaguar-style (*ocelotl*) costume with green-feathered headgear and a *cuesco* shield (appropriately from the land of the Huastecs).

Finishing off the tribute from Tzicoac are products of the land. As with nearby Tuchpa, chiles were an important cultigen here and their abundance is reflected in a demand of 400 loads of chiles annually.⁷ Cotton must also have been significant here (see above): 800 "bales" of white cotton made their way annually to the Triple Alliance from this region.⁸

REFERENCES

Additional information on Tzicoac province can be found in Barlow (1949a:54–57), Gerhard (1972:118, 132–134), Bernal and Hurtado (1953), Meade (1942), Toussaint (1948), and Williams

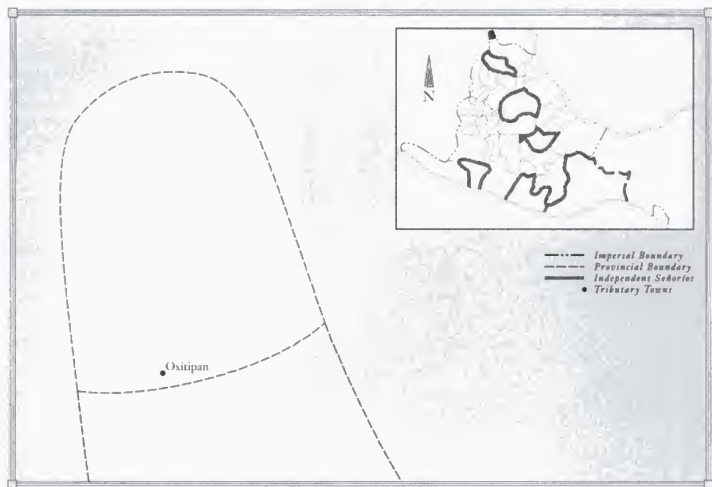
García (1963). Huexotla is described in PNE 6: 183–192. Alva Ixtlixochitl, Alvarado Tezozomoc, and Durán all record the conquest of this region in some depth.

NOTES

1. Although he spells this Tizcohuacalaotl, Tzieoc is certainly intended. This was following Nezahualcoyotl's documented conquest of Tzicoac.
2. Early in the Colonial period, the Tzicoac *cabecera* was moved to Chicon-tepec (Gerhard 1972: 134).
3. Tampatel was conquered by Axayacatl and Tamapachco by Tizoc (*Codex Mendoza* folios 10v and 12r). Chapulhuacan seems to have been added on the

basis of proximity, and Huexotla because it warred with Metzitan, a persistent enemy of the Triple Alliance.

4. For example, Puchtlan (Pochteca), Chololan (Chololteca), Totonacapan (Totonac), Tepevacan (Tepehua; PNE 6: 187). Huexotla itself was essentially a Tepehua town (*ibid.*: 185).
5. Yehcatlan is misspelled as Techcatlan in this document.
6. On the basis of two-fifths to Tenochtitlan, two-fifths to Texcoco, and one-fifth to the smaller Tlacopan.
7. In the *Matricula*, these items were apparently given every eighty days (probably quarterly).
8. In the early Colonial period, the tribute of Yehcatlan and its neighbors consisted of cacao, rubber, and red ocher but, alas, no cotton (González de Cossío 1952: 29–30). The *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957: 90) records an annual tribute of two warrior costumes with their shields along with another nineteen shields; 2,300 *mantas* were due every eighty days; and "chickens" were delivered regularly.



THE TRIBUTARY TOWN:

1. Oxitipan—"Where *Oxtil* Is Used"

THE TRIBUTE:

The following items were given every six months:

- 2,000 large white *mantas*, each two *brazas* long
- 400 multicolored striped *mantas*, each four *brazas* long
- 400 multicolored striped *mantas*, each two *brazas* long

The following items were given annually:

- 400 loads of dried chiles
- 1, 2, or more live eagles

CONQUEST HISTORY

Oxitipan lay in the heart of the Huasteca. It is the only town listed for this tributary province, though it most certainly had a number of subject towns.¹ It is not clear when the conquest of Oxitipan took place.² Nonetheless, it clearly was an Aztec imperial conquest, perhaps with an imposed *cacique* (Meade 1942:305-306). Meade (*ibid.*:49) mentions that the Huasteca in general seemed to have been made up of a number of fragmented city-states, each making wars and alliances as it wished. Oxitipan, then, appears to have

been one of these, at the very northern reaches of Aztec military expansion.

Oxitipan was probably located just south of present-day Ciudad Valles, at Ojitipa de Mirador (Barlow 1949a:52). Stresser-Péan (1971:588) places it at present-day Aquismon, also south of Ciudad Valles. In either case, it would have been on (or close to) a major land route south to Tamazunchale and Huexotla.

THE PROVINCE AND ITS INHABITANTS

Compared with most other Mendoza provinces, Oxitipan was small in area. It lay predominantly in low flatlands with few hills and high rainfall. Salt was particularly important to its economy (Chilton 1572).

A major salt-trading center was located south of here at Huexotla. The land of the Huasteca in general, called Cuextlan, was hot, producing foods and several different kinds of cotton in abundance: "it is called the land of food, the land of flowers" (Sahagún 1950-1982 10:185). Sahagún emphasizes that this land was also called Pantla or Panotla, "Where the Water Is Crossed" (*ibid.*).³

The Huastecs were considered quite outrageous by the Aztecs, who nonetheless borrowed certain elements of their culture (most notably the *cuextecatl* warrior costume and *cuayo* shield, along with their accompanying religious associations and symbolism). It is interesting that the *cuextecatl* warrior costume is not shown as tribute from the Huasteca realm.

The people were tall (Chilton 1572). According to Chilton they dyed their bodies blue; Sahagún (1950–1982 10:185) tells us that they dyed their hair red, yellow, or other colors, letting it hang over their ears and leaving a tuft in the back. They filed their teeth (so they took the shape of gourd seeds) and colored them black (ibid.).⁴ They wove cloth into fantastic designs and could be quite extravagant in their use of precious stone and feather ornaments. According to Aztec moral standards the women clothed themselves very well, but the men did not, wearing large cloaks but no loincloths (ibid.:186). However, this may have been an exaggeration (Stresser-Péan 1971:590). The men always went about armed with bows and arrows (ibid.:185; Chilton 1572).

TRIBUTE

Oxitipan's is the final tribute tally in *Codex Mendoza*; this page is entirely absent in the *Matrícula*. Like other areas of the Huasteca, it provided substantial quantities of woven cloth: 2,000⁵ (loads of) large white *mantas*; 400 (loads of) colorfully striped cloaks,⁶ each four *brazas* long; and 400 similarly striped *mantas*, each two *brazas* long.

Also included in Oxitipan's tribute were 400 loads of dried chiles⁷ and one or more live eagles, depending on their success in finding and capturing them. Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin kept eagles in his royal aviary, and these eagles were probably caught for that purpose. Motolinía (1950:212) describes these birds as having "very strong claws, the foot and talons as big as a man's, as is also the leg. The body is very large and the beak very savage. For one meal they will eat a turkey." A live eagle, along with 6,000 *mantas* and unnumbered "chickens," is also listed as tribute for Oxitipan in the *Información* of 1554 (Scholes and Adams 1957:90).

The early Colonial tribute demands on Oxitipan only barely resemble its recorded pre-Hispanic requirements: four and one-half loads of clothing, nine cloth bed coverings, thirty loads of chiles, nine jars of honey, sixty deerskins, and labor on maize and cotton fields (PNE 1:168).

REFERENCES

Information on Oxitipan and the Huasteca is found in Barlow (1949a: 51–54), Gerhard (1972:354–358), Toussaint (1948), Stresser-Péan (1971), Chilton (1572), Meade (1942), Sahagún (1950–1982 10:185–186), García Pimentel (1904:130–136), and Alcorn (1984).

NOTES

1. In 1570 Oxitipan had thirteen *sujeros*, all Huastec (Meade 1942:306).
2. Oxitipan may have been included in the old kingdom of Xaltocan (ENE 10:125–126).
3. This is probably a reference to having crossed the sea, perhaps from farther south in Mexico. The Huastec language belongs to the Mayan family, prominent in the southern reaches of Mesoamerica. The Huasteca may have been separated from other Mayan-speaking people for at least 3,000 years (see Swadesh 1953).
4. This treatment of their teeth was listed as one of the "defects" of the Huastec people, in the eyes of the Aztecs. Also considered inappropriate was their practice of perforating their noses and inserting a gold or feather ornament in the hole (Sahagún 1950–1982 10:186).
5. The scribe omitted the *ezontli* (400) glyph on these items. The glosses indicate "400," and that was surely intended.
6. Yellow, blue, red, and green. These resemble the striped cloaks shown for the province of Tluchpa.
7. Alcorn (1984:578–580) lists several types of chiles grown in the Huasteca.

A Descriptive Account
of the *Codex Mendoza*

PART 3



THE DAILY LIFE
YEAR TO YEAR

CONTENT

Folio 57r is a pictorial account of the earliest ceremonies performed and decisions made in the life of a newborn Aztec child. The narrative begins on the left of the upper register, where the speech scroll in front of the woman's mouth indicates that she is addressing the new baby, who has already been placed in a cradle. The Spanish gloss confirms that the woman is a recently delivered mother and the cradle holds her infant.

Birth

Thanks to the work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, the foremost of the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Aztec culture, we have some knowledge of the care given women during childbirth. In Sahagún's encyclopedic work, the twelve-volume *Florentine Codex*, he makes it clear that the Aztec midwives were a group of esteemed professionals.¹ Because girls typically married at fifteen (see folio 61r), a first birth usually occurred at a young age. A midwife offered experience, wisdom, and emotional support, no matter what the exigencies of the delivery.²

Once the baby was delivered, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, washed the child, and immediately offered a prayer to the fertility goddess associated with water, Chalchiuhtlicue ("Jade-Her-Skirt"), that the newborn might have a calm and pure heart "in order that he may live on earth peacefully."³ Whether the child was a boy or girl, there were standard admonitions given during the cutting of the umbilical cord:

Thus she told him [a baby boy] that it [life] was all affliction, travail, that would befall him on earth, and that he would die in war, or would die in sacrifice to the gods. And she entrusted his umbilical cord to the distinguished warriors, those wise in war, to bury it there in the midst of the plains where warfare was practised. . . . And the umbilical cord of the baby girl she only buried there by the hearth; thus she signified that the woman was to go nowhere. Her very task was the home life, life by the fire, by the grinding stone.⁴

Both baby boys and girls were welcomed and treasured, as is indicated by the reference to newborns as precious necklaces and beautiful feathers.⁵

Naming

The gloss on the upper register of folio 57r states that the four rosettes represent four days, after which the midwife took the recently born infant to be bathed. There is a dotted line that leads from the cradle to the rosettes and then on to the midwife, who holds the naked baby. All these connected images have to do with the naming of the child.

Prior to that ceremony, however, both the name and naming day had to be determined. This was a matter of primary import because children were named for their day signs. A great deal of effort went into investigating the nature of a baby's natal sign; it was thought to exert a powerful, lifelong influence as a result of the specific bundle of fate each particular day carried. In short, it was believed that an individual's fate was subject to predestination. Therefore, as soon as an infant was born, men skilled in divination—the *tonalpouhqui*—were called in to ascertain whether the child had arrived under a good or bad sign. This important act was accomplished by consulting a *tonalamatl*, a divinatory manual,⁶ to determine the burden of good or ill borne by the natal day.⁷ If the sign was considered fortunate, the child could be named the next day. But if the sign of the birth day proved to be calamitous, a better sign in the four following days was sought, one that could correct the unfortunate influence of the principal signs. Thus the appearance, on folio 57r, of four glyphs representing days appropriately placed above the baby in his cradle.

As the commentary on folio 56v states, the naming itself was carried out not by a soothsayer, but by the midwife. She is depicted on folio 57r as an old woman with wrinkled skin and gray hair. The ceremony, which took place at daybreak with the midwife facing to the west, consisted of two parts, the ritual washing of the child and the actual naming.⁸

On folio 57r, the midwife holds the naked baby in one hand and gestures with the other toward the waiting water container atop a mat of rushes. The Spanish gloss identifies these as "the rushes with their little earthen pan of water." Fray Diego Durán, another of the prolific sixteenth-century missionary chroniclers, states that the children of nobles were washed in special basins for four days in a row, whereas those of the lower classes were simply bathed in streams.⁹

Returning to the upper register of folio 57r: above the mat of rushes are five articles that the gloss calls “the symbols.” They indicate future career possibilities for a baby boy: a war shield backed by four arrows, a carpenter’s awl, a featherworker’s obsidian knife, a scribe’s brush, and a goldsmith’s tool. Below the rush mat are depicted symbols of the household tasks that await a baby girl, all mentioned in the Spanish gloss: a broom, a spindle full of cotton thread spun from the attached fillet of raw cotton, and a reed workbasket for the storage of spinning and weaving equipment.

To the right of the mat of rushes sit three small boys. The Spanish gloss states that these are the three boys who call out the name of the recently born infant. They face a bowl filled with parched maize kernels, a dish traditionally associated with the naming ceremony. Footprints leading in a counterclockwise direction surround the mat, indicating the direction the midwife walks as she performs the bathing and naming rituals.

Sahagún reports that when the child was bathed, the water was placed on his or her tongue and breast and on the crown of the head, to the accompaniment of ritual prayers. The baby was then offered up four times to the heavens—no doubt to the cardinal directions—each time with special incantations. If the newborn was a boy, the tiny instruments of war were then presented to him; a baby girl received the aforementioned symbols of womanly pursuit. It was at this point that the child was presented with its carefully chosen name, and the young boys in attendance then ran forth through the neighborhood carrying the naming-ceremony gift of food, parched corn and a stew of beans, and shouting out the baby’s name. The speech scrolls in front of the three little boys’ mouths refer to this portion of the ceremony.¹⁰

Dedication

The remaining section of folio 57r is concerned with the two choices to be made concerning the baby’s future career. The Spanish gloss identifies both the young father and mother, who are shown seated on the left side of the folio. In the center, the gloss reads, “The infant in its cradle, whom the parents offer to the temple.” Both Sahagún and the Spanish commentary of folio 56v confirm that while a baby yet lay in its cradle, the parents decided whether it would be dedicated to the priests’ house—the *calmecac*, where the boys and girls would train to become priests and priestesses—or the *telpochcalli*, which taught warrior skills to the boys as well as the obligatory ritual singing and dancing to both sexes in an adjacent area, the *cuaicacalli*.¹¹ The dotted lines leading from the baby’s cradle to the two seated males on the right of the folio indicate these two educational options.

The *calmecac* is represented by the seated male whom the gloss identifies as “the head priest.” He is recognizable by the priests’ traditional black body paint, long hair tied back by a white ribbon, and smear of blood in front of the ear. The gloss identifies the other seated male as a “master of youths and boys.” He represents the more secular education available in the *telpochcalli*.¹² The netted cape, face paint, hairstyle, shell necklace, and two-heron-feather hair ornament are the characteristic accoutrements of a master of youths’ position. This is also an array of the capricious god Tezcatlipoca, one of whose titles is *Telpochdli*, or “Male Youth,” and one of whose realms was patron of the young warriors.¹³

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

The Mother



mother: *nantli*¹⁴
woman: *cibuatl*¹⁵

hairstyle

This married woman wears her hair in the typical, mature Aztec woman’s style: two hornlike tufts were created by dividing the long, loose hair in the middle, binding it with a cord, and then folding it up in such a way as to leave the bulk of the hair resting on the nape of the neck while the two ends were secured at the top of the head. Sahagún provides a very clear illustration of this hairstyle in his depiction of the Cihuapiltin, the women who became goddesses after dying in childbirth.¹⁶ The pre-Hispanic ritual pictorial *Codex Borgia* contains a number of illustrations of the fertility goddess Xochiquetzal with her hair arranged in this fashion.¹⁷

Eduard Seler, the eminent late-nineteenth-century German scholar, mentions that the prominent women arranged their hair in hornlike plaits, crossing the ends of the hair over the forehead. He gives the names of *axtlacuilli* or *neaxtlaualli* to these coiffures.¹⁸

earplug: *nacochtli*¹⁹

The earplug worn by the young mother is identical to the one Sahagún shows worn by the goddesses associated with childbirth, the Cihuapiltin mentioned above.²⁰

yellow body color: *tecoqabuitl*²¹

In the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, women are often depicted with a pale yellow hue to their skin. Sahagún makes reference to this coloration in his account of the fall of Tenochtitlan: “And [the Spaniards] seized, they selected the women—the pretty ones, those whose bodies were yellow: the yellow ones.”²² This yellow tint is also mentioned when Sahagún describes the adornment of the noble women: “Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen.”²³ However, it apparently was not just the upper classes who used these yellow dyes. In Sahagún’s description of a harlot, he states that she anoints herself with a yellow salve called *axin* in order to have a pleasing and shining face.²⁴

The *Codex Mendoza* tribute section contains an example of a bowl of *tecoqabuitl*, identified by the gloss as “a yellow varnish with which they painted themselves.” This payment was sent from the province of Tlalcohuatlán.²⁵

tunic: *buipilli*²⁶

The Aztec *buipilli* was a closed-sewn, sleeveless tunic or shift that fell a little below the hips or to the top of the thighs. It was the requisite female upper-body garment, and as such was worn by women of all classes. The *buipilli* often had a decorated rectangle over the chest and upper back that may have served to strengthen the neck slit; there was also sometimes a differentiated design area over each shoulder.²⁷

skirt: *cuetl*²⁸

The Aztec woman’s skirt was a length of cloth that was wrapped around the lower body and secured at the waist, falling to midcalf in length. This garment was the basic lower-torso attire worn by all Aztec females.²⁹

bare feet: foot: *ixtli*¹⁰

In *Codex Mendoza*, sandals appear only on males performing official functions. However, in central Mexican religious-ritual pictorial codices, goddesses often wear sandals, as do their impersonators.¹¹ Female slaves, who have been "bathed" (cleansed for sacrifice) as part of the ceremony preparing them to impersonate deities, are described by Sahagún as wearing sandals.¹²

posture

Most of the females in *Codex Mendoza* are depicted in the kneeling position, as on folio 57r, with both knees pulled up under the body and, when not gesturing, with both hands crossed on the legs.

Speech Scroll



In all but eight cases in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, only single speech scrolls appear.¹³ The exceptions suggest that extra scrolls, or enlarged ones, indicate a long or intense discourse. Also, the "direction" or speech may be intended—who is talking to whom. With the exception of the three sons learning their trades on folio 70r, subservient persons are not depicted with speech scrolls; apparently only important or perhaps even only

ritualized speech is being indicated.

Cradle



cradle: *concolli*¹⁴

Immediately after a child was born, the midwife cut the cord, washed the baby, wrapped it in a cloth, recited the appropriate prayers, and carried the infant into the house in order to place it in the waiting cradle.¹⁵ In the *Florentine Codex*, this type of cradle sometimes serves as a symbol for "baby," whether or not an infant is visible inside.¹⁶

Baby

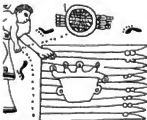


baby: *occhichi piltontli*¹⁷

From birth, newborns were involved in certain aspects of Aztec ceremonial life. For example, at the monthly feast of Huauhquiltamalcauliztli ("The Eating of Huauhquiltli Stuffed Tamales"),¹⁸ babies who still lay in cradles were given a taste of *ocotli*, the ritual *pulque* drink made from the fermented syrup of the maguey plant.¹⁹ At certain ceremonial occasions, in worship of the Aztec gods, a few drops of blood were taken from even the youngest of infants.²⁰

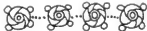
Ritual precautions repeatedly were taken to protect growing children. For example, ashes were rubbed on the knees of babies in cradles to prevent lameness.²¹ If, despite all care, a young baby died, it was believed that he or she went to a special heaven reserved specifically for infants.²²

Dotted Line



In *Codex Mendoza*, a dotted line running between images denotes a conceptual connection, the interpretation of which depends on the context. For example, on folio 57r, the baby and the paraphernalia of the naming ritual are connected ceremonially.²³

The Day Sign



Day sign: *cemibuitlapoalli*²⁴

The round, multicolored day sign, with a small center circle and four similarly sized multicolored circles equally spaced around the circle's periphery, appears in other Aztec pictorial codices, both in a ritual context²⁵ and as a design on ritual mantles.²⁶

Four identical (though larger) day signs also can be found in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*, folio 19r, with the list of tribute from Tenochtitlan's neighboring city, Tlatelolco.²⁷

Midwife



midwife: *temixibuitiani*²⁸

depiction of age

In the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, old people appear only on the first, fifth, and last folios (folios 57r, 61r, and 71r, respectively), where age is consistently indicated by wrinkled skin and gray hair. A number of the more stylized pre-Hispanic pictorials convey the concept of age with a single tooth in the mouth of an elderly person.²⁹

turquoise earplug: *xiubnacochtli*³⁰

The manner of wearing this blue earplug is described in the following Aztec riddle: "What is it that is a horizontal drum of green stone bound about the middle with flesh? One can see from our little riddle that it is the car plug."³¹

An illustration showing exactly how the earplug was worn can be found on folio 42r of the *Codex Mendoza*. This depiction is the place-name glyph for Nacochtlan in the province of Tepeacac, a center that derived its name from the Nahuatl word for earplug, *nacochtli*.

status of midwife

Sahagún makes it clear that the expertise of these experienced and skilled women was much sought after. They constituted a formalized, respected group. As a profession, they were dedicated to the worship of goddesses associated with fertility and childbirth.³²

Footprints



Several sets of multiple footprints appear in *Codex Mendoza* to indicate the direction of people's physical movement. This is an iconographic device that is found in both pre- and post-Hispanic pictorials.³³

Another instance in which footprints serve as indicators of physical presence or passage occurs in the context of an Aztec ritual. At the twelfth month festival, Teodeco ("Arrival of the Gods"), the sudden, miraculous appearance of a single footprint impressed on a small cake of cornmeal was a sign that the first god had arrived at the feast; the other deities would soon follow.³⁴

Rushes or Tule



tule: *tolin*³⁵

Fresh rushes were used as temporary coverings for hard-packed dirt floors and courtyards when a ceremony or festival was in progress. As such, they served as mats. Sahagún mentions several types of reeds used for mat-making. One is *petlatolli*, which is "cylindrical, pithy within." Another is *toliaman*—

also called *atolin*—which “is not strong, it can be shredded.” A third type of mat-making reed is the yellow, shiny *tolnacochtli*, described as being “slender, small and stubby, solid, compact, tough.”⁵⁴



Clay Water Basin

clay basin: *apaztli*⁵⁷

Sahagún, in a description of a bathing ceremony, mentions “the large earthen bathing vessel,” the type of container depicted on folio 57r.⁵⁸ In another context, he describes the type of earth and straw from which such vessels were made: “Teçoquitl is sticky, gummy; it is provided with reed stem fibres.”⁵⁹ Earthen basins not only are referred to by Sahagún but also are illustrated in the *Florentine Codex* among the goods displayed in the marketplace.⁶⁰

water: *atl*⁶¹

The depiction of water as contiguous blue splashes ending in differentiated yellow or white balls or points to indicate water drops is a pre-Hispanic device that also occurs in post-Hispanic pictorial codices.⁶² Sometimes, alternating water drops and shell forms are shown.⁶³



Parched Maize Kernels

parched maize kernels: *izquitl*⁶⁴

Sahagún includes this dish in the list of food prepared for the bathing ceremony, along with sauce and a bean stew, or, if the family was poor, perhaps only tamales.⁶⁵

Shield and Four Arrows



shield and arrows = war: *mitl chimalli*⁶⁶

The image of a shield and arrows is the central Mexican metaphor for warfare and prowess in battle; this symbol occurs in various pictorials.⁶⁷ Sahagún speaks of the symbolic gift of a little shield, bow, and four arrows that a baby boy received at his naming ceremony, one for each of the cardinal directions: “And they made him a tortilla of amaranth seed dough, which became a shield on which arrows were extended, with a bow.”⁶⁸ The missionary chronicler Fray Motolinia states that at the bathing/naming ceremony, the tiny shield was placed in the baby’s left hand and in his right, an arrow.⁶⁹

Male Craft Symbols



carpenter: *quaubxinqui*⁷⁰

The carpenter’s glyph is a woodworking tool. In this case, the tool appears to be a chisel; Sahagún mentions “carpenters’ and sculptors’ copper chisels” that were sold in the marketplace.⁷¹

featherworker: *amantecatli*⁷²



The featherworker’s glyph is the blade with which the feathers were cut before they were glued into place. Sahagún describes the use of such a tool: “and to cut them [they used] obsidian blades, which they applied against a bald cy-press [board] on which they cut the feathers.”⁷³

painter of books: *tlacuilo*⁷⁴



The scribe’s glyph consists of a paintbrush shown above the page of a pictorial manuscript made of bark paper or deerskin. Here, the pre-Hispanic-style book is pictured in red and black, the colors associated with the wisdom contained in the pictorial documents: “The Black, the Red of the Ancient Ones. This saying was said of the customs of the ancient ones—that which they left established, a way of life. All lived accordingly.”⁷⁵

goldsmith: *coztic teocuitlapitzqui*⁷⁶



The goldworker’s glyph is a tool above the symbol for gold; gold was known in Nahuatl as “the excrement of the gods.”⁷⁷ This symbol appears on ornaments in other post-Hispanic pictorials.⁷⁸

Female Domestic Symbols



broom: *izquitli*⁷⁹

Sahagún gives us some idea of the composition of the brooms when he describes the broom seller, who was also responsible for the reaping and gathering of the straw from which his wares were constructed. He apparently sold besoms and brooms in a variety of sizes, textures, and colors: some were long, others stubby; some were stiff, some white.⁸⁰

The act of sweeping had both practical and ritual purposes in Aztec culture. Ritual sweeping was known as *tlachpanaliztli*, and was performed as a service to the gods.⁸¹ The eleventh of the annual monthly ceremonies was *Ochpaniztli* (“Road-Sweeping”). It was a harvest festival that included a general period of cleaning and renovation.⁸² Durán, when describing *Ochpaniztli*, asserts that sweeping was the first act of the day and that everyone was obligated to sweep his or her possessions and house “[in] all its corners, leaving nothing without diligent sweeping and cleaning. Besides, all streets of the town [had to be] swept before dawn.”⁸³ The feast of *Ochpaniztli* is represented pictorially as a broom.⁸⁴

cotton: *icbatl*⁸⁵



Cotton was the Aztec status fiber, although the elevation of the Valley of Mexico was too high to grow the valuable plant. Consequently, unspun cotton constituted an important part of the tribute from conquered peoples who lived at lower altitudes. Preparing cotton for spinning was a long and laborious task. First, all seeds, leaves, and other debris had to be removed from the bolls. The cleaned cotton then had to be beaten over a padded deerskin or a reed mat in order to fluff it out into a fillet, ready for spinning. A fluff-up fillet of prepared cotton hangs from the right end of the spindle shown in folio 57r.



spindle: *malacati*⁹⁸

The cotton was spun with a simple implement, the spindle. This was a smooth, round stick about eleven to seventeen inches long, weighted near one end with a spindle whorl made of clay or wood. The whorl's weight depended on the fiber being spun; bast fibers required a heavier whorl than cotton. The spindle whorl on folio 57r is bright red.

To begin spinning, the top end of the spindle was lightly moistened and a bit of the fluffed-up cotton applied. The spindle shaft was then twirled in a half gourd or a similarly shaped pottery bowl. As it spun, the spinner steadily pulled out additional fiber from the attached fillet of cotton, which was then twisted into thread by the whirling of the spindle.⁹⁹ The spindle shown on folio 57r is already full of cotton thread.

Filled spindles had a fertility connotation in Aztec culture. Two such spindles, complete with attached cotton fillets, are often found in the headdress of the fertility deity Tlazolteotl ("Filtch-Deity"),¹⁰⁰ one of the mother goddesses often associated with procreation.¹⁰¹ Two Aztec riddles indicate that filled spindles carried this same fertility implication in everyday life. "What is that which becomes pregnant in only one day? The spindle."¹⁰² "What are those things which, at their dancing place, they give stomachs, they make pregnant? They are spindles."¹⁰³



workbasket: *chiquibuitl*⁹⁷

Aztec women kept their spinning equipment—raw cotton, fibers prepared for spinning, different-sized spindle whorls, spinning bowl, skeins of thread for dyeing, and other weaving paraphernalia—in baskets woven of tule reeds or palm fiber.



The Father

father: *tahltl*⁹⁵
man: *tlacatl*⁹⁴

hairstyle

The father wears his hair in the standard Aztec style for adult males of unspecified status or occupation.

loincloth: *maxtlatl*⁹³

Around the father's waist can be seen a portion of his loincloth, a long piece of material that is wrapped about the lower torso, passed between the legs, and tied at the waist. This was the basic, indispensable item of clothing worn by Aztec males of all classes.⁹⁶

cape or mantle: *tlimatl*⁹²

The father's cloak is a rectangular piece of cotton or bast fiber. This all-purpose garment was worn by males of every class, though in a variety of materials, lengths, and decorations, and with different manners of knotting. The *tlimatl* served as the principal status marker in Aztec society, indicating the class, occupation, or rank of the wearer.⁹⁹

reed mat: *petlatl*⁹¹

Sahagún describes the good reed-mat seller as weaving serviceable mats from both reeds and palm leaves, in various colors, shapes, and sizes. The evil mat seller, however, is accused in the same text of selling rotten, bruised, and frayed mats.¹⁰⁰

In *Codex Mendoza*, with the single exception of the bride in the marriage ceremony (see folio 61r), only males are seated on mats.

posture

The father sits in the posture typical for a seated Aztec male: arms crossed under his mantle, knees drawn close to his body, the cape covering his legs.

The Priest

priest: *teopixqui*¹⁰¹



blackened body

Durán gives a vivid description of the body paint used by the priests: "[they] invariably went about painted from head to foot with [soot of resinous wood] . . . to the extent that they looked like the blackest of Negroes."¹⁰²

Preparation of the mixture was the responsibility of the young novice priests, who worked at night; the stain was applied at daybreak.¹⁰³ Priests with completely blackened bodies also appear in other Aztec pictorials.¹⁰⁴

smear of blood in front of the ear

Fray Diego Durán contends that the blood smear was the result of autosacrifice performed as a ritual penance. "[The priests] seated themselves, each one taking a maguey thorn to pierce the calves near the shinbone. They squeezed out the blood and wiped it on their temples."¹⁰⁵ Similar depictions of priests with blood smears in front of the ear can also be found in both pre-Conquest and post-Hispanic pictorials.¹⁰⁶

hairstyle

Aztec priests wore their hair long, tied back with a white ribbon. Durán states that from the day the novice priests entered school,

the young men allowed their hair to grow . . . they smeared themselves from head to foot with a black soot, hair and all. With the large amount of moist soot that covered them, presently vegetable growth appeared on their heads. Their braids grew to such an extent that they looked like a tightly curled horse's mane, and after a long time their hair reached the knee.¹⁰⁷

Codex Tudela contains an excellent illustration of such hair.¹⁰⁸

The priests' distinctive hairstyle was an important part of their appearance and was acknowledged as such by society at large. Sahagún, discussing judges' admonishments of the people, tells of priests being criticized for not teaching the novices properly: "If you do not discharge these [duties] the ruler will banish you or cut off your forehead hair or kill you."¹⁰⁹

Master of Youths

master of youths: *tepochtlatl*,¹¹⁰ *teaccaub*¹¹¹

face and body paint

The masters of youths in *Codex Mendoza* wear black body paint, but their faces are lighter, particularly around the eyes, nose, and mouth. This is similar to the face paint of the deity Tezcatlipoca as depicted in Durán.¹¹² Durán describes an idol of Tezcatlipoca as being "carved in the form of a man, completely black from his temples down. His forehead, nose, and mouth were of the natural color of an Indian."¹¹³





hairstyle

The distinctive hairstyle of the masters of youths involving shaving their temples. Sahagún refers to this while describing how the seasoned warriors were arrayed when celebrating the festival of the eighth month, Huer Tecuilhuil: "All had shorn their hair in the manner of masters of the youths; . . . each shaved their temples well . . . with a [sharp] piece of turtle shell."¹¹⁴

feather ornament: *axtaxelli*¹¹⁵

The masters of youths wore a forked, white heron feather ornament in their hair, an attribute repeatedly found in the Aztec pictorials in association with Tezcatlipoca.¹¹⁶ Sahagún mentions this device being made by the featherworkers of the Amantlan *calpulli* of Tenochtitlan: "they made the forked heron feather device in which the winding dance was performed."¹¹⁷

shell necklace: *chipulcozcatl*¹¹⁸

Part of the costume of the masters of youths was a shell necklace. Sahagún illustrates this ornament as belonging to the array of a deity who was one aspect of Tezcatlipoca, the god Tlacochcalco Yaotl.¹¹⁹ Sahagún describes this deity's attire: "His water-jug hair arrangement of the great warriors. His double heron-feather head-dress has a quetzal feather crest. His thin, net maguey cape has a red border of rings. His necklace of snail shells."¹²⁰

net cape: *cuchchintli*¹²¹

Sahagún, describing the great festival honoring Tezcatlipoca in the fifth month, *Toxcatl*, gives detailed information on the array of the impersonator of Tezcatlipoca.¹²² He mentions not only a shell necklace but also the god's cape: "And he went putting on only his net cape like a fish net of wide mesh with a fringe."¹²³ Durán, in his book concerning the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of the gods, provides a detailed, colored drawing of Tezcatlipoca's array.¹²⁴ The body paint, necklace, and net cape are almost identical to those of the master of youths on folio 57r of *Codex Mendoza*.

The master of youths is not seated on a woven mat in this depiction. This may be an oversight on the part of the Indian scribe; throughout the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, important males are usually shown with a mat or seat beneath them.

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:154, 160.

2. In tragic circumstances, the midwives continued to play an important role. If a woman died during delivery, her body was washed, dressed, and then carried on her husband's back to be buried before the images of the *Cihuapiltin*. These were the celestial "princesses," deified souls of women who died in childbirth. The recently deceased woman's body was accompanied by a group of the midwives, who carried shields and emitted war cries. They were prepared to fend off attacks by groups of warriors who wanted to steal the corpse so as to remove a forearm, finger, or lock of hair, all believed to hold magical qualities (Ibid. 6:161–165).

3. Ibid. 6:175–177.

4. Ibid. 6:171–173.

5. Ibid. 6:154–155; *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 14, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.

6. The pre-Hispanic Indians of Mesoamerica had developed a pictographic writing system that enabled them to record matters of importance in deer skin or bark-paper books. In content, these pictorials ranged from administrative documents to histories, genealogies, and religious texts. Very few of these manuscripts are still in existence, due to the destructive zeal of the proselytizing Spanish friars. Fortunately, a magnificent example of an Aztec *tonalamatl* is extant; it makes up a section of the *Codex Borbonicus*, part of the collection of the Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, Paris. The *tonalamatl* were based on the *tonalpohualli*, the ritual calendar of 260 days, that combined the num-

bers 1–13 with twenty signs: Crocodile, Wind, House, Lizard, Snake, Death, Deer, Rabbit, Water, Day, Monkey, Grass, Reed, Jaguar, Eagle, Vulture, Movement (or Earthquake), Flint Knife, Rain, and Flower. This yielded 260 unique name-number combinations.

7. Sahagún (1950–1982 6:197) makes it clear how carefully the day sign was determined: "these soothsayers first inquired carefully exactly when the baby was born. If it was perhaps not yet exactly midnight, then they assigned the day to the day sign which had passed. But if he had been born when midnight had passed, they assigned the day to the day sign which followed. And if he had been born exactly at the division of the night, they assigned the day to both [day signs]. And then they looked at their books; there they saw the sort of merit of the baby, perhaps good, or perhaps not, according as was the mandate of the day sign on which he was born."

8. Ibid. 6:201–204.

9. Durán 1971:264.

10. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:201–204.

11. Ibid. 6:209–211.

12. On folio 61r, a similarly coiffed master of youths is seated before a building labeled *cucacualti*. These "houses of song," which were attached to major temples and schools, were the areas in which the masters of youths taught the ritual singing and dancing to young men and women in the early evening hours (Durán 1971:289–290).

13. See Nicholson 1971b: table 3 for a summation of deities' names and their translations.

14. Molina 1977: folio 63r "Nantli. madre" (mother).

Fray Alonso de Molina is another of the sixteenth-century missionary chroniclers whose works are invaluable for reconstructing Aztec culture. Molina's 1571 Spanish/Nahuatl–Nahuatl/Hispanic dictionary is a fundamental source on the Aztecs. The translation of Molina's sixteenth-century Spanish has been facilitated by Captain John Stevens's *A New Dictionary: Spanish and English and English and Spanish* (1726).

15. Molina 1977: folio 22v "Cuatl. muger" (woman).

16. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 10 (1979 1: folio 11r).

17. See for example *Codex Borgia* 1976:58.

18. Scler 1960–1961 2:521.

19. Molina 1977: folio 62v "Nacochli. orejeras" (earrings [earplugs]).

20. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 10 (1979 1: folio 11r).

21. Siméon 1962:398 "Tecoquaitl ou Tecuauqui, Orejone jaunt du les femmes se servaient pour se farder; on en pourrait li visage des jeunes mariées, et les guerriers s'en frottaient le corps pour avoir un aspect plus redoutable" (yellow ochre that women used to color themselves; young brides powdered their faces with it, and the warriors covered their bodies with it to have a more fearsome aspect).

22. Sahagún 1950–1982 12:122.

23. Ibid. 8:47.

24. Sahagún 1975:562.

25. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 40r.

26. Molina (1977: folio 157v) describes the *huipilli* as an Indian woman's shirt, and still, to the present day, the term *huipil* is used to designate the variety of sleeveless tunics worn by the Indian women of Middle America.

27. Anawalt 1981:52. The Aztec *huipilli* appears to have been constructed of three webs of cloth joined together at the selvaige seams; see *Codex Magliabichiano* 1970: folio 85r. All the women's clothing in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza* is drawn without surface design, but this does not reflect the pre-Hispanic reality (see Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1). For some idea of the range of design motifs that appeared on Aztec women's apparel, see Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 72–74 (1979 8: folios 30v, 31r); *Códice Azcatlan* 1949: *plancha* XXVI.

28. Molina 1977: folio 26r "Cueitl. faya, faldellín, falda, o naguas" (overskirts or petticoats).

29. Anawalt 1981:33. The skirts were made of several webs of cloth; see *Codex Magliabichiano* 1970: folio 41r for an indication of construction. See Sahagún 1950–1982 2:99; 8:47 for descriptions of some of the rich and complex design motifs on Aztec skirts.

30. Molina 1977: folio 34r "Ixcitl. pie" (foot).

31. For examples of goddesses wearing sandals, see *Codex Coppi* 1968: 5 and 6 reverse; *Codex Feyerjerry-Mayer* 1971: passim.

32. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:59.

33. More than one speech scroll occurs on the following folios of the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*: folio 57r—the three small boys; folio 61r—the father, folio 63r—the singer and the master of youths; folio 69r—the litigants; folio 70r—the drummer and the *mayordomo*; folio 71r—the old woman. The old man's speech scroll on folio 71r is enlarged, perhaps indicating verbose or drunken speech. Drunkenness is also often portrayed with depictions of rabbits; those in Sahagún 1950–1982 2: plate 65 (1979 2: folio 143v) speak in colored, bejeweled speech scrolls.

34. Molina 1977: folio 24r "Conçollí, cuna de niños, o cantaro y vasija vieja" (children's cradle, or old water pitcher and vessel).
35. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:206, plate 31 (1979 6: folio 175v).
36. Sahagún 1950-1982 6: plate 27 (1979 6: folio 143v).
37. Molina 1977: folio 75r "Ochchici piltontlí, niño, o niña de teta" (male or female child of nursing age).
- See also Sahagún 1950-1982 10:13 for Nahuatl terms for babies (e.g., *contli*, *conçipi*, *páipi*, *contontli*).
38. All festivals and their name translations are from Nicholson 1971b: table 4.
39. Sahagún 1950-1982 2: 170, plate 46 (1979 2: folio 106r).
40. Sahagún 1950-1982 7:28; Durán 1971:423-424.
41. Sahagún 1950-1982 4:111.
42. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 2, par. 6: "And he who died when he was a rather young child, and indeed still a babe in the cradle, it was said, did not go to Miclan but only went to Xochatlalpan. It was said that there stood a tree of udders there [at which] the babies suckled. Underneath it the babies were opening and closing their mouths; the milk dripped into their mouths." (English translation by Thelma D. Sullivan.)
43. Further examples of a dotted line implying a conceptual connection can be found on folio 63r: the priest and the star at which he gazes are related visually, and the novice priest and the woman are related carnally. Another example of the dotted line used to connect images can be found in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 30r: the Aztec emperor Acamapichitl is joined by a dotted line to his niece, showing a genealogical connection. This same scene also appears in the cognate pictorial, *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 73r.
44. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:197. Also, Molina 1977: folio 16r "Cemilhuil, un día" (a day); 132r "Tlaloalli, cosa contada, o numerada, o historia dicha y relatada" (counted or numbered thing, or told and related story). Thus *cemilhuil* (day) + *tlaloalli* (numbered thing) = *cemilhuilaloalli*, or "numbered day."
45. The day sign appears in the cognates *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 46r and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 1v, in connection with the monthly ceremony Hueytecuilhuil; it also appears in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 32v, attached to a whitened sacrificial victim. A day sign similar to those of *Codex Mendoza* folio 57r occurs in *Codex Borgia* 1976:10.
46. The same day sign as those of *Codex Mendoza*'s folio 57r appears in *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 4v, 5v, 8r, as a design motif on ritual mantles.
47. According to the accompanying gloss, these glyphs have to do with the tribute-paying period: each of the four day signs represents a period of twenty days, adding up to a total of eighty days.
48. Molina 1977: folio 97v "Temiuxitiani, partera" (midwife).
49. For examples of pre-Hispanic depictions of aged people, see *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:24, 30 and *Codex Laud* 1966:14D, 22D.
50. Sahagún 1950-1982 1:22 "xiuhnaoche." From Molina 1977: folio 159v "Xiuitl, año, cometa, turquesa e yerua" (year, comet, turquoise, and grass); 62v "Nacochli, orejeras" (earrings [earplugs]). Thus, *xibuitl* (turquoise) + *nacochli* (earplug) = *xibuitnacochli* (turquoise earplug).
51. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:237.
52. See Sahagún 1950-1982 6:149 for the supplication of midwives by the family of the pregnant woman. See 1:15 for midwives' worshipping of Teteo innan, the mother of the gods; see 6:161-165 for worship of the Cihuapiltin, the women who died in childbirth.
53. For examples of footprints in pre-Hispanic pictorial see *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:35, 37, 43; *Codex Laud* 1966:9, 22D; *Codex Borgia* 1976:21, 39; *Codex Cuzco* 1968:1-5, 7, obverse. Examples in post-Hispanic codices can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:29, 34; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 89r; *Primeros Memoriales* 1926; *estampa* II, V, XI; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folios 25r-28v, 29v; and Sahagún 1950-1982 4: plate 76 (1979 4: folio 60v).
54. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:21; Durán 1971:450-451.
55. Molina 1977: folio 148v "Tollin, juncia, o espadaña" (rushes, or reed).
56. Sahagún 1950-1982 11:195.
57. Molina 1977: folio 6v "Apaztli, lebrillo, o barreñon grande de barro" (big earthen pan of clay).
58. Sahagún 1950-1982 4:3.
59. *Ibid.* 11:256-257.
60. *Ibid.* 8:69, plate 96 (1979 8: folio 50v).
61. Molina 1977: folio 8r "Atl, agua, orines, guerra, o la mollera de la cabeza" (water, urine, war, or the crown of the head).
62. For examples of pre-Hispanic water depictions, see *Codex Laud* 1966:23D; *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:8. Similar depictions in post-Hispanic pictorial can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:20; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 77r; Sahagún 1950-1982 3: plate 11 (1979 3: folio 12r); 12: plate 47 (1979 12: folio 26v).
63. Examples of alternating water drops and shell forms can be found in *Codex Mendoza* folio 29r and *passim*; *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:5 and *passim*.
64. Simón 1963-1969 "Izquilt, Mais torréñe, grillit" (toasted, grilled corn).
65. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:201, 205.
66. Molina 1977: folio 57r "Mitl chimalli, guerra, o batalla. Metapho" (war, or battle. Metaphor); this is derived from *mitl*, or "arrow" (folio 57r) and *chimalli*, or "shield" (*ibid.*: folio 21r).
67. For examples of the shield-and-arrows symbol in central Mexican pictorial see *Codex Cuzco* 1968: all the deities on the reverse side carry shields and three arrows, although the shield patterns vary; *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:5; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folios 3v, 43r, 44r, 48v, 49v; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 28r; Sahagún 1950-1982 6: plate 29 (1979 6: folio 170r); Durán 1971: frontispiece, plate 9.
68. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:201.
69. *Motolinia* 1971:121.
70. Molina 1977: folio 87v "Quauhsinqui, carpintero" (carpenter).
71. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:68.
72. Molina 1977: folio 4v "Amantecat, oficial de arte mecánica" (handicraftsman of mechanical trade). Amantlan was Tenochtitlan's featherworking *calpulli* (neighborhood or barrio).
73. Sahagún 1950-1982 9:90.
74. Molina 1977: folio 120r "Tlaculo, escriuano, o pintor" (scribe, or painter).
75. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:258.
76. Molina 1977: folio 27v "Cuztici teocuitlapitzqui, platero que labra oro" (smith who works gold).
77. Sahagún 1950-1982 11:213, 231. Also, Molina 1977: folio 27v "Cuztici teocuitlat, oro" (gold); 101r "Tcoatl, dios" (god); 27v "Cuitlat, mierda" (excrement). Hence *teotl* + *cuitlat* = *teocuitlat* or "god-excrement."
78. The gold symbol can be found in *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 36r, 55r, 68r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 59r; and *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* 1976: folio 104v; and in a *Codex Mendoza* place-name glyph for Teocuitlatlan, folio 44r.
79. Molina 1977: folio 49r "Izquiltitl, escoba para barrer" (broom for sweeping).
80. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:87.
81. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* VI.
82. Nicholson 1971b: table 4.
83. Durán 1971:448.
84. Examples of brooms in connection with the festival of Ochanpizitl can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:30; *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* III; and Sahagún 1950-1982 1: plate 8 (1979 1: folio 10v). The monthly symbol is also found in the *Codex Mendoza* tribute page for Xoconochco (folio 47r).
85. Molina 1977: folio 32r "Ichcatl, algodón, o oueja" (cotton, or ewe).
86. *Ibid.*: folio 51v "Malacatl, huso" (spindle).
87. Cordry and Cordry 1968:25-31.
88. Nicholson 1971b: table 3.
89. Examples of spindles in Tlazoletli's headdress appear in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folios 3r, 8r, 24r; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 19r; *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971: 1, 17, 32; *Codex Laud* 1966:6D, 15, 16D, 18D; Sahagún 1950-1982 1: folio 11; 12 (1979 1: folio 11r).
90. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:239.
91. *Ibid.* 6:240.
92. Molina 1977: folio 21v "Chiquiuitl, cesto, o canasra" (basket, or hamper).
93. *Ibid.*: folio 91r "Tatli, padre" (father).
94. *Ibid.*: folio 115v "Tlacatl, hombre, persona, o señor" (man, person, or lord).
95. *Ibid.*: folio 54v "Maxlatl, bragas, o cosa semeiante" (breeches, or similar thing).
96. Anawalt 1981:21.
97. Molina 1977: folio 113r "Tilmatl, manta" (cape).
98. Anawalt 1981:27-30.
99. Molina 1977: folio 81r "Petlatl, estera generalmente" (mat, in general).
100. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:86.
101. Molina 1977: folio 101r "Teopixqui, eclesiástico, clérigo, o religioso" (clergyman, priest, or religious man). Also, folio 125r "Tlamacazque, ministros y seruidores de los templos de los ydolos" (ministers and servants of the temples of the idols).
102. Durán 1971:114-115.
103. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 12, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
104. Examples of priests with completely blackened bodies can be found on *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:30 and *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folios 54v, 55r.
105. Durán 1971:119-120.
106. Examples of priests with a smear of blood at the temple are found in the pre-Hispanic pictorial *Codex Borgia* 1976:22-23, 55, 58-59 and the highly stylized *Codex Laud* 1966:8, 20 and *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:27. Post-Conquest depictions include *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 63r, 88r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folios 44r, 53r, 64r, 76r.
107. Durán 1971:114.

108. *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 51r.
109. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 3, par. 15, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
110. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:40.
111. Molina 1977: folio 91r “Teacauh. hermano mayor, o cosa mayor mas excelente y auentajada” (elder brother, or thing more preeminent and exceeding in goodness [exemplary teacher]).
112. Durán 1967 1: *lámimas* 8–9.
113. Durán 1971:98.
114. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:100.
115. Nicholson 1983:181 “Aztaxelli: Forked white heron feather head ornament; particularly connected with Tezcatlipoca and worn by warriors.” Also, Molina 1977: folio 10r “Aztatl. garça” (heron).
116. Examples of the *aztaxelli* can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 8–9, 11, 18, 26–27, 33; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 37r, 39r, 65r, 66r, 68r; and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 34v.
117. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:89.
118. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 5 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) “Ychipulcozqui. His necklace of snail shells.” Also, Siméon 1963:92 “Chipuli, Coquillage” (shell); 115 “Cozcatl, Bijou, pierre précieuse, grain de chapelet, collier” (jewel, precious stone, collar).
119. Selser 1960–1961 2:972 states that Tlacochealco Yaotl was another name for Tezcatlipoca.
120. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 5, Thelma D. Sullivan translation. See illustration *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* X.
121. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:69, 99; 3:56; 12:53. Frances Berdan suggests this term may come from *quechtili*, “neck.”
- Sahagún (*ibid.* 3:56) also uses the term *chakacatl*, translated by Anderson and Dibble as “netted capes.”
122. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:69.
123. Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 2:69) describe the cloak of the impersonator of Tezcatlipoca as a “net cape like a fish net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread” (emphasis added). In note 8, they question Sahagún’s use of the word *tachomtil* (rabbit fur) and substitute *tachiacatl* (string or thread). I believe Sahagún did indeed mean *tachomtil*. Motolinia (1971: 258–259) describes thread of fine-spun rabbit’s fur from the soft underbelly of the animal: *tachomtil*, a yarn that was dyed to a rich hue with lasting color and silklike sheen.
124. Durán’s depiction of Tezcatlipoca (1967 1: *lámima* 8) shows the god’s net cloak decorated with the *tenexyo* “eyes on the edge” border (a black band on which are drawn evenly spaced white circles attached by a red tab to a thin red border that runs between the net of the cloak and the black ground of the band). An analysis of the occurrences of the deities’ wearing garments with the *tenexyo* border demonstrates that it is associated with the god Tezcatlipoca (see chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1).

CONTENT

Folio 58r pictures the training of Aztec children, ages three through six. To the left of the page, the Spanish gloss identifies the father, who is instructing the son; on the right, the mother trains the daughter. In each of the four registers, the increasing age of the children is represented by a corresponding number of blue dots. Also depicted at each age level is one meal's ration of tortillas, the thin corn cakes that were a staple of Aztec diet. Here the tortilla serves as a general symbol of quantity; other foods were eaten with it at various meals, particularly beans, squash, and chile.

First Part: Age Three

The upper register of folio 58r deals with children of three years, who have not yet been assigned daily chores. Nonetheless, instruction in deportment is being given, as the speech scrolls indicate, and already the children's postures and clothing resemble their parents': mother and daughter hold their arms in a similar fashion, as do father and son. The little boy wears a cape, tied on the same shoulder as his father, but he does not wear a loincloth; the little girl has a *buipilli* identical to her mother's, but wears no skirt. Both the boy and girl have cropped hair, believed by the Aztecs to be necessary for young children's health.¹ The Spanish gloss identifies half a tortilla as the proper ration for three-year-olds at each meal.

Second Part: Age Four

By age four, the disparate treatment given boys and girls already becomes apparent. Although the son is still without a loincloth, the daughter now modestly wears a short skirt in addition to her unbordered *buipilli*. Both children are being trained to contribute to the daily work of the household, but in markedly different ways. The son is learning early to leave the immediate confines of the house to fetch supplies; he carries a bowl of water. The little girl is becoming aware of an elementary female chore that usually takes place within the house itself: spinning. The daughter is being familiarized with some of the contents of her mother's workbasket: unspun cotton fibers, a filled spindle, and the small bowl in which the spindle is whirled. The four-year-old children now receive a full tortilla with each meal.

Third Part: Age Five

Age five finds the children well on their way along the differing paths assigned to the two sexes: the daughter, now wearing a

longer, unhemmed skirt, is receiving instruction on the use of the spindle: she crouches down to ground level, where so much of an Indian woman's work takes place. In so doing, the daughter approximates the mother's posture.

Meanwhile, two boys, each clad only in a cape, are sent outside the family home to bring back light loads of needed materials: green firewood, grass for making brooms, and what appears to be a huge bone (see "Image Descriptions" below). The boys support their loads in the typical Mesoamerican fashion. In Middle America, where there were no domesticated beasts of burden, all portage had to be performed by humans, who utilized various carrying devices. Here the boys are using their capes to carry the burdens. In the case of the firewood, the cape is tied around the forehead for support in the manner of the traditional Mesoamerican tumpline. The same type of cape is knotted on the shoulder when the lighter load is carried. Despite the children's added work, at five years of age a single tortilla represents each meal's ration.

Fourth Part: Age Six

At six years the children perform additional chores, work that continues to reflect their future way of life. The daughter, who has now assumed the same posture and *buipilli* as her mother, is beginning to practice the art of spinning, a task she will perform repeatedly for the rest of her life. The boys, however, are already being sent out into the busy marketplace to glean whatever the buyers and sellers may have unwittingly dropped or left behind.

The marketplace is denoted by the circular glyph that appears above the tortilla-and-a-half, representative of a six-year-old's ration at each meal. To the left of the marketplace glyph, one boy holds a fruit from the prickly pear cactus, a red tuna, which he seems about to sample. Below, the second boy collects kernels of corn in a bowl, exemplifying the veneration for this grain in Aztec society. Sahagún specifically mentions the respect accorded maize in the culture: "if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: 'Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: "O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!" Or perhaps we should starve.'"²

Other Sources on Childrearing

The Aztecs were particularly concerned about the physical development of their young children. Sahagún tells of a ceremony called

"The Stretching of People for Them to Grow," which fostered the rapid growth of small boys and girls.¹ In another context, he describes how this was done: "they grasped them [by the neck] for growth that they might quickly grow tall."² Durán tells of a ceremony where the parents "stretched all their [the children's] members—hands, fingers, arms, legs, feet, necks, noses, ears. All their members were stretched, omitting none. They believed that if this was not done the child would not grow naturally during the year."³ Children also had to be stretched during an earthquake: "It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger."⁴ It was also believed that an adult could stunt the growth of a small child by stepping over him on a path; to remedy this one had to step back quickly over the little one.⁵

Precautionary measures were regularly taken to protect the vulnerability of growing children. When babies still lay in their cradles, a bit of anything to eat or drink was first placed on the child's forehead to prevent hiccupping or indigestion.⁶ On days with evil day signs, small children were neither allowed outside nor bathed.⁷ As a child's teeth dropped out, the mother cast them into a mouse hole, to prevent the child from remaining toothless.⁸ Children were cautioned not to drink before their older brothers drank, for fear that the younger ones would cease to grow, a precaution that also helped reinforce status distinctions on the basis of age.⁹

If, despite all precautions, a child injured himself or grew ill, the parents were quick to make an oath to do penance for his recovery.¹⁰ Healers were called in; they used such methods as holding the child upside down and pressing his head.¹¹ Durán speaks of a salve called "the divine pitch," a venomous concoction made from rotting meat and deadly insects, which was applied to sick children.¹² He also enumerates "numerous rites . . . of a superstitious and magical nature" that were performed for children: hair cropping, sacrifices, anointings, baths, tarring, feathering, and covering with soot, beads, and little bones.¹³ Sahagún mentions that "they tied their [sickly] small children with loose cotton thread about their wrists and their necks and placed their ration of a small tortilla made of green maize there [over the breast]."¹⁴

Just as the health of their children was a matter of constant concern to Aztec parents, so too was deportment. *Primeros Memoriales* contains a list of descriptive terms that gives an indication of the behavior expected of each age group; apparently only infants and the very young were exempt from stern criticism: "Small child: It amuses itself, it makes mudballs, it cries out. . . . It does not yet understand, it knows nothing yet."¹⁵ However, once a child was three or four, he or she was expected to live up to certain specific standards of behavior. Motolinía states that children were taught to eat and drink their meals in quiet; to hear them chattering away was considered "muy fea" (very unattractive).¹⁶ Sahagún tells of parents warning children not to lean against a square pillar because it would cause them to lie.¹⁷ Motolinía speaks in detail of the honesty and proper deportment of the daughters of nobles. At age five, they were taught not only to spin and weave but also to receive instruction from their mothers in a mannerly fashion.¹⁸ The five-year-old sons of noblemen were sent to serve in the temple. Sahagún states that when a lord's six-year-old son went forth to play, two or three pages accompanied him to make certain that the little boy greeted his elders in a proper fashion and "that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets."¹⁹

The ritual training of young children was also emphasized in the earliest years. When a child spoke its first word, the parents carried offerings of flowers and copal incense to the temple to

commemorate the event.²⁰ Another ritual of early childhood was a ceremony called "Taking Out the Children," which involved carrying the little children to a temple to join in the dances and to partake of the ritual drink, *octli*.²¹ Boys and girls also had their own ritual responsibilities. Sahagún tells of parents awakening young children at dawn so they could offer incense to the gods. It was important that boys and girls rise early "that they might not become slothful."²²

But Aztec ritual life also had a dark side for certain of the very young. Of the eighteen annual veintena ceremonies—the yearly round of the twenty-day monthly feasts—four included the sacrifice of children.²³ These rituals were associated with water and rain; the tears of the young victims were encouraged for magical efficacy. Sahagún makes reference to this belief in the power of tears: "And if the children went crying, if their tears kept flowing . . . it was stated: 'It will surely rain.'"²⁴ Durán also confirms the slaying of children at the Feast of Tlaloc, the rain god, "on the hill where this god dwelt . . . just as a little girl was sacrificed to the goddess of the waters in the middle of the lake."²⁵

The question arises as to exactly whose children were sacrificed. Probably they were not those of the nobles or the well-established artisan or merchant classes. Davies, in a discussion of Aztec human sacrifice, notes that "the chosen victims were those favoured all the world over—war captives, children and slaves; the children were mostly bought from their parents for the purpose."²⁶

IMAGE DESCRIPTION



Dots as Counters

The ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza* uses a series of dots to denote the number of years up through fifteen. This custom of using dots (or dots and bars) for the numbers 1–19 was in general practice in the greater Mesoamerican area, where a vigesimal number system was uniformly present. Subareas differed, however, in their manners of representing 20s and 400s.²⁷

The word for turquoise, *xibuitl*, is also the Nahuatl term for year.²⁸ In addition, the blue color of the dots reflects the Mesoamerican veneration for all hues of blue-green. For example, jade, greenstone, and turquoise, whether raw or worked, were all very highly valued. The Aztecs' esteemed predecessors, the Toltecs, placed particular emphasis on blue-green. It is therefore not surprising that the Aztecs used the same color for the counter dots that measured the passing of time, always a precious commodity.

Tortillas



Maize tortillas, the Mesoamerican "bread," were made by first boiling the corn kernels in limewater, probably water containing lye leached from wood ashes. The maize was then ground while wet. The resulting paste, a dough now called *masa*, was kneaded, patted into the desired shape, and then cooked quickly on a hot clay griddle. The softening of the maize was an important preparatory step in making the tortillas tender and succulent. Those not treated with limewater were considered tough and tasteless, a reflection of austerity. For example, the old merchants, when counseling their departing sons, admonish the travelers to have no illusions regarding the rigors of their impending journey: "Perhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas—parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things."²⁹ Durán, in reference to fasting, mentions one meal a day consisting only of dry tortillas.³⁰

Sahagún's enumeration of the tortilla seller's wares makes it very clear what qualities were valued.³¹ Tortillas could be either thick or

thin, but should always be tasty, savory, and of a pleasing odor. To have chile "burning within" was considered desirable.

The tortillas were sold with a wide range of fillings, including beans, meat, turkey eggs, tuna cactus (the prickly pear), honey, and water-fly eggs.¹³

Tortillas were made in many different sizes and shapes. For example, there were butterfly and *s*-shaped tortillas,¹⁶ some formed like bracelets,¹⁷ others like the hip guards worn in the Aztec ball game.¹⁸ Durán tells of tortillas in the shapes of hands and feet made for the Aztec gods,¹⁹ for tortillas also played a role in ritual life. Unmarried girls were required to make offerings of small tortillas in bowls at the temples before the break of day.²⁰ Durán, discussing the monthly feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli, describes a twisted honey tortilla.²¹ Chains were made of these particular corn cakes, and people "adorned and girded themselves with them to dance all day."²² Sahagún describes a mock human sacrifice where the usual flint knife was represented by a tortilla "of ground corn which had not been softened in lime."²³ In another context, he describes dancing priests who wore various special adornments, including *s*-shaped tortillas.²⁴

Tortillas were such a basic staple of Aztec diet that they were featured in metaphors and folk belief. For example, if a woman's tortilla doubled over on the griddle it was believed to foretell the imminent arrival of a visitor, whose approaching stride had metaphorically kicked it into that shape.²⁵

As in all Aztec matters, there was a definite, proper manner for eating tortillas. Sahagún reveals this while relating how a nobleman counsels his son to behave while eating. The young man is advised to be prudent in food and drink, not to indulge excessively, and "[not to] break up thy tortillas. Thou art not to put a large amount in thy mouth; thou art not to swallow it unchewed. Thou art not to gulp like a dog, when thou art to eat food."²⁶

Water Bowl



These clay receptacles were used not only for transporting water but also for storing it. Bowls of similar shape can be found illustrated in other Aztec pictorial documents.²⁷

Water Supply

The Aztecs' capital city of Tenochtitlan was located on an island in Lake Texcoco, a brackish body of water. Although the island itself contained some natural springs, as the population grew additional drinking water was needed. Sweet water was brought into the city by a stone-and-mortar aqueduct from a spring in Chapultepec on the mainland, three miles distant.²⁸ Cortés describes boatmen positioning their canoes beneath the water-bearing bridges where the aqueduct crossed the canals; men on the bridges would supply the canoes with water, for a fee. The boatmen then rowed off to sell the water throughout the city.²⁹

Spinning Bowl



spinning bowl: *tzabualcaxitl*³⁰

The small bowl in which the spindle was twirled to create the motion for twisting the fluffed-up cotton fibers into thread was an indispensable part of a woman's work equipment. It is illustrated in Sahagún—along with the workbasket, spindle, backstrap loom, and *buipilli*—as one of the symbols of womanhood.³¹

Sahagún, when relating the fate of female sacrificial victims, says that they burned their weaving equipment—including the spindle bowl—because "it was said that they would be required there where they were to go."³² Commoners used spinning bowls of clay, but princesses are reputed to have required "golden bowls for spindles."³³

Archaeological specimens—of clay, not gold—have been found in the Valley of Teotihuacan and elsewhere.³⁴

Weaver's Workbasket



Primeros Memoriales provides a detailed description of the contents of both a noblewoman's weaving basket and that of a commoner. Listed among the noblewoman's equipment are the loom parts used when weaving cotton: thread, battens (no doubt of varying sizes), and several different kinds of spindle whorls. The latter were needed when spinning exotic additions such as rabbit fur and feathers into the cotton thread.

The commoner's weaving paraphernalia clearly reflects the fact that cotton was indeed the status fiber; commoners usually had to work with the much heavier bast fibers of maguey, palm, or yucca. Their equipment reflects this. The common woman had in her work basket "stone used for scraping the maguey plant. Her palm-leaf basket. Batten for maguey threads. A stout cane is her [instrument to work the maguey threads]. Her skeins, her heddles are thick. Board on which maguey leaves are prepared for combing and cleaning fibers. . . . Her jar of a ground corn preparation for dressing textiles."³⁵

Firewood



firewood: *tlatlatilquabuitl*³⁶

The firewood carried by the five-year-old appears still to be green. The burning of green wood in the home continues to this day in the more conservative Nahuatl-speaking Indian villages. Fernando Horcasitas, in his 1977 grammar, *Nahuatl práctico*, includes the following poem:

Little Mother, when I die
bury me in your home.
When you make your tortillas
weep for me there.
And if someone asks
"Little Mother, why do you weep?"
Answer "This firewood is green
and I weep because of the smoke."³⁷

The burning of green firewood was also a well-established pre-Hispanic ceremonial practice. "The Ritual Making of Bundles of Wood" was carried out by Aztec priests, who "gathered green wood in the forest which they cut in order to burn there in the devil's home."³⁸

Ritual offerings of neatly stacked firewood, arranged by regular size and length, are found repeatedly in several of the pre-Hispanic Borgia Group codices.³⁹

Large Bone

bone: *omiti*⁶⁰

Huge fossilized bones of Pleistocene animals such as the mammoth, *Bison antiquus*, and a type of elephant were believed by the Aztecs to be the remains of ancient people, whom they called Giants.⁶¹ Sahagún discusses the various uses of such bones: “[they] are very thick, savory, heavy. Ground, they are required by one who passes blood, or from whose rectum comes a flux, who cannot find a remedy. He drinks it [in chocolate]. He mixes roasted grains of cacao and tamales of maize softened with lime; all is ground together. In the way that chocolate is prepared, so also is [this] made.”⁶²

A variety of bones were fashioned into awls for tools and for autosacrifice.⁶³ They were also sometimes used as ornamentation on deity-impersonator costumes.⁶⁴

Dried Grasses for Brooms

The yellow stalks the five-year-old boy holds in his hand are an example of the dried grasses Sahagún refers to as straw in his description of the broom seller (see folio 57r, “Image Descriptions”).⁶⁵

Prickly Pear Cactus Fruit

prickly pear cactus: *nopalli*⁶⁶

prickly pear cactus fruit: *nochtli*⁶⁷

The *nochtli* is a tubelike fruit that grows on the *nopal*, also known as the prickly pear cactus.⁶⁸ It is found throughout Mexico.⁶⁹ The prickly pear cactus fruit has been a notable food for desert dwellers since aboriginal times; no doubt it was important to the Aztecs’ nomadic desert forebears, the Chichimecs. Sahagún gives a detailed description of this thorny plant and its fruit with “a top like a spindle whorl” and a fine-textured, succulent core.⁷⁰

Of the thirteen varieties of *nopal* cactus listed by Sahagún, four are described as having reddish-colored fruit. From the drawing of the prickly pear cactus fruit on folio 58r, it is impossible to identify which of the red varieties is depicted. A reddish prickly pear cactus fruit of the same shape occurs in one of the drawings of *nopalli* in Sahagún’s *Earthly Things*, the eleventh of the volumes of his *Florentine Codex*.⁷¹

The prickly pear cactus fruit was enjoyed by all classes of Aztec society. Lords ate “tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange”;⁷² it was sold in the marketplace⁷³ and served as a filling for tortillas.⁷⁴

Marketplace Glyph

marketplace stone: *momoztli*⁷⁵

Aztec marketplaces had a round, altarlike stone situated in the center of the market enclosure. The glyph on folio 58r is an illustration of such a marker.⁷⁶ Durán tells us that the god of the market “had his place upon a *momoztli*, which is like a roadside shrine or a pillory block. . . . Many of them stood along roads, on street corners, and in the market. In the shrines at the marketplaces were fixed round carved stones as large as shields, each one bearing a round figure like that of the sun with flowers and circles carved around it.”⁷⁷

market: *tianquiztli*⁷⁸

Aztec markets were held out of doors in central plazas, usually located in front of or beside temples. Throughout the Aztec world there was considerable variation in the schedule of market days. In the larger centers, they were held daily, with a major market every five days. In the smaller towns, however, a market might be held only every fifth day, and hence was considered a major event. Durán reports that there were set limits regarding how many leagues could be traveled to attend a market in honor of a certain god; people came from two, three, or four leagues away.⁷⁹

In each marketplace the goods were situated according to type; all the vegetable sellers were grouped together, as were the clothing vendors, bird sellers, tamale vendors, and so on. Certain markets were specialized: Azcapotzalco and Itzacoc featured slaves; Cholula jewels, precious stones, and fine featherwork; Texcoco cloth, fine gourds, and exquisitely worked ceramics. Dogs were a specialty at Acolman, where Durán claims to have seen more than 400 large and small canines tied up awaiting their sale and final destination, the cooking pot.⁸⁰

Maize

maize: *cintli*⁸¹

kernels of cured corn: *tlaolli*⁸²



Maize, a native American plant, was grown all over Middle America, from the northern desert lands to the tropics. Maize became the basic food plant of the pre-Columbian cultures and civilizations of the New World due to its remarkable ability to evolve rapidly in an environment manipulated by humans. In Mexico, four primitive races have been identified, designated “Ancient Indigenous” types, as well as four additional “Pre-Columbian Exotic Races,” believed to have been introduced from South America.⁸³

The importance of maize in Aztec life can be judged by the detailed observation of it reflected in Sahagún’s enumeration of various aspects of the plant.⁸⁴ He describes its shape, its color, and the method of harvesting both ears and stalks of maize. He discusses the fungus and smut that affect the plant, as well as the range of provinces where it was grown. When describing the “good” seller of maize, he likens the firm kernels to copper bells, flint, and fruit pits. The “bad” maize seller, however, mixed the good, firm grains with the infested, hollow, and moldy, “the ferid, the bad, the stinking.”⁸⁵

Despite the reprehensible practices of the bad maize seller, there is ceremonial evidence for the high regard in which maize was held in Aztec culture. For example, every eight years a festival was given to honor the plant, the feast of Atamalculiztli (“Eating of Water Tamales”). For seven days, only tamales soaked in water were eaten, with no flavoring or softening ingredient added. The point was to give maize a rest,

for it was said that we brought much torment to it—that we ate [it], we put chili on it, we salted it, we added saltpeper to it, we added lime. As we tired it to death, so we revived it.

Thus, it was said, the maize was given [new] youth when this was done.⁸⁶

Maize was truly the staff of life, in both the practical and ritual sense.

NOTES

1. Durán 1971:60.
2. Sahagún 1950–1982 5:184.
3. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 3. Thelma D. Sullivan translation.

4. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:166.
 5. Durán 1971:414.
 6. Sahagún 1950–1982 5:187.
 7. Ibid. 5:184.
 8. Ibid. 5:193.
 9. Ibid. 4:107.
 10. Ibid. 5:195.
 11. Ibid. 5:185.
 12. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 13, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
 13. Ibid.: chap. 3, par. 12.
 14. Durán 1971:117–118. Note also that Durán identifies “divine pitch” as the same mixture occasionally worn by the priests; see folio 63r “Content” section.
 15. Durán 1971:443.
 16. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:203.
 17. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 2, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
 18. Motolinía 1971:308.
 19. Sahagún 1950–1982 5:188.
 20. Motolinía 1971:308–309.
 21. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:71.
 22. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 4, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
 23. Ibid.: chap. 1, par. 3.
 24. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:194–195.
 25. Nicholson 1971b: table 4.
 26. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:44.
 27. Durán 1971:425.
 28. Davies 1981:212.
 29. Dibble 1971:322.
 30. Molina 1977: folio 159v “Xiuud. año, cometa, turquesa e yerus” (year, comet, turquoise and herb). In actuality, “comet” is distinguished from the other *xibuitl* meaning in that it has a long *ixi*: *xibuitl* (Karttunen 1983:325).
 31. Molina 1977: folio 145v “Tlaxcalli, tortillas de mayz, o pan generalmente” (tortillas of maize, or bread in general).
 32. Sahagún 1950–1982 4:62.
 33. Durán 1971:469.
 34. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:69–70.
 35. Ibid. 10:70.
 36. Ibid. 1:19.
 37. Ibid. 2:161–162.
 38. Ibid. 8:38.
 39. Durán 1971:83.
 40. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:194.
 41. Durán 1971:415.
 42. Ibid.:416.
 43. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:45.
 44. Ibid. 2:55.
 45. Ibid. 5:187–188.
 46. Ibid. 6:124.
 47. Sahagún 1950–1982 3: plate 10 (1979 3); folio 10v, *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 77r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 62r.
 48. Cortés 1971:107–108.
 49. Ibid.
 50. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:201 “tzaalcaxitl.” Also, Molina 1977: folio 151v “Tzaau. hilar” (to spin); folio 13r defines *caxitl* as “escudilla” (bowl).
 51. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: plate 30 (1979 6: folio 170v).
 52. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:138.
 53. Ibid. 9:18.
 54. Gamio 1922 1:359–360, *Lámina* 136.
- See also Michael Smith 1983 for an analysis of spinning bowls and other artifacts found in Western Morelos, Mexico.
55. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 3, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
 56. Molina 1977: folio 139r “Tlatlatilquauitl. leña” (firewood or kindling).
 57. Horcasitas 1977: *lección* XIII 88.
 58. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 3, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
 59. Ritual offerings of regular-length loads of firewood are illustrated throughout *Codex Fajrürvür-Mayer* and *Codex Laud*. They can also be found in *Codex Borgia* 1976:11, 58.
 60. Molina 1977: folio 76v “Omilit. hueso, alesna, o punçon” (bone, awl, or punch).
 61. Durán 1971:67, note 12.
 62. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:189.
 63. Examples of bone awls for autosacrifice can be found throughout *Codex Fajrürvür-Mayer*, *Codex Laud*, and *Codex Borgia*.
 64. Bones used as ornamental details on deity costumes can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:7, 22; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 61r, 62r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folios 42r, 43r; *Codex Leitchvichitl* 1976: folio 103r.
 65. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:87.
 66. Simeón 1963:312 “Nopalli, Nopal, cactus dont on compte deux espèces principales, l’*Opuntia vulgaris*, qui donne le meilleur *nochtli* ou figue de Barbarie, et l’*Opuntia cochinitifera*, sur lequel vit la cochenille” (Nopal, cactus that consists of two principal species, . . . which gives the best *nochtli* or Barbary fig, and . . . on which lives the cochineal bug).
 67. Molina 1977: folio 72v “Nochtli. tuna, fruta conocida” (tuna, [a] known fruit).
 68. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:180, note 88: “Nopalli: *Opuntia ficus-indica* (L.) Miller, *O. megalantha* Salm-Dyck, *O. streptantha* Lemaire, *O. amygdala* Tenore.”
 69. West 1964:367, 370.
 70. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:122–124. See Hernández 1959 1:311–313 for an additional sixteenth-century description of the tuna cactus and its fruit.
 71. Sahagún 1950–1982 11: plates 438, 439 (1979 11: folio 127v).
 72. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:38.
 73. Ibid. 8:68.
 74. Ibid. 10:69.
 75. Simeón 1963:255 “Momoztli ou Mumoztli. Autel, chapelle, oratoire dressé aux entre-croisements des chemins” (altar, chapel, or oratorio built at the crossroads).
 76. Another example of a marketplace stone can be found on folio 16v of *Codex Mendoza*. It is the place-name glyph for Xaltianquizco, a name that combines the Nahuatl word *xaltli* (sand) with *ianquiztli* (market).
 77. Durán 1971:273.
 78. Molina 1977: folio 113r “Tianquiztli. mercado” (market).
 79. Durán 1971:273–286. There were approximately three miles per league, though this measurement varied.
 80. Ibid.:278. For more detailed information on Aztec markets, see Berdan 1985.
 81. Molina 1977: folio 22v “Cintli. maçoras de mayz secas y curadas” (dry and hardened/cured ears of corn).
 82. Ibid.: folio 130r “Tlaolli. mayz desgranado, curado y seco” (dekerneled maize, cured/hardened and dry).
 83. Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, and Willey 1964:438–439.
 84. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:279–284. See also Hernández 1959 1:288–292 for an additional, extensive sixteenth-century description of maize.
 85. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:65–66.
 86. Ibid. 2:178.

CONTENT

Folio 59r continues the pictorial narration on Aztec childrearing, illustrating the children from seven through ten years of age. Although the boy and girl have grown larger, their tortilla ration has not; only one and a half corn-cakes are allowed at each meal.

First Part: Age Seven

In the upper register, the gloss states that the seven-year-old boy is being taught by his father how to fish with the net he holds in his hands. The father is addressing his son—who now wears a loin-cloth beneath his cape—on the proper use of the fishing equipment. This fine-meshed net was designed to trawl along the bottom of shallow waters, such as those of Lake Texcoco's shoreline.⁴

The gloss says that the girl is being taught to spin by her mother. However, the mother's role is now that of a supervisor; the daughter has progressed to spinning by herself. The girl—who wears an undecorated *bunpilli* and skirt—is busily twirling the spindle in the spinning bowl, pulling the thread out evenly from the raised cotton fillet. She appears to be on her way to becoming a good spinner, described by Sahagún as “one who forms a thread of even thickness, who . . . stretches [the thread] about the spindle, winds the thread into a ball.”⁵ “[She is] soft, skilled of hand. . . . She spins a loose, thick thread.”⁶

The remaining three registers concern the punishment meted out to children ages eight to ten, in accordance with their years. Motolinia, however, suggests that the age of eight, as indicated in the *Codex Mendoza*, is early for discipline to begin; he maintains that those under ten years were pardoned their mistakes and errings because of their innocence and youth.⁴

Although the children's specific offenses are not indicated, no doubt their conduct did not always conform to the Aztec ideal of the exemplary life. The hallmarks of this model behavior were obedience, honesty, discretion, respect, moderation, modesty, and energy.⁷ These abstract ideals were translated into more concrete department through a number of guidelines. Sahagún relates how a nobleman advised his son to live according to eight rules. The first rule frowned on excess rest, “lest thou wilt be named a heavy sleeper.” The second urged moving quietly and being “prudent in thy travels.” The concern of the third rule was that one speak slowly and deliberately—not “squeak.” The fourth admonished against staring. “Do not gossip” was the fifth injunction; the advice of the sixth was to respond immediately to a summons. The

seventh had to do with moderation in dress: “thou art not to array thyself fantastically.” The final rule urged not only prudence in food and drink but also the regular washing of the hands, face, and mouth before eating.⁸

Second Part: Age Eight

When children breached the Aztec ideal of moderation and discretion, a reprimand befitting their years followed. In *Codex Mendoza*, the gloss states that the eight-year-old is being warned by his father not to be deceitful or he will be punished by being pierced in the body with maguey spikes. The girl receives the same warning from her mother. At age eight, the children are only threatened with the sharply pointed spines that lie in front of them. Nonetheless, they respond in fear. The son sits naked and tearful before his gesturing, scolding father. The mother also reprimands; the daughter weeps and folds her arms protectively across her chest. The intimidating disciplinary objects are spines from a specific type of maguey plant, about which Sahagún reports, “from the [*patimetl*] maguey comes the spine, the one which serves to pierce, to puncture.”⁹

Third Part: Age Nine

In register 3, the gloss says the nine-year-old boy is pierced in his body with maguey spikes for being incorrigible. The son, now bound hand and foot, is stretched out before his father, who already has stuck three spines into the boy's naked body. The daughter fares better; her mother only pricks the girl's wrist. The gloss says she is being punished for negligence and idleness.

Fourth Part: Age Ten

The children apparently continue to misbehave, because in the bottom register, at age ten, they are about to be struck with sticks, as the gloss confirms. The naked boy's hand is firmly held by his father; the girl's hands are bound across her chest. Tying up children while chastising them was apparently not uncommon; Motolinia mentions tying girls' feet to make them sit still and keep their mind on their work.¹⁰

There is no clue to the son's particular misbehavior. For the girl, however, a spinner's workbasket with an unprocessed cotton ball atop it indicates that the daughter's transgression may have had something to do with her spinning. Perhaps she lapsed into the slovenly ways of “The Bad Spinner,” described by Sahagún as

one who produces lumpy, uneven thread, who pulls the yarn loosely, twists it poorly, and is generally clumsy of hand and dull of body.⁷ Such a spinner leaves lumps, moistens the yarn with her lips, and is generally useless, negligent, slothful, and lazy.¹⁰

Weeping

In each of the bottom three registers, the children are weeping; such suffering was an accepted part of Aztec life. This is repeatedly apparent in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex*: at a child's birth, the midwife immediately tells the baby that the earth is a place of suffering.¹¹ A ruler admonishes his son that it is the weeper, the sorrower who recures the compassion of "the lord of the near, of the night."¹² A noble warns his daughter that the world is a difficult place where one is caused pain and "affliction is known."¹³ Rulers and noblemen advise their sons to seek the humble life as their honored forebears had, saying, "The more they were honored, the more they wept, suffered affliction, sighed; they became most humble, most meek, most contrite."¹⁴

Weeping and crying are ubiquitous themes throughout the chronicles of Sahagún; children, adults, and even gods weep freely. Such tears, as emblems of suffering, seem to have been regarded as pious, calling attention to the weeper as a worthy and honorable person. For example, a person born under the day sign One Death could lose the good fortune of his birthright unless he showed devotion to Tezcatlipoca: "[the god] showed compassion and gave it [the birthright] as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake."¹⁵ In keeping with this view of tears as beneficial, a sobbing drunkard is described in Sahagún: "He loosed tears as if bringing good to himself."¹⁶ And again, an old woman advises that whoever has wept, sorrowed, sighed, and hung his head to be humbled has benefited himself.¹⁷

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

Fishnet



fishnet: *michmatlatl*¹⁸

Fishnets similar to those depicted in *Codex Mendoza* appear in both pre- and post-Hispanic pictorial codices.¹⁹

Sahagún, in his enumeration of the Aztec gods, discusses Opochtli, who was said to have invented the fishing net. This deity—who was worshiped by the "water folk"—was also

credited with the invention of the *atlatl*,²⁰ the trident, boat poles, and bird snares.²¹

Tears



tears: *ixayotl*²²

In other Aztec pictorials, tears are depicted in the same manner shown in *Codex Mendoza*, with a little "drop" at the end.²³

Maguery Spines



maguery spines: *buitztl*²⁴

The Nahuatl name for the maguery plant is *metl*, the generic term for agave.²⁵ The important role played in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica by the maguery—a source of a sweet syrup, bast thread, and sharply pointed spines for bloodletting—is reflected in

Sahagún's extensive discussion of the varieties of the plant. Some are described as tall, with thick, wide, green leaves; others are smaller, with leaves of a blue or ashen hue. Some maguery are variegated, with spatters of white on the leaves and a stemlike root. The juice drawn from the center of certain varieties of the plant can be fermented to produce the intoxicating *pulque* drink *octli*.²⁶

Rope for Binding



rope: *meatl*²⁷

The use of rope to bind parts of the human body also can be found in pre-Hispanic codices; often these examples are associated with some form of sacrifice.²⁸

Stick



pine stick: *pine: ocoquahuil*²⁹

The stick used to reprimand the children on folio 59r is probably what Sahagún, in two descriptions of punishments, refers to as a "pine stick" or "pine stave."³⁰



Cotton Boll

cotton boll: *icbcatl*³¹

Mexican-cultivated white cotton, *Gossypium hirsutum*, first appears in the archaeological record around 1700 B.C., and by Aztec times it was firmly established as the Mesoamerican status fiber.³² Below the 5,000-foot elevation, varying strains were grown throughout Middle America, as Sahagún makes clear in his description of the cotton seller. The friar ranks the quality of the fiber by its place of origin. The best is said to come from "the irrigated lands," followed by cotton from the hot countries, from the west, and from the northern deserts. At the bottom of the list is what Sahagún refers to as "the Totonac variety—tree cotton."³³ Tribute payments of bales of white cotton appear on three different folios of *Codex Mendoza*.³⁴ Bolls of white cotton also occur as parts of place glyphs in *Codex Mendoza*.³⁵

A brown cotton, *Gossypium mexicanum*, was grown in Mesoamerica as well.³⁶ Sahagún lists it among the types of cotton provided by the cotton seller.³⁷ It also is depicted in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*, among the regular payments from the west-coast province of Cihuatlan.³⁸ The brown cotton was called *coyauicbatl*, or coyote-colored cotton,³⁹ and is still used in some Indian communities today, where it is known as *coyuche*.⁴⁰

NOTES

1. Clark 1938 1:90, note 3.
2. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:35.
3. *Ibid.* 10:52.
4. Motolinia 1971:368.
5. Berdan 1982:73.
6. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:121–124.
7. *Ibid.* 11:217.
8. Motolinia 1971:309.
9. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:35.
10. *Ibid.* 10:52.
11. *Ibid.* 6:168, 171.
12. *Ibid.* 6:88.
13. *Ibid.* 6:93.
14. *Ibid.* 6:107.

15. *Ibid.* 4:33.
16. *Ibid.* 4:15.
17. *Ibid.* 6:216–217.
18. Molina 1977: folio 56r “Michmatlatl. red para pescar” (net for fishing).
19. Illustrations of fishnets can be found in the pre-Hispanic *Codex Borgia* (1976:13) as well as the following post-Conquest works: Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 40; 11: plate 866 (1979 1: folio 39r; 11: folio 230v); *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 81r; and the sixteenth-century Santa Cruz map of the Valley of Mexico (see Glass and Robertson 1975: census 280).
20. Molina 1977: folio 8r “Atlal. amiento” (spear thrower)
21. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: 37.
22. Molina 1977: folio 44v “Ixayotl. lagrimas” (tears).
23. Tears depicted in the same manner as those of *Codex Mendoza* can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:11 and *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 67r, 77r, 78r.
24. Molina 1977: folio 157v “Vitztl. espina grande, o puya” (large thorn or point).
25. *Ibid.*: folio 55v “Metl. maguexi” (maguexi).
26. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:216–217.
27. Molina 1977: folio 55r “Mecatl. cordel, o sogá, o açote de cordeles” (cord, or rope, or whip made of cords).
28. Examples of rope used for binding can be found in *Codex Laud* 1966:6, 19, 24 and *Codex Borgia* 1976:19, 23, 48.
29. Molina 1977: folio 75v “Ocoquauitl. pino, el arbol o la viga y madero de pino” (pine, the tree or the beam and wood of pine); 87v “Quauhtontli. palo, o arbol pequeño” (stick, or small tree); also Sahagún 1950–1982 2:102, 148 “ocoquauhica” (to beat repeatedly with a pine stick).
30. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:102, 148.
31. Molina 1977: folio 32r “Ichcatl. algodon, o oueja” (cotton, or sheep).
32. Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, and Willey 1964:439–440.
33. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:75.
34. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 48r, the province of Quauhtochco, 53r, Atlán, and 54r, Tzicoac, all located in the Gulf coast region.
35. *Ibid.*: folios 37r, 39r, 40r, 54r.
36. Cordry and Cordry 1968:25.
37. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:75.
38. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 38r.
39. Molina 1977: folio 24r “Coyotl. adiuac” (coyote); 32r “Ichcatl. algodon, o oueja” (cotton, or sheep). Thus *coyotl + ichcatl = coyotichcatl*, or “coyote-cotton.”
40. Cordry and Cordry 1968:25.

CONTENT

Folio 60r continues the pictorial saga of Aztec childrearing, covering ages eleven through fourteen. In the two upper registers, the children's age still restricts them to the metaphorical one and a half tortillas with each meal. Only after the thirteenth year do they qualify for more ample rations, symbolized by the depiction of two tortillas.

Upper Register: Age Eleven

The boy and girl, who, the commentator states, have disregarded parental advice, continue to receive reprimands, or the threat of them. The gloss says the eleven-year-old boy is being punished with dry chile smoke. The father holds his naked, weeping son over a fire of burning chiles; the inhaling of the acrid smoke was considered a cruel torment. In fact, chile smoke could be lethal. Durán tells of its use by lords of a restive Aztec province to eliminate unwelcome imperial visitors from the capital in Tenochtitlan. These lords of Cuexatlaxla sealed off the Aztecs' bedchamber and then lit a huge pile of chiles. The resulting smoke was so overwhelming that the trapped messengers suffocated.¹

In the right of the upper register, the gloss states that the eleven-year-old girl is being threatened by her mother with dry chile smoke in her nostrils. The weeping child—still clad in an undecorated *huipilli* and skirt—kneels, hands bound, confronted with the chile fire as a threat to reinforce conformity. The raising of daughters was not taken lightly. A daughter's decorum was increasingly important to her mother as the girl grew older; it was essential that Aztec females learn early to conduct themselves with modest propriety. Sahagún reports that matrons worried that they would be called to task by the Aztec judges for not rearing and guarding their daughters properly: "perhaps she [the daughter] was living in concubinage with a [man] and it was not known."² Even small infractions on the part of the girls were carefully watched for potentially damaging behavior: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here. . . . Who will follow thee?"³

Second Register: Age Twelve

In the second register, punishments meted out to twelve-year-olds who do not heed parental advice are depicted. The gloss states that the boy, tied hand and foot, is stretched out all day on damp ground. The son, naked and bound, is crying. The daughter, however, has

taken on a new, compliant demeanor. The gloss says the twelve-year-old girl goes sweeping at night. Despite the mother's having awakened her so she can begin her duties in the house and on the street before dawn—the night sky appears just above the daughter's tortilla ration—the girl does not weep.

Although the daughter's clothes continued to have the same unfinished hemlines, her hair is much longer; she is becoming a proper young Aztec maiden, described as one who dutifully sweeps, spins, and learns.⁴ Durán, commenting somewhat impatiently on the Indian women's constant sweeping, speaks of "[their] idolatrous custom of rising at dawn to sweep one's property and occasionally that of someone else."⁵ However, as in so much of Aztec life, this ostensibly mundane chore carried important religious significance. Sahagún speaks of homes and courtyards first being swept before dawn, followed by offerings and incensing.⁶ Rulers admonished their daughters to sweep vigorously: "And at night hold vigil, arise promptly, extend thy arms promptly, quickly leave [thy bed]. . . . Seize the broom: be diligent with the sweeping; be not tepid, be not lukewarm."⁷

Third Register: Age Thirteen

By age thirteen, the children are performing more mature domestic chores, their meal ration has increased, and misbehavior apparently is no longer a major issue. The glosses state that the thirteen-year-old boy goes loaded with rushes and carries them in his canoe. The son, now wearing a loincloth, is shown first carrying the rushes, which he has cut for domestic use. He supports his load with the aid of a tumpeline.

In the scene immediately adjacent, three loads of the reeds have been placed in a hollowed-out log canoe. The boy wears a capelike cloth folded and tied around his hips as he stands upright in the canoe, using a paddle to propel the craft across the lake. Motolinía speaks of the enormous volume of canoe traffic surrounding the island city of Tenochtitlan. This activity included both dealers transporting provisions into and out of the city and homeowners filling their household needs, as is the case with the boy on folio 60r. Motolinía was impressed by the fact that there was never a cease to the comings and goings of the canoes on the water.⁸

The conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo also comments on the extensive traffic on Lake Texcoco when he describes the view from the top of the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan: "and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming

with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise.¹⁹

On the third register of folio 60r, the daughter now has taken on another of the household's daily domestic tasks. The gloss states that the thirteen-year-old girl is grinding [maize for] tortillas and preparing food. She kneels before the grinding stone, pulverizing the limewater-soaked maize kernels with the stone roller. To her right is a water container that the gloss identifies as a pot of prepared food. In front of the girl, supported by the traditional three hearthstones, is the round, flat clay griddle (*comalli*) on which the tortillas will be cooked. Immediately above the hearth is a tripod bowl, which holds a container for liquid. This vessel may contain limewater for soaking the maize grains, or perhaps it is filled with plain water for making *atole*, a cornmeal gruel. The girl, whose skirt now has a decorated hemline, is becoming a "grown maiden of marriageable age," whom Sahagún defines as one who grinds corn and makes *atole*.¹⁰

Fourth Register: Age Fourteen

At age fourteen, the gloss says, the boy goes fishing in his canoe. The son has learned to take his light boat out on the lake and skillfully catch fish with a stick and the trawling net, first introduced seven years before (see folio 59r). Fishing was a very important activity for the residents of Tenochtitlan; the Lake Texcoco area was rich in aquatic foodstuffs. These, together with seafood carried to the highlands by rapid foot transport, are described in Sahagún's account of the fish seller, who also caught many of his wares. To do this, he used nets, snares, fishhooks, weirs, and spears as well as catching some fish with his hands. The fish varied in size and type: shellfish, gourd fish, spotted and white fish. Some were sold wrapped in maize husks and toasted, while others were roasted in leaves. The fish seller also dealt in shrimp, turtles, eels, fish roe, and water-fly eggs, as well as water flies, water worms, and worm excrement.¹¹

At the right of the bottom register, the fourteen-year-old daughter is weaving. She kneels, the backstrap of the loom about her hips, tamping down the weft threads with a weaving stick, the batten. Sahagún, in his enumeration of the various parts of the backstrap loom, mentions various-sized battens. A wide one "swished [as it was used]." Smaller, thinner battens made of bone were needed when the weaver worked on intricate designs.¹²

Weaving was considered a proper occupation for noblewomen as well as commoners, as is made clear in Sahagún's account of a ruler admonishing his daughter to apply herself to the "really womanly task" exemplified by skill in the use of the spindle whorl, weaving stick, heddles, and leashes.¹³

Skillful weaving was so highly valued as a female attribute that a woman's weaving ability was considered an index of her character. Sahagún, when listing "The Different Things Which God's Creatures, The Idolaters, Wrongly Believed" says that when a woman wove a cloak, shift, or skirt that had uneven, crooked edges, it reflected the character of the weaver: "Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]."¹⁴

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS



Smoking Chile Fire

chile: *chili*¹⁵

fire: *tlei*¹⁶

On the folio 60r gloss the Spanish commentator uses the West Indian word for chile, *axi*, a sixteenth-century alternative spelling for the present-day Spanish word, *aji*.¹⁷ The burning of chiles must have been a common practice, for Sahagún's informants complain

about the bad chile seller, who "sells chilis from wet country, incapable of burning."¹⁸

The high value placed on chile as a dietary staple can be gauged by the fact that fasting was defined as eating without chile or salt.¹⁹

The Aztecs had a wide variety of chiles. Sahagún details many of these, describing some as mild and red, others as hot and green, and still others are smoked.²⁰ Red chiles identical to those depicted on folio 60r occur as offerings in several Aztec pictorial codices.²¹ They also appear as tribute on folio 52r of *Codex Mendoza*.

Damp Ground



Rows of u-shaped elements are a common device in Aztec iconography for representing cultivated fields.²²

Similar markings depicting earth are found in part 2 of the *Codex Mendoza* (as place glyphs) and in other Aztec pictorials.²³

Night Sky



night: *yobualli*²⁴

The depiction of the night sky by the use of small half-red circles attached to larger full circles, half circles, or bands also can be found both on folio 63r of *Codex Mendoza* and in place glyphs in the history and tribute sections.²⁵ Such images also have a number of prototypes in pre-Hispanic central Mexican codices.²⁶

Tumpline



tumpline: *mccapalli*²⁷

The tumpline, together with the digging stick, was associated with poverty²⁸ and slavery.²⁹ It was said that one who became a slave "became someone's digging stick and tump line." The goddess who bestowed these work implements on mankind, Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), was regarded by Sahagún's informants as "an evil omen to men; she brought men misery. For, it was said, she gave men the digging stick, the tump-line."³⁰

The various postures a man assumed when loading and carrying a heavy load with a tumpline are clearly illustrated in Sahagún's eighth book of the *Florentine Codex, Kings and Lords*.³¹

Canoe

cano: *acalli*¹¹

The Indians of the Lake Texcoco area were skilled boatmen who provisioned much of the city of Tenochtitlan with their canoes. A great deal of this transport took place at night, to avoid the heat of the day. Charles



Gibson, the eminent modern historian of Colonial Mexico, estimates there was a total of between 100,000 to 200,000 canoes on the lake in the Conquest period.¹¹ The largest of these transport boats were of fifty or more feet in length, with a capacity of several tons, while the minimum length was about fourteen feet. They were carved from a single tree trunk, with a shallow draft and square bow. A skilled Indian carpenter could construct a canoe in about a week.¹⁴

Motolinia confirms that each Aztec canoe was hollowed out from a single tree, chosen for its size and girth according to the anticipated use of the craft. The demands placed on the canoes—some journeyed down large rivers to the sea, from one island to another, and on across “small gulfs”—dictated how large the vessel needed to be. According to Motolinia, the word comes from *atl* (water) + *calli* (house), or “water-house,”¹¹ and indeed, he describes the Indians sleeping in their traveling canoes on long journeys.¹⁶

Canoe Pole

cano: pole: *abuictli*¹⁷

Just as the Aztecs’ canoes were always carved from wood, so too were their poles and paddles.¹⁹

Sahagún refers several times to those who made their living from the lake as “the water folk”¹⁹ and comments on their dependence on skillful poling of the canoes for their transportation.²⁰ He also reports that the Aztecs believed that the god Opochtli, an aspect of Tlaloc, the rain deity, invented the pole for propelling boats.²¹

Lake

lake: *buey atezcatl*²²

Because Tenochtitlan was an island city, Lake Texcoco made possible both transport and the gathering of aquatic foodstuffs. These waters, however, were not without danger.



Durán tells of areas in the lake where a great whirlpool would sometimes occur, a phenomenon very threatening to boatmen: “Many times it [the lake] becomes angry and turbulent . . . even though there is no wind.”²³

Winds strongly influenced the lake. Each was named for the cardinal direction whence it blew, and was attributed with its own personality. The wind from the north, for example, was known as *Mictlampa ebecatl*, or the wind from the land of the dead, and was considered dangerous for canoes. When it arose, the fishermen “greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the

cano] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line.” Also feared was the wind from the south, or *Huitzilampa ebecatl*, described as a particularly violent wind. On the other hand, *Cibuatlampa ebecatl*, the wind from the west, while cold, was not considered a danger to the boatmen on the lake, and the Tlaloc wind, named for the land where the sun rose, was considered completely benign.²⁴

Although the Aztecs had an abundance of fish, frogs, reptiles, and birds, especially migratory ones, the edible bounty from the lake was particularly dear to them. Water-fly eggs, for instance, would appear in profusion, covering the lake with a congealing mass. Motolinia mentions the mesh nets used to collect this scum, which, when dried, served as a foodstuff.²⁵ Sahagún includes this substance in his list of “edible water animals” under the name of *tecutlatl* (roak excrement)²⁶ and relates how the boatmen would roast and sell it.²⁷ Durán describes another favored Aztec dish, loaves made of *ezabuuitl*,²⁸ a type of “small red worm from the lagoon.”²⁹ He also records the Aztecs’ humorous account of how this delicacy, together with duck, fish, and frogs, supposedly played a part in a war waged against the Aztecs. They vanquished their adversaries by causing the cooking odors of the succulent lake foods to waft through the streets of their besieging enemy, the community of Coyoacan:

It made the women miscarry out of desire for the food of the Aztecs; it made the children sickly, their mouths watering with greed; the old men became lax in their bowels from longing and the women’s faces, hands and feet became swollen. Many became ill and died, drooling.³⁰

Grinding Stone

grinding stone: *metlatl*³¹

grinder: *metlapilli*³²



The grinding stone and grinder, known today as the *metate* and *mano*, were the indispensable Mesoamerican implements for reducing limewater-soaked maize kernels to the paste used for making tortillas. The laborious

task of grinding maize was a daily chore, probably performed only by commoner women. Although it is quite clear that women of all classes wove, noblewomen may have only overseen the actual grinding of the corn. This conclusion is drawn from *Primeros Memoriales*, which lists the implements used in the work of both noblewomen and commoners: only for the latter is the *metate* mentioned.³³ However, the pre-Hispanic pictorial *Codex Borgia* depicts an old goddess, whom Seler identifies as *Ilamatecuhtli*, the first woman, kneeling before her grinding stone.³⁴

The ubiquitous grinding stone appears in Aztec folklore. Sahagún tells of mothers warning their children not to lick the stone for fear that their teeth would fall out.³⁵ A gambler, given to big wagers on the game of *patolli*, is said to have turned the grinding stone, pestle, and griddle of his household upside down for luck.³⁶

Pot of Prepared Food



food container: *comitl*³⁷

The food container, referred to in the Spanish gloss as an *olla*, is very similar in shape to one of the containers illustrated in Sahagún in connection with breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle.³⁸

limewater: *nexatl*⁵⁹

To soften the maize before grinding it on the *metate*, Aztec women soaked the grains in what Sahagún refers to as "lime water." This was no doubt water that contained lye, a strong alkaline solution leached from wood ashes.⁶⁰ Sahagún, when describing the tamale seller, mentions that "he sells tamales of maize softened in wood ashes . . . of maize softened in lime."⁶¹ He also speaks of readying wood ashes as part of the preliminaries for a wedding feast, preparatory to a two or three day marathon of tamale-making.⁶²

Clay Griddle



clay griddle: *comalli*⁶³

The griddles were made from a clay called *tecoquitl* or *comallalli*, reported by Sahagún as being gummy, hard, and bitumenlike.⁶⁴ After this clay was moistened, it had to be kneaded and tempered with bits of soft reed. Once the griddle was shaped and polished, the slip—a mixture of clay and water—was applied; the *comal* was then fired in an oven. Well-made griddles could be identified by their ring, indicating that they were properly tempered. Inferior griddles that had been damaged in firing, on the other hand, would emit a cracked sound.⁶⁵ Today, when buying *comalli* in the markets, women still test the wares by rapping them with their knuckles in order to judge the resultant ring.

Hearthstones



hearthstones: *tenamaztín*⁶⁶

Seler contends that the ancient Mexicans consecrated the number three, the number of the hearthstones, to the fire god.⁶⁷ Sahagún, when discussing beliefs wrongly held by "the Idolaters," includes one regarding hearthstones: "Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: ' . . . It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war.' The contention was that such a man "would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes."⁶⁸

Sauce Bowl and Vessel



tripod sauce bowl: *molaxitl*⁶⁹

Sahagún, in his discussion of The Cook in *The People*, book 10 of the *Florentine Codex*, includes two illustrations of a woman grinding maize. In each case a three-legged bowl, the same shape as that of folio 60r, stands beside the cook.⁷⁰ This type of container also appears twice again in *Codex Mendoza*, and in both cases it holds foods cooked in liquid, hence producing a sauce.⁷¹ There are repeated references in the *Florentine Codex* to sauce bowls;⁷² the dish illustrated on folio 60r probably is just such a container.

vessel within the sauce bowl

Within the sauce bowl can be seen the upper portion of a container. If one judges by the constricted shape of the jar's mouth, it was intended to hold a liquid. This same type of container also appears in Sahagún's depiction of a New Fire ceremony celebrated in a household.⁷³ There, a three-legged sauce bowl sits before the fire. Lying beside this bowl, but tipped onto its side, is a vessel whose top half is identical to the one on folio 60r which sits within the tripod bowl.



backstrap loom: *iquitibualoni*⁷⁴
A backstrap loom is made up of an assemblage of simple, smooth sticks of various lengths and widths which become a working loom only after the warp threads, having been wrapped around strings that run along the top and bottom beams, are placed under tension. This is done by attaching the upper bar, the warp beam, to a tree or post with a cord and securing the other bar, the cloth beam, to the weaver by means of the backstrap. Because the backstrap fits tightly around the weaver, she can control the degree of tension placed on the threads by the cant of her body. The horizontal weft threads are then passed through the alternate vertical warps with a bobbin and are beaten down into place with a batten, the long weaving stick. Depictions of women weaving on the backstrap loom appear throughout the *Florentine Codex*.⁷⁵

Batten



batten (weaving stick): *tzotzopaztli*⁷⁶

As has already been discussed in the "Content" section for this folio, the material used to make a weaving stick—wood or bone—and its size depend on the weight of the thread being woven and the complexity of the design.

The batten also has symbolic connotations in Aztec iconography. Sahagún lists a turquoise-mosaic weaving stick among the accoutrements of the deity Cihuacoatl (Woman-Serpent), one of the mother goddesses.⁷⁷ She is depicted carrying the stick in the fashion of a war club.⁷⁸ This is appropriate because Cihuacoatl was considered an omen of war; she was the patron goddess of parturient women, who were regarded as going into battle when they underwent the pains of childbirth.⁷⁹ Cihuacoatl was invoked and prayed to during the stressful time of delivery.⁸⁰

NOTES

1. Durán 1964: 125; also in Durán 1967 2: 197–198.
2. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 3, par. 15, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
3. Sahagún 1950–1982 5: 188.
4. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 2, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
5. Durán 1971: 134.
6. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 199.
7. *Ibid.* 6: 95.
8. Motolinia 1971: 211.
9. Diaz del Castillo 1967 2: 75.
10. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 2, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
11. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 80.
12. *Ibid.* 8: 49.
13. *Ibid.* 6: 96.
14. *Ibid.* 5: 192.
15. Molina 1977: folio 21r "Chilli. axi. o pimienta de las indias" (axi, or pepper of the [West] Indies).
16. *Ibid.*: folio 147v "Tiet. fuego" (fire).
17. Stevens 1726: "Axi, the natural pepper of the West Indies, generally so called by the Spaniards, because this was the name of it in the islands first discover'd."
18. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 68.
19. *Ibid.* 1: 31; 2: 177; 3: 66.
20. *Ibid.* 10: 67–68. See Hernández 1959 1: 136–139 for an additional sixteenth-century discussion of Chile.
21. Red child images to those depicted on folio 60r are shown as offerings in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 16; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 29v; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 72v; and Sahagún 1950–1982 2: plate 14 (1979 2: folio 29v).

22. Nicholson 1983: 151; Selser 1960–1961 3:224–227.
23. Rows of w-shaped markings to denote earth can be found in *Codex Mendoza*: folios 7r, 16r, 24v, 25r, 27r, 30r, 32r, 36r, 39r, 40r, 41r, 42r, 43r, 44r, 46r, 51r; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 83r, 84r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 68r; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 2r.
24. Molina 1977: folio 41v "Youalli. noche" (night).
25. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 6r, 37r, 39r.
26. Night-sky depictions similar to that on folio 60r can be found in *Codex Borgia* 1976: 3, passim; *Codex Cospi* 1968: 5–7 obverse; *Codex Fejervary-Mayer* 1971: 27; and *Codex Laud* 1966: 11, 24.
27. Molina 1977: folio 55r "Mecapalli. mecapal, cordel para lleuar carga a cuestas" (mecapal, cord for carrying cargo on the back/shoulders).
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 5:152.
29. *Ibid.*: 4:5.
30. *Ibid.*: 1:11.
31. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plate 90 (1979 8: folio 41r).
32. Molina 1977: folio 1v "Acalli. nauio, barca, canoa. &c." (ship, boat, canoe, etc.).
33. Gibson 1964: 364.
34. *Ibid.*: 362–364.
35. Molina 1977: folio 8r "Atl. agua" (water); 11v "Calli. casa" (house).
36. Motolinia 1971: 227.
37. Molina 1977: folio 9v "Auicli. remo de marinero" (sailor's oar).
38. Gibson 1964: 362–364.
39. Sahagún 1950–1982 1:37; 11:29 "atlaca" (water folk). Also, Molina 1977: folio 8r "Atlacatl. marinero, o mal hombre" (mariner, or sick man).
40. Sahagún 1950–1982 7: 14; 11:29.
41. *Ibid.*: 1:37.
42. Molina 1977: folio 155v "Vei atezcatl. lago o laguna, o nivel grande para niular agua" (lake, or a large level for leveling with water).
43. Durán 1971: 167–169.
44. Sahagún 1950–1982 7: 14.
45. Motolinia 1971: 373.
46. Siméon 1963: 404 "Tecuaitlatl, Substance visqueuse; litt. excrément des pierres, que l'on recueille au milieu des plantes du lac de Texcoco; on fait sécher cette substance au soleil et on la conserve pour la manger comme du fromage. Les Indiens la consomment encore aujourd'hui et lui donnent le nom de *cuculito del agua*" (viscous substance; literally, excrement of the rocks, which is collected in the middle of the plants of Lake Texcoco; this substance is dried in the sun and saved for eating like cheese. The Indians still consume this today and call it *cuculito del agua*). From *tecl* (rock) and *caitlatl* (excrement).
47. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:65, note 8.
48. Siméon 1963: 209 "Izcuitli, Sorte de vermisseau qui vit dans les mares" (sort of worm that lives in the seas).
49. Durán 1964: 38. Also in Durán 1967 2: 59. See also Sahagún 1950–1982 11: 65 "Izcuitli."
50. Durán 1964: 64–67. Also in Durán 1967 2: 93.
51. Molina 1977: folio 55v "Metlatl. piedra donde muelen el mayz. &c." (stone where they grind maize, etc.).
52. *Ibid.*: folio 55v "Metlapilli. moleador con que muelen el mayz" (grinder with which they grind maize).
53. *Primeras Memorias* n.d.: chap. 3, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
54. Selser 1963. *Apéndice de láminas explicativas*: 9.
55. Sahagún 1950–1982 5: 188.
56. *Ibid.*: 5:190.
57. Molina 1977: folio 24r "Comid. olla, o barril de barro" (a pot to boil meat in, or earthen vessel [with a great belly and narrow neck] of clay).
58. Sahagún 1950–1982 7: plate 19 (1979 7: folio 21r).
59. Molina 1977: folio 71r "Nexatl. lexia" (lye); also, 71v "Nextil. ceniza" (ashes); 8r "Atl. agua" (water). Thus *nextili + atl = nexatli*, or "ash-water."
60. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* 1980: 661 "limewater: 1: an alkaline water solution of calcium hydroxide used as an antacid 2: natural water containing calcium carbonate or calcium sulfate in solution"; 680 "lye: 1: a strong alkaline liquor rich in potassium carbonate leached from wood ashes and used esp. in making soap and washing; broadly: a strong alkaline solution (as of sodium hydroxide or potassium hydroxide) 2: a solid caustic (as sodium hydroxide)."
61. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 69.
62. *Ibid.*: 6: 129.
63. Molina 1977: folio 24r "Comalli. comal adonde cuezen tortillas de maiz &c. o el baço" (comal where they cook tortillas of maize, etc. or the vessel).
64. Sahagún 1950–1982 11: 252, 257.
65. *Ibid.*: 10: 83.
66. Molina 1977: folio 98r "Tenamaztin. piedras sobre que ponen la olla al fuego, o tres criaturas nacidas juntas de vn vientre" (stones over which they put the olla on the fire, or three creatures/children born together from one belly [triplets]).
67. Selser 1960–1961 2: 935.
68. Sahagún 1950–1982 5: 187.
69. Molina 1977: folio 61v "Mulcaxitl. escudilla" (porringer or small bowl); this corresponds to the Spanish gloss on 60r, which labels the three-legged bowl "escudilla."
70. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: plates 105, 106 (1979 10: folio 38r).
71. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 61r, 68r.
72. For references to sauce bowls, see Sahagún 1950–1982 1: 49; 2: 152; 6: 132; 9: 28, 33–34; 10: 83.
73. *Ibid.*: 7: plate 18 (1979 7: folio 21r).
74. Molina 1977: folio 42r "Iquitualoni. telar" (weaving loom).
75. For examples of women weaving on backstrap looms, see Sahagún 1950–1982 10: plates 3, 21, 58, 104, 190; 11: plate 868 (1979 10: folios 2r, 7v, 24r, 37r, 129v; 11: folio 230v).
76. Molina 1977: folio 154r "Tzotzopaztli. palo ancho como cuchilla con que rupan y aprietan la tela que se teze" (broad stick like a cleaver with which they squeeze down and compress the cloth that is woven).
77. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: 11.
78. *Ibid.*: 1: plate 6 (1979 1: folio 10v).
79. *Ibid.*: 6: 167.
80. *Ibid.*: 6: 160, 164.

CONTENT

Folio 61r is the fifth of the five folios that depict the rearing of the Aztec children. They have now reached their fifteenth year, as the dots indicate, and hence are ready for the next stage in their lives. The upper half of the folio deals with the two types of education available to young men.¹

First Part: Young Men, Age Fifteen

The father is seated to the left, as in the previous folios. For the first time, however, he has more than one speech scroll in front of him, perhaps indicating that he is speaking of the future to each of the boys.

The first educational option shown is the higher and more rigorous training in a *calmecac*, the temple school illustrated in the upper register of folio 61r. The gloss describes the fifteen-year-old youth as being delivered by his father to the head priest—shown seated before the building identified as a *calmecac*—to be received as a novice priest. There were a number of these monasterylike *calmecac* schools in Tenochtitlan, each affiliated with a different temple.² The religious training probably varied from school to school, for each Aztec deity had its own special set of ceremonies and ritual paraphernalia, and each placed different demands on those dedicated to its worship.³

Run by priests, the *calmecac* provided an extensive education that was preparation for the priesthood. In addition, for some of the youths, it served as training for leadership in judicial and civil affairs.⁴ But no matter what career lay ahead for a pupil, the emphasis in his *calmecac* education was on sacrifice and abnegation; it was a school that stressed self-control and discipline. The demanding temple duties assumed by those training for the priesthood are portrayed on folio 62r. What is not depicted there, however, is the extensive esoteric education that was also an integral part of *calmecac* training. Durán speaks of the pupils learning

all kinds of arts: military, religious, mechanical, and astrological, which gave them knowledge of the stars. For this they possessed large, beautiful books, painted in hieroglyphs, dealing with all these arts, [and these books] were used for teaching. There were also native books of law and theology for didactic purposes.⁵

Sahagún confirms this aspect of *calmecac* training: “Especially was there teaching of songs which they called the gods’ songs inscribed

in books. And especially was there teaching of the count of days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.”⁶

The temple schools were not attended by boys only; both Sahagún and Durán speak of girls’ also receiving temple training, but in a separate facility.⁷ While these *calmecac* were mainly attended by the sons and daughters of the elite, Sahagún does mention common folk dedicating their children to the temple to be raised for the priesthood.⁸ He also tells of high priests being chosen without any regard to their lineage, but rather for their morals, practices, and knowledge of doctrine, as well as the purity of their lives.⁹

In the upper register of folio 61r, a *calmecac*’s head priest, the *tlamacazqui*, sits wrapped in his bordered white cape. His body is blackened, and his long, bound hair is pulled back from the diagnostic priestly blood smear in front of his ear. Facing him is the boy of fifteen, whose blackened body and white cloak resemble the head priest’s. The youth, however, lacks the *tlamacazqui*’s long hair and smear of blood.

Directly below the *calmecac* scene is a parallel set of student-teacher-temple. This second group represents the Aztecs’ alternate form of education. The gloss reads, “A fifteen-year-old youth delivered by his father to the teacher to be taught and instructed.” The essential purpose of this school was training young men for warfare, and the sons of commoners were the predominant students.¹⁰ These neighborhood schools—which also served as dormitories—were called “the young men’s house,” or *telpochcalli*. But that is not the Nahuatl word written on the building, it reads “cuicacali,” which means “house of song.” This is not as stark a contradiction as it seems, because all young Aztecs, whether attending a *calmecac* temple school or living in a neighborhood *telpochcalli*, also regularly took the mandatory instruction in ritual singing and dancing. The masters of youths, who ran the *telpochcalli*, also taught in the *cuicacalli*.

Apparently, all males and females, both nobles and commoners, attended a *cuicacalli* between the ages of twelve and fourteen or fifteen.¹¹ These “houses of song” were located adjacent to temples and served both as residences for instructors and as schools. They were large buildings, elaborately decorated, with rooms surrounding an open courtyard where the dances were performed. Attendance and activities were highly regulated. Instruction began an hour before sunset; boys and girls were assembled in their *calpulli*—neighborhood barrio—by elderly men and women, and all proceeded to the *cuicacalli*. There, the students danced and sang long into the night, under the watchful eyes of the instructors.¹²

Not only were the songs and dances taught in the *cuicacalli* essential to the proper performance of most religious rituals and ceremonies, but a vast amount of information was also contained in the songs themselves. Predominantly religious in content, these songs praised the deities and told of creation, life and death, and the relationships between mortals and the gods.¹¹ Although Sahagún speaks with respect of the training in the *cuicacalli*,¹² Durán shows less deference when he states, "Nothing was taught there to youths and maidens but singing, dancing, and the playing of musical instruments."¹³

Returning to folio 61r, seated before the *cuicacalli* is the teacher (*teacacab*), a master of youths. He wears the traditional body paint and hairstyle of his profession, but his red-bordered white cape is not the usual net *tilmatl* associated with these instructors (see folio 57r). However, a net cape is worn by the boy facing him, who also has the body paint and long hair of his mentor.

These masters of youths oversaw the training of the majority of Aztec boys in each neighborhood's "young men's house." By age fifteen, a youth was working and sleeping in his local *telochcalli*, and there he remained until he reached his full maturity. As in the *calmecac*, the youths spent a great deal of their time at physical labor.¹⁶ Either they worked in the schools themselves, carrying out such tasks as sweeping and laying fires, or they served the community at large. Their duties included preparing mud for the adobe brick, making walls, digging canals, cultivating fields, and carrying wood from the forests.¹⁷ This latter chore is shown on folio 62r.

Second Part: Young Woman, Age Fifteen

The bottom half of folio 61r is devoted to the major event in the life of a young woman: her wedding, which usually occurred when she reached the age of fifteen. The ceremony, which takes place at night, begins at the bottom of the page, where a torch-lit procession escorts the bride to the groom's house. The gloss reads, "These [women] go lighting the bride the first night when they deliver her to the house of the bridegroom." According to Sahagún, the bride is carried on the back of a matchmaker;¹⁸ the *Códex Mendoza* glosses this woman as *amanteca*.¹⁹

In putting together a marriage, it was the matchmaker who, at the request of the prospective groom's parents, initially contacted the family of the chosen girl to discuss the possibility. Sahagún explains that after several visits, an amicable agreement would be reached. He includes a poignant passage that reveals concern on the part of the bride's parents for their daughter's future with her young husband: "Will she move the humble one, the unembittered one, the unseasoned one? And if at times they will be poor, [if] her heart will suffer pain and affliction, how will he regard the maiden?"²⁰

Sahagún also provides a description of the many events leading up to the wedding feast, some of which are reflected on folio 61r. First, the soothsayers had to be consulted in order to set the marriage under a favorable day sign; the good days were Reed, Monkey, Crocodile, Eagle, and House. Following that indispensable determination, there were the myriad preparations for the feast itself, including the grinding of quantities of maize: "Then tamales were prepared. All night they were occupied; perhaps three days or two days the women made tamales."²¹ On folio 61r, the wedding feast is represented by a basket full of tamales and a tripod bowl containing the head and drumstick of a turkey; the gloss refers to these containers simply as "food."

The day before the marriage, invitations to the banquet were issued. By midday all the guests were assembled, gifts were placed

before the hearth, and the old men and women were well on their way to becoming drunk on *pulque*, the fermented juice of the maguey plant. This privilege of inebriation was restricted to the aged. Sahagún describes the drinking in some detail: "And the drinking bowl with which they became besotted was very small: the little black bowl. Some drank three bowls, some four bowls, some five bowls. . . . And that which they drank was yellow pulque, honeyed pulque."²²

On folio 61r, four aged wedding guests are all shown talking, perhaps giving sage advice. In the foreground, a large pitcher of *pulque* stands beside a small bowl that also contains the intoxicating beverage. The content of these two vessels is easily identifiable by the symbol of the *pulque* deities' nose ornament, the *yucametzli*, on their side and the foam of the *pulque* at top.

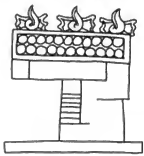
In the background of the wedding feast scene is a hearth, in front of which sits a bowl of copal incense, intended to honor the fire god, Xiuhcotechli. An offering of incense was a common ritual at Aztec feasts. Directly below the incense bowl, a large mat is spread out, upon which the girl is seated with her groom.

A young man was, of necessity, several years older than his bride, because he had to complete his education and training before taking on the responsibilities of marriage.²³ Despite his added maturity, a groom was not exempt from advice on how to conduct himself in this new phase of life. Sahagún describes how fathers repeatedly exhorted their sons in order to inspire them to premarital chastity so they might enter their marriages with full sexual potency.

Take heed, O my son: also such is the condition in the people, the replenishing of the world. For the lord of the near, of the night, hath said, thou art ordained one woman [for] one man. However, thou art not to ruin thyself impetuously; thou art not to devour, to gulp down the carnal life as if thou wert a dog. . . . Even as the maguey, thou art to form a stalk, thou art to ripen. Then, thereby, thou wilt become strong in the union, in the marriage. Thy children will be rugged, agile, and they will be polished, beautiful, clean. And well thou shalt enter into thy mundane life, thy carnal life: in thy carnal life thou wilt be rugged, strong, swift, diligent wilt thou be.²⁴

Once the young couple were seated together on the mat, the youth's mother put a new *buipilli* on the bride, but laid the girl's wedding-gift skirt on the mat before her. An equivalent gift was given by the bride's mother, who tied a cape on the groom but placed his new loincloth before him. It was the matchmakers who tied the bride's new *buipilli* and the groom's cape together, as is illustrated on folio 61r. The matchmakers then led the young couple to a bedchamber, where they remained for four days; "then their straw mat was raised; they shook it out in the middle of the courtyard. Later they placed the straw mat where they were to sleep."²⁵

Sahagún's account of the marriage ceremony is confirmed by Motolinia, who adds the information that the couple were not to consummate their marriage until the end of the four days they remained alone in the private room, guarded outside by the matchmakers. On the fifth day, elaborate festivities again took place, with feasting, dancing, and exchanges of gifts by in-laws. Both the bride and groom were again admonished and reminded of their new duties and responsibilities.²⁶

**Calmecac***calmecac*²⁷

This one-story building, seen from the side, with its frieze of contiguous circles topped by elaborated conch shells, has counterparts in other Aztec pictorials. In some cases, these temple decorations are found in association with the god connected with war, Huitzilopochtli; in other instances with the rain deity, Tlaloc.²⁸

The decorations on the façades of the Aztec buildings were made of stucco. Durán, when discussing the elaboration of the temple of Tezcatlipoca, speaks of such "profusion of figures, sculpture, and work in stucco that it gave pleasure to gaze upon it from any point of view."²⁹

**"House of Song"***"house of song": cuicacalli*³⁰

The trapezoidal roof ornaments atop the *cuicacalli* building have counterparts in other Aztec pictorials.³¹

**Outline of House Foundation**

The device of implying a space enclosed within a wall through the use of a double outline has a counterpart in the post-Hispanic pictorial *Codex Ixtlixochitl*.³² There, the deity Tlaloc is seen standing within a temple compound whose wall is indicated only by an elaborated rectangular border of parallel lines. This is also a common method for depicting house sites and is used in numerous Colonial documents.

**Hearth***hearth: tlecuilli*³³

To the Aztecs, a hearth, whether located in temple or in home, was a sacred area.³⁴ Libations of a small morsel of food and a bit of *pulque* were regularly made before the household hearth prior to eating.³⁵

Depending on the wealth of the family, different kinds of additional hearth offerings were made. Wealthy families honored the fire god Xiuhtecuhtli by decapitating quail before the hearth: "they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places." But not everyone could afford such an offering.

The poor had to content themselves with throwing coarse incense directly into the fire; the truly indigent settled for offerings of aromatic herbs.³⁶ However, affluent merchants, before setting off on perilous journeys, made hearth offerings of quail, blood-spattered papers, and copal incense to the four cardinal directions.³⁷

Incensecopal incense: *copalli*³⁸

Certain types of copal incense were considered more desirable than others, depending on their fragrance and residue. Sahagún speaks of "white *copal*—this was the torchwood *copal*, the legitimate; pungent, odoriferous, very clean, with no rubbish nor dirt."³⁹ According to Clark, white copal is the resin from the tree *Elaphrium jorullense*.⁴⁰

Copal was burned either in a hand-held incense burner (see folio 63r) or by being thrown directly into the fire. Sahagún refers to this latter method in his description of the offerings merchants made when they set out on a journey:

"Already a very great fire had been laid, before which lay a green gourd vessel [full] of *copal*. One by one they [the merchants] continued taking the *copal*, casting it into the fire."⁴¹ The color and shape of the incense bowl on folio 61r suggest that this container may have been fashioned from a gourd. It is very similar to the gourd bowls depicted among the tribute from the Aztec imperial province of Huastecpec.⁴²

Elongated cakes of copal incense almost identical to those depicted on folio 61r also appear in the tribute from the Aztec provinces of Tlatchco⁴³ and Tepequacuico,⁴⁴ together with unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves. Another province, Tlatlahquitepec, sent lumps of liquidambar—*xochicoquat*—for use as incense.⁴⁵ Depictions of elongated cakes of incense incised with short lines also appear in several of the post-Hispanic pictorial codices.⁴⁶

Tamalestamale: *tamalli*⁴⁷

Although the Spanish gloss on folio 61r identifies the round white objects in the woven basket simply as *comida* (food), they are clearly intended to depict tamales. These staples of the Mexican diet are rendered in precisely this same manner in other Aztec pictorials.⁴⁸ Also, the construction of a tamale lends itself to such a depiction. This Middle American delicacy consists of a seasoned filling surrounded by cornmeal dough wrapped in cornhusks and steamed. Probably the twisting of the ends of the cornhusks to secure the contents within is what is indicated by the curved line extending down into the white circles illustrated here.

Sahagún suggests the range of tamales eaten by the Aztecs. Good and tasty tamales came in a variety of sizes: narrow, wide, pointed, rolled, and adobe-shaped. They also varied in fillings; among some of those listed are cooked beans, white and red fruit, turkey eggs, green maize, honey, beeswax, gourds, and maize flowers.

But Sahagún does not describe all tamales as delicious:

The bad food seller [is] he who sells filthy tamales, discolored tamales—broken, tasteless, quite tasteless, inedible, frightening, deceiving; tamales made of chaff, swollen tamales, spoiled tamales, foul tamales—sticky, gummy; old tamales, cold tamales—dirty and sour, very sour, exceedingly sour, stinking."⁴⁹

Certain special tamales were associated with many of the great monthly feasts. For example, during the feast of Izcalli, honoring the fire deity Xiuhtecuhtli, tamales stuffed with greens and served with a shrimp sauce were eaten.⁵⁰ During the feast of Atemoztli, the mountain gods were honored; figures of the mountains were fashioned and food was set before them, including "exceedingly small" tamales.⁵¹ The festival of Atamalualiztli, or "Eating of Water Tamales," was held every eight years, and was intended to

give the overworked maize a rest. During this time, only tamales made of unsoftened maize, and unseasoned with chile or salt, were eaten.⁵²

Not surprisingly, the ubiquitous tamale found its way into Aztec lore. It was regarded as extremely unwise to eat a tamale that had stuck to the cooking pot, for misfortune surely would ensue. For example, a man might shoot an arrow in warfare that would miss its mark, or he himself might die, or his wife might have difficulty bearing children. Indeed, it was believed that a woman who ate such a tamale would never bear children. If she should become pregnant, the child would cling to her womb just as the tamale adhered to the pot, and would die there. As a result, women were strictly forbidden to eat these tamales.⁵³

Turkey Stew



- turkey hen: *totolin*⁵⁴
- turkey cock: *buxoloti*⁵⁵
- turkey stew: *totolmolti*⁵⁶

severed turkey head in sauce bowl: *totolzontecomatl molcaxit*⁵⁷
James Cooper Clark suggests that the dish represented on folio 61r is the still famous Mexican specialty *mole de guajolote*.⁵⁸ This may well be so. However, the fact that the turkey's head is so prominent in the sauce bowl suggests a meaning beyond mere identification of the dish's contents. Sahagún refers to turkey heads in his listing of the offerings made by merchants when they returned home from a journey. In the offering of gifts to the fire god Xiuhtecuhtli, the first item presented before the fire was a sauce dish containing severed turkey heads.⁵⁹

That the Aztecs valued the meat of the turkey very highly is also attested by Sahagún: "It [turkey] leads the meats; it is the master. It is tasty, fat, savory."⁶⁰ However, as with so many aspects of Aztec life, there was a folk belief connected with the eating of a particular part of the turkey:

Its rounded protuberance is pliant, leathery, like leather, soft, very soft. One who hates another feeds [the protuberance] to him in chocolate, in sauce; he causes him to swallow it. It is said that he thereby makes one impotent.⁶¹

Similar drawings of tripod sauce bowls containing drumsticks and additional parts of the turkey can be found in other Aztec pictorials.⁶²



Pulque

pulque: *octli*⁶³

Prior to Spanish contact, no distilled spirits were known in Mesoamerica; the only intoxicating beverages were fermented substances.

Pulque was the fermented, ritual drink that Fray Diego Durán reports was made "from the honey water of the maguey plant with the root inside." This was used not only for feasts and orgies but also as a medicine.⁶⁴ Durán states that "the term *pulque* is not a Nahuatl word but comes from the Islands, like *maiz*, *naguas* [skirts], and other words brought from Hispaniola."⁶⁵

Pulque—which the sixteenth-century friars frequently referred to as wine—and its attendant drunkenness were associated with rabbits. The fertility god Ometochtli's name translates as "Two Rabbit," which is also a calendric name.⁶⁶ When a man was shouting, weeping, or wrangling under the influence of *pulque* it was said of him, "He is like his rabbit."⁶⁷

Although the origin of *pulque* is associated with the Morelos region of highland central Mexico, and the *pulque* gods have names that derive from the Morelos and Puebla area,⁶⁸ certain of their ac-

countrements would indicate a Huastec origin. These deities—sometimes referred to as "Four Hundred Rabbits"—had as their common insignia a *yacametzli*, a Huastec crescent-shaped nose plate.⁶⁹ The association of the Huasteca and *pulque* is confusing, because the maguey from which the fermented beverage is made does not grow in their homeland, the lowland northern Gulf coast region. However, Sahagún's account of the mythical beginnings of *pulque* sheds light on the puzzling relationship between the drink and the Huasteca region.

Sahagún records the Indians' story of the discovery of maguey juice and its fermentation into *pulque*. This took place first in Tamoanchan, located in the present-day highland state of Morelos.⁷⁰ Once an abundance of the drink was prepared, many distinguished leaders were invited to partake. All but one of the assembled group drank in moderation, taking only four bowls of the potent *pulque*. The remaining guest, however—the ruler of a group of Huasteca—demanded a fifth, to his disgrace: "Thus he drank five, with which he became well besotted, quite drunk; he no longer knew how he acted. And there before the people he threw off his breech clout."⁷¹

The irreverent act of the Huastec ruler Cuextecatl is said to have resulted in his people's having to abandon Tamoanchan and return to the northern Gulf coast to resettle in the region of Pantla, whence they had come. This account of Cuextecatl's shocking behavior is no doubt a reflection of the practice, reported by Sahagún's informants, of the northern Gulf coast Huastecs' going about without loin cloths, a custom the more circumspect Aztecs of the highlands found both scandalous and fascinating.⁷²

Cuextecatl's unfortunate experience with a fifth serving may also be reflected in the name for a sacred, potent ceremonial drink, fivefold *pulque*, which was served at the feast of the fertility deity Ometochtli.⁷³ At other festivals, different varieties of *pulque* were served: blue,⁷⁴ white,⁷⁵ and the "yellow . . . honeyed *pulque*" of wedding feasts.⁷⁶

Durán speaks of the reverence with which *pulque* was regarded, stating that the Aztecs believed it to be divine and therefore used it as an offering to the gods.⁷⁷ Sahagún confirms this use of *pulque* as a libation, particularly to the fire god Xiuhtecuhtli. Old men were associated with this offering. They are reported as sitting about in the fire god's temple drinking *pulque* and singing until dark. This ceremony, which was preceded by the consumption of steaming hot tamales, was referred to as "cooling off at the oven."⁷⁸

Pulque Jar

pulque jar: *tecomatl*⁷⁹

The contents of this clay jar are easily identified by the *yacametzli* symbol, the *pulque* deities' nose ornament, on its side. Above the jar's rim are a concentration of tiny dots, indicating the foam that appears on the top of *pulque*. Depictions of *pulque* jars similar to that of folio 61r can be found in other central Mexican pictorials.⁸⁰

Pulque Bowl

pulque bowl: *tlabuancaxitl*⁸¹

Just as the *pulque* jar has the *yacametzli* symbol on its side and dots at its top to indicate the foam, so too does the shallow *pulque* bowl in which the beverage was served.

This same container is used to convey the concept of overindulgence in *Codex Mendoza*. On folios 70r and 71r, individuals are shown in association with a similarly shaped *pulque* bowl—including three young drunkards who have been executed by stoning.

Pulque bowls like that on folio 61r are also shown in other central Mexican pictorials.⁸²

Bride's Face Paint and Headcloth



The bride, as she appears in the wedding procession, wears a combination of adornments that is puzzling because it incorporates attributes of several deities, none of whom seems to be related to this ceremony. For example, a headcloth is most commonly worn by the goddess associated with fire, Chantico, but she is never shown with a mouth patch.¹¹ However, the earth-fertility mother goddess who does have a dark area drawn around her mouth—Tlazoteotl-Teteoinnan—is adorned with black face paint, not red. A red area around the mouth, like that of the bride, seems to be largely confined to male deities; for example, Quetzalcoatl, Huitzilopochtli, and Xiuhtecutli.¹²

Pine Torch



pine torch: *tlepilli*¹³

Durán, when discussing the great monthly festival of Ochpaniztli, makes references to the torches that the Aztecs used for illumination at night: "In those times immense quantities of pine splinters were bought, and a great thick torch was made of them."¹⁴

Sahagún graphically describes the fragmenting, explosive nature of these volatile pitch-pine torches when discussing the feast of Hueytecuilhuitl. He speaks of the seasoned warriors dancing, guided by heavy firebrands which sputtered and crackled while they burned. The hot pitch from these torches rained down on the warriors as charred bits of the burning pine splintered all about them and fell to the ground.¹⁵

Pine torches similar to those of folio 61r are illustrated in other Aztec pictorials.¹⁶

NOTES

1. Although *Codex Mendoza* indicates that children started school at fifteen, Sahagún (1950–1982 8:71) gives age ten, twelve, or thirteen; Zorita (1963b: 135) mentions age five; and Torquemada (1969 2:222) age five or six. As Berdan (1982:88) suggests, the specific school or course of study may have determined the age of entrance.
2. Calnek (1988:171–172) has compiled the names of thirteen *calmecac* listed by Sahagún and Alvarado Tezozomoc.
3. See Berdan 1982:88–90 for a discussion of the nature of the training in the *calmecac*.
4. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:61, note 2; 8:54, 71–72.
5. Durán 1971:293. *Calmecac* duties are also depicted in *Codex Mendoza* on folios 63r, 64r, and 65r, and do reflect esoteric education: music and astrology on 63r, military skills on 65r.
6. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:67.
7. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:216–218; Durán 1971:83–84.
8. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:61, 63.
9. *Ibid.* 3:69.
10. Though the *Florentine Codex* speaks of the *tepozcalli* as being a school for commoners, occasional mention is also made of the sons of higher gentry attending. For instance, Sahagún speaks of the more serious punishment meted out to a nobleman's son—as opposed to "a commoner, or someone of no importance"—for drinking forbidden *pulque* in the "young men's house" (*Ibid.* 3:59). Durán confirms the attendance of nobleman's sons in the *tepozcalli* and the disparate treatment received by them (1971:112). See Calnek 1988 for a discussion of the *calmecac* and *tepozcalli* in pre-Conquest Tenochtitlan.

11. Durán 1971:290. Durán gives the age of *cacuacalli* attendance as twelve to fourteen; it is *Codex Mendoza* that states fifteen.
12. *Ibid.*:290–292.
13. *Ibid.*:295–300.
14. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:72.
15. Durán 1971:289.
16. *Ibid.*:112–113.
17. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:55–56.
18. *Ibid.* 6:131, note 9.
19. The use of the word *amanteca* in the gloss identifying the woman carrying the bride is confusing. *Amanteca* is the term for an inhabitant of Amantlan, the featherworking *calpulli* of Tenochtitlan. *Amanteca* is also defined in Molina (1977: folio 4v) as "oficiales de artes mecanicas" (handicraftsmen of mechanical arts).

The term used by Sahagún (1950–1982 6:128–129) and Durán (1971:292) for a marital go-between is *cibuatanqui*, defined by Molina (1977: folio 22v) as "matchmaker." See also folio 61r gloss, note 5, in volume 4, the "Parallel Image" volume.

20. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:128–129.
21. *Ibid.* 6:129.
22. *Ibid.* 6:130.
23. Sahagún (*ibid.* 6:127) mentions that a young man and his parents needed to request permission from the masters of youths for the youth to leave the *tepozcalli* and marry. Durán (1971:292) speaks of an "appointed time for youths to marry," giving the age of the youth as twenty or twenty-one. A youth wishing to marry had to wait until he reached that age or until he "had performed some notable feat." Sahagún (1950–1982 8:72) also refers to a "marriageable age" when he speaks of couriers.
24. *Ibid.* 6:116–117.
25. *Ibid.* 6:131–132. Durán (1971:123) reports that a new straw mat was used to record the bride's virginity. If the mat showed no telltale signs after the consummation of the marriage, the bride and her family were shamed, and the baskets, plates, and bowls used for the wedding banquet were perforated to inform the guests of the bride's "immorality."
26. Motolinía 1971:318.
27. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 7 "Calmecat. School for priests"; chap. 3, par. 9 "Calmecat. House for training young men in higher education." Also, Molina 1977: folio 11v "calli, casa" (house); 55r "Mecat. cordele, o saga, o açote de cordeles" (cord, or rope, or whip of cords). Clark (1938 2:78) suggests that *calmecac* is derived from "house" + "cord," or "house in the genealogical line."

28. Durán shows exactly the same frieze and conch shells on the roofs of the twin shrines of Tlaloc and Huitzilopochtli at the top of the Templo Mayor (1971: plate 4). However, he also depicts the temple of Texcatlipoca in the same manner (*ibid.*: plate 9). *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* 1976, in a magnificent rendering of the Templo Mayor of Texcoco on folio 112v, shows the shells only on the roof of Huitzilopochtli's shrine. Sahagún (1950–1982 8: plate 94; 9: plate 30 [1979 8: folio 46v; 9: folio 29v]) also depicts temples of Huitzilopochtli with large shell decorations on the roofs. But in another context (*ibid.* 1: plate 28 [1979 1: folio 6r]) Sahagún pictures shell-like decorations on the roof of a temple of Tlaloc, where a human sacrifice was taking place. *Codex Maghabecheano* 1970: folio 70r shows a human sacrifice taking place on the steps of a temple with the same frieze and elaborated shells as those of *Codex Mendoza's calmecac*.

29. Durán 1971:111.
30. Molina 1977: folio 26v "Cuicatli. canto, o cancion" (chant, or song); folio 11v "Calli, casa" (house). Thus *cuciatl* + *calli* = *cuciatlicalli* or "song house."
31. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* 1 depicts two temples with trapezoidal roof ornaments in connection with the festival of Tlaxacpahuatliztli, honoring the god Xipe Totec. Durán (1967 1: plate 22) illustrates a similar design on the roof of the temple of the goddess Cihuacoatl. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 31r contains an illustration of a temple with this frieze and trapezoidal design in the center of a battle involving Azeapotzaco. This same pictorial, in a subsequent drawing of the Templo Mayor on folio 36v, also shows the roof decoration used on the Huitzilopochtli shrine, positioned on the left side of the temple pyramid.
32. *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* 1976: folio 110v.
33. Molina 1977: folio 147r "Tleucilli. hogar" (hearth).
34. The Aztec concept of the temple hearth's sanctity is apparent in Sahagún's accounts of certain ceremonies performed for the monthly festivities. For example, during the monthly feast of Tlaxacpahuatliztli, an Aztec warrior would take the hair of his captive and place it as an offering on the hearth of his neighborhood temple (Sahagún 1950–1982 2:47). During the Toxcatl monthly feast, the coals from the incense used to honor the gods were ritually cast into the hearth in the courtyard of the local temple (*ibid.* 2:74). It was

- during this same festival, honoring the great god Huitzilopochtli, that two masters of youths, joined by the offering priests, danced before the hearth: "they were leaping about. . . It was said, 'They made the Toxcatl-leap.'" (ibid. 2:75).
35. Ibid. 2:195-196.
 36. Ibid. 4:87-88.
 37. Ibid. 9:9-11.
 38. Molina 1977: folio 24v "Copalli. incienso" (incense).
 39. Sahagún 1950-1982 9:11.
 40. Clark 1938 1:72, note 4.
 41. Sahagún 1950-1982 9:15-16.
 42. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 25r.
 43. Ibid.: folio 36r.
 44. Ibid.: folio 37r.
 45. Ibid.: folio 51r.
 46. Depictions of elongated cakes of incense can be found in *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 74r, 86r, 87r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folios 63r, 72r, 73r.
 47. Molina 1977: folio 90v "Tamalli. pan de mayz embuelto en hojas y cozido en olla" (bread of maize wrapped up in leaves and baked in an earthen dish).
 48. Tamales depicted in the manner of folio 61r can be found in Sahagún 1950-1982 2: plates 35, 36; 4: plates 86, 87, 89 (1979 2: folio 102v; 4: folios 69r, 69v); *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 32r, 67r; *Codex Texlitxocbil* 1976: folio 95v.
 49. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:69.
 50. Ibid. 2:159-160.
 51. Ibid. 2:152.
 52. Ibid. 2:177-178.
 53. Ibid. 5:185.
 54. Sahagún 1950-1982 11:53. Also, Molina 1977: folio 150v "Totolin. gallina" (turkey hen).
 55. Molina 1977: folio 157r "Vexolori. gallo" (turkey cock).
 56. Simón 1963: 654 "Totolmulli, Mets de viande, de volailles, etc." (dish of meat, of fowl, etc.). From *totolin* (turkey) + *mulli* (sauce).
 57. Sahagún 1950-1982 9:28. Also, Molina 1977: folio 153v "Tzontecomatl. cabeza cortada y apartada del cuerpo" (head cut and separated from the body). Thus *totolin* (turkey) + *tzontecomatl* (severed head) + *molexatitl* (sauce bowl) + *c* (locative) = *totoliztontecomatl molexatitl*, or "severed turkey head in sauce bowl."
 58. Clark 1938 1:92, note 4.
 59. Sahagún 1950-1982 9:28.
 60. Ibid. 11:53.
 61. Ibid. 11:53-54.
 62. Sauce dishes containing turkey drumsticks occur in Sahagún 1950-1982 4: plates 46, 87, 89; 6: plates 10, 38 (1979 4: folio 31r, 69r, 69v; 6: folio 28r, 192r).
 63. Molina 1977: folio 75v "Oetli. vino" (wine).
 64. Durán 1971: 310. The "root" referred to by Durán is an herb that was added for additional potency (see "Image Descriptions," folio 70r).
 65. Durán 1971: 309-310.
 66. Molina 1977: folio 76r "Ome. dos" (two); 148r "Tochtli. conejo" (rabbit). Thus *ome* + *tochtli* = *Ometochtli*, or "Two-Rabbit."
 67. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:230.
 68. H. B. Nicholson: personal communication, October 1987.
 69. Selser 1900-1901: 87-88; also called a *yucabucotli*. Molina 1977: folio 30v

"Yacatl. nariz, o punta de algo" (nose, or point of something); 55v "Metztli. luna, o tierra de hombre o de animal, o mes" (moon, or leg of man or animal, or month). Thus *yacatl* (nose) + *metztli* (moon [crescent]) = *yacametztli*, or "nose crescent."

The pre-Hispanic *Codex Borgia* 1976:55 shows the goddess Tlazolteotl, who seems to have originated on the Gulf coast (Anawalt 1982a), wearing the *yacametztli* in association with a rabbit who is within a huge *yacametztli*-shaped container. Folios 49r through 59r of the post-Hispanic *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970 depict the *pulque* deities; all wear the *yacametztli* nose ornament, and nine also have this same insignia on their shields. The goddess Mayahuel, discoverer of the maguey, wears the nose ornament on folio 58r. *Codex Magliabechiano* also includes the *yacametztli* as the design of a ritual mantle on folio 4v, listed as "manta de conejo," or "rabbit cape."

70. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:193.
 71. Ibid. 10:193.
 72. Ibid. 10:194.
 73. Ibid. 2:207.
 74. Ibid. 2:148.
 75. Ibid. 3:18.
 76. Ibid. 6:130.
 77. Durán 1971:310.
 78. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:161.
 79. Molina 1977: folio 93r "Tecomatl. vaso de barro, como taça honda" (vessel of clay, like a deep cup).
 80. Foaming *pulque* containers and vessels, some displaying the *yacametztli* symbol, are shown in the following pictorials: *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 5, 33; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 72r, 85r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 70r; Sahagún 1950-1982 1: plate 42; 7: plate 14 (1979 1: folio 40r; 7: folio 16r); *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:26; *Codex Laud* 1966:9, 12, 14, 16; and *Codex Borgia* 1976:12. The most explicit of these is on *estampa* VI of *Primeros Memoriales* 1926, which lists the various services paid to the gods. "Libation" is illustrated by a seated male pouring liquid from a bowl below which sits a huge foaming container with a large *yacametztli* design on its side.
 81. Molina 1977: folio 143v "Tlauan axatitl. taça o vaso para beuer vino" (cup or vessel for drinking wine).
 82. *Pulque* bowls similar to that on folio 61r are illustrated in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:33; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 41r, 81r, 85r, 86r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folios 65r, 70r, 72r; *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* VI; and *Codex Borgia* 1976:3-4.
 83. An interesting similarity exists between the bride's headcloth and red mouth patch and the anthropomorphic figure that forms a mosaic knife handle, Museo Nazionale Preistorico-Etnografico, Luigi Pigorini, Rome. See Nicholson 1983:174.
 84. See *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 89r; *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 3, 22, 36.
 85. Molina 1977: folio 147v "Tlepilli. manojó grande de tea para alumbrar" (large bundle/handful of resinous pine for illuminating).
 86. Durán 1971:422.
 87. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:101.
 88. Depictions of pine torches can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:25; *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* IV; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 84v; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 29r; Sahagún 1950-1982 2: plate 44 (1979 2: folio 105r).

CONTENT

Folio 62r contrasts, in alternating registers, the priestly *calmecac* training with that of the commoners in the *tepochcalli*. These comparisons of the two types of education and of the duties, punishments, and achievements that befell the young men involved, continue on through folio 65r.

Register 1

The four males in the first register are identified as novice priests, and their solid black face and body paint confirms their commitment. The glosses say that the first novice "has the duty of sweeping"; the second "comes from the mountains carrying boughs to decorate the temple." The third novice "goes loaded with maguey spikes for the temple; with these they offer sacrifices to the devil by drawing blood." The fourth young priest "goes loaded with green canes for the temple, to make fences and to decorate it."

Sahagún supplies additional information on the rigors of *calmecac* life. In his description of the temple school, he speaks of everyone rising well before dawn to perform the ritual sweeping. Also, maguey spikes were continually sought out and collected. This activity was a constant necessity, because every member of the *calmecac* practiced autosacrifice regularly, using the gathered spines. When extreme atonement was demanded, a penitent might go a distance of two leagues into the forest or desert to draw his own blood with the spikes of the maguey.¹

Every aspect of life was austere for these novices. In addition to performing their demanding temple duties and regular autosacrifice and fasting, they were expected to refrain from hearty eating, to be "fond of empty-guttedness." Nor were they to be comfortably clad: "Let thy body chill, because verily thou goest to perform penance."²

Register 2

The four young men shown in the second register are engaged in the chores of their neighborhood *tepochcalli* school, which the commentator refers to as a temple. Unlike the *calmecac* novices above, these young men wear brown face paint. The gloss states that the first youth "goes loaded with a large trunk of firewood to have fire lighted in the temple." This same description is also applied to the second and third youths, whereas the fourth is said to be "loaded with branches to decorate the temple." Durán details the manual labor performed by the young men in these schools,

confirming that in addition to bringing branches to decorate the temple, they carried firewood to keep the sacred fires burning.¹

Register 3

The third register returns to scenes of *calmecac* training, where the novices now have advanced to wearing the priestly smear of blood in front of the ear. Glosses explain the two punishment scenes. In the first, a head priest "is punishing the novice priest because he is negligent in his duties." Thanks to Sahagún, we have some idea of the responsibilities demanded of these novices during their training in the *calmecac*, referred to by the friar as a house of weeping, tears, and sorrows.⁴

A novice's life was hard. In addition to the heavy chores, austere living conditions, and rising at midnight for prayers, chastisements were frequent and severe. If one failed to obey, he was punished by having blood drawn from his ears, breast, thighs, or the calves of his legs. Sahagún cryptically notes, "Verily, because of this fear descended."¹¹

A gloss also explains the second punishment scene of register 3, where the head priests are piercing a novice with maguey spikes "all over his body, for being rebellious and incorrigible in what they order him [to do]." Below this disobedient novice, and attached to him by a dotted line, is a glyph composed of a house, a male's profile, and three black dots. The accompanying gloss reads, "This little house means that, if the novice priest went to his house to sleep three days, they punished him as drawn and stated above."¹²

Given the rigors of *calmecac* training, perhaps such truancy was not unusual. From a passage in Sahagún, it is obvious that novices' parents had such concerns in mind when their sons entered a temple school. The family's parting admonition was that the youth not look back longingly to his home and the comforts therein, and that he not remind himself that his parents, neighbors, protectors, and possessions all were represented by his house, "the place of abundance, a place of riches. It is ended; thou goest knowing it."¹³ *Calmecac* training was not to be entered into lightly; in Aztec society the career of a priest was held in the highest esteem.

Register 4

The bottom register of folio 62r returns to a later stage of *tepochcalli* training. The gloss identifies the figure on the left as "*Tequibua* [tequigua], which is a brave man in war." This warrior, whose *temillotl*—"pillar of stone"—hairstyle denotes his high

military status, faces a youth whose father is seated behind.⁷ The latter's gloss reads, "Youth's father, who offers his son to the warrior so that he may be trained in martial arts and taken to war." Sahagún reports that a young man's earlier chore of carrying firewood was sometimes regarded as a forerunner for this subsequent martial stage of his training. By piling increasingly heavy logs on a boy's back "they tested him, whether perchance he would do well in war, when already indeed an untried youth they took him to war. Yet it was only that he went carrying a shield on his back."⁸

The adjacent scene in the fourth register shows the youth, who now has a blue-rimmed shield and a heavily laden carrying basket on his back, following the *tequibua* warrior. The gloss reads, "Youth, pupil of the warrior, who goes with him to war carrying his baggage and his arms on his back."⁹

Durán confirms that those *telpoecalli* youths who seemed to have an inclination for warfare were introduced to it early. If a boy seemed unusually courageous and eager for battle, "he was sent to carry food and other supplies to the warriors so that he might see action and hardship. Thus, it was considered, he would lose his fear."¹⁰

The gloss beside the youth's leader reads, "*Tequibua* [*tequigua*], warrior who went to war, with his arms." This particular fighting man carries a magnificent, multicolored *cucyo*-style feathered shield and a pointed wooden club. He gestures toward the distance, perhaps indicating the pair's destination.

Sahagún describes a good *tequibua* warrior as a valiant man, who acts as a sentinel, a seeker of roads to the foe, and a reckless, fearless taker of captives. A bad *tequibua*, however, was timid, afraid, cowardly in retreat, and likely to lead one into an ambush or to fall asleep at his post, thus causing death through neglect.¹¹

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS



Ritual Sweeping

sweeping: *tlacpanaliztli*¹¹

Primeros Memoriales, when describing "tasks performed in the devil's houses," mentions the act of sweeping: "So that they would sweep the temple courtyard, they shouted at all the young fire priests to sweep."¹² Sahagún repeatedly speaks of the constant ritual sweeping that went on

in the temples.¹¹ However, annually there was one period when no one in or outside a temple swept with a broom. This was during the five-day period at the end of the year, Nemontemi, which was considered a time of bad luck when all took special precaution that ill not befall them. Sahagún reports that at this time "there was only staying indoors. No one swept with a broom; they were only fanned [the dust] with a fan or the flight feather of a turkey hen . . . or they repeatedly beat, they swept with a cape."¹⁴

Boughs

bough: *quaubzibuitl*¹⁴



Although the Spanish gloss on folio 62r can be translated "boughs," it looks as though what are being transported to the *calmecac* are reeds or rushes. Sahagún provides a description that closely matches this particular image when he speaks of reeds being gathered for the festival of Etzalcualiztli by "the priests and servants of the idols."¹⁶ Four days prior to the priest's fasting, they went to gather reeds at Citaltepec. It was here that very tall grasses with a white base were to be found. The reeds, which were called *actapilín* or *tolmimilli*, were always arranged and tied in bundles so as to be carried upright on the back, held in place by a tumpine. Sahagún's description of the gathering of these reeds fits the *Codex Mendoza* depiction perfectly.¹⁷



Maguery Spines

maguery spines: *huitztlil*¹⁸

Primeros Memoriales, when relating the tasks performed in the temples, tells of *Huitzquiliztli*, or "Cutting Thorns: . . . the offering priests who were not yet very experienced cut them. It was they who gathered them."¹⁹ Sahagún reports that "those [novices] already a little strong then went to seek maguery thorns."²⁰

Durán tells how the gathered spines were used. Following the midnight incensing ceremony, all the priests gathered in a large room filled with woven mats. After everyone was seated, they began to pierce their calves near the shinbone in order to draw blood, which was rubbed in front of the priests' ears. The remaining blood was smeared directly onto the maguery thorns themselves. These spines were then stuck into large sacrificial balls of straw, which were placed between the merlons of the courtyard wall as a visible symbol of the priests' devotion. Durán says that because no thorn could be used twice, the spines had to be removed daily. When the Spaniards arrived, they were dumbfounded to find so many thorns "so carefully kept and revered."²¹

The fertility connotations associated with maguery spines are evident in a greeting to a noblewoman, praising her on the arrival of her new child:

the spine, the thorn of the lords, of the rulers, hath budded, hath blossomed; for the spine, the maguery which our lords who have gone excelling in honor, who have gone being great, planted deep, have come to appear—have come to emerge.

This exhortation concludes with euphemistic references to the new baby: "Topiltzin Quetzalcoat hath torn a precious necklace, rent a precious feather from thee."²²



Green Canes

cane: *acatl*²³

The Spanish gloss on folio 62r mentions the depicted green canes as being intended for use in the temple as decoration and material to make fences. Although Durán has several references to youths setting up branches and decorating with flowers and rushes,²⁴ he provides no specific information on green cane fences. However, the friar does mention the use in temples of wicker

reeds, which may have been cut from such canes. When describing autosacrifice at the time of one of the great festivals, he tells of the noble youths filing into a temple carrying sharp blades in one hand and a bunch of thin, smooth wicker reeds in the other. After sitting down in rows, these young men proceeded to perform autosacrifice by cutting into the fleshy part of their left arm. One by one, the reeds were passed through these wounds and then thrown, covered with blood, before an image of the sun. The bravest and most penitent was he who offered up the greatest number of bloody reeds.²⁵

Sahagún's *Primeros Memoriales*, on the folio depicting services to the gods, illustrates autosacrifice performed by the "Passing of Straw."²⁶ These stiff, thin "straws" appear to be approximately two feet long; hence they could have been cut from a piece of cane of the proportions of those being carried in the top register of folio 62r.

Ritual Firewood

firewood: *quabuitl*²⁷

Primeros Memoriales describes "The Ritual Making of Bundles of Wood," *teuquauh-quetzalitzli*, as the gathering of green wood in the forest to be burned "in the devil's home." The preparation of this firewood and the overseeing of its ritual burning was the responsibility of those who lived in the temples.²⁸ The supplying of temple fires was a constant chore, as the three depictions of this activity on folio 62r indicate. So important were these ritual fires that in certain temples there were even specialized firewood tenders. For example, in the shrine of one of the principal deities, Tezcatlipoca, there was a group of priests whose job included not only the sweeping and decorating of the god's sanctuary but also the constant provisioning of his Divine Hearth. This fire was never allowed to go out, and the wood for it could be brought only by this special group.²⁹



Trunk of Firewood

trunk of firewood: *mimiliqui quabuitl*³⁰

The images on folio 62r recall Sahagún's description of an untried youth carrying on his back "what they called logs of wood—perchance yet only one, or then, there, two" to test whether he might later do well in war.³¹ Motolinia speaks of the size of these loads of firewood, which he says consisted of logs as long as an arm and as thick as a wrist.³²

It is possible to obtain some idea of the type of materials burned by the Aztecs through Sahagún's account of the woodcutter. He is described as selling oak, pine, alder, and madroña wood, as well as material for making dart shafts, bark in various stages of desiccation, old stalks of maize and sunflowers, and dried maguery leaves.³³

Part 2 of *Codex Mendoza* contains a depiction of loads of firewood sent regularly in tribute.³⁴

Branches

branch: *quauhxibuitl*³⁵

The Spanish gloss on folio 62r states that the *tepoacalli* youth is carrying branches to decorate the temple; Durán confirms this use of decorative boughs.³⁶

There was, however, an additional use for such boughs, at least for conifer branches, which those on folio 62r appear to be. Sahagún, when discussing tasks performed in the "devils' houses," speaks both of "hauling fir branches: the offering priests who were already experienced gathered them,"³⁷ and of "The Laying of Fir Branches. . .



They gathered green fir branches in the woods in order to place the offering of maguery thorns upon them. First they set down the fir branch; on it they laid two thorns [covered] with blood."³⁸ This described offering is also illustrated in an accompanying pictorial folio, "Services to the Gods"; in one hand a blackened priest holds two bloodied maguery thorns, in the other, short fir branches.³⁹ Sahagún describes this same ritual in the *Florentine Codex* under the heading "The Offering of Thorns."⁴⁰

House

house: *calli*⁴¹



Sahagún provides a detailed discussion of the "various manners of houses, [and] their classifications."⁴² Because the errant novice priest in the third register of folio 62r went to a *calmeca*, the temple school that was attended mainly by noble youths, it can be assumed that the home to which he returned for three days was most probably that of an elite family. Sahagún refers to such a dwelling as a "cherished good, proper, beautiful house. Not high nor roomy, it is ordinarily agreeable. It is a place where there is deliberation, thinking."⁴³

Tequibua Warrior Hairstyle

tequibua warrior hairstyle: *temillotl*⁴⁴

This same hairstyle is worn by one of the Aztec gods, Yacatecuhtli, the merchant deity. This god's name can be translated as "Nose-Lord" or "Lord of the Vanguard," referring to the vanguard merchants' extensive travels.⁴⁵ *Primeros Memoriales*, when describing this deity's array, states, "His frontal hair, that is, his hair is arranged in the form of a column."⁴⁶



Durán reports that honored, valiant warriors “were given a new name, *tequinaque* which is the equivalent of saying ‘man who makes good use of the soldier’s calling.’ This term is made up of *tequitl*, which means ‘work,’ and the syllable *uaque*, which refers to a person who has performed his work well. In our own language we could give him the title captain.”⁴⁸

Sahagún, in a discussion of a successful fighting man moving up through the hierarchy of his profession, tells what occurred when he reached the rank of seasoned warrior: “And when he took four [captives in battle], Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior.” At that time he also assumed the titles of a *tequibua* warrior: “perchance Mexical tequia, or Tolnauacatl tequia, or Ciatepancatl tequia.”⁴⁹ *Codex Mendoza* does not agree with Sahagún as to the stage in a warrior’s career when he is first allowed to wear the *tequibua* hairstyle; folio 64r shows a warrior who has just taken his first captive already wearing his hair in this prestigious style.

The *tequibua* hairstyle appears repeatedly in other Aztec pictorials, in both ritual and secular contexts.⁵⁰

Youth’s Hairstyle



Sahagún explains the meaning conveyed by the cut of a young man’s hair. A small boy was completely shorn until age ten, when a tuft of hair was allowed to grow at the back of his head. By age fifteen this lock was quite long, but the youth was not allowed to cut it off until he had taken a captive in battle.⁵¹

Sahagún’s discussion of hairstyles provides insight into the social pressure placed on a youth to go into battle. The friar relates how the women would torment a young man who still had his long lock of hair.

“He with the occipital tuft of hair can speak! Canst thou talk? Be thou already concerned over how thy tuft of hair will fall off, thou with the little tuft of hair. It is an evil-smelling tuft of hair, it is a stinking tuft of hair. Art thou not just a woman like me?”

Shamed by such grave insults, the boy would retort with such scathing expressions as

“Anoint thy stomach with mud, scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other; . . . fall stinking on the ground. There is a stone, a hard stone; strike thy face with the stone, strike thy face with it, make the blood spurt forth. Scratch thy nose with the stone, or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe; thou wilt spit [through] there.”⁵²

Blue-bordered Shield



shield: *cbmalli*⁵³

An unadorned, circular shield with a simple blue, white, or red border is the reappearing, generic shield of the *Codex Mendoza*, occurring sixteen times in the ethnographic section. This same shield also appears in other Aztec pictorials.⁵⁴

Primeros Memoriales provides detailed information on the arms and insignia of the Aztecs; the manner of making a shield is included: “It is made in this manner: split bamboo [pieces] are put together with maguey fiber. They are reinforced with heavy bamboo.”⁵⁵

Carrying Basket

carrying basket: *cbiquinb topilli*⁵⁶

Similar woven carrying baskets appear five times in the *Florentine Codex*, but never with this kind of a clothlike load inside.⁵⁷ The gloss identifies the bundle only as “baggage.”



Warrior’s Shield

Huastec shield: *cucxyo cbimalli*⁵⁸

The *tequibua* warrior carries a magnificent feathered Huastec shield, the most frequently depicted of all the Aztec shield designs.⁵⁹ Note that this shield has as part of its design four *yacamertli* nose ornaments, the *pulque* deities’ motif and a symbol of the Huastec region.

Warrior’s Club

warrior’s club: *huitzoctli*⁶⁰

When giving an account of the accoutrements of lords and captains, Sahagún describes this weapon as “the pointed war club. A piece of oak is cut. The four sides have sharp edges. It has a pointed tip.”⁶¹ A similar pointed club is carried by a warrior in *Codex Vaticanus A*; there the gloss reads: “This is the livery of the common soldiers, and their usual mode of combat was with this war club or stick and the others with bows and arrows and shield.”⁶² The war stick is also shown being used in two scenes of combat in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.⁶³

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:65–66.
2. *Ibid.* 6:213–215.
3. It is interesting that three of the *calmeca* youths wear net capes (worn folded around the hips when they carried heavy loads), because such cloaks are the usual attire of the *tepehualtli* masters of youths and their young charges. Three of the latter, in register 2, also wear net garments.
4. Durán 1971:83.
5. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:62.
6. *Ibid.* 3:66.
7. *Ibid.* 6:214.
8. See “Image Description” section for information on *temiloli* hairstyle.
9. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:55.
10. Durán 1971:112–113.
11. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:24.
12. Molina 1977: folio 117v “Tlachpanaliztli. el acto de barrer” (the act of sweeping).
13. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 12, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
14. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:218; 3:55, 59, 6:214.
15. *Ibid.* 2:171.
16. Molina 1977: folio 87v “Quauhsuilit. ramos de arboles” (boughs of trees).
17. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:11.
18. *Ibid.* 2:78.
19. Molina 1977: folio 157r “Virtzli. espina grande, o puya” (large thorn or point).
20. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 12, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
21. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:65.
22. Durán 1971:119–120.
23. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:185.
24. Molina 1977: folio 1v “Acatl. caña” (cane/reed).
25. E.g., Durán 1971:81.
26. *Ibid.*:191.
27. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* VI.
28. Molina 1977: folio 88r “Quauzil. arbol, madero o palo” (tree, wood, or piece of wood).

28. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 3, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
29. Durán 1971:81–83, 121.
- Durán lists as the captains or chieftains of this group the *tepochtlatoque*. This is surprising, as the *tepochtlatoque* (singular: *tepochtlatlo*) were, according to Sahagún (1950–1982 3:51, 55), the “rulers of the youths” and directors of the *tepochtcalli*. This is also the term used in the glosses on folio 63r of the *Codex Mendoza* for the “masters who govern youths.”
30. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:55, 65. Also, Molina 1977: folio 56v “Mimiliuqui. cosa rolliza, como pilar. &c.” (thick and round thing, like a pillar, etc.); 88r “Quauitl. arbol, madero o palo” (tree, wood, or piece of wood).
31. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:55.
32. Motolinia 1971:76.
33. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:81.
34. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 32r, the province of Quahuacan.
35. Molina 1977: folio 87v “Quauhxiuitl. ramos de arboles” (boughs/branches of trees).
36. Durán 1971:81–83.
37. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 12, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
38. *Ibid.*: chap. 1, par. 3, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
39. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: estampa VI.
40. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:198.
41. Molina 1977: folio 11v “Calli. casa” (house).
42. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:269.
43. *Ibid.* 11:271.
44. Seler 1960–1961 2:454, 497, 521, 536. From Molina 1977: folio 97v “Temimilli. columna redonda de piedra” (round column of stone). Seler also gives the terms *ixquatzonilli* (forehead hair) and *ixquatcepilli* (forehead prince) for this hairstyle. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 5 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) uses the terms *temimillot* and *ixquatzonilli*.
45. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plates 19, 41 (1979 1: folios 12r, 39v).
46. Nicholson 1971b: table 3.
47. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 5, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
48. Durán 1971:137. The modern-day Nahuatl scholar J. Richard Andrews (1975:472) identifies *tequitil* as “job, work, task; tribute” and *tequitlhuā* as “a tribute owner, one who has (a share of the) tribute, i.e., a valiant warrior.”
49. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:77.
50. In the *tonalpohualli* section of *Codex Borbonicus* (1974:4), the *tequitlhuā* hairstyle is worn by a priestly drummer in the fourth week *veintena* period. In *Codex Magliabechiano* (1970) it is worn by a participant in the feast of Hueymicailhuil (folio 38r) and by the deity Mictlantecuhtli (folio 65r). This same style appears repeatedly in the *Florentine Codex*, worn by a feasting warrior, men with fortunate day signs, a male talking to an apparition, six musicians, and a military governor of Tlatelolco (Sahagún 1950–1982 3: plate 6; 4: plates 26, 30, 94; 5: plate 2; 8: plate 69; 9: plate 5 [1979, 3: folio 7r; 4: folios 24v, 25r, 71v; 5: folio 6v; 8: folio 28r; 9: folio 2r]).
51. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:75.
52. *Ibid.* 2:63–64. See also Durán 1971:292–293, note 2.
53. Molina 1977: folio 21r “Chimalli. rodela, adarga paues, o cosa semeiante” (shield, round target, or something similar).
54. See appendix G, column 8, “Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials,” volume 1.
55. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
56. Molina 1977: folio 21v “Chiquiuh topilli. canasta grande texida de cañas” (large basket or pannier woven of cane/reeds).
57. Sahagún 1950–1982 5: plate 1; 10: plates 74–75, 115; 11: plate 750 (1979 5: folio 1r; 10: folios 29v, 43r; 11: folio 200v).
58. See Anawalt essay, chapter 8 in volume 1 for a detailed analysis of the *cuesyo chimalli* or Huastec shield.
59. See appendix G, column 1, “Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials,” volume 1.
60. Siméon 1963:668 “Uitzoetli, Levier, bâton en bois dur et pointu” (lever, hard and pointed wooden staff/stick).
61. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
62. *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 59v.
63. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967 folios 34r, 37r.

CONTENT

Folio 63r continues the pattern begun on 62r of alternating scenes comparing the aristocratic, priestly *calmecac* education with the training of commoners in the *tepochoalli*.

Register 1

The first register concerns *calmecac* duties performed by head priests. Durán speaks of the stringent and demanding standards by which these dedicated men lived. Their penitential duties included regular fasting, which, prior to major ceremonial events, lasted five to ten days. Their bodies were further punished through the constant bloodletting of autosacrifice. In addition, to assure chastity, they were said to have "cut their virile members in the middle to become impotent so as not to offend their gods."¹ The priests also slept very little, because many of their rituals were performed during the nocturnal hours.² Sahagún confirms the regularity of these demanding vigils, which were aptly called "Staying Awake at Night."³ Appropriately, the priestly duties shown on register 1 all occur after dark; two of these take place under a starry sky.

The initial scene of folio 63r involves an incensing ritual. The gloss reads,

Head priest, who goes at night with his kindled fire to a mountain to do penance; and he carries in his hand a bag of copal incense to offer as a sacrifice to the devil, and he carries on his back henbane in a vessel for the same sacrifice; and he carries his boughs to decorate the place of sacrifice; and he brings behind him a novice priest who carries other things for the sacrifice.

These incensing rites were called *tlenamaquiliztli*, the "Offering of Fire." They were performed by scooping up burning coals with a clay incense ladle, the long, hollow handle of which was filled with stones, creating a rattling sound when used. Onto the hot coals was sprinkled copal incense, made from the odiferous resin of conifer trees. While the fragrant smoke billowed forth, the incense ladle was raised in each of the four cardinal directions. The coals were then thrown into a brazier, where the incense continued to smoke.⁴

Ritual incensing was not confined solely to the night hours. This homage to the gods was also carried out four times during the day: at dawn, noon, dusk, and midnight. Durán speaks of the "eerie, diabolical sound" of the large conch shells and small flutes

that accompanied these incensing ceremonies. He also describes an officiating priest who, like the first priest of 63r, was "dressed in a long robe similar to a tunic [that reached] down to his knees."⁵ This ritual garment was called a *xicolli*.

In one hand the priest of folio 63r holds a clay incense burner from which smoke emerges and in the other hand a distinctive bag that contains the copal incense. Tied to the priest's back is a gourd container of a type described by Durán, who says they were called *yectecomatl*.⁶ He describes such gourds as being "filled with tobacco and other magic objects."⁷

This latter reference is to a venomous mixture containing, among other ingredients, tobacco. The Spaniards likened tobacco to the European herb henbane,⁸ the substance the gloss mistakenly refers to as the sole content of the priest's gourd.⁹

The novice helper of the head priest wears a net cape and carries "other things for the sacrifice."¹⁰ This is, no doubt, a reference to implements for the anticipated autosacrifice. The novice's container holds what looks like the canes of folio 62r. From this material sharp reeds could be cut for the ritual piercing of the flesh.

Immediately adjacent to the incensing scene, a second head priest sits beneath a starry sky; the glosses for this latter image and the identical one to the right read, "This drawing with eyes means night."¹¹ The priest is beating a horizontal two-toned drum and singing, activities that were vital components of Aztec ritual ceremonies. Sahagún, in a description of the feast held for one of the mother goddesses, says, "Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned drum; . . . they rattled the gourd rattle; they rasped the notched bone."¹² In a discussion of the various peoples who inhabited ancient Mexico, Sahagún's informants speak of the Nahuas' [the Aztec were Nahuatl speakers] marked devotion to ritual observances, including their drum-playing.¹³

The third priest is also seated beneath a night sky, which he is studying carefully. The accompanying gloss reads, "Head priest who is looking at the stars in the night sky to ascertain the time for services and duties." Directly in front of the priest's gaze—attached to his profile by a tiny dotted line—is an image intended to be either an eye or a star. This conelike shape may be a symbol for star, indicating that the priest was seeking out a constellation. Certain of the planets also had particular importance for the Aztecs.¹⁴

Astronomical observations were a constant necessity for the Aztecs because so much of their belief system was closely keyed to celestial phenomena. The Mesoamerican Indians were very sensitive to the passage of time, which they regarded as cyclical.

Added to their concept of repetitive time was a strong belief in fate; each day was believed to carry its own unique burden of good or ill. Given their concept of a limited predication, it was necessary to keep accurate calendars so as to prognosticate the course of future events.¹³

The establishment of a correct calendar system required rigorous, systematic observations. Such an undertaking involved hard-work skills. A measure of the Aztecs' respect for the Toltecs is reflected in the astronomical expertise they accredited to these revered predecessors, who ruled in central Mexico some 500 years prior to the coming of the Aztecs. Sahagún's informants credited the Toltecs with originally fathoming all celestial phenomena, determining which were the good and evil day signs, and establishing the counts of the days and years.¹⁴ Actually, these "counts" predated the Toltecs by many centuries.

Both Durán and Sahagún make it clear that the Aztecs themselves had a good understanding of the heavens. Durán illustrates ten of their constellations.¹⁵ Sahagún also refers to some of these same star groups when speaking of incensing and autosacrificial rites' being tied to the passage of certain constellations through the night sky.¹⁶ A number of attempts have been made, beginning with Selser, to determine the correlation between the constellations we are familiar with and those of the Aztecs.¹⁷

Register 2

The second register of folio 63r returns to events connected with *telpochcalli* training. The first scene shows a young man setting off to battle; the gloss reads, "Youth who goes to war loaded with provisions and arms." The young warrior wears the body and face paint of a master of youths and carries a shield, arrows, and provisions, which are lashed to a carrying frame. His obsidian-studded spear is used as a staff. This youth may be an older version of the boy seen in the bottom register of folio 62r, carrying the gear of his *tequihua* warrior mentor.¹⁸

Some young men took to warfare very quickly. Durán relates that if a youth showed particular bravery on the field of battle he might return a full-fledged warrior, already having earned the attendant rewards and trappings. Sometimes overly zealous young men were captured or killed in such efforts, reportedly preferring death to capture. Durán notes that those most inclined for the martial life were often the sons of valiant warriors.¹⁹

Motolinia confirms this report of early battle training, asserting that of the *telpochcalli* youths who went to the wars, only the strongest took arms, while the others were to watch and to learn how war was practiced.²⁰

The second scene of register 2 is described in the gloss: "the two *telpochcalli*, who are masters who govern youths, punished a youth who had been living with a woman by beating him with burning firebrands; and they deter them from whoring; according to the drawings contained in this row." As discussed earlier, youths and maidens met regularly as a result of their *cuicacalli* training for ritual singing and dancing. Although both sexes were well chaperoned at these sessions, certain passages in Sahagún and Durán make it clear that occasionally some of these young people continued to meet clandestinely.²¹ Such rendezvous and their subsequent repercussions were not restricted only to foolhardy youths like the young man being beaten. Sahagún tells of a very similar dire fate befalling a master of youths who was living in concubinage with a young woman. His punishment took place in the *cuicacalli* itself, "before everyone." In addition to taking away his possessions, adornments, and lip pendant, his chastisers cut off his prestigious hairstyle.

Thereafter they beat him repeatedly with a pine stick; they verily caused him to swoon. They singed his head with fire; his body smoked; it blistered. . . . And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, with this they cast him forth. . . . he just slowly crept away; he left going from one side to the other; he just went confused; he left full; he withdrew forever; nevermore was he to sing and dance with the others.²²

Register 3

On register 3, *calmecac* activities are again depicted. The gloss reads: "Head priest, who has the duty of sweeping the temples, or ordering them swept." The priest's broom appears to be of the same plant material carried by the incensing priest and his novice helper in the first register.²³ Whatever a broom was made of, the act of sweeping was an important, indispensable, and regular aspect of temple life.

The adjacent episode of register 3 is a *calmecac* equivalent of the abovementioned *telpochcalli* punishment scene. The gloss states: "The explanation of these drawings is that if the novice priest was negligent and had excessive relations with a woman, or was whoring, the head priests punished him by sticking pine needles all over his body." These "pine needles" look identical to the "maquely spikes" shown on folio 59r. As for the errant youth, he is a young priest whose body paint and smear of blood at the temple bespeak his rank. The woman with whom he has been involved is depicted immediately above him, juxtaposed to this young man just as is her *telpochcalli* equivalent in the preceding register. Unlike the latter, however, this young woman is dressed in more elaborate clothing; her *bunipilli* and skirt have a red trim. The implication is that she is a female from a higher level of Aztec society.

As Sahagún makes clear, fraternizing with women definitely had no part in the life of priests. They took a strict vow of chastity, supposedly not so much as daring to look at a woman.²⁴ Durán confirms this when speaking of the

rigorous punishments which were applied to those who had committed immoral acts. Thus all the youths went about with their eyes to the ground, and all those who served in the temples did not venture to raise their heads to gaze upon women, especially priests whose lot was not that of marriage. He who was careless in these things suffered the pain of death.²⁵

Register 4

The bottom register of folio 63r returns to *telpochcalli* life. The gloss explains that "if the youth roamed about as a vagabond, the two masters punished him by shearing him and singeing his head with fire." This youth's chastisement is very similar to that of the womanizing masters of youths discussed above. Sahagún describes the punishment of having one's head singed as "being old-ladied."²⁶

Note that the youth's sin was roaming about as a vagabond. In a culture such as the Aztecs', whose ideal attributes were moderation, discipline, and hard work, each person had his or her place in society; to wander at will, aimlessly, was folly. This value is reflected in the qualities attributed to a bad day sign. Durán states that those under the influence of Ehecatl, "Wind," were "fickle, inconsistent, negligent, lazy, enemies of toil, addicted to merrymaking, gluttons, parasites, rovers who had neither roots nor rest."²⁷

The final scene of folio 63r is described in the gloss: "Youth who is occupied in bringing sod in his canoe for the repair of the temple." This is an example of the type of community service carried out by the young men being trained in the *telpochcalli*.²⁸



Head Priest

head priest: *tlamaucuzqui*²⁹
fringed, sleeveless jacket:
*xicolli*³⁰

The head priest wears the *xicolli*, a fringed, sleeveless jacket that tied in front (its sleeved appearance is due to the wide garment's draping off the shoulders and thus forming a fold under the arm). Among the Aztecs, this was a special-purpose costume restricted to males, who

wore it solely in a ritual or official context: it appears only on gods, deity impersonators, priests, and special envoys of the emperor (see folio 66r).³¹ The *xicolli* is depicted in many other Aztec pictorials.³²

incense ladle: *tlemañtli*³³

Pre-Hispanic incense ladles similar to that of folio 63r can be found in present-day collections of Aztec material.³⁴ Often they have the same four small Maltese Cross-like sections cut out of the bowl, as well as one at the bottom. The design thus created is smaller than but very similar to that on the bottom of the incense ladle on folio 63r. This same quatrefoil motif appears repeatedly on the incense ladles in the Aztec ritual pictorial *Codex Borbonicus*.³⁵

Hand-held incense burners, depicted in an assortment of shapes, appear in a variety of central Mexican codices.³⁶



incense bag: *xiquipilli*³⁷

Sahagún mentions incense bags made of paper—used by nobles in rituals—and made of cotton, colored either green or black with a design of bones, carried by officials in ceremonies.³⁸ Incense bags occur repeatedly in the pictorials, usually with a design that implies four directions, like the cross in the bag of folio 63r or the Maltese Cross-like design of the *incensario*.³⁹

An incense bag was also the Aztec symbol for the number 8,000 (*cenxiquipilli*).⁴⁰ Its most famous occurrence as a counter is in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* scene indicating the number of prisoners prepared to be sacrificed for the dedication of the Templo Mayor. The improbable sum of 20,000 is conveyed through the depiction of two incense bags ($2 \times 8,000 = 16,000$) and ten "hairs of the head" (i.e., pine-tree-like symbols: *tzontli*), the counters for the number 400 ($10 \times 400 = 4,000$).⁴¹



tobacco gourd: *yetecomatl*⁴²

Although Durán makes it clear that the "Food of God" in the priests' gourds held more than just tobacco,⁴³ these ceremonial containers are referred to as "tobacco gourds" several times in Sahagún.⁴⁴

Durán describes a priest's tobacco gourd as medium-sized and perforated with holes in which were placed flowers. The gourd, which was also adorned with little balls of tobacco and soot, was called *Iyetecon* ("His Little Gourd").⁴⁵ Depictions of priests' tor-

bacco containers appear in other Aztec pictorials, often drawn with what look like the bumpy protrusions of a gourd.⁴⁶

incensing ceremony: *tlenamaquilitzli*⁴⁷

The ritual act of incensing was not restricted to temples or sacred shrines; it also occurred in domestic environments. Durán describes an incensing ceremony that took place during the month of Toxcatl. In the early morning, minor priests went throughout the community with incense burners in hand. Their mission was to bless each house from "the threshold to the last corner," including all the implements therein: grinding stones, tortilla griddles, pots, vessels, jugs, plates, bowls, and weaving instruments including the little baskets used to hold the spinning and weaving apparatuses. Agricultural instruments, storage bins, and the artisans' tools were all included in these incensings. For this service, the house owners had to pay the priests as many ears of corn as objects they had blessed.⁴⁸

Incensing was not confined to priests. Sahagún reports that children were awakened early so they could carry out this ritual act.⁴⁹ He also depicts a woman offering incense to the hearthstones at the time of the New Fire ceremony.⁵⁰

Horizontal Drum

horizontal drum: *teponaztli*⁵¹

Nicholson, in a discussion of an extant *teponaztli* in the collection of the Museum of Mankind, London, describes it as a hollow, cylindrical block of hard wood, the top of which was carved to form two tongues. These produced differing tones when struck by the drumsticks.⁵²



Five principal musical instruments have been identified by Seiler⁵³ as being used by the Aztecs: the horizontal *teponaztli*, an upright drum called a "ground drum" (*buchmetz*), the flute (*coyolotli*), the gourd rattle (*ayacachtli*),⁵⁴ and the *tetzizatl*, a copper instrument that apparently was beaten during the dancing.

There are repeated references to the drum's being used by dancers. One of the more memorable is "The Dancer with a Dead Woman's Forearm": while a sorcerer robbed victims immobilized by magically induced sleep, "he dances, beats the two-toned drum, sings, leaps about."⁵⁵

Sahagún gives an account of a human sacrifice performed on top of a horizontal drum. In a deadly serious "mock battle" at the time of one of the monthly feasts, if an unfortunate warrior was captured by ritually cleansed slaves—"bathed ones," intended for later sacrifice—he was then sacrificed atop the drum by these doomed captors.⁵⁶ Durán also speaks of the *teponaztli* in association with human sacrifice when he describes the funeral rites attending the cremation of the emperor Axayacatl. The ruler's ashes were placed within the horizontal drum, "and the [emperor's] slaves were cast down on their backs next to that instrument and their hearts cut out."⁵⁷

Durán, in a discussion of the God of Dance, asserts that the horizontal drum itself was considered a deity. He adds that such was the "ancient blindness" that large and small animals, fish, and tadpoles were venerated, and even the resinous bark of trees was revered so as to create a good fire. As a result, adoration of a drum did not surprise him.⁵⁸

Depictions of *teponaztli* being played appear in other Aztec pictorial codices.⁵⁹

Drumsticks



drumsticks: *olmaitl*⁶⁰

Seler defines the *olmaitl* as the drumstick furnished with a coating of rubber at the ends, with which the *teponaztli* was beaten.⁶¹



Star

star: *citlalin*⁶²

There are depictions of single stars similar to the one on folio 63r in the pre-Hispanic *Codex Laud*⁶³ and *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*.⁶⁴ However, in the latter pictorial, there is also a depiction of the Death God, Mictlantecuhtli, holding what appears to be a dismembered eye, which resembles the single "star" of folio 63r.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, unless a visual pun involving the priest's eye is intended, the *Codex Mendoza* image probably indicates a star. The post-Hispanic *Primeros Memoriales* also depicts stars in a manner similar to that of folio 63r.⁶⁶

Carrying Rack

carrying rack: *cacaxtli*⁶⁷



The weight of the load associated with the carrying rack is reflected metaphorically in Sahagún. Relating a prayer to the god Tezcatlipoca, the friar refers to the burden assumed by a new ruler as "the large carrying frame, intolerable, insupportable, heavy."⁶⁸ Sahagún also likens civic burdens to carrying frames: a nobleman, exhorting a new child on future duties and responsibilities, speaks of becoming

tired and feeling the weight of the carrying rack.⁶⁹

The carrying frame also appears in an Aztec riddle: "What is that with large ribs on the outside which stands along the road? The carrying frame."⁷⁰

The carrying rack shown on folio 63r is supported by a tumpline, discussed under "Image Descriptions" for folio 60r. An excellent depiction of a carrying frame and tumpline appears among the images of tribute sent from the province of Tepeacac.⁷¹

Obsidian-pointed Spear

spear: *teputzapilli*⁷²



Motolinia mentions that the Aztecs used obsidian-pointed spears.⁷³ Sahagún provides additional details, relating how, during the monthly ceremony of Quecholli, the spear shafts were made. The initial step was the assembling of large quantities of reeds, which were then straightened over a fire. This stage of the ceremony was accompanied by autosacrifice on the part of the assembled warriors, youths, and

young men of marriageable age. The more mature men fasted and observed abstinence, and the old men refrained from drinking *pulque*.

Prior to the actual making of the spears, the men of Tenochtitlan assembled on one side of the temple courtyard, the men of Tlatelolco on the other. The reeds were then cut and their ends bound with maguey fiber so they would not split when the spear points were glued in. Pitch pine was quickly applied to both the heads and butts of the spears. The finished products were then bound together in sets of twenty and arranged in a file at the foot of the god Huitzilopochtli. The work of spear-making satisfactorily completed, each man returned to his home.⁷⁴



Burning Firebrands

burning firebrands:

*tequahuil*⁷⁵

Beating a person with sticks or with stones was such a common method of chastisement in Aztec society that the phrase *tequahuil*, or "stone stick," was used metaphorically to refer to punishment.⁷⁶ Note also that the master of youths

grabs the errant youth of register 2 by a topknot of hair. This is also the symbolic Mesoamerican posture denoting conquest (see folios 64r and 65r, where all captives are shown held in this manner).

Seler speaks of *pulque* deities being depicted with a stone in one hand and an object easily identifiable as a cudgel or stick in the other. This is apparently meant to represent the punishment meted out for drinking *pulque* in other than sanctioned circumstances.⁷⁷

Cudgels almost identical to these of folio 63r appear in three illustrations of the *Florentine Codex*. They are used to punish an adulterer, a careless musician, and a merchant who had misused a woman.⁷⁸

Woman Connected to the Telpochcalli Youth



As opposed to the more ornately clad woman of register 3, the female on register 2 involved with the *telpochcalli* youth is simply clad. The implication of her clothing—and the gloss's reference to "whoring"—is that she is a woman of the people.

Sahagún gives a vivid description of such women, of their making themselves beautiful, using perfume, and casting incense about them. He also speaks of their chewing chicle with a clacking sound as they paraded brazenly down the streets, along the canals, and through the marketplace.

According to Sahagún, these women were constantly on the go: promenading, pushing, and pretending to be merry. He describes the care with which such a woman dressed herself, carrying a mirror in her hand to view her gaudy appearance. However, the friar says that for all their waving, beckoning, and winking, these women were frauds. In the end, a harlot was destroyed by her way of life, and became "a lascivious old woman; of itching buttocks . . . an aged woman, a flabby old woman, a filthy one; a filthy old dog who brings herself to ruin like a dog."⁷⁹

No such finery is shown in the depiction of the female on folio 63r, due to the simplifying of all clothing other than warrior apparel in this section of *Codex Mendoza*.⁸⁰



Woman Connected to Novice Priest

The woman of register 3, connected by a dotted line to the novice priest, wears turquoise blue ear spools rather than plain white and is dressed in clothing more detailed than that of the woman involved with the *tepebcalli* youth. The general impression is that of a female from a different, higher stratum of

Aztec society.

Codex Mendoza offers no clue as to how a novice priest might have become involved with such a young woman. According to Durán, all youths training in the temples went about with their eyes to the ground, never venturing to raise their heads to gaze at women. "He who was careless in these things suffered the pain of death."⁹¹ Nonetheless, these two young people obviously had found each other. Perhaps this girl was one of the females who ministered to deity impersonators in the course of some of the ritual ceremonies, women whom Sahagún calls "pleasure girls." When referring to a deity impersonator who was a slave destined for sacrifice (a "bathed one"), Sahagún tells of the female companionship provided him. The pleasure girl's role was to amuse, caress, joke with, and gratify the men she served. She "took pleasure on his neck," embraced him, and cared for his grooming, including delousing and combing his hair. In short, she was a charming and diverting companion, but only for a limited period. When the time for the sacrifice of the "bathed one" arrived, the pleasure girl "took all": she bundled up the prestigious possessions the impersonator would no longer need and exited, ready for her next encounter.⁹²

Razor

razor: *nextimaloni*⁹³

Motolinia describes the manufacturing of obsidian razors. The jet-black stone was placed firmly between the feet, then struck with a stout stick along the edges. With every strike, a thin, sharp blade would break off. Motolinia contends that from a single piece of obsidian could be produced more than 200 razors.⁹⁴



Singing Stick

singing stick: *tlacotl*⁹⁵

The fire and smoke of the singing stick resemble those of the torches of folio 61r; both may have been made of pitch pine, a highly volatile substance.



Sod

earth: *tlalli*⁹⁶

It is difficult to know whether any of the several types of earth described by Sahagún is represented in the canoe carrying sod for temple repairs on folio 63r. Because of their weight and malleability, the most likely candidates are *tepoquitl*, a gummy, blackish, bitumenlike soil that hardens to a firm consistency,⁹⁷ *tlapanatlalli*,



the sod that was used for roofing houses,⁹⁸ and *atiquatl*, a white, spongy, chalklike sod used to make adobe bricks.⁹⁹

NOTES

1. Durán 1971:121.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 1, par. 3, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Durán 1971:119.
6. Durán 1964:101. Also in Durán 1967 2:159.
7. Durán 1971:232.
8. Henbane, *Hyoscyamus niger*, is a poisonous Old World herb of the nightshade family that yields a medicinal extract resembling belladonna (*Wester's New Collegiate Dictionary* 1980:529).
9. The folio 63r analogy to henbane can be best understood with the help of a passage in which Durán (1971:115-116) describes a concoction that people smeared on themselves when they went to perform sacrifices in "dark and fearsome caves where the idols were kept." In order to "lose all fear," they painted themselves with a pitch they called the "Food of the Gods," *teotlacualli*. This "divine food" varied according to the god being honored, but its base was always "poisonous beasts, such as spiders, scorpions, centipedes, lizards, vipers, and others." Durán claims these creatures were captured by youths, who spent their spare time in this pursuit.
10. All the collected "poisonous animals" were then placed in a brazier and burned. The ashes, together with tobacco, were placed in a mortar and ground, "producing a diabolical, stinking, deadly ointment." After all was properly crushed, a vision-inducing seed called *ololuhqui* was added, as well as dark worms, whose tiny hairs were filled with venom. To this mixture was further added soot; the resulting brew was poured in gourds and bowls. Durán claims that after anointing the body with this "pitch," the priests "slew men in sacrifice with the greatest of daring"; they also set off alone into the woods and entered the dark areas of awesome caves, totally unafraid.
11. Sahagún 1950-1982 1:17.
12. *Ibid.*, 10:176.
13. An example of a planet with great importance for the Aztecs was Venus, the Morning Star. Sahagún (1950-1982 7:11-12) speaks of its appearing and reappearing four times before brilliantly shining forth, "like the moon's rays." The pre-Hispanic peoples were fearful of the time of the Morning Star's rising, concerned that it might usher in evil. In certain circumstances, however, the Morning Star was regarded as benevolent, at least for some. For example, captives were slain exactly when Venus appeared, "[that] it might be nourished." The supplicants splattered their offering toward the planet by flipping the blood of the captive with the middle finger from the thumb.
14. Seler has written extensively on the importance of Venus to the Aztecs; see Seler 1967:541-543.
15. See Berdan 1982:144 for a fuller discussion of the Aztec concept of time.
16. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:168-169.
17. Durán 1971: plates 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 49, 52-55; also, Durán 1967 1: *láminas* 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 46, 49-52.
18. Sahagún's informants, in a discussion of a nightly round of incense offerings, mention three constellations: the Many, the Market, and the Fire Sticks (*Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 2, par. 1).
19. For information on the correlation between the constellations see Lehmann-Nitsche 1969a, 1969b; Beyer 1965a-f; Seler 1960-1961 1:618-667, 5:229-230; Hagar 1912; Moran and Kelley 1970; Aveni 1975, 1977, 1980.
20. Sahagún (1950-1982 3:55) and Durán (1971:112-113) both speak of *tepebcalli* youths' being sent into war.
21. Durán 1971:113.
22. Motolinia 1971:312-313.
23. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:102-103; 3:57, 59-60; Durán 1971:84, 292-293.
24. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:102-103.
25. The color of this broom is puzzling; the three other brooms of *Codex Mendoza* (see folios 57r, 60r, and 62r) are straw-colored. The 63r broom is also of different construction.
26. Sahagún 1950-1982 3:67.
27. Durán 1971:293.
28. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 3, par. 13, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
29. Durán 1971:400.
30. Sahagún 1950-1982 3:56.
31. Molina 1977: folio 125r "Tlamacazque, ministros y servidores de los templos de los ydoles" (ministers and servants of the temples of the idols).

30. Siméon 1963:694 "Xicolli, Vêtement, corsage, jaquette peinte que portaient dans les offices les ministres des idoles" (clothing, vest, jacket of painted cloth worn by the ministers of the idols in the offices). See also Anawalt 1981:41.
31. Anawalt 1976.
32. Anawalt 1981:39-46, chart 3.
33. Molina 1977: folio 147r "Tlemaitl. badir de barro, o cosa semente para lleuar lumbrere" (shovel of clay, or something similar for carrying fire). From 147v "Tlet. fuego" (fire) and 51v "Maytl. mano" (hand). Thus *tlemaitl* can be more literally translated as "fire hand." The word *tlemaitl* is translated as "incense ladle" in the context of incensing ceremonies by Sullivan in *Primeras Memorias*: chap. 1, par. 3 and by Anderson and Dibble in Sahagún 1950-1982 8:62-63. See also Durán 1971:119.
- Also, Molina 1977: folio 132v "Tlapopochuiloni. incensario" (censer, thurible). Molina makes a distinction between an incense ladle and an *incensario*, two terms which are not synonymous. An *incensario* is constructed differently, lacking the long handle.
34. See Paszputy 1983: colorplate 69 for an example of a pre-Hispanic incense ladle.
35. *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:7, 12-13, 21, 26.
36. For examples of incense burners, see *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 87r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 73r; *Primeras Memorias* 1926: estampas III, VI, X, XI; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 55r; Sahagún 1950-1982 7: plate 18; 8: plates 93, 94 (1979, 7: folio 21r; 8: folios 46r, 46v); *Codex Cospi* 1968:12-13 obverse; and *Codex Borgia* 1976:18.
37. Molina 1977: folio 159r "Xiquipilli. costal, talega, alforja, o bolsa" (sack, bag, wallet, purse, or pouch).
38. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:164; 8:62-63.
39. For examples of incense bags, see *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:4, 7, 12, 16, 18, 20-22; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 63r, 79r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 51r; *Primeras Memorias* 1926: estampas I, X, XI; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 34r; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folios 37v, 39r; *Codex Laud* 1966:1, 15D; *Codex Cospi* 1968:9-13 obverse; and *Codex Borgia* 1976:51.
40. Molina 1977: folio 18r "Cenziquipilli. ocho mil" (eight thousand).
41. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 39r.
42. Molina 1977: folio 36v "lycercomad. calabacilla berrugosa" (bumpy little gourd). Sahagún's (1950-1982 2:119; 8:62-63) references to *inetcon* are translated by Anderson and Dibble as "his tobacco gourd." It appears that "bumpy little gourds" were the type used by the Aztecs as containers to hold tobacco.
- For a discussion of tobacco see "Image Descriptions," folio 68r.
43. Durán 1971:115-116.
44. References to "tobacco gourds" can be found in Sahagún 1950-1982 2:119; 8:62-63.
45. Durán 1971:105-106.
46. Depictions of tobacco gourds can be found in *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:21; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 63r, 71r, 84r, 88r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 69r, 76r; *Primeras Memorias* 1926: estampas I, II, III, V.
47. *Primeras Memorias* n.d.: chap. 1, par 3 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) "Tlenamaquiltziti" or "Offering of Fire"; Sahagún 1950-1982 2:194 "Tlenamaquiltziti" or "The Offering of Incense." Durán 1971:83 uses the term *tlenemaquiltziti* for this ceremony; this word is defined by Siméon (1963:639) simply as "encens que l'on brûlait en l'honneur des dieux" (incense one burned in honor of the gods).
48. Durán 1971:427.
49. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:194-195.
50. *Ibid.*: 7: plate 18 (1979 7: folio 21r).
51. Molina 1977: folio 103v "Tepunaztli. cierto palo hueco que tañen y hazen son coel quando bailan o canten" (certain hollow piece of wood that they play and they make sound with when they dance or sing).
- See Castañeda and Mendoza 1933 for further information on the horizontal drum.
52. Nicholson 1983:148.
53. Selser 1960-1961 2:676-677.
54. In addition to gourd rattles, Sahagún (1950-1982 1:17) mentions bone rasps and turtle-shell drums.
55. *Ibid.*: 10:39.
56. *Ibid.*: 2:145-146.
57. Durán 1964:178. Also in Durán 1967 2:300.
58. Durán 1971:290.
59. Depictions of the horizontal drum being played can be found in *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 82r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 66r; and Sahagún 1950-1982 1: plate 27 (1979 1: folio 6r).
60. Selser 1960-1961 2:676-677 "Olmaid." From Molina 1977: folio 76r "Olli. cierta goma de arboles medicinal, de que hazen pelotas para jugar con las nalgas" (certain medicinal gum from trees from which they make balls for playing with the buttocks). The "goma" referred to by Molina is rubber. Also, 51v "Maytl. mano" (hand). Thus *olli* + *maytl* = *olmaid* or "rubber hand."
61. Selser 1960-1961 2:676-677.
62. Molina 1977: folio 22v "Citlalin. estrella" (star).
63. *Codex Laud* 1966:11, 15.
64. *Codex Fajeryóvny-Mayer* 1971:36.
65. *Ibid.*:3.
66. *Primeras Memorias* 1926: estampa XII.
67. Molina 1977: folio 10v "Cacaxtl. escarillas de tablas para lleuar algo acuestas el tameme" (small ladders, boards for carrying something on the shoulders of a porter).
68. Sahagún 1950-1982 6:17.
69. *Ibid.*: 6:184.
70. *Ibid.*: 6:239.
71. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 42r.
72. Molina 1977: folio 104v "Teputzopilli. lança o venablo de monteró" (lance/spear or huntsman's javelin).
73. Motolinia 1971:348.
74. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:134-135.
- This passage uses two Nahuatl terms, *mitl* and *tlacochtli*, which are translated by Anderson and Dibble as "spear." Molina 1977, however, defines both of these as "arrow." This passage may therefore relate to the making of both spears and arrows.
75. Molina 1977: folio 147v "Tlequauitl. artificio de palo para sacar fuego, o tizon" (artifice of wood for taking/drawing out fire, or firebrand).
76. *Ibid.*: folio 110v "Tetl quauitl. enfermedad o castigo. Metaphora" (sickness or chastisement, punishment, or correction; metaphor), from 107v "Tetl. piedra, generalmente" (stone, in general) and 88r "Quauitl. arbol, madero o palo" (tree, wood, or piece of wood).
77. Selser 1960-1961 2:934.
78. Sahagún 1950-1982 8: plates 66, 87; 9: plate 22 (1979 8: folios 26r, 39v; 9: folio 21v).
79. Sahagún 1950-1982 10:55-56.
80. For a discussion of the simplified clothing of *Codex Mendoza* see chapter 8 in volume 1.
81. Durán 1971:293.
82. Sahagún 1950-1982 2:169.
83. Molina 1977: folio 71v "Neximaloni. nauaja para afeitar" (razor for trimming a man).
84. Motolinia 1971:76-77.
85. Molina 1977: folio 119r "Tlacod. xara, vardasca" (stick, rod, switch).
86. *Ibid.*: folio 124r "Tlalli. tierra, o heredad" (land, or estate).
87. Sahagún 1950-1982 11:252.
88. *Ibid.*: 11:255.
89. *Ibid.*

CONTENT

Folio 64r is the third in the four-folio series—62r through 65r—which presents alternating scenes contrasting the priestly *calmecac* education with the commoners' *telpoccalli* training. Nowhere is this comparison more obvious than in the initial episodes of register 1, folio 64r, and the final scene on folio 63r. In both cases, youths propel canoes toward temples in order to make needed repairs.

Register 1

The gloss for the initial scene reads: "young novice priest in his canoe, occupied in transporting stone for the repair of the temple." There is also an accompanying gloss for the building toward which the novice moves: "temple called *ayauhcali* [house of mist]." This shrine was dedicated to Tlaloc, the fertility deity associated with water and rain.

These mist houses played a particularly important role in the celebrations of Etzalcualiztli, a festival in honor of Tlaloc. The imitative magic of some of the rites performed in these temples is suggested by Sahagún. As part of the priests' fasting and penitence during this period, they immersed themselves in frigid water. While churning about and beating the water with their hands and feet, the priests, shivering and quaking with cold, shouted and made twittering sounds as they mimicked the local birds.¹

The second scene of register 1 is separated from the first by a vertical line, the only such divider to appear in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*. The implication is the termination of a *calmecac* scene, yet the gloss closest to the vertical line reads, "novice priest goes with the senior priest to war, carrying his gear." The adjacent gloss states, "senior priest goes to war to encourage and inspire the warriors, and to perform ceremonies at the battlefield."

While it is true that both the novice—who supports the familiar blue-bordered shield in his heavily laden carrying cloth—and his warrior mentor are coated from top to toe with the sooty black body paint of the priests, something is amiss. Where are their priestly smears of blood in front of the ear and their long, tied-back hair? This senior "priest" wears instead the *tequibua* warrior hairstyle. In contrast, all the priest-warriors on the subsequent folio 65r wear their hair in the traditional priestly manner.

That the male on the far right of register 1 is an important warrior is not in doubt; he carries a shield, a spear, and perhaps—hidden by the shield—a spear thrower attached to a leather cord; note

the red band across his chest.² He also wears thickly quilted cotton armor for protection in battle, has the *tequibua* hairstyle, and is shod in sandals, a practice restricted to only the most important of males when they traveled. The puzzling question is whether this warrior and his assistant can really be priests if they lack the diagnostic blood smear and hairstyle shared by all other priests in *Codex Mendoza*.

Register 2

Register 2 returns the pictorial narrative to aspects of the commoners' *telpoccalli* training. The initial scene is concerned with community service devoted to public works.

The project is overseen by a lord whose high rank is attested both by his noble turquoise blue diadem and the statement of the gloss: "*tecutli* or constable and judge of the lords of Mexico." The lord's assistant, who is identified as "intendant who serves the *tecutli* as his *alguazil*," appears behind him.³ Both are seated on woven reed mats, symbols of authority. The lord and his assistant are connected by a dotted line to a wooden digging stick, an implement synonymous with hard work.⁴

The dotted line continues to a temple pyramid with what may be a decorated banner extending from its façade. The Spanish gloss identifies this building as a *Cihuateocalli* (temple of women). Sahagún explains that such temples were places of worship for the Cihuapiltin. These goddesses, often referred to as "the celestial princesses," were the deified souls of women who had died in childbirth. The Cihuapiltin were angry with men and were known to do evil to those—even children—found wandering about near crossroads, particularly at night. The Aztecs thought it prudent to placate these vengeful deities with gifts on their feast day.⁵

Directly below the temple of the Cihuapiltin is a "road or street with its wooden bridge." This thoroughfare is indicated by footprints, which cross the bridge that spans one of Tenochtitlan's many canals. The Spanish gloss to the left reads: "The above drawing indicates that the *tecutli* [sic] is occupied in repairing the streets and bridges leading to the temple." The maintenance of public areas was an accepted part of community service in Aztec society. Such tasks were among those regularly performed by youths as part of their training.⁶

Immediately adjacent to the juxtaposition of the Cihuapiltin goddesses' temple and the bridge that crosses the canal is the first of seven warrior scenes.⁷ The vignettes depict both the captives and the martial paraphernalia associated with a warrior at progress-

sive stages of a successful career. These seven scenes reflect the primary and ultimate goal of *tepoacalli* training: the veneration of warfare, a major theme of Aztec culture.

If one is fully to understand the complex social and religious role played by the Indians' flamboyant battle attire and the subsequent fate of the depicted captives, the ideology underlying their warfare and its attendant human sacrifice must be considered. This philosophy was, in part, the result of the heavy spiritual burden carried by the Aztecs.

Although the Indians of Mesoamerica certainly utilized military aggression as a means of territorial expansion,⁴ they also viewed war as a sacred duty that was in accord with the will of their gods.⁵ The Aztecs felt particularly responsible for the continuation of the universe because they considered themselves the sun's chosen children. They believed, as did many ancient peoples, that the birth of the sun was the most important act of the divine beings that created their world. In order to have the strength necessary to bring light and warmth to each new day, the sun, as well as the other gods in the Aztecs' crowded pantheon, had to be nourished continually with the most sacred of all foods, the hearts and blood of humans.

Although autosacrifice was the most common form of blood offering, the ritual sacrificing of humans was the most holy. Overwhelmingly, the greatest number of sacrificial victims were captured warriors. Indeed, one of the purposes of the Aztecs' continual warfare was the taking of captives in order subsequently to offer them up to the gods.¹⁰

The twelve warrior-prisoner scenes of folios 64r and 65r reflect both the sacred and profane nature of Aztec warfare. Apropos of the former, note that each of the captors is drawn with an identical speech scroll, an indication that a formalized statement immediately accompanied the taking of a prisoner. Sahagún confirms this. When a warrior was seized, the captor uttered the words, "He is as my beloved son"; the captive responded, "He is my beloved father."¹¹ Sahagún gives the impression that once this exchange took place the prisoner stoically accepted his pending fate: death on the sacrificial stone. However, the struggling of the twelve captives of *Codex Mendoza* indicates a more pragmatic response to Aztec expansion. Each prisoner writhes under the dominance of his captor; conquest is seldom popular with the conquered.

ONE-CAPTIVE WARRIOR

The initial level of the seven ranks through which a warrior could pass in the course of a successful career is pictured on the right side of register 2. The gloss reads, "A youth, who captured one [warrior] in battle, was given a *manta* of flower style, as in this square, as a sign of bravery." Note that each of the first four warrior grades has next to it a square indicating a cape. These *mantas* were recognition of the wearer's achieved rank, an emblem of honor that the warrior could don for ritual occasions, when not attired in his battle array.¹² The cloaks obviously played a very important social role; when Sahagún discusses the ranks of the fighting men, his reference is only to these capes, not to the feathered battle costumes themselves.

Sahagún describes a warrior hierarchy quite similar to that of folio 64r. He states that it was only after a young man had taken a captive unaided by others that he truly could begin a formal career as a warrior. At that time the ruler granted him specific insignia as acknowledgment of his prowess. For the capture of one prisoner, he received an orange cape with a striped border, a scorpion-knotted design cape, a carmine-colored loincloth, and a loincloth "of many

colors." The newly proven warrior now had earned the right to wear clothing with designs.¹³

On folio 64r, an orange cape with a striped border is attached not to the first but to the second warrior grade; the initial rank receives instead a flowered cape. Note, too, that this one-prisoner valiant appears in the same style of simple quilted cotton armor worn by his captive. Both also carry undecorated shields and identical obsidian-bordered war clubs.¹⁴ The warrior holds the prisoner by a clump of hair from the top of his head. The captive is thus forced down into a subservient position, the posture employed in the Aztec pictorials to denote the conquered.¹⁵

Register 3

TWO-CAPTIVE WARRIOR

The gloss reads, "This warrior, for having captured two enemies, was given the style of warrior costume he is wearing, along with the square orange *manta* with a red border, as a sign of his bravery." Apparently an additional reward was the right to wear sandals onto the battlefield; the following four warriors also have them.

The two-prisoner warrior wears the *cuextecal* costume, which was probably adopted by the Aztecs after the emperor Axayacatl's victories in the Huastec region during his reign (1468–1481).¹⁶ One of the diagnostic costume traits of that northern Gulf coast area was the *capilli*,¹⁷ a pointed, cone-shaped cap often seen on ancient Huastec stone sculpture.¹⁸ This headgear is a regular feature of the *cuextecal* warrior attire. Another traditional trait of this costume is the short, parallel black lines that adorn the body of the feathered warrior suit, as well as its shield. Sahagún refers to these bars as "hawk scratches."¹⁹ The *cuextecal* costume's ear ornaments are fillets of unspun cotton, an attribute of one of the most powerful deities among the Huastecs, their mother goddess.²⁰

The captive of the two-prisoner rank is carrying an unadorned shield and a pointed battle stick, like that of the *tequibua* warrior of folio 62r.

THREE-CAPTIVE WARRIOR

The gloss reads, "This warrior [receives] the style [of warrior costume] he is wearing and this rich worked *manta* as a sign that he has captured three enemies in battle." The costume consists of a longer version of the quilted armor together with a *papalotl*—butterfly—back device. The warrior's accompanying *manta* is decorated with the wind ornament design, *yecacoazayo*, a motif identified with Ehecatl, the wind god. This cape has the prestigious *tenixyo*—"eyes on the edge"—border associated with the capricious Aztec god Tezcatlipoca.²¹ The captive carries a blue-bordered shield and an obsidian-studded war club.

Sahagún reports that the three-prisoner rank established a warrior as a master of youths.²²

FOUR-CAPTIVE WARRIOR

The gloss reads, "This warrior [receives] the style of warrior costume he is wearing and this square *manta* of two stripes of black and orange with its border in honor of having captured four enemies in battle." The warrior wears a jaguar costume, complete with animal-head helmet. He carries the *cuexyo* shield, which is decorated with four Huastec nose ornaments. The attendant cape is the *nacazminqui*—diagonally-divided—mantle with a *tenixyo* border.

The jaguar warrior's captive carries an unadorned shield and an obsidian-studded war club. He and the two remaining captives all

wear tusklike curved labrets, associated with some of the most sought-after of the Aztecs' captives, those from Huexotzinco.²³

Sahagún sets the high value of such prisoners in perspective when he says the capture of six, seven, or even ten Huastecs conferred no particular renown, whereas captives from Huexotzinco, Atlixco, or Tliljuhquitepec brought great honor.²⁴ These three groups were all independent polities located in the Tlaxcala-Puebla Basin, adjacent to the Valley of Mexico. To the expansion-minded Aztecs, the defiant autonomy of these frustrating nearby neighbors may account in part for the desirability of their fighting men as captives.

Returning to the jaguar warriors, Durán speaks of the respect in which they—and their close associates, eagle warriors—were held, equating their courage, valor, and ferocity with that of their namesakes in the animal world.²⁵ Durán also relates the honors these warriors received and the influence they had in the councils of war. He states that the jaguars and eagles were the fighting men the sovereigns most loved and esteemed.²⁶

It is puzzling that no eagle warriors appear in *Codex Mendoza*. Certainly there is no question but that such costumes were worn.²⁷ A pair of magnificent life-size ceramic figures of eagle warriors have been recovered from the Templo Mayor excavation in Mexico City.²⁸

Register 4

The two warriors in battle apparel on register 4 each represent a rank particularly noted for outstanding bravery and recklessness in battle. The first gloss reads,

This warrior, wearing this style of warrior costume, is surnamed *otomí* because of his bravery in capturing in battle five or six enemies. This warrior is the same as the one above who began by capturing one enemy in battle, and by rising rank by rank he has climbed to this rank.

Although the gloss refers to the warrior as "surnamed *otomí*," based on the information presented below, "Otomi" seems intended and henceforth will be used.

The second gloss reads, "This warrior, called *quachic*, wears this style of warrior costume. It shows that in the war with Huexotzinco and in other wars he has captured a great many enemies." The term "Quachic" is translated in the sources as "the shorn ones," a title reflected in the hairstyle of the warrior.

The high regard in which these two Aztec warrior ranks were held is made clear in an analogy used by Sahagún's Indian informants when recounting the marching order of the conquistadors as they first entered Tenochtitlan. The Spanish commander had closest to him his bravest men, "who were like [our] shorn ones [Quachic], like [our] Otomi [warriors]; the strong ones, the intrepid ones, the mainstay, the support of the state; its soul, its foundation."²⁹

Pressure was placed on these two warrior groups to be particularly valiant in battle. Sahagún speaks of the Otomí and Quachic warriors fighting in pairs. Should one be killed in battle and his companion turn tail and flee, the emperor would have the coward tracked down and punished.³⁰ Such a warrior lost his place in the prestigious Eagle House and was henceforth confined, in disgrace, to his home.

OTOMÍ WARRIOR

The impression gained from Sahagún and Durán is that the Tenochtitlan warrior rank of Otomí was filled by local men, not by

the Otomí Indians from the rugged and less inhabited desert and mountain areas north of the Valley of Mexico. The men of this ethnic group, although sometimes maligned,³¹ were considered to be fierce warriors. This may have been the inspiration for the name of the Aztecs' Otomí rank, which was like a knightly order, available only through achievement.

These Otomí had a distinctive hairstyle. The arrangement of an Aztec warrior's hair was as important to his identity as his battle attire.³² The Otomí of register 4 wears his hair in a special manner; his topknot is tied with a white rather than red *tequibua*-type band, and the hair is worn longer in back than the *tequibua* style. He carries a pointed battle stick and a shield that is a variant of the *cuesyo* style. The warrior's yellow earplugs and yellow bonelike labret are the only ones of this kind found in *Codex Mendoza*. Although both ornaments are the color of gold, it is doubtful that they were actually made of that precious metal.³³

QUACHIC WARRIOR

It is this warrior's distinctive hairstyle that accounts for the name *Quachic*, "the shorn one." Durán says the Quachic rank was attained only after a warrior performed more than twenty deeds and brave acts. The warrior's head was then "shorn" with a blade, leaving only a single lock of hair above the left ear.³⁴ Sahagún, while discussing the reckless behavior of these fighting men, implies that the need to live up to the legendary bravery of the Quachic rank caused the warriors to become almost crazed in battle.³⁵

The Quachic of folio 64r wears an undecorated yellow feather bodysuit, a white shell necklace, white earplugs, and a distinctive back device; he carries a *xicalcolihqui* shield, the second most common Aztec shield style in *Codex Mendoza*.³⁶ The Spanish gloss mentions that this warrior fought in wars with Huexotzinco, and indeed his captive wears the labret associated with that area, as do the prisoners of the preceding two warrior ranks.

Tlacatecatl WARRIOR

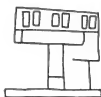
The final gloss on folio 64r reads, "This warrior, called *tlacatecatl*, with the style of clothing he is wearing and his device of rich feathers, shows that in war he has performed all the brave deeds of the above [warriors] and has a higher rank as a warrior and famous person than the above." Sahagún translates the *Tlacatecatl* title as "Commanding General" and says the duties of this military leader involved all the responsibilities of warfare. It was the *Tlacatecatl* who devised the initial planning strategy of a campaign, followed by the provisioning, routing, supervision, and, finally, the orchestration of the ensuing battles.³⁷ This Commanding General will appear again on folio 67r, in full, magnificent military attire.

Durán translates *Tlacatecatl* as "Man-Cutter" or "Man-Slasher."³⁸ He also lists this title as one of the members of the Supreme Council of four advisers to the Aztec ruler.³⁹

Here, on folio 64r, the highly esteemed *Tlacatecatl* is arrayed in a red cape decorated with the important *tenixyo* border. His *tequibua* hairstyle is bound with a *quetzallalpiloni*, the prestigious headband adorned with two quetzal feather tassels. The *Tlacatecatl* also wears a very long yellow labret, which was probably made of yellow amber bound in gold.⁴⁰ Note that although he is a very important dignitary, the *Tlacatecatl* does not wear sandals. In *Codex Mendoza*, it is only high-status males on a journey who are shod: established warriors in battle gear and the emperor's emissaries on a special mission.⁴¹

**Rock**rock: *tetl*⁴²

Sahagún describes various kinds of rock used by the Aztecs, some worked into various shapes. Of the twenty-four varieties mentioned, five, by virtue of their portability, could make up the load of a canoe destined for the repair of a temple. Two types of Tenayuca white stone are mentioned, as well as slate, cobbles, and a rough, porous type of stone called *repetlatl*.⁴³ Another possibility as the canoe's cargo would be *tezontli*, a jasperlike, reddish volcanic stone frequently used in both pre- and post-Conquest buildings.⁴⁴

**"House of Mist"**"house of mist": *ayaucalli*⁴⁵

Codex Borbonicus contains four depictions of mountaintop Tlaloc temples—each with the rain god, Tlaloc, seated within—almost identical to the "house of mist" on folio 64r.⁴⁶ Nicholson points out that these Tlaloc shrines were built either atop hills or beside lakes, as is the folio 64r example. In either location, the typical decoration of their roof façades was a series—usually four—of wide vertical blue stripes.⁴⁷

**"Priest" Warrior**pointed spear: *tepoztopilli*⁴⁸

The spear carried by the "priest" warrior lacks inlaid obsidian blades, but aside from that it is identical to the spear described under the "Image Descriptions" of folio 63r.

According to Sahagún's account of the ritual making of spears, the shafts were composed of tightly bound reeds or canes; the points were made of oak.⁴⁹ The imperial tribute from the province of Tepeacac, on folio 42r of *Codex Mendoza*, contains two sets of such canes.

The accompanying gloss states that one set is to be made into arrows; perhaps the other was to be fashioned into spears.

spear thrower: *atlattl*⁵⁰

The "priest" warrior's shield obscures whatever is attached to the lower end of the red band across his chest. The implication is a leather thong which supports a spear thrower, the *atlattl*.

Durán, describing an idol of the god Tezcatlipoca, says, "In his right hand he held a spear, attached by a leather thong, in a threatening attitude. His arm was extended in such a way that he seemed ready to throw his *atlattl*."⁵¹

A section of the *Primeros Memoriales* contains a definition of an *atlattl*: "The Spear-Thrower: It is fashioned from a thick, long [piece of wood]. It has flight feathers; copper is at the tip. They hurled it with the piece of wood."⁵²

cotton armor: *icbcabupilli*⁵³

Quilted cotton armor was the pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican Indians' basic martial apparel. Thanks to detailed descriptions of six Aztec officers' complete battle array, we can deduce that the protective *icbcabupilli* was probably always worn under the flamboyant—but vulnerable—feathered warrior suits.⁵⁴

Primeros Memoriales contains a description of how one style of cotton armor was made: "The padded cotton shirt: It is made in this manner: Unspun cotton is enveloped in cloth, to which it is stitched. It is edged with leather. It also has leather thongs."⁵⁵

A Spanish gloss that accompanies an illustration of an *icbcabupilli* in *Codex Vaticanus A* testifies to the effectiveness of the indigenous armor. The text states that the Spaniards adopted this type of battle attire from the Aztecs because arrows that could penetrate the strongest coat of mail, and even some cuirasses, could not penetrate the "escaupiles."⁵⁶

Examples of cotton armor can be found in the majority of Aztec pictorials.⁵⁷

sandals: *cactli*⁵⁸

As with most other items of Aztec wearing apparel, sandals reflected the sharply stratified nature of Indian society. Commoners could wear only sandals of woven reeds, and those only on the highways.⁵⁹ Elegant skin sandals were the prerogative of those to whom Durán refers as chiefs and knights, but even they had to appear barefoot in temples and before their emperor.⁶⁰ Taking away the right to wear the sandals of the nobility was one of the punishments for errant officers.⁶¹

In the Aztec pictorials, women are not shown in sandals, although some goddesses are described as wearing them. For example, the goddess of the lapidaries, Chiconahui Itzucintli, had a pair of red sandals with a design of obsidian serpents on them. Appropriately, they were known as her obsidian sandals.⁶² The goddess of the featherworkers, Xiuhtlati, had sandals "everywhere sprinkled with diverse precious feathers."⁶³

Just as goddesses had distinctive footwear, so too did gods. Some of the deities are reported to have worn "foam sandals," which evidently received their frothy appearance from fluffs of raw cotton worked into the side pieces and forming the tassels and thongs.⁶⁴ One such pair is described as being tied with "down feather" laces; another is reported to have had green toes.

Sandals were made in a wide variety of materials and colors, some reflecting ethnic diversity. For example, the Chichimec nomads of the northern deserts wore sandals of yucca or palm leaves.⁶⁵ Indeed, the appearance of such sandals on the roadways of Tenochtitlan implied that a Chichimec had just arrived in the city from the uncivilized deserts to the north.⁶⁶ In contrast, the sandals of the Aztecs' much-revered predecessors, the Toltecs, are reported to have been painted sky blue, an esteemed color.⁶⁷ Among the historical Olmeca—a remnant of the Toltecs, according to Sahagún—women did wear sandals, and the men went about in "precious" rubber sandals.⁶⁸

As in all aspects of Aztec society, there was a proper and improper way of wearing one's sandals. Sahagún, when commenting on slovenly dressing, gives as an example the flamboyant, reckless Quachic warriors. Their sandals are described as too wide and very graceless, with excessively long thongs and straps that dragged constantly.⁶⁹

Turquoise Diadem



turquoise diadem: *xiuhuitzilli*⁷⁰

The turquoise diadem was the Aztec symbol of nobility and power. Each of the sequential Aztec emperors is shown wearing the *xiuhuitzilli* in the section of the *Florentine Codex* depicting the kings.⁷¹ Sahagún also equates the *xiuhuitzilli* with supreme authority in a prayer for a new ruler: "And may he not blemish, not besmirch . . . thy rule. For thou hast placed [raiment] . . . on his head; for he hath taken the peaked cap, the turquoise diadem."⁷² A *xiuhuitzilli*, listed among the loot stolen from Motecuhzoma's storehouse by the Spaniards, is described as "the turquoise diadem, the attribute of the ruler."⁷³ The blue diadem is also used throughout *Codex Mendoza* as an ideograph for *tecuhli* (noble). The repeated appearance of this image in glyphs indicates how closely it was tied to the concepts of power and high rank.⁷⁴

Digging Stick



digging stick: *buictli*⁷⁵

The digging stick was one of the Aztecs' essential agricultural tools. It is therefore not surprising that depictions of it appear repeatedly in the Aztec pictorials.⁷⁶



"Temple of Women"

"temple of women": *cibuateocalli*⁷⁷

In addition to this temple's gloss on folio 64r, a pictorial feature further identifies the pyramid shrine as belonging to the Cihuapipiltin, the goddesses believed to lurk at crossroads waiting to do harm to wayfarers, especially men. An ideogram suggesting a large banner or streamer is attached to the shrine's façade. Sahagún reports that streamers made of paper and decorated with liquid rubber were part of the offerings in these temples.⁷⁸ On the folio 64r temple ideogram the two columns of *v*-shaped markings indicate paper. Paper streamers decorated in this same manner are shown in *Codex Borbonicus* in a scene where the fertility goddess, Teteoinnan, wears both cotton fillets—decorated with *u*-shaped markings—and paper streamers, identified with *v*-shaped designs.⁷⁹ *Codex Mendoza* makes this same iconographic distinction between cotton and paper items.



Canal

canal: *teapiaztili*⁸⁰

The city of Tenochtitlan is estimated to have covered some 2,500 acres, an area transformed over a period

of 200 years into a geometrical network of canals and raised earthworks.⁸¹

Although no map of pre-Conquest Tenochtitlan has yet come to light, some details are known about the physical characteristics of the Aztecs' capital city. Thanks to the work of the ethnohistorian Edward Calnek, the layout of the principal urban waterways has been determined. Of the six major canals that so far have been identified, one extended south to Lake Xochimilco. The other five flowed through the city from west to east, some (or possibly all) originating at mainland rivers to the west. These principal canals

were linked together by a system of smaller connector canals. The crossings of these waterways formed long, rectangular land areas throughout the city. To this grid was adapted a regular pattern of secondary streets and canals, arranged at right angles to the east-west axis of Tenochtitlan.⁸²

Bridge



bridge: *quappantli*⁸³

The island city of Tenochtitlan was linked to the mainland surrounding Lake Texcoco by four major causeways.⁸⁴ These thoroughfares were necessarily interspersed with bridge-covered openings to allow water to pass from one part of the lake to another.

There were also bridges within the city itself. Cortés speaks of Tenochtitlan's system of interlocking streets, canals, and bridges. He describes the main thoroughfares as being very straight and wide, whereas the smaller roadways were half street and half canal. It was through the latter that the canoes were paddled. All these canal/streets had openings to allow the water to flow from one waterway to the next. The spanning bridges were wide and constructed of long, sturdy, and firmly joined beams. Cortés maintains that over some of these stout spans ten horsemen could ride abreast.⁸⁵

Road



road: *obtli*⁸⁶

Of the seven different types of roads listed by Sahagún, the most appropriate to folio 64r is the description of the main road. Such thoroughfares were said to be like paved highroads: wide, broad, and clean, but nonetheless pitted and full of holes.⁸⁷

The roads and streets of Tenochtitlan were generally bustling, busy thoroughfares. This is apparent in the Indians' account of the mood of the city after Emperor Motecuhzoma had commanded that one of the main access roads be closed so the Spaniards could not use it to enter Tenochtitlan. Suddenly the city lay quiet, with none of the populace's usual comings and goings. The crowds and their clatter ceased, children no longer scurried about, and the emptied roadways now appeared at midday as they usually did only at dawn.⁸⁸

One-Captive Warrior



club: *maguabuitli*⁸⁹

The *Primeras Memoriales* provides a description of how these war clubs were made. "The war club: A piece of oak is cut into a board. It is well-finished. Along both sides grooves are cut in which are set obsidian or flintstone [blades] glued with turtle dung."⁹⁰

shield: *cibmalli*⁹¹

This undecorated shield of woven reeds has no specific name. However, a similar shield is depicted in the

*Lienzo de Tlaxcala*⁹² and also in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*.⁹³

One-Captive Manta



*manta: tilmatli*⁹⁴

The flowered *manta* awarded the one-captive warrior cannot be identified by name. In the *Florentine Codex*, it also occurs on three rulers of Texcoco,⁹⁵ two rulers of Huexotla,⁹⁶ judges,⁹⁷ and warriors.⁹⁸ In addition, two noblewomen are shown wearing this motif.⁹⁹ However, a very similar design also appears on the *huipilli* of a harlot¹⁰⁰ and the cape of a procurer.¹⁰¹ This association of a prestigious design motif with unsavory social types challenges the Aztecs' much vaunted sumptuary laws. These regulations, reported by the early chroniclers to have tightly controlled the apparel of each class,¹⁰² appear to have been greatly exaggerated. A detailed study in the primary sources of who was wearing what makes it clear that the lower classes were far more colorfully dressed than the sumptuary laws would indicate. The descriptions of these edicts, which come down to us from the post-Conquest sixteenth-century Indian informants, obviously represent an idealized image of the military and political order in pre-Conquest Tenochtitlan. As such, the recorded sumptuary laws appear to reflect a creed far more than the reality.¹⁰³

Captives

captive: *malli*¹⁰⁴

Captives taken in battle were used as sacrificial offerings to propitiate the numerous deities of the crowded Aztec pantheon. Many of these prisoners were sacrificed during the dramatic ceremonies connected with each of the eighteen monthly feasts. Most captives died on the sacrificial stone, chests cut open and pulsating hearts immediately extracted to offer to the insatiable gods.

Mention has already been made of the formalized verbal exchange between victor and vanquished; their bond is likened by Sahagún to that of a father and son.¹⁰⁵ This emotional link extended even beyond the death of the captive, as is evident in the captor's behavior during the subsequent ritual cannibalistic feast. Following the prisoner's sacrifice, his body was roughly rolled down the steep steps of the pyramid temple and carried away by the old men of the captor's *calpulli*. Subsequently, at the captor's home, the body was cut up and the pieces portioned out.¹⁰⁶ After a thigh was sent to the emperor, the ritual stew *tlacatlaolli*¹⁰⁷ was prepared of dried maize and strips of the dead captive's flesh. The blood relatives of the captor were invited to partake of this sacred dish, an act Sahagún reports caused the participants to be considered gods. The captor, however, did not con-

sume the flesh of his captive: "He said, 'Shall I perchance eat my very self?'" A warrior could, however, eat the flesh of a relative's sacrificial war prisoner.¹⁰⁸

The question of exactly which parts of the body were consumed remains a mystery. Bernal Diaz del Castillo states that only the feet, arms, and legs were eaten.¹⁰⁹ However, since neither he nor any of the other conquistadors ever attended a human sacrifice—unless it was their own—his reports are based upon hearsay. Diaz, a questionable source at best, further insists that the torsos were not eaten but rather thrown to the beasts in Motecuhzoma's zoo.¹¹⁰ As the modern historian Nigel Davies points out, this explanation seems implausible. All the sixteenth-century reports make it clear that at the time of sacrifice, the victim symbolically became the god or goddess to whom he or she was offered. Therefore, the feeding of a deity impersonator's body to animals could well have been considered a blasphemy.¹¹¹

Two-Captive Warrior

Huastec warrior costume:

*cuextecatli*¹¹²

The battle attire most frequently pictured in the Aztec imperial tribute rolls is the *cuextecatli* (Huastec) warrior costume. Perhaps this particular apparel was so much in demand because it was the "entry-level" elaborated warrior costume; according to folio 64r of *Codex Mendoza*, the *cuextecatli* is the initial feather attire awarded a warrior after he has taken his second captive in battle. Nineteen culturally and



geographically diverse provinces—although, strangely, not that of the Huastec region—sent this style of warrior costume as tribute to the Aztec imperial capital.¹¹³

The costume's diagnostic features, already discussed under the "Content" section of folio 64r, include the pointed hat, unspun-cotton ear ornaments, and a widely spaced, overall decoration of short, black parallel lines. The *cuextecatli* costume appears in the tribute rolls in red, white, blue, and yellow.

Huastec shield: *cuexyo* variant 3¹¹⁴

The shield worn with the folio 64r *cuextecatli* costume is one of four variants of the *cuexyo*; this particular shield design also appears in four other Aztec pictorials.¹¹⁵

Two-Captive Warrior Manta

two-captive warrior *manta*

Folio 64r's image of the two-captive warrior's undecorated *manta* accords with Sahagún's description of a one-captive warrior's orange cape with a striped border.¹¹⁶ The only other *Codex Mendoza* capes resembling the orange two-captive warrior *manta* are found on register 3 of the following folio, 65r. These latter capes with contrasting borders, however, are red and yellow rather than red and orange.



Three-Captive Warrior

butterfly back device: *papalotl*¹¹⁷

The three-captive warrior wears a longer, flared version of the quilted cotton armor, similar to that of a warrior depicted in *Codex Vaticanus A*.¹¹⁸ His back device is the *papalotl*. The tribute section of *Codex Mendoza* depicts three of these feather devices,¹¹⁹ whereas *Primeros Memoriales* illustrates five different versions of this insignia.¹²⁰ A description of the manner of constructing several different styles of the butterfly device can be found in *Primeros Memoriales*.¹²¹



Three-Captive Warrior Manta

"jewel of Ehecatl" design cape: *yetacoacoayo*¹²²

An almost identical cloak to the three-prisoner rank *timatl*—only the borders differ—is identified by the name *yetacoacoayo* in the *Matricula de Tributos*.¹²³

This latter cape, like that of folio 64r, has a motif of cross sections of a shell, the wind-ornament design associated with Quetzalcoatl in his guise as a wind god.¹²⁴ The border of the *Matricula* mantle, however, differs; it has a fringe of alternating red and white sections. The *Codex Mendoza* folio 64r cape has the *tenixyo* "eyes on the edge" border associated with the capricious god Tezcatlipoca. The motif of a cross section of a shell also appears on a ritual *manta* in *Codex Magliabecchiano*, where a gloss attributes the design to the deity Tezcatlipoca.¹²⁵



Four-Captive Warrior

jaguar costume: *ocelotl*¹²⁶

The Aztec term for this warrior attire, one of the most famous of their battle array, was *ocelotl*, the Nahuatl name for the jaguar, *Felis onca*.¹²⁷ The jaguar—unknown in the Old World—has a brownish-yellow or buff pelt with black spots. It is a very impressive animal, particularly strong and powerful, somewhat stockier than a leopard.¹²⁸ Fray Molina, the compiler of a sixteenth-century Spanish-

Nahuatl dictionary, defines *ocelotl* as "tigre," a term often used by the Spanish chroniclers.¹²⁹ In this commentary the established English convention is followed, hence the term "jaguar" is used. Was this particular costume created out of the skin of a jaguar, or was it made of feathers, as were the other colorful warrior suits? The evidence overwhelmingly indicates the latter.

Jaguar costumes are listed in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza* in red, blue, and yellow. Since there is no reference to animal skins being dyed, feathers must have been used. Also, there is evidence that other animal costumes were constructed of feathers: *Primeros Memoriales* depicts eight different styles of coyote warrior costumes, each explicitly described as being made of feathers.¹³⁰

Depictions of the flamboyant jaguar warrior suit occur in six of the Aztec pictorials.¹³¹ One of the most dramatic contexts is that

of a ritual gladiatorial battle held during the Aztec monthly feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli. A prized warrior captive was covered with white body paint, on which was pasted feather down balls. He was given a shield and a war club adorned only with the down. The captive was then tied by the waist to the "gladiatorial stone." Here he had to defend himself against some of the foremost Aztec jaguar warriors, whose war clubs bore razor-sharp obsidian inlays. No matter how valiant the captive, the contest's outcome was seldom in doubt.¹³²

The jaguar warrior of folio 64r carries the *cuexyo* shield, the most prevalent of all the Aztec designs; it appears in six other Aztec pictorials.¹³³

Four-Captive Warrior Manta

diagonally divided cloak design: *nacazminqui*¹³⁴

Diagonally divided cloaks also appear in the *Codex Mendoza* tribute section incorporating a Tlaloc monster head or a blue-and-white diaper motif in one diagonal field.¹³⁵



Otomi Warrior

claw back device: *xopilli*¹³⁶

The Otomi warrior's costume consists of an undecorated green bodysuit worn with the claw back device, an insignia style that played a critical role at one of the most decisive events in Hernán Cortés's conquest of Mexico, the crucial battle of Orumba.¹³⁷ The Tlaxcalan pictorial, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, prominently features a claw back device in both a scene of the Orumba battle and a subsequent illustration in which both a Tlaxcalan noble, who holds the insignia in his hand, and Cortés appear.¹³⁸

Huastec shield: *cuexyo* variant 2¹³⁹

This shield is a variant of the *cuexyo* design carried by the jaguar warrior on register 3 of folio 64r. The Otomi warrior's shield has four crescent or *yacametzli* designs drawn with the addition of curling waves and circles that symbolize water. Throughout the Aztec pictorials, this shield design occurs only in *Codex Mendoza*, once here on folio 64r and again, on folio 19r, as part of the tribute coming from the city of Tlatelolco.

lip plug: *teñtel* or *teçacatl*¹⁴⁰

Sahagun, when discussing the array of warriors dancing at one of the monthly feasts, states that the Otomí and Quachic wore "lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant."¹⁴¹ The lip plug worn on folio 64r, however, looks much more like a bone. Durán lends support to this conjecture when he reports that warriors who were commoners were only permitted to wear lip plugs, earplugs, and nose plugs of bone, wood, and other inferior materials.¹⁴²

Quachic Warrior

Quachic ("Shorn One") hairstyle: *quachicbictli*¹⁴¹
 Sahagún's depictions of the *quachicbictli* hairstyle differ somewhat from that of the warrior of folio 64r. In the *Florentine Codex*, Quachic warriors are shown with the same stiff ridge crest, but the shaved sides of the head outline a small patch of hair just above the right ear.¹⁴⁴ This tuft does not appear on the Quachic warrior of folio 64r.



limpid." The lower ranks, however, had to settle for lesser yellow neck bands.¹⁴³

Tlacatecatl

hair band: *quetzallalpiloni*¹⁴⁴
 A particularly beautiful and detailed rendering of the *quetzallalpiloni* hair band is found in *Codex Ixtlixochitl*, worn by King Nezahualpilli of Texcoco.¹⁴⁵ This prestigious style of headgear is also shown elsewhere in that pictorial,¹⁴⁶ as well as in the *Primeras Memoriales*¹⁴⁷ and *Florentine Codex*.¹⁴⁸



A *quetzallalpiloni* hair ornament is among the imperial tribute from the provinces of Coayxtlahuacan (folio 43r) and Cuextlatlan (folio 49r). The accompanying glosses and commentaries identify this as a royal insignia.

labret: *tentetl* or *teqacatl*¹⁴⁹

Sahagún, when describing how the rulers were arrayed when they danced, speaks of a long yellow labret of amber in a gold setting.¹⁶⁰ This same elongated lip plug is also worn by the four dignitaries of register 4, folio 65r. Amber labrets of a different shape appear in *Codex Mendoza* as imperial tribute.¹⁶¹



cap: *tilmatl*¹⁶²
 This is the only example in the *Codex Mendoza* of a red cape with no design motif other than a *tenixyo* border.

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 81–82.
 2. Duran (1971: 112), when discussing boys' training in the arts of war, speaks of their being instructed how to cast a spear or dart from his leather thong. Leather is often depicted in red in Aztec pictorials.

3. A description of an *alguazil/uchcauhitli* (the Spanish/Nahuatl terms for the same position) appears in Sahagún 1950–1982 3: 55.

4. Sahagún makes the metaphorical equation of "hard work" with both the digging stick and the tumpline. The goddess *Cihuacoatl* was considered "an evil enemy to men" because she brought them the two work implements (ibid. 1: 11). These same tools occur again in a metaphor concerning a bad day sign, *One Jaguar*, for it was believed that a man born on this day "became someone's digging stick and tump line" (ibid. 4: 5).

5. Ibid. 1: 19; 2: 37.
 6. Ibid. 3: 56.

7. The *Cihuapiltin*, the deified souls of women who had died in childbirth, were particularly associated with locations where roads came together (ibid. 4: 107). The juxtaposition of the goddesses' temple to the "crossroad" of a path and canal and the warrior ranks is very intriguing. Women who died in childbirth, the *mocibuaquetzque*, were buried at the *Cihuapiltin* temples. Both their funeral processions and their graves had to be very carefully guarded for fear the corpse would be mutilated. Aztec warriors believed that there was magical power contained in a severed finger or lock of hair cut from the body of one of the *mocibuaquetzque*. These talismans could be used to paralyze the feet of the warriors' enemies (ibid. 6: 161–163).

8. See Isaac 1983b for a discussion of Aztec warfare as a tool of expansion.
 9. For a discussion of the role of ideology in the rise of the Aztec empire, see Conrad and Demarest 1984.

10. Anawalt 1982b: 44.
 11. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 54.
 12. Anawalt 1977.
 13. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 76. Anderson and Dibble translate "camopalten-

stepped-fret shield: *xicaloliubqui chimalli*¹⁴⁸
 The Quachic warrior carries the second most common of the shields in *Codex Mendoza*, the *xicaloliubqui*, or "stepped-fret" design. This shield is found in seven of the Aztec pictorial codices, almost always depicted in yellow and green.¹⁴⁹ An actual specimen of a *xicaloliubqui* shield is still extant in Stuttgart, West Germany.¹⁵⁰

leather earplugs: *cueltaxnacochtli*¹⁵¹
 The Quachic warrior wears the same tubular, white earplugs as the Commanding General to his right, *Tlacatecatl*. Sahagún, when listing items awarded to warriors who had attained these higher ranks, refers to "leather ear plugs." It thus can be assumed that the earplugs of these ranks usually were made of leather.

shell necklace: *chipulcozcatl*¹⁵²
 Sahagún, when describing the battle array of brave warriors, says they acquired "genuine gastropod shell neck bands, very clear and

banner-type back device: *pamitl*¹⁴⁵

The Quachic warrior wears an undecorated bodysuit together with a back device of the *pamitl*—"banner"—family. There is considerable variation within the "flag" portion of this insignia category, but all *pamitl* share a construction involving one to three tall, vertical poles to which are attached colorful, stiff feather banners. Four variations of the *pamitl* style occur in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*—on folios 64r, 65r, and 67r—but none in the tribute section. *Pamitl* back devices also can be found in five other Aztec pictorial codices.¹⁴⁶

Although the *pamitl* back devices referred to above were apparently all trimmed only with feathers, some of these pole-and-banner insignia were also made with ornaments of gold. Such devices are listed by Sahagún as part of the array of gifts sent by Motecuhzoma to Cortés as the conquistadors first approached Tenochtitlan. Among these valuable items were both feathered and golden banners. The latter devices particularly delighted the Spaniards, who were described by the Indians as thirsting mightily for gold: "they stuffed themselves with it; they starved for it; they lusted for it like pigs."¹⁴⁷

leather earplugs: *cueltaxnacochtli*¹⁵¹
 The Quachic warrior wears the same tubular, white earplugs as the Commanding General to his right, *Tlacatecatl*. Sahagún, when listing items awarded to warriors who had attained these higher ranks, refers to "leather ear plugs." It thus can be assumed that the earplugs of these ranks usually were made of leather.

shell necklace: *chipulcozcatl*¹⁵²
 Sahagún, when describing the battle array of brave warriors, says they acquired "genuine gastropod shell neck bands, very clear and

- oaoanqui ian centel colotlalpilli" as "an orange cape with a striped border and a scorpion design to bind on"; in actuality, the term *colotlalpilli* represents a completely separate cloak design (see Anawalt 1990, n.d.).
14. Despite the beginning warrior's having just taken his first prisoner, his hair is already arranged in the *tequahu* manner, the style Sahagún states was reserved for those who had already taken four captives (ibid. 8:77).
15. Note that all the prisoners of folios 64r and 65r are shown in the subversive position, but with individual variations as each of these twelve captives struggles to free himself of his captor.
16. Selser 1960–1961 2: 606.
17. Selser 1960–1961 2: 335.
18. Selser (1960–1961 2: 435–436) identifies *capilli* as being derived from *com-* + *pilli*, or "small pot." He also mentions that Clavigero and Torquemada confuse this headgear with the *zucbitzotzilli*, or turquoise diadem (mentioned in this folio's "Image Descriptions"), and that many Mexican scholars follow their example. Simón (1963: 111), though citing Clavigero, describes this headgear clearly in his definition: "Copilli. Couronne qui ressembloit à une mitre et servait au couronnement des rois. Elle étoit haute et pointue sur le devant, le derrière pendait sur le cou" (crown that resembled a mitre and served for the coronation of kings. It was tall and pointed on the front; the back fell on the neck).
19. For examples of the *capilli* on ancient Huastec stone sculpture, see Selser 1960–1961 2: 175–180.
20. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 35.
21. This mother goddess is associated with spinning and weaving. Appropriately, she is regularly depicted with fillets of unspun cotton ornamenting her head and ears. The deity may have become part of the Aztecs' crowded pantheon following their Huastec victories (Anawalt 1982a). Nicholson, however, suggests that she appeared on the central plateau even earlier, perhaps in Toltec times.
22. Although in Nahuatl this fertility goddess was called Tlazolteotl ("Fifth-Deity"), she was also known as Ixcuinatl(n), which may have derived from her Huastec name (H. B. Nicholson, personal communication, June 1988).
23. See Anawalt essay, volume 1.
24. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 76.
25. That the curved laurel is associated with the city-state of Huexotzincó is evident both in *Codex Mendoza* (folio 42r) and in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folio 43r), where warriors of that community are depicted wearing it.
26. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 77.
27. Durán 1971: 187–188.
28. Ibid.: 197.
29. For depictions of eagle costumes in other Aztec pictorials see appendix F, column 14, "Warrior Costumes: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
30. Nicholson 1983: 84–85. See also Anawalt essay, volume 1, figure 65.
31. Sahagún 1950–1982 12: 40–41.
32. Ibid. 8: 88.
33. The ethnic group known as Otomí, despite its reputed bravery, was not universally esteemed. Sahagún's informants devote an entire section in book 10 of the *Florentine Codex* to disparaging remarks (ibid. 10: 178–179).
34. The importance attached by a warrior to his hairstyle is reflected in Sahagún's account (1950–1982 12: 92) of a valiant fighter's behavior during the final siege of Tenochtitlan by the Spaniards. This particular warrior had reached the esteemed rank of Otomí and, accordingly, wore his hair in that distinctive manner. Although he attempted to disguise himself during his battle with the European invaders, he stubbornly left his head uncovered: pride in the Otomí hairstyle prevailed to the end.
35. Durán, when discussing the sumptuary laws ordained by the first Emperor Motecuhzoma, says gold ornaments were restricted to kings and great lords. "The other valiant warriors may wear common garlands and eagle and macaw feathers on their heads. They may put on bone necklaces and those of small snails, small scallop shells, bones of snakes and small cheap stones" (Durán 1964: 132; also in Durán 1967 2: 212–213).
36. Durán 1971: 198.
37. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 23–24.
38. See appendix G, column 6, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
39. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 24.
40. Durán 1964: 72. Also in Durán 1967 2: 103.
41. Ibid.
42. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 27.
43. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 64r, 65r, 66r, 67r.
44. Molina 1977: folio 107v "Tetl. piedra, generalmente" (rock, in general).

43. Sahagún 1950–1982 11: 263–265.
44. Nicholson 1955.
45. The term *ayuhcalli* appears in Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 81–82. From Molina 1977: folio 3r "Ayuhitl. neblina, neblina, o noue del ojo" (fog, mist, or cloud/film in the eye); folio 11v "Calli. casa" (house); thus, *ayuhitl* (mist) + *calli* (house) = *ayuhcalli*, or "mist house."
46. *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 24–25, 32, 35.
47. Nicholson 1988: 82.
48. Molina 1977: folio 104v "Teputzopilli. lança o venablo de monterro" (lance/spear or hunter's javelin).
49. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 134–135.
50. Molina 1977: folio 8r "Atlat. amiento" (*amiento*, "leather strap wound about a dart, which serves to sling it with greater force" according to Stevens 1276).
51. Durán 1971: 109–110.
52. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
53. Molina 1977: folio 32r "Icheupilli. armas colchadas para la guerra" (quilted arms for war). From *icuatl* (cotton) and *buipilli* (tunic).
54. Anawalt 1977.
55. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
- There were at least two styles of cotton armor; the other version was a jacket (see Anawalt 1981: 38–41).
56. *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 57v.
57. See Anawalt 1981: charts 3 and 4 for depictions of two types of Aztec *icb-cabupilli*; pages 38–41, 46–49 for discussions of these garment types.
58. Molina 1977: folio 11r "Cactli. cades, o capatos, sandalias, &c." (shoes, sandals, etc.). Also, in the Spanish-to-Nahuatl section, folio 33r "Cutaras de nobles caulleros, may bruniadas y negras, yztaectli. tiltitl tlacueyonilli cactli" (sandals of noble gentlemen, very burnished and black); 107r "Sandalias de cuero crudo. euacactli" (sandals of raw leather), "Sandalias de madera. quah-cactli. vapalcactli" (sandals of wood), "Sandalias de arboles, como palmas. cotocactli" (sandals of trees, like palms).
59. Durán 1971: 200–201.
60. Durán 1971: 200–201; Durán 1964: 131 (Durán 1967 2: 211); Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 87.
61. Durán 1964: 245 (Durán 1967 2: 461).
62. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 79.
63. Ibid. 9: 85.
64. Ibid. 2: 92; 8: 62; 9: 80; 12: 12. The Nahuatl for foam sandals, *poçolcactli*, stems from *cactli* (sandals) and *poçoni* (to foam; Molina 1977: 83r).
65. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 173.
66. Ibid. 9: 85.
67. Ibid. 10: 169.
68. Ibid. 10: 188.
69. Ibid. 6: 123.
70. Molina 1977: [Spanish/Nahuatl] folio 30v "corona real con piedras preciosas. xiuhuizotzilli" (royal crown with precious stones).
71. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 1–9, 12 (1979 8: folios 1r–2v, 4r).
72. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: 19.
73. Ibid. 12: 49.
74. See Berdan's article on glyphs, chapter 7 in volume 1, for a fuller discussion of the repeated use of the *xiuhuizotzilli* to denote power.
75. Molina 1977: folio 157v "Victli. coa. para labrar, o cauar la tierra" (*coa* [digging stick] for working or digging the land).
76. In the *Florentine Codex*, book 11, *Earthly Things*, the digging stick occurs in connection with different types of soil (Sahagún 1950–1982 11: plates 852–855, 861 [1979, 11: folios 227v, 228r, 229v]). In *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 67r, 69r, the digging stick appears among the offerings set out at mortuary rites. It is shown three times in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1964–1967: folios 38r, 45v, 46r): on the top of a mound, symbolizing the construction of a new aqueduct, and carried by a man leaving the city of Tenochtitlan. It also appears in the pre-Hispanic ritual pictorial *Codex Feyerherg-Mayer* 1971: 29, 33–34.
77. Molina 1977: folio 22v "Cuautl. muger" (woman); 100r "Teocalli. casa de dios, o yglesia" (house of god, or church); thus, *cuautl* (woman) + *teocalli* (temple) = *cibuteocalli*, or "temple of women."
78. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: 41, 107.
79. *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 30.
80. Molina 1977: folio 91r "Teapuztli. canal de piedra" (canal of stone).
81. Soustelle 1970: 6.
82. Calnek 1972: 109.
83. Molina 1977: folio 85r "Quappantli. puente de madera, o quadril" (wooden bridge, or the hip) or "Quappanauztli. puente de madera" (wooden bridge).

84. Cortés 1971:102 states that there were four major causeways; however, the modern ethnohistorian Edward Calnek (1972: figs. 2, 3) shows five.
85. Cortés 1971:102–103.
86. Molina 1977: folio 78r "Otlí, camino, generalmente" (road, in general).
87. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:266–267.
88. Ibid. 12:38.
89. Siméon 1963:227 "Maquahuil ou Maquauit, Sorte de épée garnie des deux côtés de morceaux d'obsidienne" (type of sword garnished on two sides with pieces of obsidian).
90. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) also uses the term *maqauitzactli*. From Siméon 1963:668 "Utzocotl, Levier, bâton en bois dur et pointu" (lever, hard and sharp wooden stick/staff).
91. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
92. Molina 1977: folio 21r "Chimalli, rodela, adarga pava, o cosa semejanze" (shield, round target, or similar thing).
93. See appendix G, column 12, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
94. A similar unadorned red shield backed by a war club appears in *Codex Mendoza* on folio 42r, the tribute page for Tepeacac. However, apparently what is being indicated there is the capture of war prisoners from Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huexotzinco; note the accompanying three head and name glyphs. Tepeacac evidently sent these desirable captives as tribute to the Triple Alliance cities, although this fact is not mentioned in the accompanying commentary on folio 41v.
95. Molina 1977: folio 113r "Tilmatlí, manta" (cape/mantle).
96. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 29, 35, 39 (1979 8: folios 7r, 8r, 8v).
97. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 50, 52 (1979 8: folio 10r).
98. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 66, 82, 84 (1979 8: folios 26r, 36v, 37r).
99. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plates 99, 100 (1979 8: folio 56v).
98. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plate 74 (1979 8: folio 31r).
100. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: plate 107 (1979 10: folio 39v).
101. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: plate 60 (1979 10: folio 24v).
102. Durán 1964:131–132. Also in Durán 1967 2:211–214.
103. Anawalt 1980.
104. Molina 1977: folio 51v "Malli, captiuo en guerra, o captiuado" (captive in war, or captured).
105. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:54.
106. Ibid. 2:49.
107. From Molina 1977: folio 115v "Tlacatl, hombre, persona, o señor" (man, person, or lord); folio 130r "Tlaoli, mayz desgranado, curado y seco" (dekerneled maize, cured and dried). Thus *tlacatl* (man) + *tlaoili* (dried maize kernels) = *tlacatlaoili*, or "dried maize kernels with man."
108. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:54.
109. Díaz del Castillo 1967 1:186.
110. Ibid. 2:66–67.
111. Davies 1981:235.
112. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 3v, Sahagún (1950–1982 10:185) identifies *cuextecatl* as the singular form of *Cuexteca* [Huasteca], meaning the people from the Huastec region. Berdan (*Matrícula de Tributos* 1980:30, note 12) gives the meaning of the suffix *-catl* as "native of..." and therefore defines *cuextecatl* as referring to a costume characteristics of the people of Cuextlan.
113. For a further discussion of war costumes sent in tribute, see Broda 1978.
114. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXII; Sullivan 1972:160–161, "quetzalucuyo chimalli." Molina 1977: folio 89r "Quetzalli, pluma rica, larga y verde" (rich, long, and green feather); 21r "Chimalli, rodela, adarga pava, o cosa semejanze" (shield, round target, or similar thing). Thus, *quetzalli* (quetzal feather) + *cuyo* (Huastec design) + *chimalli* (shield) = *quetzalucuyo chimalli*, or "quetzal feather Huastec shield."
115. The range of coloring of these similarly designed shields makes it doubtful that all were constructed of green quetzal feathers. Therefore, the simpler term *cuyo* *chimalli* is used.
116. While Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:76) translate "camopoltenoasquini" as an orange cape, the corresponding Spanish text describes it as purple (ibid., note 2). Molina (1977: folio 12r) also defines *camopalli* as dark purple, but a *Matrícula de Tributos* (1980: folio 16r) tribute textile glossed "camopallo tilmatlí" and "mantas moradas" (dark purple capes) appears to be dark red in color.
117. *Camopalli* literally means "camote-colored" or "sweet potato-colored," and therein lies the confusion. While the orange-purple color of this root may have been a common one in the Aztec palette, apparently the Spanish chroniclers were at a loss to describe it.
117. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampas* XXII, XXVI. Also, Molina 1977: folio 79v "Papatoli, mariposa" (butterfly).
118. *Codex Vaticanus* A 1979: folio 57v.
119. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 20v, 22v, 23v.
120. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampas* XXII, XXIII, XXVI.
121. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation). One type of butterfly design, the obsidian butterfly insignia (*itzapapalotl*, depicted on *estampa* XXVI), is described as being made of sheets of beaten copper. Other types of *papatoli* are made of feathers: dark yellow parrot feather (*collopapalotl*, depicted on *estampa* XXIII), black and yellow tropical feathers (*cuapapapalotl*, depicted on *estampa* XXVIII), and crow feathers (*tlitlapapalotl*, depicted on *estampa* XXVI). All have quetzal feather tufts, as does the *papatoli* depicted on folio 64r.
122. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folios 15v, 16r "yecacoacayo." Also, Molina 1977: folio 28r "Eecat, viento, o ayre" (wind, or air); 27v "Cuicat, joya, piedra preciosa labrada de forma redonda, o cuenta para rezar" (jewel, precious stone polished into round form, or beads for praying). Thus *ebecat* (wind) + *ocacatl* (ornament) = *yecacoacayo*, or "wind-ornament design," or "jewel of Ehecatl."
123. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 16r.
124. Nicholson 1983:95.
125. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 3v.
126. Siméon 1963:314 "Ocelotl, Tigre; au fig. guerrier, homme brave" (tiger, warrior, brave man).
127. The American ocelot (*Felis pardalis*), named from the Nahuatl term *ocelotl*, is a medium-size wildcat with a tawny yellow or grayish coat dotted and striped with black (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* 1980:788). However, the Aztec warrior costume does not depict an ocelot; instead, it has the distinctive pattern of spots common to the jaguar, another, larger New World feline (ibid.:613).
128. Ibid.:613.
129. Molina 1977: folio 75r "Ocelotl, tigre" (tiger). Apparently the Nahuatl word *ocelotl*, like the Spanish *tigre*, was a general term used to refer to any of the local wildcats.
130. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampas* XXII, XXIV, XXVII. For descriptions of their construction, see *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
131. See appendix F, column 6, "Warrior Costumes: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
132. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 30r.
133. See appendix G, column 1, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
134. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 3v.
135. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 37r (Tlaloc head); folios 20r, 21v, 23r, 24v, 26r, 27r, 28r, 30r, 31r, 32r (blue and white diaper motif). See Anawalt essay, volume 1, and Anawalt 1990 for an interpretation of this diaper motif.
136. *Matrícula de Tributos*: folio 3v, 4r, passim. Also, Molina 161r "Xopilli, dedo de pie" (toe).
137. See Anawalt essay, volume 1, for an account of this battle.
138. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* 1892:25, 28. According to Torquemada (1969 1:508–510), the Spaniards gave the *matlacaxpilli* ("net claw" insignia), captured from the Aztecs on the Otumba battlefield, to the Tlaxcalans.
139. See appendix G, column 2, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
140. Molina 1977: folio 99v "Tentel, becote de indio" (labret of an Indian); also folio 91v "Teçacatl, becote largo" (large labret). Sahagún's informants use both terms.
141. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:100.
142. Durán 1964:132. Also in Durán 1967 2:212–213.
143. Molina 1977: folio 84r "Quachichicli, corona de clérigo" (crown of the head of a priest). Stevens (1726) defines "corona de religioso" as "the crown that is shaved on a religious man's head." The Nahuatl term no doubt refers to the closely shaved hairstyles of the Quachic warriors.
144. For examples of the Quachic warrior's hairstyle incorporating a circular patch see Sahagún 1950–1982 3: plates 15, 18; 4: plates 36, 94 (1979 3: folios 27v, 31v; 4: folios 31r, 71v). Durán (1971:198), however, specifies that this patch of hair was on the left side of the head.
145. Siméon 1963:330 "Pamitl, Drapeau, étendard, bannière" (flag, standard, banner). Also, 332 "Pantli, Drapau, bannière, mur, ligne, rangée" (flag, banner, wall, line, rank [of soldiers]).
146. See appendix F, column 13, "Warrior Costumes: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
147. Sahagún 1950–1982 12:31.
148. Molina 1977: folio 158v "Xicalli, vaso de calabaza" (gourd vessel); 24r

"Colihqui, cosa torcida, o acostada" (twisted or leaning thing). Thus *xicalli* (gourd) + *colihqui* (twisted) + *chimalli* (shield) = *xicacolihqui chimalli* or "twisted gourd vessel shield."
149. See appendix G, column 6, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1 for examples of the *xicacolihqui* in other Aztec pictorials. This design was obviously very popular on both Aztec textiles and sculpture; it still appears on jewelry today.
150. See Pasztory 1983: colorplate 66 and Anawalt essay, fig. 66, volume 1.
151. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 74, 77. From Molina 1977: folio 26r "Cuetaxtl. cuero adobado" (cured leather); 62v "Nacochtili. orejeras" (earrings [ear-plugs]). Thus *cuetaxtli* (leather) + *nacochtili* (earplug) = *cuetaxnacochtili*, or "leather earplug."
152. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation ("chipolevzcatl"). From Siméon 1963: 92 "Chipuli, Coquillage" (shell); 115 "Cozcatl. Bijou, pierre précieuse, grain de chapelet, collier" (jewel, precious stone, rosary bead, necklace).

153. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 100.
154. *Ibid.* 8: 74 "quetzallalpiloni." From Siméon 1963: 545 "Tlalpiloni. Ornement de la tête, qui servait à lier les cheveux" (ornament of the head which served to tie up the hair).
155. *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* 1976: folio 108r.
156. *Ibid.*: folios 105r, 107r.
157. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* VII.
158. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plates 19, 41 (1979 1: folios 12r, 39v).
159. See note 140.
160. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 27.
161. Amber labrets appear in *Codex Mendoza* as tribute: from the provinces of Tlaxtepec (folio 46r), Xoconochco (folio 47r), and Cuetlaxtlan (folio 49r), and in the cognate pictorial, *Matricula de Tributos* 1980: folios 13r, 14r.
162. Molina 1977: folio 113r "Tilmatl. manta" (cape).

CONTENT

Folio 65r is the last of the four folios that contrast the commoners' *telpochcalli* training with that of the nobles in the *calmecat*. The six ranks in the military career of a priest-warrior—note his long, loosely tied hair and the smear of blood at his temple—are here juxtaposed to the equivalent six-rank hierarchy of *telpochcalli*-trained warriors depicted on the preceding folio, 64r.

The role played by war captives has already been discussed in the “Content” section of folio 64r; only the warriors’ martial costumes will be examined here.

Register 1

ONE-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

The initial gloss reads: “Priest who captured an enemy in battle.” This priest-warrior goes into the fray barefoot, wearing only undecorated quilted cotton armor. He carries an obsidian-studded war club and unembellished shield; his captive is shown with similar plain and unadorned equipment. Except for the blood smear and hairstyle, this priest-warrior is almost indistinguishable from his entry-level counterpart depicted in the *telpochcalli* hierarchy on folio 64r.

TWO-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

The next gloss reads, “The same priest as before, for capturing two enemies in battle, was given the style of warrior costume that he wears.” Although this priest-warrior has now taken two prisoners, he still goes into battle barefoot. However, he now has acquired an undecorated white feather suit and a back device that is unique among the martial attire illustrated in the Aztec pictorial codices. Eduard Seler speculates that this insignia may have connections with Chantico, the goddess of Xochimilco who was associated with fire.¹ The attendant shield is the *ibniteteyo*, whose decoration consists of eight down balls.² Although this shield appears nowhere in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*, a seven-down-ball variant occurs repeatedly on the historical pages, both as a symbol of Tenochtitlan and in association with the Aztec emperors;³ it is also carried by the *Tlacoccalcatl* on folio 67r. The two-captive priest-warrior is also armed with an obsidian-studded club; his captive, however, carries only a sharply pointed war stick.

THREE-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

The third gloss of register 1 reads, “The same priest as before, for having captured three enemies in battle, was given for his bravery the style of warrior costume that he wears.” Attaining the three-captive priest-warrior status earned the right to wear sandals into battle—as remains true for the ascending ranks—as well as an undecorated, green feathered suit and a *pamitl*-style back device. The name of this priest-warrior’s shield is unknown, although it appears in four other Aztec pictorials.⁴ Both the priest-warrior and his captive carry sharply pointed war sticks rather than obsidian-studded clubs.

Register 2

FOUR-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

The gloss reads, “The same priest as those drawn above, for having captured four enemies in battle, was given as a sign of his bravery the style of warrior costume that he wears.” This priest-warrior is clad in a version of the Huastec costume that Seler calls the “*cicitlallo* [starry sky] *cuextecatl*,” believing that its white circular spots on a black background represent a night sky.⁵ Note that this suit incorporates the familiar pointed hat and unspun-cotton ear ornaments of the *cuextecatl* costume of folio 64r. It is tempting to speculate that this was the priest-warriors’ version of that popular Huastec style. However, the *Florentine Codex* shows this particular battle attire also being worn by a merchant.⁶

The shield carried by the four-prisoner warrior has a volute design that occurs on similar shields in five other Aztec pictorials.⁷ The captive carries an obsidian-studded club and the prisoners’ undecorated shield.

FIVE-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

This gloss reads, “The same priest as drawn previously, for having captured five enemies in battle, was given as a sign of his bravery the style of warrior costume that he wears.” The bright color of the undecorated red feather suit matches the magnificent *momoyactli* back device, which appears only here and in the tribute pages of *Codex Mendoza* and its cognate, the *Matricula de Tributos*. The folio 65r depiction of the insignia is particularly instructive because it clearly shows the lightweight frame that supported these magnificent feather constructions.

This five-captive warrior carries an obsidian-edged club; his

distinctive shield is the *quauhtetepoyo*, the eagle-foot design.⁹ The captive wears the curved labret of Huexotzinco, discussed in folio 64r, and carries a red-bordered shield, but holds neither war club nor battle stick.

SIX-CAPTIVE PRIEST-WARRIOR

The gloss for the final priest-warrior rank reads, "The same priest as drawn previously, for having captured six enemies in battle, as a sign of his courage and valor was given by the lord of Mexico the style of warrior costume that he wears." Attaining this rank conferred the right to wear the coyote attire, complete with matching animal-head helmet. This warrior carries a war stick; his shield is the familiar *cucyo* pattern, most common of the shield designs depicted in the *Mendoza*. The captive, in addition to his undecorated, red-bordered shield, obsidian-studded war club, and curved labret, wears a red headband. This is the only hair ornament to appear on a captive in the ethnographic portion of the *Codex Mendoza*.¹⁰

The combination of the curved labret and red headband is a hallmark of the city-state of Huexotzinco.¹⁰ It was located in the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley—adjacent to the Basin of Mexico—as were the nearby independent kingdoms of Cholula and Tlaxcala. As was mentioned in the discussion of folio 64r, captives from these neighboring autonomous polities were particularly valued by the Aztecs. This is evidenced by the fact that one of the Aztec imperial provinces, Tepeacac, was required as part of its tribute to relinquish prisoners from its wars with Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Tlaxcala.¹¹

Besides the obvious political advantage to the Aztecs of taking captives from neighboring enemies, these prisoners were valued for an additional reason. Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Tlaxcala were all Nahuatl speaking, and hence captives from these kingdoms were considered more pleasing as offerings to the Aztec gods than "foreigners."¹² This reasoning held true for all the fiercely independent polities of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley with whom the Aztecs were involved in the famous "Flower Wars," or *xochiyaoyotl*. These recurring encounters are reported to have consisted of a series of limited engagements that always took place at a specified time and location. Their stated purpose apparently was neither conquest nor killing but rather to afford practice for the Aztec warriors as well as capture Nahuatl-speaking prisoners for human sacrifice.¹³

Officers

The remaining registers of folio 65r present two sets of Aztec imperial officers, each of whom bears a title.¹⁴ A pattern has been established in the three preceding folios in *Codex Mendoza* of alternately contrasting the *tepcalcalli* training and matriculation with that of the *calmecac*. In keeping with this juxtaposition, registers 3 and 4 should reflect the further career stages of both groups; the four dignitaries of the third register would be commoners, those in the bottom row, nobility. Unfortunately, as will be seen below, the sources truly confuse this issue.

Register 3

CONSTABLES

The gloss for register 3 reads, "These four in this row served as commanders and officers for whatever the lords of Mexico ordered and decided." Each of the four dignitaries is identified by both an Aztec name glyph and an accompanying Spanish gloss. They are all arrayed in the same manner: black body paint, black-shading-

to-brown face paint, undecorated cloaks with contrasting-colored borders, and tubular earplugs. Their long hair is tightly bound by narrow white or red ribbons whose ends are knotted at the nape of the neck. This unique way of arranging the hair may be an indicator of the duties of these officers, all of whom are connected in an official capacity with death sentences and executions.¹⁵

Sahagún mentions all but one of the register 3 titles in a list of constables, all of whom he defines as commoners.¹⁶ The duty of these officers was to serve as the ruler's executioners, the *Acbaucabti*.¹⁷ The contexts in which these men are mentioned in the sixteenth-century sources are replete with references to executions. One such passage describes Aztec constables' placing condemned criminals in the middle of the marketplace and striking each one's head.¹⁸ On the ruler's orders, these executioners also strangled a criminal with cords, they stoned him publicly, "or they cut him to pieces."¹⁹ Sahagún states that the *Acbaucabti* "brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen."²⁰

Each of the four titles of register 3, folio 65r, will be considered in turn. It should be noted, however, that Sahagún also mentions many other constable titles; only those that appear in register 3 are discussed here. In addition, an analysis of the four name glyphs can be found in the "Image Description" section.

Quauhnobctli, "Eagle Cactus Fruit"²¹

This first title appears among those constables listed as being from the commoners' class,²² executing criminals in the marketplace, strangling or stoning evildoers,²³ and being part of the *Acbaucalli*, the constables' official meetinghouse.²⁴

Tilancalqui, "Keeper of the House of Darkness [i.e., the temple of Cihuacoatl]"²⁵

The second of the figures appearing on register 3, glossed *Tilan-calqui*, is, according to the sources, out of place among these officers. While Sahagún clearly states that the constables were "not lords,"²⁶ he and Durán²⁷ refer to the *Tilancalqui* as a noble. In fact, both friars include this title among the group of four officials who have come to be known in modern scholarly literature as the Aztecs' "Council of Four." This was a group of utmost importance, for it was from these four noble advisers to the ruler—who were also usually close relatives—that a new emperor was chosen.

The only connection in the sources between the grim task of the three executioners of register 3, all from the commoners' class, and a stern duty of the noble *Tilancalqui* is Sahagún's statement that some of the four royal councillors "were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences."²⁸ Despite this, the *Tilancalqui* is arrayed identically to the other officials depicted in the register.

The *Tilancalqui* title also appears on folio 18r of the *Codex Mendoza* tribute section (see fig. 1 below). Here the Venus symbol name sign identical to that of folio 65r is attached to a head glyph with the same hairstyle, although a white rather than red ribbon binds the hair. The Spanish gloss states that this *Tilancalqui* official was one of two "governors" of the distant province of Xoconochco. However, in contrast to Durán's and Sahagún's contention that this was a lord's title, on folio 18r neither the blue diadem nor the noble *tecutli* (lord) affix is attached.

Atenpanecatl, "Keeper on the Edge of the Water"²⁹

This third constable is mentioned in several contexts by Sahagún: as a commoner,³⁰ as a member of the *Acbaucalli*, the constables' chamber,³¹ publicly executing criminals in the marketplace,³² and

strangling, stoning, and cutting people to pieces in the course of justice.¹¹ The title also occurs in Sahagún's chapter on how warriors rose through the ranks.¹⁴

Ezhuabuacatl (*Ezguaguacatl*). "Raining Blood"¹⁵

Durán includes this final title among the royal Council of Four, the ruler's advising group from whom a new emperor was chosen.¹⁶ In contrast, Sahagún lists the office of *Ezhuabuacatl* among the constables, all of whom were commoners, who served at the public smashing-in of heads.¹⁷ However, the friar also mentions this title when listing the office as that of an appeals judge, a position he implies was filled by nobles.¹⁸ The *Ezhuabuacatl* appears in this latter capacity on folio 68r of *Codex Mendoza*; his reed seat with backrest and turquoise diadem atop to high status.

SUMMARY

There are several contradictions in the sources as to whether or not the four officers of register 3 were all commoners. Clearly, on folio 65r they are dressed as constables; their common hairstyle and general similarity to the gloss-identified constable of the subsequent folio 66r confirms this. Although in one context Sahagún states that all constables were commoners,¹⁹ in other references he lists both the *Tilancalqui*²⁰ and *Ezhuabuacatl*²¹ titles as those of nobles. Durán confirms these latter two noble attributions.²²

Register 4

GENERALS

The gloss for register 4 reads, "These four in this row are valiant warriors and captains in the Mexican army, and persons who serve as generals in the Mexican army." Each of the four wears the prestigious *quetzalpiloni*, the quetzal-feather pomphom hair ornament, and a long yellow labret, probably made of amber.²³

These hair ornaments and labrets, important symbols of elevated position, are identical to those of the final figure on the preceding folio 64r. Although that officer, *Tlacatecatl*, was the most elevated of the ranks depicted for the *tepochoalli* commoner warriors, Durán lists the same title as one of the "Council of Four" advisers to the ruler.²⁴ Apropos the high status of the *Tlacatecatl*, note that the cloaks of the first two dignitaries of folio 65r's register 4 have the same prestigious *tenizyo* border as *Tlacatecatl*'s cloak on folio 64r. However, the latter's earplugs are white, whereas each of the four generals of folio 65r wears identical red tubular ear ornaments.

To permit a better understanding of the four dignitaries of register 4, each will be discussed in detail.

Tlacochcalatl, "Keeper of the House of Darts"²⁵

The first dignitary, *Tlacochcalatl*, is listed as one of the "Council of Four" by both Durán²⁶ and Sahagún.²⁷ The *Tlacochcalatl* of register four wears the *yeacozcayo*—"jewel of Ehecatl"—cape sent in tribute from the province of Atlan, located on the Gulf coast.²⁸ This general appears again, in full battle array, on folio 67r, where he is dressed in one of the most magnificent of Aztec warrior costumes.

Both Durán²⁹ and Sahagún³⁰ say that the *Tlacochcalatl* was one of the royal "Council of Four," all of whom were noblemen. In addition, Sahagún connects the office of *Tlacochcalatl* with the duties of an appeal judge.³¹ Durán presents information that indicates how the position of *Tlacochcalatl* may have been filled. He lists the title as one of six that were granted to priests who had acquitted

themselves well through long and faithful service.³² Four of these do not appear in *Codex Mendoza*'s ethnographic section; the fifth takes a different form.³³

Sahagún defines the *Tlacochcalatl* and the *Tlacatecatl* as commanders from the nobility and military, respectively. Additionally, the friar speaks of two similar titles as dignitaries assisting the ruler: the *Tlacochtecutli*, a noble, and the *Tlacatecutli*, an official chosen from the military.³⁴

As was discussed on folio 64r, the *tecutli* or *tectli* (lord) element is rendered pictorially by the turquoise blue diadem. In *Codex Mendoza*, these indicators of nobility appear on folios 17r and 18r, attached to head glyphs glossed "governor" of seven communities.³⁵ For five of these towns, the blue diadem sits atop the head glyphs of the officials; in each case, the *Tlacatecutli* or *Tlacochtecutli* is represented.

A sixth case, however, presents a puzzle. The head glyphs lack the blue diadem diagnostic of *tecutli* status, yet one is glossed as *Tlacochtectli* (fig. 1, upper left). Berdan suggests that the Spanish commentator intended *Tlacochcalatl* instead.³⁶ This would be in keeping with the lower-ranking form of his cogovernor's title, *Tlacatecatl*, and with the *tequibua* warrior hairstyle worn by each of the two men.³⁷ Perhaps the noble connotations of this title were uppermost in the scribe's thoughts.

Note that on folios 64r and 65r, it is the lesser "Commander" form (i.e., without the *tectli* suffix) of the two titles that is used, and these two dignitaries are closely associated not only by title but also by dress, adornments, and position on their respective folios.

Tezcaocatl, "Keeper of the Mirrored Snake"³⁸

Tezcaocatl is twice listed in Sahagún as being among the emperor's constable-executioners, all of whom are stated to be commoners.³⁹ *Codex Mendoza* further confirms the commoner status of the bearer of this title. The *Tezcaocatl* and the *Tilancalqui*—who appears immediately above on register 3—are depicted together on folio 18r as cogovernors of the distant province of Xoconochco (see fig. 1, lower right). In this rendition, neither dignitary has the turquoise blue diadem of nobility drawn above his head. Also, note that the only undecorated cloak of register 4, folio 65—distinguished only by its *tenizyo* border—is that of *Tezcaocatl*.⁴⁰

Ticoyabuacatl, "Keeper of the Bowl of Fatigue"⁴¹

This general wears the *ometochtcomayo* (Two-Rabbit *pulque* vessel)⁴² cape, which is most appropriate considering that his name glyph is a foaming bowl of *pulque*. Cloaks with the *pulque*-jug motif were sent in tribute from the Gulf coast province of Tochtepec.⁴³

Ticoyabuacatl is another of those mentioned by Sahagún as being one of the emperor's constable executioners, all of whom, he contends, were commoners.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the friar also lists this title as one of four princes who aided a new ruler and from whom a new emperor would be chosen.⁴⁵ The *Ticoyabuacatl* is also mentioned by Sahagún in three different references as being among the judges.⁴⁶ Together with *Tlacatecatl* and *Tlacochcalatl*, this general appears on folio 67r in full feathered battle array.

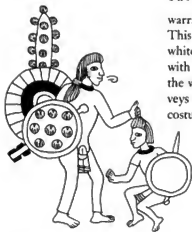
Tocuittecatl, "Keeper of the Worm on Blade of Maize"⁴⁷

The cloak worn by this general features two decorated concentric circles similar to the background motifs of some of the more elaborate of the tribute textiles.⁴⁸ The *Tocuittecatl* appears in Sahagún only as one of the many fearless warriors to whom wealthy merchants give gifts of capes at special feast celebrations.⁴⁹ This inclusion does little to identify the status of the title, because all the other

Two-Captive Priest-Warrior

warrior suit

This priest-warrior wears a plain white feather suit. As is the case with such undecorated apparel, it is the warrior's back device that conveys the symbolic message of his costume.



back device

As stated in the "Content" section, this insignia is unique in the Aztec pictorial corpus. As a result, it cannot be contrasted with similar examples for a comparative analysis and hence does not appear on appendix F of volume 1.

down ball shield: *ibuiteteyo cbimalli*⁷⁶

Although this shield does not appear in the tribute tallies of *Codex Mendoza*, it does occur in the historical section. It is also in four other Aztec pictorials, where the number of down balls portrayed varies between five and nine.⁷⁷ This inconsistency is also apparent in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, where the same shield is carried by the *Tlacoccalatl* (folio 67r) but with seven down balls—as in the historical section of *Mendoza*—instead of the eight depicted here.



Three-Captive Priest-Warrior

warrior suit

This priest-warrior wears an undecorated green body suit.

banner-style back device: *pamitl*⁷⁸

This insignia is a variant of the *pamitl* back device worn by the *Quacbic* warrior rank depicted on folio 64r and discussed in the "Image Description" section of that folio. Three additional styles of this flag-type device appear on folio 67r.

shield

Although the name of this shield is unknown, the design is not uncommon; it appears in four other Aztec pictorials.⁷⁹ However, in only two of those cases does the shield have the feathered "beard" of the folio 65r example.

Four-Captive Priest-Warrior

"starry sky" Huastec warrior suit:

*cicitlallo cuextecatl*⁸⁰

As mentioned in the "Content" section, Scler describes this costume as the "starry sky" warrior suit.⁸¹ Unfortunately, he provides no citation for his attribution. This body-encasing, feathered warrior suit also appears in the *Florentine Codex*.⁸² In *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, a pointed Huastec hat like this one is worn by a warrior.⁸³



Huastec shield: *cuexyo* variant 4

The single volute design that appears on this shield occurs in five other Aztec pictorials.⁸⁴ However, only in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* are the "starry sky" white dots on a black background also incorporated.⁸⁵

Five-Captive Priest-Warrior

warrior suit

The feathered battle suit of this priest-warrior is red and undecorated.



dispersed feather back device: *momoyactli*⁸⁶

This back device occurs seven times in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*, and is always associated with the color red.⁸⁷

Because the *momoyactli* costume appears seven times in *Codex Mendoza*, it could be anticipated that it would also occur in other Aztec pictorials. However, aside from the *Matricula de Tributos*—the cognate to *Mendoza's* tribute section—this is not the case.⁸⁸

eagle's foot shield: *quaubtetepoyo cbimalli*⁸⁹

This shield appears only three times in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza*,⁹⁰ and always with the *papalotl* (butterfly) back device. However, the shield does occur in three other Aztec pictorials.⁹¹

The *quaubtetepoyo cbimalli* is one of two very similar shield designs; the other features a jaguar paw and, appropriately, is glossed *ocelotetepoyo cbimalli*.⁹²



Six-Captive Priest-Warrior

coyote warrior suit: *coyotl*⁹¹
The yellow coyote costume appears in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza* six times; in five examples it is accompanied by the *cucayo* shield, and in the remaining case by the *xicalcolihqui*.⁹²

Primerus Memoriales contains an excellent depiction of the yellow coyote warrior suit.⁹³ This costume is described in the *Primerus Memoriales* as “the yellow parrot [feather] coyote [insignia]. It is made in this manner: A frame is fashioned like a coyote’s head. It is covered with yellow parrot [feathers]. It has its crest of quetzal [feathers].”⁹⁴

Primerus Memoriales as “the yellow parrot [feather] coyote [insignia]. It is made in this manner: A frame is fashioned like a coyote’s head. It is covered with yellow parrot [feathers]. It has its crest of quetzal [feathers].”⁹⁴

Title Glyphs

Fifteen examples of the Aztecs’ indigenous method of depicting names and titles appear in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*. On folio 68r, four titles for judges appear; on folio 70r the gossipier is identified by a glyph, and on folio 71r the glyph for a thief appears.⁹⁵ One constable’s glyph is on folio 66r; the remaining eight glyphs are the titles of the constables and generals of folio 65r. Each of these is discussed below.



Quauhnochtli: “Eagle-Cactus Fruit”⁹⁶

The first pre-Hispanic name glyph on folio 65r consists of an eagle feather and a human heart. The connection between such an image and the title of “eagle-cactus fruit” is explained by Sahagún, who states that the Aztecs referred to the hearts of sacrificial victims as *quauhnochtli*. These “precious eagle-cactus fruits” were offered up to the sun as nourishment.⁹⁷



Tlilancalqui: “Keeper of the House of Darkness”¹⁰⁰

This name glyph is a stylized house whose door jambs and lintel are painted black; a white Maltese Cross-like device appears on each. These features identify this building as a *Tlilan* or *Tlilancalli*, “House of Darkness.” This is a commonly used reference to a temple of Cihuacoatl, an earth-mother fertility goddess.¹⁰¹



Atenpancati:
“Keeper on the Edge of the Water”¹⁰²
This name glyph depicts a mouth shown in profile, indicating the *tentli* (lips or edge) element, outlined in water.



Ezbnahuacatl (*Ezguaguacatl*):
“Raining Blood”¹⁰¹
This name glyph shows four drops of red-striped liquid, a vivid depiction of a rain of blood.



Tlacoccalcatl:
“Keeper of the House of Darts”¹⁰⁴
The name glyph of the first of the four generals of register 4 is a house with three dart fletchings shown emerging from its roof.



Tezcatlacati: "Keeper of the Mirrored Snake"¹⁰

This name glyph is the upper portion of a snake.



Ticocayabuacati: "Keeper of the Bowl of Fatigue"¹¹

The name glyph of this third general is a foaming bowl of *pulque*; the *yaca-metzli pulque* symbol is drawn on its side.



Tocuilecaci: "Keeper of the Worm on Blade of Maize"¹⁰⁷

The fourth general's name glyph is a green worm.

Folio 17v of *Codex Mendoza* contains a place glyph for Citaltepec ("On the Starry Hill") which consists of a hilltop of black ground with white dots resembling the pattern of the "starry sky" warrior costume.

6. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: plate 7 (1979 9: folio 5v). For other examples of this costume see appendix F, column 2, "Warrior Costumes: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

7. See appendix G, column 5, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

8. See *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: estampa XXIV. See also appendix G, column 7, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

9. For a detailed discussion of the iconographic significance of headbands, see Nicholson 1967.

10. Nicholson 1967: 74–75. For other depictions of warriors from Hucoztzincó wearing the red headband, see *Codex Mendoza*: folio 42r and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 43r, 43v.

11. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 42r. This record of tribute from the province of Tepeacac includes three heads, symbolizing payment of captives from the independent kingdoms of Tlaxcala, Hucoztzincó, and Cholula. The latter two head glyphs wear red headbands; the one representing Hucoztzincó includes a labret as well.

12. H. B. Nicholson: personal communication, 1987.

13. Durán 1971: 93.

It was from among the most outstanding and handsome of such prestigious war captives that a deity impersonator was annually chosen for one of the most poignant of the sacrificial ceremonies, a festival that honored the god Tezcatlipoca during the month of Toxcatl. Sahagún (1950–1982 2: 9–10, 66–71) relates how a particularly attractive prisoner was selected, then surrounded with every luxury for a year preceding the ceremony. The chosen one's life was truly that of a god for his remaining brief time on earth. He strolled about the city, richly clothed, adorned with flowers, accompanied by attendants, and greeted by all with respect and admiration.

Twenty days before the time of the deity impersonator's sacrifice, he was given four beautiful young women to minister to his every need. On the fifth day before the festival, many feasts and banquets were held for him "in cool and pleasant places." On the day he was to die, the young man was taken to the temple where he would be sacrificed, and there "the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year." Following his sacrifice, his head was severed and placed on the skull rack that stood facing the great Templo Mayor.

For a detailed analysis of the practical advantages of the "Flowerly War," see Isaac 1983a.

14. Rudolph van Zantwijk (1985: 113–124), drawing from the work of the sixteenth-century Indian historian Alvarado Tezozomoc (1944: 57–60), contends that all eight of these titles, as well as eighteen additional ones, came into existence during the reign of the Aztec ruler Acamapichtli following the Tepanec War (1426–1433). Van Zantwijk connects many of the twenty-six titles he discusses with specific territorial units—the *barroo* or *calpulli*—of Tenochtitlan. In the case of the eight officers depicted on folio 65r, only *Tlacobcaicatl* and *Onauhmochtili* are not listed as associated with *calpulli*.

15. Whereas all the priests in *Codex Mendoza* have their long hair tied back loosely with two white bands, these four dignitaries—and their counterparts on the subsequent folio 66r—have their hair firmly encircled by ribbons. Sahagún (1950–1982 8: 83) may be referring to this more tightly bound style in his description of how Aztec messengers announced the outcome of a battle by the arrangement of their hair. The loss of Aztec warriors caused the reporting messengers to arrive with their hair hanging loose; if, however, enemy prisoners had been taken, "all [the messengers] came tying and binding their hair."

Note that this same tightly bound hairstyle appears on the imperial messengers of folio 66r of *Codex Mendoza*, who are on an errand pertaining to warfare. This, in turn, implies the taking of prisoners and these captives' subsequent death.

16. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 106.

17. *Ibid.* 8: 55.

In another passage, Sahagún equates the *acbaucatl* (singular form) with the *algucil*, the Spanish term for constable (*ibid.* 3: 55).

18. *Ibid.* 2: 106.

19. *Ibid.* 8: 55.

20. *Ibid.* 8: 43.

21. *Quauhmochtili*: From Molina 1977: folio 87v "Quauhtli. aguila" (eagle); 72v "Nochtli. tuna, fruta conocida" (tuna [cactus fruit], known fruit).

22. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 106.

23. *Ibid.* 8: 55.

24. *Ibid.* 8: 43.

NOTES

1. Seler 1960–1961 2: 614.

2. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: estampa XXVII.

3. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 2r, 2v, 3v, 4v, 5v, 7v, 10r, 12r, 13r, 15v. See also appendix G, column 10, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

4. See appendix G, column 11, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

5. Seler 1960–1961 2: 609–610. Unfortunately, Seler does not give his source for the name *cicitlallo cuexceatl*. He speculates that the astronomical symbolism of this costume indicates that the Mexicans somehow connected the Toltecs—from whom they supposedly received their knowledge of the stars—with the Huastec region.

25. *Tilamalqui*: From Siméon 1963:642 "Thilli, Couleur noire; . . . Avec la postp. *tlam*: *tlilan*, dans le noir" (color black . . . with *tlam*, in the darkness); 53 "Calli, Maison" (house). Thus *tlilan* (in the darkness) + *calli* (house) = *Tilamalqui* or "Keeper of the House of Darkness."
- Durán uses the similar translation of "Lord of the House of Blackness" (1964:72; see also Durán 1967 2:103).
26. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
27. *Ibid.* 8:74; Durán 1964:72 (also in Durán 1967 2:103).
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:74.
29. *Atepanecatli*: From Molina 1977: folio 8r "Atl. agua, orines, guerra, o la mollera de la cabeza" (water, urine, war, or the crown of the head); 99v "Tentli, los labrios, o el borde, o orilla de alguna cosa" (the lips, or the edge, or the brink of something); 79r "Pani, encima" (upon). Thus *atl* (water) + *tentli* (edge) + *pani* (upon) + *ecat* (signifying affiliation) = *Atepanecatli*, or "Keeper on the Edge of the Water."
- For information on the stem *-catli* (signifying national, tribal, or civic affiliation), see Andrews 1975:332–333.
30. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
31. *Ibid.* 8:43.
32. *Ibid.* 2:106.
33. *Ibid.* 8:55.
34. *Ibid.* 8:77.
35. *Ezhuahuacatl*: Clark (1938 3: folio 65r overleaf) contends that *ezhuahuacatl* [*ezhuahuacatl*] derives from *ezxasuanilitzli*, or raining blood. Molina 1977: folio 29v translates *ezxasuanilitzli* as "sangre lluvia," or "blood rain." Siméon 1963:135 translates *ezxasuanilitzli* or *ezxasuanilitzli* as "Flux, perte de sang," or "flux, loss of blood."
- Siméon (1963:135, 675) also suggests that *Ezhuahuacatl*, defined as "general en chef, commandant supérieur" (general in chief, superior commanding officer), is derived from *eztli* (blood) and *uauqui* (to dry). This might explain the derivation of *ezhuahuacatl*; *uauqui* is the reduplicative form of *uauqui*. Thus, *ezhuahuacatl* would be translated as "dried blood."
- Durán (1964:72; 1967 2:103) contends that *Ezhuahuacatl* derives from *eztli*, "blood," and *huahuaca*, which he states means to scratch or to tear. He therefore translates *Ezhuahuacatl* as "Shedder of Blood."
- While it seems that no source agrees exactly as to the definition of this title, the element of bloodshed or "Raining Blood" is evident in all the above derivations.
36. Durán 1964:72. Also in Durán 1967 2:103.
37. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
38. *Ibid.* 8:55.
39. *Ibid.* 2:106.
40. *Ibid.* 8:74.
41. *Ibid.* 8:55.
42. Durán 1964:72. Also in Durán 1967 2:103.
43. See "Image Descriptions," folio 64r.
44. Durán 1964:72. Also in Durán 1967 2:103.
45. *Tlacochalcatl*: Durán 1964:72, also in Durán 1967 2:103. From Molina 1977: folio 118r "Tlacochtli, flecha" (arrow); 11v "Calli, casa" (house). Thus *tlacochtli* (dart) + *calli* (house) + *catl* (signifying affiliation) = *Tlacochalcatl*, or "Keeper of the House of Darts."
- Sahagún (1950–1982 10:24) uses the less literal and far more succinct translation "General."
46. Durán 1964:72, also in Durán 1967 2:103.
47. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:74.
48. See "Image Descriptions," folio 64r, and chapter 8 by Anawalt, volume 1, for information on the "jewel of Ehecatl" design.
49. Durán 1964:72. Also in Durán 1967 2:103.
50. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:74.
51. The title *Tlacochalcatl* is mentioned in a list of twelve judges appointed to assist the ruler in legal decisions (ibid. 8:55). In another context, the *Tlacochalcatl* appears in an account of how warriors rose through the ranks to become judges: "there [in the warriors' house] where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochalcatl, the Tlacateccatl" (ibid. 8:77).
52. Durán 1971:137–138. "The second way [after soldiery] in which men rose was through religion, entering the priesthood. After having served in the temples in a virtuous, penitential, and cloistered way of life, in their old age they were sent out to high and honorable posts. . . . They were given high-sounding names and titles. . . . They were present when the government councils were held, their opinions and advice were listened to, and they were part of the ruling boards and juntas. . . . When they were given these exalted posts and distinctions, many rites were performed. Their long hair was cut; the soot which had at all times covered their faces was washed off."
53. The fifth title listed by Durán is *Tlacateccatl*. See Pihó 1972.
54. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:110.

55. The seven communities and their governors are Tetenanco or Quechol-tetenanco (*Tlacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*); Huasca (*Tlacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*); Çoçolan (*Tlacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*); Ozoma (*Tlacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*); Atzacan (*Tlacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*); Xocochocho (*Tzacateccatl* and *Tlacateccatl*).
- See also the discussion of folios 17v and 18r in this volume.
56. See note 8 of the folios 17v and 18r description, this volume.
57. See "Image Descriptions," folio 62r, for a discussion of the *temillutl* or "pillar of stone" hairstyle characteristics of *tequihua* warriors.
58. *Tzacateccatl*: From Molina 1977: folio 112v "Tzecatl. espejo para mirarse en el" (mirror for seeing oneself in it); 23r "Coatl. culebra, melizo, o lombriz del estomago" (snake, twin, or worm in the stomach). Thus *tzecatl* (mirror) + *coatl* (snake) + *catl* (signifying affiliation) = *Tzacateccatl*, or "Keeper of the Mirrored Snake."
59. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106; 8:43.
60. A variant of this name, *Merixatl Tzacateccatl*, is also among the twelve titles Sahagún mentions when discussing the judges who assisted the ruler with difficult cases (ibid. 8:55).
61. *Tucuyahuacatl*: From Molina 1977: folio 93r "Tecomatl. vaso de barro, como taça honda" (vessel of clay, like a deep cup); 22r "Çiaui. cansarse" (to be fatigued). Thus *tecomatl* (drinking vessel) + *ciaui* (to be fatigued) + *catl* (signifying affiliation) = *Tucuyahuacatl*, or "Keeper of the Bowl of Fatigue."
- Clark (1938 3: folio 65r overleaf, note 15) suggests that *Tucuyahuacatl* is derived from *tepo*, "blood-letter," and *ciaua*, "he is imbued."
62. Molina 1977: folio 70r "Ome. dos" (two); 148r "Tochtli. conejo" (rabbit); 93r "Tecomatl. vaso de barro, como taça honda" (vessel of clay, like deep drinking bowl). Thus *ome* (two) + *tochtli* (rabbit) = *Ometochtli*, or "Two-Rabbit," one of the *pulque* deities, + *tecomatl* (*pulque* vessel) = *ometochtecomayo*, or "Two-Rabbit *pulque* vessel."
- Two-Rabbit is also a calendrical name.
63. For a fuller discussion of the *ometochtecomayo* cloak design, see chapter 8 by Anawalt and appendices I and J, row 1, column 9, "Codex Mendoza Tribute Textile Design Motifs," volume 1.
64. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
65. *Ibid.* 8:61, 74.
66. *Ibid.* 8:55, 74, 77.
67. *Tzucitlcatl*: From Molina 1977: folio 148v "Toctli. porreta o mata de mayz, antes que[ue] espigue" (young leek or bush/shrub of maize, before growing ears); 76r "Oculin. gusano, generalmente, o ceuo para pescar" (worm, in general, or bait for fishing). Thus *toctli* (blade of maize) + *oculín* (worm) + *tecatl* (signifying affiliation) = *Tzucitlcatl*, or "Lord of the Worm on Blade of Maize."
68. For a discussion of *Tzucitlcatl*'s cloak design, see chapter 8 by Anawalt, volume 1. For examples of the more elaborate tribute textiles see appendix I, row 1, "Codex Mendoza Tribute Textile Design Motifs."
69. *Ibid.* 9:47.
70. Durán 1964:72, also in Durán 1967 2:103.
71. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:74.
72. Sahagún (ibid. 8:61) lists the title as *Uitznanatlacatl*.
73. For an in depth discussion of the social organization of Tenochtitlan, see Carrasco 1971b; van Zantwijk 1985.
74. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:61 (*Tlacochalcatl*, *Uitznanatlacatl*, *Pochtecatl*, *Tlacochalcatl*, and *Tlacochalcatl*); 8:74 (*Tlacochalcatl* *tecutli*, *Tlacochalcatl* *tecutli*, *Ciaocatl* *tecutli*, and *Tilamalqui* *tecutli*).
75. Durán 1964:72 (*Tlacochalcatl*, *Tlacateccatl* [sic], *Ezhuahuacatl*, and *Tilamalqui*).
76. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXVII, "yhuaitetoyo." From Molina 1977: folio 44r "luil. pluma menuda" (tiny feather [down]); 107v "Tetl. piedra, generalmente" (rock, in general). In this case, *tetl* means a round thing like a rock, implying balls of down.
77. See appendix G, column 10, "Shields: The Codex Mendoza and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
78. Siméon 1963:330 "Pamit, Drapeau, étendard, bannière" (flag, standard, banner).
79. See appendix G, column 11, "Shields: The Codex Mendoza and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
80. Molina 1977: folio 22r "Citicalló, cosa estrellada, o llena de estrellas" (starry thing, or full of stars).
81. Seler 1960–1961 2:609–610.
82. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: plate 78; 9: plate 7 (1979 8: folio 34r; 9: folio 5v). See also appendix F, column 2, "Warrior Costumes: The Codex Mendoza and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
83. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 37r.
84. See appendix G, column 5, "Shields: The Codex Mendoza and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

85. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* 1892:59.

86. According to Herman Beyer (1969), *momoyactli* is derived from the verb *momoyahua*, which means to flee, or disperse. Beyer translates *momoyactli* as "lo que se dispersa" (that which is scattered), stating that the name refers to the fanning out of the feathers.

87. The *momoyactli* back device occurs seven times in the tribute section of the *Codex Mendoza*: three times with an all-red bodysuit (folios 20v, 23v, 27r), twice with a white suit with red cuffs (folios 28r, 32r), and twice with a red suit with white cuffs (folios 24v, 26r). The tribute section example that most resembles that of folio 65r is from the province of Quauhnahuac, today's Cuernavaca (folio 23v). Two features are particularly similar: in both cases, the long feathers of the back device feed into a central ball, and the supporting frame of the back device is clearly depicted. All the tribute-section examples of this costume carry the *cuexyo* shield.

88. The *momoyactli* warrior attire appears in the cognate pictorial *Matricula de Tributos* 1980: folios 3v–5r, 6v. For a more detailed treatment of this costume, see Beyer 1969.

89. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) presents the following information on the *guanabretoyos chimalli*: "The eagle's foot shield. It is covered with eagle feathers. [The eagle's] foot is fashioned upright and its claws are of gold. It has a hanging border [of feathers]."

From Molina 1977: folio 87v "Quauhtli. aguila" (eagle); folio 107r "Tete-puntli. rodilla de la pierna, o tronco de arbol" (knee, or tree trunk).

90. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 20v, 22r, 23v.

91. See appendix G, column 7. "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.

92. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXIV. A jaguar-paw shield also appears in *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* 1892:43.

93. Molina 1977: folio 24r "Coyotl. adiuac" (jackal [coyote]).

94. *Codex Mendoza*: for examples of the coyote costume with the *cuexyo* shield, see folios 21v, 23r, 25r, 26r, 27r; the *xicalcolihqui* occurs in conjunction with this costume only on folio 29r.

95. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXII.

96. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.

97. See chapter 7 by Berdan, volume 1, for a more detailed discussion of the glyphic system.

98. See note 21.

99. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:48.

100. See note 25.

101. Nicholson 1988:80.

102. See note 29.

103. See note 35.

104. See note 45.

105. See note 58.

106. See note 61.

107. See note 67.

FOLIO 66r

CONTENT

Folios 66r and 67r tell the story of the dire consequences that befall provincial rulers—referred to by the Spaniards as *caciques*—who rebelliously attempt to thwart the power of the Aztec empire. In this case, the *cacique* has allowed an attack to be made on visiting Aztec traders. In the episodes depicted here on folio 66r, the Aztec constables, who first appear on register 3 of the preceding folio, act as the emperor's emissaries. Now, serving as the ruler's executioners, they carry out their principal duty.

Events similar to those depicted on folio 66r are described in two separate sources, each of which makes the *Codex Mendoza* scenes more understandable. Durán tells of a case that concerned the rebellious city of Coaxtlahuacan, located in the present-day state of Oaxaca:

One day when a great number of foreign merchants had been trading in the market, the authorities of Coaxtlahuaca ordered their people to arm themselves and to rob and kill the Aztec traders as they left the market place. It is generally thought that in this decision they had been influenced by ill-intentioned persons who wished to stir trouble between Aztecs and Mixtecs.

The subjects of the lords of Coaxtlahuaca did what they had been commanded, killing the merchants without sparing any. Only a few men from Tula managed to hide and save their lives. They came to Mexico with great haste and told Motecozoma what had occurred, that one hundred and sixty merchants had been assassinated. The king and [his adviser] Tlacaélel immediately ordered that all the ally and vassal nations prepare for war, and people began to gather from those lands.¹

A more specific analogue to the scene portrayed on folio 66r comes from the *Mapa Quinatzin*, a pictorial document from Texcoco, one of the three powerful lake cities—Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan—which made up the Aztec Triple Alliance. The seventeenth-century Texcocan historian Alva Ixtlilxochitl provides an interpretation of *Mapa Quinatzin*, which provides pictorial scenes that closely resemble those of folio 66r.²

One section of *Mapa Quinatzin* depicts a series of three warnings administered to a "rebellious" ruler by agents of the Triple Alliance Empire.³ The first notice was issued by Tenochca agents who contacted older subjects of the ruler in question, telling them

of the dangers of failing to make peace; shields and arms were given subjects at this time.

The second warning came from Texcoco, which sent *achcacauhti*—constables—who warned the ruler that his head would be crushed with a club if peace was not made. If there was still no agreement, the Texcocans anointed the ruler's right arm and head with a special liquid and put on his head a *tecpilotl* feather headdress, tied with a red cord. They then presented shields, war clubs, and other articles of warfare to him.

The final warning was delivered by envoys from the third city of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, who told the ruler's soldiers of the forthcoming war and distributed arms and shields to them.⁴

Several of the rebellious incidents described in the account of Durán and depicted in *Mapa Quinatzin* also appear on folio 66r. However, in *Codex Mendoza*, the story—which is continued on folio 67r—is presented in flashbacks; the initial scene represents the denouement.

Register 1

The story begins with the dignitary *Huiznabuatl* ("Thorn Speech"),⁵ who, the gloss states, is a "commander and officer, like a constable [*alguazil*]." Although Sahagún does not include this title in his references to constables, the *Huiznabuatl* of folio 66r is attired almost identically to the four constables on register 3 of folio 65r. Like them, he wears black body paint, brown face paint, and tubular earplugs; his hair is also bound by a tightly wound and tied white ribbon. Only his cloak differs; it has a decorated border.

When Sahagún does make reference to the *Huiznabuatl* title, it is in the form of *Uitznauatlailotlac*, one of four princes who were chosen to assist a newly elected ruler.⁶ Again, when speaking of the duties of rulers, Sahagún mentions that the *Uitznauatlailotlac* served as a judge who helped the ruler in his legal deliberations. However, once a sentence was decided upon in a judicial case, it was the constables who carried it out: "And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti, the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecat. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer."⁷ The *Achcacauhti* refers to the constable rank as a whole; the two titles are among the four constable offices depicted on register 3 of folio 65r.

Whether the *Huiznabuatl* in register 1, folio 66r, is serving in the capacity of condemning judge or overseeing executioner, he obviously has something to do with the subsequent execution scene. In this episode, speech glyphs appear before the mouths of

two constables (note their black body paint, brown face paint, white tubular earplugs, and long hair tightly bound with yellow ribbons). They have just strangled a *cacique*; his eyes are closed, which is a sign of death in Mesoamerican pictorial codices. The executed ruler wears a blue diadem and sits on a reed seat with a backrest (*icpalli*), both symbols of power and nobility.

The final two figures depicted on register 1 are identified by the gloss as the wife and son of the rebellious *cacique*. Both the mother and the youth wear what the gloss refers to as “fetters,” identified in other sources as slave collars (see “Image Descriptions”). The woman’s hands are crossed in the typical female attitude; the son’s hands are crossed in an identical manner, but bound with a cord.¹

Register 2

It is here that the saga’s flashbacks begin. The first scene shows the original act of infamy against the Triple Alliance Empire, the event that brought about the demise of the *cacique* of register 1 and the threat of destruction to his city, depicted on the subsequent folio 67r. On register 2, dual murders occur in the initial episode. Two warriors, dressed in quilted cotton armor and wielding obsidian-studded spears, hold dead and bleeding bodies by the hair, a Mesoamerican posture of conquest. According to the Spanish commentary on folio 65v, the victims were traveling Aztec merchants who were attacked by the *cacique*’s subjects. This act of aggression was the motivation for the subsequent condemnation of the *cacique*’s entire town.

The explanatory Spanish commentary on folio 65v states that not only did the merchants lose their lives but their merchandise was also taken. Further, the bodies appear to have been stripped; note that one of the dead merchants is clad only in a loincloth. The other victim wears two wide pieces of material crossed over his chest, reminiscent of the ritual paper shoulder sashes worn by certain gods and draped on prisoners or slaves about to be sacrificed.² Above this scene of carnage, the traders’ load of merchandise rests, strapped onto an upright carrying rack. Alongside are a staff and feather fan, objects associated by the Aztecs with both imperial messengers and traveling merchants.

Apropos the dangers of foreign trade, in the *Florentine Codex* there is a drawing of a merchant, a heavily laden pack on his back, holding both a fan and staff.³ This picture illustrates a discourse delivered by old merchants to their traveling sons:

Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lose thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. . . . And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For desolate, ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.⁴

As the events of folio 66r testify, such warnings were based on harsh reality.

However, this seemingly unprovoked attack on the merchants may not be the groundless outrage it appears. The Aztecs’ long-distance traders were well known as imperial spies for the Triple Alliance. Sahagún’s informants confirm this when telling of Emperor Ahuitzotl’s sending spies to reconnoiter the land of Anahuac.⁵ The fan depicted with the murdered merchants on folio 66r further suggests that they may have been on a spying mission; in *Codex Mendoza*, all those who carry fans are on some kind of special imperial business.⁶

The second scene of register 2 shows two constables confronting a seated ruler whom the gloss identifies as a *cacique*. Both constables wear a *xicolli*, the male ritual jacket with a fringed hem. The Aztec restricted the use of the *xicolli* to deity effigies, deity impersonators, priests, rulers acting in a priestly capacity, nobles, and constables. The latter wore the garment only in a ritual or ceremonial context.⁷ Both these constables wear black body paint, brown face paint, white tubular earplugs, and sandals, which indicate that they have been on a journey. Both also have their long hair tightly bound with constable-style ribbons, one white, the other yellow. The latter constable, who appears to be the assistant, carries a *xicalcolihqui* shield, the second most prevalent of all shield designs shown in *Codex Mendoza*.⁸

The principal constable holds down balls in his right hand; with his left he touches the *cacique*’s headdress, as though placing additional down in its crown. The ruler—clad in an orange cloak decorated with roundels that contain the profile of a Tlaloc-like monster—sits impassively on his reed back rest. He also receives the warnings of impending doom issued by the Aztec emissaries. Directly below this scene begins the first of a series of sixteen footprints, indicating the route back to Tenochtitlan subsequently followed by the constables.

Register 3

Register 3 depicts four homeward-bound constables being assaulted with arrows by subjects of the *cacique*. According to the Spanish commentary of folio 65v, this act serves as “a sign of war and enmity of what had previously happened and as further occasion for hostilities.”

The following pictorial folio, 67r, continues the saga of the dire ramifications of this city’s rebellion against the empire. However, before leaving the “Content” section of folio 66r, it is worthwhile to consider why all the four departing constables are equipped with identical staffs, yet each carries his own unique fan.

Sahagún makes specific reference to constables carrying staffs when he discusses the higher offices attained by valiant youths who were reared in the young men’s house.⁹ There is, then, textual verification for constables’ using staffs; unfortunately, information on constables carrying fans is not as readily available. Nonetheless, there are some data. A detailed analysis of pre-Hispanic fans from six different Mesoamerican cultural groups—ranging in time from the Classic to Late Postclassic periods—reveals that fans in Mesoamerica are connected with death and the Underworld.¹⁰

Although in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, this association of fans with the possibility of death seems to be supported, the foremost implication is an imperial mission. Note that these devices are also carried by the avenging warriors of folio 67r as well as the officers shown on folios 68r and 70r; all are imperial messengers. The dead merchants of this folio, 66r, may have been serving as imperial spies. Given the Aztecs’ martial propensities, a communication from the emperor was no doubt often a forerunner of war. As a result, the portrayals of fan-carrying imperial messengers also could hold connotations of death.

Each of the fans on folio 66r is unique. Do these signify different constable grades? It would seem that the white, yellow, and red ribbons already noted are the more likely determinants of rank. Whatever the meaning of the distinctive shape and colors of these five fans of folio 66r, they have no exact duplicates on other folios of *Codex Mendoza*.

**Huiznabuatl Title Glyph**

Huiznabuatl: "Thorn Speech"¹⁸
This dignitary's glyph consists of a red and blue maguey thorn embellished with a small mouth, from which emerges a speech scroll.

Folios 65r and 68r "Image Descriptions" contain discussions of other examples of *Codex Mendoza's* title glyphs; see also Berdan's essay on glyphic conventions (chapter 7) and appendix E, volume 1.

**Rope**

rope: *meatl*¹⁹

The use of a rope for garroting was not confined to the Aztecs. An example occurs in *Codex Laud*, a pre-Hispanic Central Mexican pictorial, where a male deity is depicted using a rope to strangle himself.²⁰

Reed Seat with Backrest

reed seat with backrest: *icpalli*²¹

One of the power symbols in Aztec society was the reed seat with a backrest. An Aztec prayer to the god Tezcatlipoca indicates how a noble's authority was equated with this type of a seat:

Make him [one who governs] thy replacement, thy image.
Let him not there on the reed mat, the reed seat become proud;
let him not be quarrelsome. . . . And may he not blemish,
not besmirch. . . . thy reed mat, thy reed seat; thy glory,
thy honor, thy rule.²²

Another adage in Aztec society uses the reed seat as a metaphor for the ruler and the inescapability of his authority: "It is slick, it is slippery before the reed mat, the reed seat; it is the place of no departure, the place of no exit."²³

Not all the rulers' important reed seats were unadorned; embellishments were often added. Sahagún, in a section of the *Florentine Codex* where he describes how the rulers lived, mentions that they rested on seats with backs covered by the skins of jaguars, mountain lions, and wolves. Even the reed seats themselves were often painted with elaborate designs.²⁴

During the great festivals, feathers sometimes were used to ornament seats that were part of a ceremony. For example, at the time of the gladiatorial sacrifice performed during the monthly festival of Tlacaxipualiztli, god impersonators sat around the gladiatorial stone "upon large backed seats called roseate spoonbill feather seats."²⁵

Seats modeled after the pre-Hispanic style, now called *equipales*, are still made today in Mexico of pigskin and wood supports, fashioned in a crisscross or woven style.

Death

death: *miquiliztli*²⁶

In the sharply stratified Aztec society, a person's burial and afterlife both depended on his or her age, rank, achieved status, and manner of death.

As discussed previously, children who died in infancy went to Xochitlan, a special heaven. There, milk dripped into the babies' waiting mouths from an udder tree beneath which the children lay.²⁷

Women who died in childbirth were buried, but their funeral processions and graves had to be protected against marauders. Warriors sought to steal the dead mother's hair or fingers as magical amulets to carry into battle. Thieves and sorcerers desired the left forearm of such a woman, believing it would empower them to cast spells on the unwary.²⁸ These mothers who succumbed in childbirth were considered to have died in war. They shared a special heaven, "the house of the sun," with warriors who had been killed in battle or on the sacrificial stone. Each day the dead warriors escorted the sun to the zenith: the dead mothers then accompanied the sun to its setting.²⁹

Burial was reserved for those who had died of unusual causes, for example, in childbirth; of gout, dropsy, or leprosy; being struck by lightning; or drowning. These latter went to a particularly lovely heaven, Tlalocan, a paradise of verdant beauty, happiness, and ease.³⁰ If a high-ranking person was buried, he was set upon a reed seat with backrest (*icpalli*) and surrounded by valuable belongings, including his weapons. Wealthy merchants were similarly interred, but commoners fared more modestly.

Among the Aztecs, cremation rather than burial was the norm. The body was first wrapped in cloth, making a compact "mummy" bundle, and then burned together with the possessions of the deceased. Only after cremation were the remains placed in a container and buried.³¹ *Codex Magliabechiano* contains detailed scenes of a deceased merchant's mummy bundle, surrounded by his possessions, awaiting cremation.³²

It was believed that the great majority of people spent their afterlife in Mictlan, a realm of dark emptiness. This underworld was composed of nine layers through which the deceased had to travel. He or she was assisted by a little dog and protected from the chill winds and hazardous rivers of the underworld by his or her material possessions, all providently cremated with the body. The journey through Mictlan was, of course, far more difficult for the poor, because they had fewer possessions and less food buried with them.³³

Nobles and those who had lived an exemplary life were given proper funerals and had relatively easy travels through the land of the dead. However, people who had lived a decadent or criminal life could look forward to a very painful journey in the afterlife.³⁴



Slave Collars

wooden slave collar: *quaucozcatl*¹⁵
 Sahagún states that under the day sign One Death, slaves received special treatment from their masters, including removal of “the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee.”¹⁶ Durán describes these cumbersome devices as wooden or metal collars with small rings through which were passed rods about a yard long.¹⁷ Not only did these fetters immediately identify the wearer as a slave but

they also hindered quick movement in a crowd. This was necessary because, according to Durán, if a slave could escape from his master in a market and run outside the limits of that marketplace before being caught, and then immediately step on human excrement, he could obtain his freedom. The escape would then present himself to the purifiers of slaves and demand his rights under the law of the land. Washed, and presented with new clothes, he was praised for his skill and enterprise and was given a whole new start in life. Such a person was considered lucky and often was kept in the palace as a retainer.¹⁸

Allegedly, if a slave was trying to escape in the marketplace in the above manner and someone got in his way or tried to stop him, that person himself became a slave, and the slave thus earned his freedom. Durán points out that this fear of enslavement caused the throngs to make way for the fleeing slave, much to the master's chagrin. Unfortunately for the slaves, this method of escape was so well known that the owners remained particularly alert in the marketplaces. As a result, these dramatic escapes may have taken place no more often than once a year.¹⁹

Slave

slave: *tlacobtl*²⁰

Slaves are not to be confused with warriors captured on the battlefield, who were usually sacrificed shortly after their arrival in the Triple Alliance cities. Slaves could be political prisoners—like the *cacique's* unfortunate wife and son—or imports from distant areas, or even Aztec citizens who, for reasons discussed below, fell into slavery.²¹

Durán lists several ways in which an Aztec could become a slave:

1. Thieves could be sold as slaves to compensate for the goods—for example, pieces of cloth, ears of corn, jewels, or turkeys—which they had stolen. The repeat sale of a thief was like a death sentence: on his second sale, the slave could be sacrificed unless he managed to earn his freedom through the channels permitted by Aztec law.

2. Gamblers who risked their all on dice or other wagers were also subject to slavery in certain circumstances. If a man gave his word as a guarantee to pay his losses, then won and did not pay, he would be sold for the amount that he owed. These men could gain their freedom only by repaying the price for which they had been sold.

3. As an example to others, an incorrigible child could be sold into slavery, with the consent of judges and justices. Once he had been sold, he could not be ransomed.

4. A borrower of valuable things who did not return them by a set date could be sold by his creditors for the amount of the loss. The debtor could redeem freedom by giving the same amount

back, but this could be done only once; after the second sale, his fate was sealed.

5. The family servant of a man who had sold his son for disobedience could be in jeopardy. When the father gave a banquet with the money from his son's sale for all the close relatives, servants were forbidden to eat that food. Should a servant disobey and partake of the feast, he himself became the father's slave.

6. A man who killed another man, even if condemned to death for the crime, could, if pardoned by the widow, henceforth become a slave to serve her and her children.

7. In times of famine, the destitute could sell themselves and/or their children into slavery in order to survive. It was possible to buy out of slavery later by returning the original purchase price.²²

Durán relates that if a master or mistress fell in love with a slave—usually confirmed through the birth of a child—the slave was automatically granted his or her freedom:

The masters held [the children] in high regard, married them off, gave them honors, kept them in their houses, and gave them lands, homes, and an inheritance to maintain them. In this land I have met bastards born of slaves, sons of noblemen, who later became lords and their fathers' heirs because they were good and pious.²³

Merchants

merchant: *pochtecatl*²⁴

Although virtually everyone in Mexico was involved in buying and selling at the household level, the indispensable large-scale, long-distance trade was carried out by professional merchant groups that enjoyed special privileges and status in Aztec society. It was they who provided the hard-to-obtain luxury goods from the distant “hot lands” of the coasts—feathers, jade, cacao—which made possible the nobility's impressive and enviable symbols of rank and standard of living. In addition, the merchants acted as spies for the Triple Alliance Empire as their trading caravans moved through distant lands, coming in contact with foreigners, both friendly and hostile, who might be future targets for imperial expansion. (Note the fate of such traders in register 2 of this folio, 66r.)



The professional merchants were neither commoners nor nobility; they ranked somewhere in between. Although they paid taxes just as commoners did, though in their own wares, the merchants were given special privileges by the ruler. They were permitted to sacrifice slaves, own land, and wear certain symbols of noble status at special annual festivals. In an attempt to diffuse the social tension their growing importance was creating among the nobles, the merchants acted and dressed very humbly in public.

Their wealth and concern for status was usually displayed only within their own merchant organizations or guilds.⁴³

The merchant groups contained their own hierarchies. "Principal merchants" were at the top, controlling the guild's banquets, making appointments, and serving as spokesmen for the guild with the state. Below them were the wealthiest of the merchants, those who dealt in slaves and could afford to make sacrificial victims available at the time of the great feasts. Such an act was known as "bathing slaves," referring to the preparation and purification of an individual for a sacrificial ceremony. The disguised merchants, who made long-distance trading forays and at the same time spied for the state, came next on the social ladder, and below them were the ordinary *pochteca* or *ostomeca*. Young men in training formed the base of the merchant hierarchy.⁴⁴



Fan

fan: *ecacehuaztli*⁴⁷

References to fans appear in a number of contexts. Sahagún speaks of rulers using quetzal-feather fans when dancing,⁴⁸ and of certain of the Aztecs' distinguished foreign visitors receiving and holding red spoonbill-feather fans.⁴⁹ He also lists "the

crested guan feather fans covered with troupial feathers at the bottom" among the symbols of conquest given to the distinguished merchants when they returned from a successful spying mission.⁵⁰

Fans also appear in the context of healing; Durán mentions that it was customary to bring along a professional "fanner" when bathing in the sweathouse, or *temazcalli*. Bathing while being fanned was believed to have curative powers for the sick. As a result, fanners were held in high esteem and were showered with gifts whenever their services were needed.⁵¹

Sahagún, discussing the featherworkers of Amantlan, describes how the fans were made. The first step was the creation of a frame upon which to arrange the feathers, whose bases were bound with maguey thread. They were then tied again at the midpoint, shaken to fluff up and even out the feathers, and then the "pendants, tufts of feathers, balls of feathers, tassels—all things with which the fans were beautified" were sewn down onto the frame in whatever sequence the design dictated.⁵²

Fans, sometimes carried together with staffs and backpacks, appear in three of the pre-Hispanic Central Mexican pictorials. In *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*, there are nine depictions of fan-toting figures, all males.⁵³ Five of these deities have packs on their backs and carry staffs as well as fans. Three of these gods are identified by Seler as among the six Celestial Wanderers.⁵⁴ *Codex Borgia*, in an analogous section, depicts two of these "Celestial Wanderers" with packs on their backs and carrying staffs and fans.⁵⁵ *Codex Laud* contains only one depiction of a pack-laden god who holds both a staff and a snake-handled fan.⁵⁶

Thompson contends that the term "Celestial Wanderers"—also translatable as "Sky Travelers"—was a term of Seler's own invention and that he failed to identify these deities with the merchant gods. Thompson views these passages as connected with merchant auguries.⁵⁷

In *Codex Mendoza*, there are a total of thirteen fans depicted—eight round and five oval—and each one appears in association with either a spear or a staff. Judging from the contexts in which these fans appear, they all denote an imperial mission.

Staff

staff: *topilli*⁵⁸



The stout cane staff that was so integral a part of the merchants' equipment was associated with their god, Yacatecuhtli ("Lord of the Vanguard" or "Nose-Lord"). The merchants decked their staves, which they carried as they traveled, with paper decorations. During their long journeys, whenever the traders stopped to sleep, they set up these paper-bedecked walking sticks and performed rituals in front of them to honor and gain the favor of Yacatecuhtli.⁵⁹

The staff of the merchant god held great significance at home as well. In the neighborhood temple the staff was set upright and offered gifts both on feast days and before each meal.⁶⁰

Scenes of merchants carrying staffs appear in the post-Conquest *Florentine Codex*⁶¹ and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.⁶² Similar illustrations in pre-Hispanic codices have already been mentioned in the "Fan" section.

Carrying Rack

carrying rack: *cacaxtli*⁶³

The carrying rack is discussed under "Image Descriptions" for folio 63r.



Paper Shoulder Sash

paper shoulder sash: *amancapantli*⁶⁴

One of the slain merchants wears what appears to be a paper shoulder sash, a male ritual garment that is part of the apparel of six of the thirty-six deities depicted in *Primeros Memoriales*.⁶⁵

This sash is found in association with gods, deity impersonators, certain ceremonial equipment, and sacrificial victims. It appears on eight of the deities depicted in *Primeros Memoriales*⁶⁶ and on deity impersonators

in four of the ceremonies of *Codex Borbonicus*.⁶⁷ It also adorns a mummy bundle in *Primeros Memoriales*⁶⁸ and is draped over ceremonial objects used in the ceremony of Tititl in both *Codex Magliabecchiano* and *Codex Borbonicus*.⁶⁹ Even more to the point, the paper shoulder sash appears on sacrificial victims. Some of the most notable examples are the scenes in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* where all the captives destined for sacrifice are draped with this adornment.⁷⁰

Codex Mendoza, in a scene related to the destruction of the conquered town of Chalco, shows a male doomed for punishment attired in a shoulder sash.⁷¹



Down Balls

down: *ihuitl*⁷²
feather balls: *tlatloloioitl*⁷³
Sahagún, discussing the featherworkers of Amantlan, refers to their making balls of turkey breast feathers.⁷⁴

Just as the paper shoulder sash carries implications of death so, too, do down balls. All the intended sacrificial victims mentioned above in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* not only wear shoulder sashes but also have down balls pasted onto their whitened bodies. Down balls are also part of the sacrificial accoutrements in four scenes of death or impending demise in *Codex Magliabechiano*.⁷⁵

Down balls adorned a famous effigy of Tezcatlipoca, the capricious Aztec god who sent plagues, famine, and drought to mankind. Durán speaks of sick children being offered to this image; temple priests would dress them in the deity's attire, smear them with "divine pitch," and feather their heads with quail or turkey down.⁷⁶ In Durán's illustration of Tezcatlipoca's effigy, the god's head is encircled with down balls like those shown on the *cacique* of folio 66r.⁷⁷

Cacique's Headdress

*cacique's headdress: tecpilotl*⁷⁸
This feathered headdress is identical to one in *Mapa Quinatzin*, which is presented to a rebellious ruler as part of a war declaration procedure.⁷⁹ The message conveyed by the headdress is impending doom. In the case of folio 66r, this warning is the result of a rebellion against the Triple Alliance Empire.



Cacique's Cloak

The *cacique* wears an orange cloak decorated with two rondels that contain a Tlaloc profile design. There is a similar design in *Codex Mendoza* on a tribute textile from the province of Tepequacuico.⁸⁰ The Tlaloc profile also appears in *Codex Ixtlixochitl*⁸¹ and on one of the ritual *mantas* in *Codex Magliabechiano*.⁸²



Bows and Arrows

bow: *tlabuitolli*⁸³
arrow: *mitl*⁸⁴

Depictions of bows and arrows in actual use are not common in the Aztec pictorials; most battle scenes show only the war club, lance, or long dart (see folio 67r). This pattern of weapon use is particularly evident in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, where twenty-two scenes of battle are depicted, but only nine involve bows and arrows.⁸⁵ Seven of these episodes take place during the early years of the Aztecs' wanderings, when they were making their slow peregrination out of their arid northern homeland and into the Valley of Mexico toward future glory. In these early scenes, the archers are dressed in animal skins, as befit the nomadic, "barbarian" Chichimecs from the uncivilized desert lands. Appropriately, in the pictorial *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, bows and arrows appear frequently.⁸⁶

The overall configuration of Aztec arrows may have differed by locality. For example, *Codex Ixtlixochitl*, from Texcoco, contains a very detailed depiction of an arrow whose shaft is unusually long.⁸⁷

During the celebration of the fourteenth month, Quecholli, the hunting god Mixcoatl was honored. At this time great emphasis was placed on the ritual production of arrows and darts for war, as well as on the sacrifice of many slaves in honor of the gods.⁸⁸

NOTES

1. Durán 1964:118 (Durán 1967 2:185). James Cooper Clark (1938 1:196) suggests that the incident related by Durán may actually be the one pictured on folio 66r, but he offers no direct evidence to substantiate that claim.
2. Alva Ixtlixochitl 1952 2:187–193.
3. Offner 1982:148 (*Mapa Quinatzin*: leaf 3, column 2, row 2).
4. See *ibid.*:144–148 for a fuller discussion of this *Mapa Quinatzin*/Alva Ixtlixochitl account.
5. *Huiznahualt*: From Molina 1977: folio 157v "Vitztl. espina grande, o puya" (large spine, or point); folio 63v "Nauatl. cosa que suena bien, assi como campana &c. o hombre ladino" (thing which sounds well, like a bell, etc. or "a stranger that speaks Spanish perfectly well" [Stevens 1726]). Thus *huiztlitl* (thorn) + *nahuatl* (good speech) = *Huiznahualt*, or "Thorn Speech."
6. The *Huiznahualt* also appears on *Codex Mendoza* folio 67r, in full battle regalia.
7. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:61.
8. *Ibid.* 8:55.
9. Durán (1967 2:187) mentions the crossing of the hands as a gesture of submission in his account of the defeat of the rebellious Coaxtlahuacans; the lords, seeing their city destroyed and their people dead or prisoners, are described as hurrying out to meet the Mexicans with their hands crossed and with tears streaming from their eyes, begging that the fighting cease.
10. See *Codex Mendoza*: folio 4v for a similar sash on a rebellious subject doomed for sacrifice.
11. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: plate 58 (1979 4: folio 42r).
12. *Ibid.* 9:7.
13. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 66r, 67r, 69r, 70r.
14. Anawalt 1976.
15. See appendix G, column 6, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
16. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:55. "And if he became a [brave] man, if he was a captor of four [captives], from there issued the commanding general, the general, the leader. And also from there issued the one they called *achcaubtli* (constable), who today is the equal, the equivalent, of the *alguacil*, the staff-bearer . . . and it was just these who arrested one, who confined one."

17. Kurbjuhn 1976: 59. The fans carried by the constables who deliver a declaration of war on this folio, 66r, and also by the warriors on folios 67r and 68r certainly imply impending death on the battlefield or sacrificial stone.
18. See note 5.
19. Molina 1977: folio 55r "Mecat. cordel, o sogá, o açote de cordeles" (cord, or rope, or whip of cords).
20. *Codex Laud* 1966: 6.
21. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: 19 "icpalli." Also, Molina 1977: folio 33v "Icpalli. assentadero" (seat).
- Also, Siméon 1963: 153 "Icpalli, Siège à dossier; marque de la puissance chez les anciens chefs, qui avaient seuls le droit de s'en servir; au fig. protecteur, chef, gouverneur, père, mère, etc." (seat with back, sign of power among the ancient chiefs, who alone had the right to use them; figuratively, protector, chief, governor, father, mother, etc.).
22. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: 19.
23. *Ibid.* 6: 254.
24. *Ibid.* 8: 31.
25. *Ibid.* 2: 51.
26. Molina 1977: folio 56v "Miquiliztli. muerte o mortandad" (death or "a great slaughter in battle, destruction of people by sickness; also a plague" [Sreves 1726]).
27. *Primeras Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 2, par. 6, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: 161–162.
29. *Ibid.* 6: 162–163.
30. *Ibid.* 3: 47; 6: 115.
31. *Ibid.* 3: 42–44.
32. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 66r, 67r, 68r, 69r.
33. Sahagún 1950–1982 3: 41–46.
34. For a fuller discussion of death and the afterlife see Berdan 1982: 93–96.
35. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: 34–35 "quahucozcatl." From Molina 1977: folio 88r "Quauitl. arbol, madero o palo" (tree, wood or stick); folio 27v "Cuzcatl. joya, piedra preciosa labrada de forma redonda, o cuenta para rezar" (jewel, precious stone worked in round form, or bead for praying [necklace/collar]). Thus *quauitl* (wood) + *cozcatl* (collar) = *quahucozcatl* or "wooden collar."
- Also, Molina 1977: folio 86v "Quauhcoyoctli. cepo, prision, o aquejuro hecho en madera" (stocks, fetters, or hole made in wood).
36. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: 34.
37. Durán 1971: 279.
38. *Ibid.*: 284–285.
39. *Ibid.*: 285–286.
40. Molina 1977: folio 119r "Tlacotli. esclauo, o esclaua" (slave).
41. Durán (1971: 280) states that slaves were not foreigners or war captives, but natives of the town in which they were sold.
42. *Ibid.*: 281–282.
43. *Ibid.*: 285.
44. Sahagún 1950–1982 10: 59. Also, Molina 1977: folio 83v "Puchtecatl. mercader" (merchant).
45. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 31–32.
46. For a more detailed discussion of these long-distance professional merchants, see Berdan 1982: 31–34.
47. Molina 1977: folio 28r "Ecaceuaztli. moxcador" (fan).
48. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 28, 56.
49. *Ibid.* 9: 7.
50. *Ibid.* 9: 22.
51. Durán 1971: 270–271.
52. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 96–97.
53. *Codex Fajrivar-Mayer* 1971: 28, 30–32, 35–37.
54. Seler 1901–1902: sheets 31–32.
55. *Codex Borgia* 1976: 55.
56. *Codex Laud* 1966: 7.
57. Thompson 1966.
58. Molina 1977: folio 150r "Topilli. bordon, hasta de lanza, o vara de justicia" (staff, spear, or staff of justice). Also, "Topile. alguazil" (constable).
59. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: 41.
60. *Ibid.* 1: 43.
61. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: plates 58, 59, 9: plates 8, 16, 18, 23, 38 (1979 4: folio 42r; 9: folios 6r, 16v, 18v, 22v, 38v).
62. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 41v.
63. Molina 1977: folio 10v "Cacaxtli. escalerillas de tablas para lleuar algo acuestas el tameme" (small ladders of boards for carrying something on the shoulders of a porter).
64. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: 30, 36–37 "amaneapan."
Molina (1977: folio 4v), on the other hand, translates *amaneapanli* as "manta rica con que se arlean y atauian los caçiques" (rich mantle with which the *caçiques* are arrayed and adorned). However, this word apparently comes from *amatl*, the Nahuatl word for paper (*ibid.*: folio 4v). The friar would have been unlikely to mention a garment linked to human sacrifice; this may account for the discrepancy in definition.
65. *Primeras Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* VIII: Opochtli, Yuaunqueque; *estampa* IX: Amimitl, Tomaahuatcutli, Atlaua, Naparcutli.
66. *Ibid.*: *estampas* VII–X.
67. *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 30, 33–34, 36.
68. *Primeras Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* III.
69. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 72r; *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 36.
70. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folios 39r, 40r, 40v.
71. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 4v.
72. Molina 1977: folio 44r "luitl. pluma menuda" (tiny feather [down]).
73. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 89–90, 96 "tlateloioitl." See also Molina 1977: folio 76r "Oleotlic. cosa redonda como bola, o pelota" (round thing like a ball).
74. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 89–90.
75. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 30r, 66r, 68r, 69r.
76. Durán 1971: 110.
77. Durán 1967 1: *límina* 9.
78. Siméon 1963: 402 "Tccpilotti, Panache en plume que l'on attachait sur la tête du seigneur rebelle" (feather plume that was attached to the head of a rebel lord). See also Offner 1982: 145.
79. *Ibid.*: 145–149 (*Mapa Quinatzim*: leaf 3, column 2, row 2).
80. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 37r.
81. *Codex Ixtlihuicbilitl* 1976: folio 110v contains a clear depiction of Tlaloc's profile.
82. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 6r.
83. Molina 1977: folio 145r "Tlauitloli. arco para tirar, o ballesta" (bow for shooting, or crossbow).
84. *Ibid.*: folio 57r "Mitl. saeta, o flecha" (dart, or arrow).
85. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folios 25v–28v, 43r, 46r.
86. *Historia toleuca-chicimeca* 1976: folios 2r, 3v, 5r, 7v, 14r, 16r, 20r, 21v, 23r, 28r, 31r, 32v, 35v, 36r, 39v, 40r, 42v, 43r.
87. *Codex Ixtlihuicbilitl* 1976: folio 105r.
88. Sahagún 1950–1982 2: 25.

CONTENT

The pictorial account of the ill-fated *cacique*, begun on the previous folio, continues here. The gloss for the scene in the upper half of the page reads,

This part is the town of the previously mentioned *cacique*, who was summoned to war for his rebellion against the lords of Mexico. The figures of the *tequibua* mean that they were sent by the lord of Mexico to this town to enter it in the dark of night so that they, without much trouble, might destroy it in battle, and be skilled attackers of the town and its area.

Both this upper half of the folio—the preparations for an attack—and the register below are made more understandable through reference to Sahagún. In *Kings and Lords*, the eighth book of the

Florentine Codex, the friar explains how Aztec rulers waged their wars. Included with this discussion is an illustration of nobles and warriors laying plans for invading a town (see fig. 1).¹ Both the drawing and accompanying description are analogous to folio 67r.

Pictured in the scene are four males, each wearing a *tequibua* hairstyle and decorated cloak. At the left, three men consult a painted map, deciding the best routes for entering an enemy's principal town. Two of the seated figures are identified as nobles by the turquoise diadem above their heads; one also has a dart as a name glyph, no doubt identifying him as the *Tlacochcalatl*, "Keeper of the House of Darts."² To the right, a fourth warrior stands with footprints. These roads all converge upon a town, which is represented by five closely grouped houses.

Sahagún describes this preliminary stage of a conquest as beginning with an advance group of experienced men whose purpose



Fig. 1: A *Florentine Codex* depiction of the planning stage in a military campaign (Sahagún 1979 8: folio 33v).

was to reconnoiter the lay of the land. Using the resultant map of the targeted city, the ruler could next determine the best plan of attack. Officers and men were then given their orders: route, time accorded the march, and battle strategies. The final arrangements involved provisions for the campaign and a goodly supply of impressive feathered warrior attire and insignia to be awarded to the successful warriors.¹

Register 1

In the upper register of folio 67r, eight seasoned fighting men are shown, *tequibua* all. The commentary on folio 66v explains that the warriors were sent into the rebellious *cacique's* town at night "so they might go about secretly without being perceived by their enemies, to obtain information and advise the warriors where to engage in battle successfully without much enemy resistance." These *tequibua* have proceeded to surround the settlement, as is indicated by the circling footprints.

Although the warriors are for the most part similarly adorned—black body paint, brown face paint, *temiltili* hairstyle, and quilted cotton armor—the array of the group on the left implies a higher status. These men wear sandals and carry a fan and lance; three of the four wear white tubular earplugs. In contrast, the four warriors on the right are all barefoot, and, with one exception, they do not wear earplugs. Three of these men carry implements associated with warfare: one holds a dart, a second carries a slender spear, and the third has an obsidian-studded lance in one hand and a giant conch shell in the other. The shell served as a battle trumpet, blown to signal for reinforcements and also to intimidate the enemy. The fourth warrior carries a walking staff.

To the right of a centrally located market stone runs a river. Two houses, one flat-roofed like that of folio 62r, are on the left side. On the river's right bank is the main center of the town, represented by the grouping of a temple and three houses. Each of these dwellings has a raised, sloping thatched roof, which suggests that this may be a tropical area. The frequent, nourishing rains of the fertile "hot lands" made such roofs a necessity.

The route of the footprints indicates that the warriors have been scouting out the location of the town's principal temple, upon which rests its main religious shrine. This temple would be a matter of vital importance in the planned battle. Aztec warfare operated on a shared Mesoamerican understanding of what constituted defeat: once the enemy had reached a besieged town's main temple and set fire to the local deity's shrine at its top, the defenders had lost. The gods had spoken; hence all hostilities ceased.⁴ This commonly held belief is reflected in an ideogram for conquest—a burning temple—which appears repeatedly in the historical section of *Codex Mendoza*. Once a town's main temple was burned, the time for negotiation had arrived. Such talks are depicted in the central section of folio 67r.

Top, Register 2

According to the Spanish commentary on 66v, this negotiating scene—note the speech scrolls—concerns discussions about tribute payments taking place between three subjects of the ill-fated *cacique* and, to the right, a representative of the Aztec Triple Alliance Empire. Behind the latter is drawn a shield and four arrows, pointing down, which may signify warfare, rebellion, or defeat.⁵ The depicted verbal exchange is the intimidated envoys' admission of defeat prior to hostilities, in order to avoid the total destruction of their town. Sahagún provides information on the nature of the levies that traditionally followed such a capitulation. A sizable trib-

ute was thenceforth paid in goods produced by the conquered area, and an Aztec steward was sent from the capital to oversee the regular delivery of these payments.⁶

Bottom, Register 2

The remaining portion of folio 67r shows four of the mightiest of the Aztec warriors, each holding an obsidian-studded lance, wearing red tubular earplugs and white sandals, and dressed in magnificent feathered battle array. From the left, the first is the Commanding General, *Tlacatecatl*, attired in a red feathered warrior suit, a shell necklace, and a *quaxolotl* back device, and holding a *teocuilxapo* shield. The second warrior is the General, *Tlacochacatl*, wearing one of the most magnificent of Aztec feathered suits, the *tatzimilitl* (frightful specter),⁷ together with a triple-columned *pamitl* back device, and carrying the *ibuitetco* shield associated with Tenochtitlan (see folio 65r, "Image Descriptions").

The third warrior is *Huiznabualt* ("Thorn Speech"), the constable of folio 66r, who here carries the familiar *cuexyo* shield and wears a green feathered suit with a shell-like necklace and a single *pamitl* device. The fourth warrior is *Ticoyahuacatl* ("Keeper of the Bowl of Fatigue").⁸ This general carries a *xicalcolihqui* shield and wears a yellow feathered warrior suit, a shell necklace, and a single-columned *pamitl* device almost identical to that of the Quachic warrior of folio 64r.

It is difficult to understand why these specific four warriors were chosen to appear here. This particular grouping of titles does not repeat the combination of generals on register 4 of folio 65r. Nor do these exact titles ever occur together in either Durán or Sahagún as constituting the members of the royal "Council of Four" who assisted the ruler in governing.¹⁰ Nonetheless, these four dignitaries, each dressed in splendid military attire, obviously are depicted so as to make a strong martial statement. A question then arises: is this after the anticipated battle or before it? Are these four warriors celebrating the capitulation of the rebellious *cacique*, or are they arrayed in this manner in order to lead their men into the planned fray? The Spanish commentary on folio 66v implies the latter: "The four warriors pictured and labeled here . . . [are] dressed and adorned for battle." Whatever the officers' intent, certainly the magnificence of their attire testifies to the multiple uses of the Aztecs' flamboyant warrior costumes. They served both to intimidate the enemy and to dazzle and hence motivate young Aztecs to ever greater feats of glory in warfare.¹¹

Sahagún, in his description of how rulers waged war, confirms that impressive military insignia composed of tropical feathers and trimmed with precious metals were used as incentives to call forth maximum zeal on the battlefield. He speaks of the ruler presenting "costly devices" to the brave, seasoned, and fearless warriors, as well as the noblemen who dwell in the young men's house. Arrangements were also made to take additional warrior apparel and valuable capes to the actual battlefield in order to reward the allied rulers, noblemen, and men-at-arms who came to assist the Triple Alliance warriors.¹²

However, Sahagún also makes it very clear who was in control when there was a melding of the Mexica with these allied forces. When the "warlike lands were reached," it was Aztec generals who arranged the collected fighting men in the most advantageous order and Aztec generals who pointed their allies in the proper direction. And woe to him who "might break ranks or crowd in among the others";¹³ discipline was sternly maintained. In such instances, the Aztecs may not have been infallible, but they were invariably in charge.



River

river: *atoyatl*¹⁴

The river shown on folio 67r is drawn in the European manner. Note that it lacks the pre-Hispanic water symbols—the dots attached to the ends of splashes of water—which were included in the depiction of the canal in folio 64r. For pre-Hispanic depictions of rivers, see *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*¹¹ and *Codex Laud*.¹⁶

Sahagún describes twenty different types of water in the *Florentine Codex*, including rivers: “*Atoyatl*. Its name comes from *atl* [water] and *totoca* [it runs]; as if to say ‘running water.’”¹⁷

The Indians believed their rivers were the property of the fertility goddess, Chalchiuhtlicue—“Jade-Her-Skirt”—and flowed from the mythical paradise of Tlalocan. The informants of Sahagún gave vivid descriptions of the properties of rivers—the crushing, groaning, swift currents and rapids—indicating a profound respect for the water’s potentially devastating power.¹⁸

Durán makes it clear that, after fire, water was the most hallowed element to the Aztecs.¹⁹ He relates that there were many popular myths surrounding springs and rivers and the crossing, bathing, and beholding of one’s reflection in them. Water played a role in conjuring, divination, and the diagnosis of illness. Additionally, it was believed that if children crossed two rivers their lives would be diminished by one hour, or, if the Lady of Waters were angered, they would meet with misfortune.²⁰

Conch Shell

conch shell: *tecciztli*²¹

Sahagún provides a description of this type of white, spiraled sea-shell, defining it as “that which can be blown, which resounds.”²² He mentions shell trumpets and clay pipes blown in battle to signal the beginning of the fray.²³ Motolinía confirms the martial use of these instruments, adding that the sound made by blowing through the shell was much like that of “cornets.”²⁴ Sahagún also refers to the unique sounds of the conch shell trumpets. These instruments were used by the Toltecs when they greeted a victorious warrior: “The trumpets came blowing to superfluity; the shell trumpets came gurgling.”²⁵

Seler tells of obtaining specimens of large conch shells of the *Fasciolaria gigantea* species from caves near Tillantongo and Tlaxiaco in the Mixteca Alta. He reports that they were especially prominent in the cult of the rain gods and in the castigation exercises of the priests.²⁶

There are repeated references in Sahagún to the use of shell trumpets in a wide variety of religious rites. He says that the blowing of shell trumpets was the function of the young offering priests.²⁷ Apropos of this, there is an excellent depiction in *Codex Magliabechiano* of a priest sounding a trumpet as he leads a ceremonial procession.²⁸ Both the positioning of the shell to the priest’s mouth and his manner of holding it are clearly shown.



Temple

temple: *teocalli*²⁹

An almost identical temple to this one on folio 67r, with a high-pitched roof atop a lofty step pyramid, appears as part of the place glyph Teocallhueyacan (“Place of the Tall Temple”).³⁰ A somewhat similar temple also can be found in the section of *Primeros Memoriales* where a celebration of one of the eighteen monthly feasts, Miccaihuitontli, is shown.³¹



Dart

dart: *mitl*³²

There was a difference between the structure of arrows and that of darts. This is made clear by Sahagún when he discusses the celebration of the fourteenth month, Quechollí, when both arrows and darts were made for war.³³ Sahagún also differentiates between arrows and darts when he tells how the rulers took their pleasure: “They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts.”³⁴

Durán presents a different explanation of how darts were propelled when he describes what boys were taught in the *tehpocalli*. He describes both darts and spears being cast from a leather thong.³⁵

An excellent depiction of both arrows and darts, bound together, appears in book 6 of the *Florentine Codex* in a scene having to do with the ritual bathing of a new baby boy.³⁶ In addition to a shield and bow, four projectiles are shown, all with shafts of a bamboolike cane. The two arrows have clearly defined and shaped obsidian arrowheads, whereas the two darts taper evenly to a sharp point, exactly like that of the dart depicted on folio 67r.



Spear

spear: *tepuztopilli*³⁷

The scouting warrior on the right side of register 2 holds in his hand a spear made of a bamboolike cane whose point is very similar to that of the Aztec dart. According to Durán, both spears and darts were cast with the aid of a “leather thong,” apparently a reference to an *atlatl* (see folio 64r, “Image Descriptions”). Durán provides an illustration of a weapon very similar to the spear of folio 67r; its shaft rests within the *atlatl* held by the effigy of Tezcatlipoca, shown seated in his temple in Tenochtitlan.³⁸



Thatched House

thatched house: *xacalli*³⁹

Sahagún, in a section where he discusses various classifications of houses, lists thirty-three types of dwellings. The closest match to the thatched-roof houses of folio 67r is an illustration of a straw house, the *xacalli*. This drawing shows the same straw-covered, raised, sloping roofline as those of folio 67r.⁴⁰ The accompanying text describes this abode as a straw-covered, cylindrical hut painted white.⁴¹ The thatch atop some of the depicted Aztec houses may have been of *çacamamaztli* grass.⁴²

Primeros Memoriales contains a depiction of a *xacalli* insignia in the shape of a house with a high green roof.⁴³ The description

reads: "The straw hut [insignia]. A frame is constructed like a straw hut. It is covered with feathers [and] has a hanging border [of feathers]."⁴⁴



Shield and Arrows

shield: *chimalli*⁴⁴

arrow: *mitl*⁴⁴

Durán, in a discussion of the raiment of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztecs' ancestral god associated with warfare, mentions a symbolic shield-arrow association. He describes the idol holding a white shield decorated with fine tufts of white feathers (see *Tlacoacalcatl*'s shield, folio 67r). Extending from the shield were four arrows. "These were the insignia sent from heaven to the Mexicas, and it was through these symbols that these valorous people won great victories in their ancient wars."⁴⁵



Tlacoacatl Warrior Costume

Xolotl head back device:

*quaxolotl*⁴⁶

The umbrella-shaped *quaxolotl* back device takes its name from the deity Xolotl, whose doglike countenance decorates the top of the insignia. Although this deity is commonly associated with ball courts, twins, and monstrosities, he also carried a connotation of death.⁴⁷

Examples of the *quaxolotl* back device can be found on the tribute pages of *Codex Mendoza*, where they appear in blue, yellow, and green.⁴⁸

Primeros Memoriales illustrates three *quaxolotl* back devices and describes a red one as

having its round frame covered with red parrot feathers. Atop this umbrella-like form sat the Xolotl head image with a tuft of quetzal feathers attached.⁴⁹

Sullivan, in her translation of the names of the military accoutrements in *Primeros Memoriales*, discusses Xolotl. This deity is a mythological figure associated with death and with the dogs that swam with the dead on their backs in the final stage of their long and arduous journey to Mictlan, the Underworld.⁵⁰

gold shell necklace: *teocuitlauecbozcotl*⁵¹

Of the three shell necklaces depicted on the warriors of register 4, the one worn by *Tlacoacatl* is the middle size. It resembles that of Quetzalcoatl in Sahagún's depiction of that deity's attire,⁵² described as a gold neckband of small seashells.⁵³

gold disk shield: *teocuitlaxapo chimalli*

An Aztec captain depicted in *Primeros Memoriales* carries this same shield, described simply as a gold disk shield.⁵⁴ The design is similar to that carried by the god Xipe Totec in Durán's illustration,⁵⁵ but there the colors are yellow and red rather than the yellow and blue combination found on folio 67r.

This shield design appears in four other Aztec pictorials.⁵⁶



Tlacoacalcatl Warrior Costume

"frightful specter" warrior costume:

*tzitzimil*⁵⁷

The *Tlacoacalcatl* wears one of the most distinctive of the Aztec feathered warrior costumes, the "frightful specter."⁵⁸ Note the sacrificial slit over the chest area; what emerges is believed to be the liver, not the heart.⁵⁹ This costume also includes a head-encasing helmet in the form of a skeletal monster.⁶⁰ *Primeros Memoriales* illustrates another version of the *tzitzimil* headdress, atop which a fanning of quetzal feathers gives the appearance of disheveled hair.⁶¹ This latter back device is described thus: "The quetzal [feather] demon of the dark [insignia]. A frame is fashioned resembling a death's head. It is covered entirely with quetzal [feathers]. Its head is as if unkempt."⁶²

The full, body-encasing version of the *tzitzimil* insignia occurs only in the cognates *Matricula de Tributos* and *Codex Mendoza*. In the latter, it appears once in the ethnographic section—folio 67r—and thirteen times in the tribute tallies: once in red, twice in white, six times in blue, and four times in yellow.⁶³ Sahagún includes yellow, blue, and white *tzitzimil* in his list of the war accoutrements of rulers. According to the friar, these back devices were made of gold and decorated with quetzal feathers and down balls.⁶⁴

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down ball shield: *ibuiteteyo chimalli*

This shield, associated with the city of Tenochtitlan, first appears in the ethnographic section on folio 65r, where it has eight down balls instead of the seven seen here. It is discussed in more detail under "Image Descriptions," folio 65r.

banner-style back device: *pamitl*⁶⁵

Sahagún describes a similar *pamitl*-type back device, whose name, which includes the *tlacoacalcayotl* element, indicates that it must refer to a variant of the one shown on folio 67r.⁶⁶ Selser identifies this three-pole *pamitl* back device worn by the *Tlacoacalcatl* as the *teocuitlapamitl*, "the banner of gold or silver plate."⁶⁷

Codex Vaticanus A depicts a warrior wearing the same three-pole back device as that of the *Tlacoacalcatl*.⁶⁸ A two-pole variant of this same insignia also appears in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, on a warrior who wears a *tzitzimil* helmet.⁶⁹

The *Tlacoacalcatl* three-poled *pamitl* back device is not a common one in the Aztec pictorials. Although the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* does depict towering, multipoled *pamitl* devices, they have only two vertical rods.⁷⁰ However, other pole-like devices in that pictorial do have as many as seven flags spreading out in a magnificent fanlike manner.⁷¹



Huastec shield: *cuxyo chimalli*

Huiznahuatl carries the most common of the Aztec shield designs, the *cuxyo*. See "Image Descriptions," folio 62r, and chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1, for a discussion of this shield type.



Huiznahuatl Warrior Costume

banner-style back device:
pamitl

This insignia is very similar to the *pamitl* device worn by a priest-warrior on folio 65r.⁷⁴

golden beetle necklace:
*teocuitlacoatzal temolitic*⁷⁵

The necklace worn by *Huiznahuatl* resembles that of the Quachic warrior of folio 64r, and also is similar to those worn by the masters of youths (see folios 57r and 63r). The *Primeros Memoriales* contains descriptions of additional types of necklaces, those of greenstone and gold, gold "mat," gold snail shells, small snail shells, and round greenstone beads.⁷⁶

Ticoyahuacatl Warrior Costume

banner-style back device:
pamitl

This insignia is almost identical to that worn by the Quachic warrior of folio 64r.⁷⁷

Seler speculates that the back device is the *quachpamitl* ("fabric banner" or "Quachic banner").⁷⁸ He equates it to one worn by the Quachic-rank warrior of folio 64r. He notes that both are distinguished by the "starry sky" that appears on the top of the cloth banner, and speculates that perhaps it was called the *youal-pamitl* (night banner) or *citalpamitl* (star banner).⁷⁹ Seler also couples this device with a similar insignia that appears several times in *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.⁸⁰

The interesting variety that exists among the *pamitl* insignia suggests that some specific martial accomplishment or indication of rank was being displayed.

shell necklace

The shells of this necklace are the largest of ornaments making up the three warrior necklaces of folio 67r. (See the discussion of necklaces for the *Huiznahuatl* costume, above.)

stepped-fret shield: *xicalcolibqui chimalli*

This is the second most commonly seen of the Aztec shield designs. It is discussed in the "Image Descriptions" of folio 64r and in chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1.

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plate 76 (1979 8: folio 33v).
2. See folio 65r description for more information on *Tlacoacalcatl*.
3. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 51.
4. See Soustelle 1970:211 for a discussion of the Late Postclassic conventional notions of warfare and defeat. See Isaac 1983b for a contrasting analysis.
5. Clark (1938 1:96, note 3) states that reversed arrows are a sign of rebellion, but he gives no source for this assertion. For more detailed information on shield and arrows signifying war, see folio 57r, "Image Descriptions."
6. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 53–54.
7. See "Image Descriptions" for an explanation of this name.
8. For more information on *Huiznahuatl*, see folio 66r description.
9. For more information on *Ticoyahuacatl*, see folio 65r description.
10. Durán (1964:72; also in Durán 1967 2:103) lists the royal council as: *Tlacoacalcatl*, *Tlacoatzcatl*, *Tlilanacalqui*, *Ezhuahuacatl*.
11. Sahagún (1950–1982 8:61) lists the four princes assisting the ruler as *Tlacoacalcatl*, *Uitzuauatlilolotlac*, *Pochtecatlilolotlac*, *Tlacoauacatl*.
12. In another context, Sahagún (ibid. 8:74) lists the four titles from which a new ruler is chosen: *Tlacoacalcatl teuctli*, *Cioacoatl teuctli*, *Tlilanacalqui teuctli*, *Tlacoauacatl teuctli*.
13. For more information on the "Council of Four," see folio 65r, "Content" section.
14. See Anawalt 1977 for a discussion of the roles played by the Aztecs' flamboyant feathered warrior attire.
15. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 51–53.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Molina 1977: [Spanish/Nahuatl] folio 105r "Rio, atoyatl" (river).
18. *Codex Fejery-Mayer* 1971:42.
19. *Codex Laud* 1966: 161.
20. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:247–248.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Durán 1971:261.
23. *Ibid.*:268–269.
24. Molina 1977: folio 92r "Tecciztli, otro caracol grande" (other large shell).
25. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:230–231.
26. *Ibid.* 8:35.
27. Motolinía 1971:347.
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 3:22.
29. Seler 1960–1961 2:702.
30. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:219.
31. *Codex Magliabecchiano* 1970: folio 35r.
32. Durán 1977: folio 100r "Teocalli, casa de dios, o yglesia" (house of god, or church).
33. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 5v.
34. See appendix E, volume 1, for an explanation of the place name *Tlacoahuacacan*.
35. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* II.
36. Molina 1977: folio 57r "Mtl. saeta, o flecha" (dart or arrow).
37. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:25.
38. *Ibid.* 8:30.
39. Durán 1971:112.
40. Sahagún 1950–1982 6: plate 29 (1979 6: folio 170r).
41. Molina 1977: folio 104v "Tepuztopilli. lança o venablo de montero" (lance/spear or hunter's javelin).
42. Durán 1967 1: *limena* 9.
43. Molina 1977: folio 158r. "Xacalli. choça, bohio o casa de paja" (hut, cottage or house of straw).
44. Sahagún 1950–1982 11: plate 901 (1979 11: folio 243r).
45. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:273.
46. *Ibid.* 11:194.

43. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926. *estampa* XXVI.
44. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
45. Molina 1977: folio 21r "Chimalli, rodela, adarga paues, o cosa semeiante" (shield, target, or similar thing).
46. See note 32.
47. Durán 1971:73.
48. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 3v "quaxollotl"; *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation); *Primeros Memoriales* 1926. *estampa* XXV "quaxollotl." From Molina 1977: folio 84r "Quaitl, extremidad de algo, o la cabeza" (extremity of something, or the head). Thus *quaitl* ("head") + *Xollotl* (a deity) = *quaxollotl*, or "Xollotl head."
49. H. B. Nicholson: personal communication.
50. For examples of the *quaxollotl* back device in *Codex Mendoza* see: folios 20r, 21v, 23r, 24r, 26r, 28r, 29r, 30r, 33r, 40r, 49r, 52r. For examples in other codices see appendix F, column 4, "Warrior Costumes: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
51. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation); *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampas* XXII, XXV.
52. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, note 41 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation).
53. Sahagún 1950–1982 1:9 "teucujrlacuechcozque." From Molina 1977: folio 100v "Teocuitlatl, oro o plata" (gold or silver); folio 8r "Atl, agua" (water); folio 25v "cuechtli, cierto caracol largo" (certain long shell); folio 27v "Cuzcatl, joya, piedra preciosa labrada de forma redonda, o cuenta para rezar" (jewel, precious stone worked into round form, or bead for praying [collar/necklace]). Thus *teocuitlatl* (gold) + *atl* (water) + *cuechtli* (shell) + *cuzcatl* (necklace) = *teocuitlacuechcozcatl*, or "gold shell necklace."
54. Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 5 (1979 1: folio 10v).
55. *Ibid.* 1:9.
56. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
57. Durán 1967 1: *Limna* 15.
58. See appendix G, column 9, "Shields: The *Codex Mendoza* and Other Aztec Pictorials," volume 1.
59. *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 3v. From Molina 1977: folio 151r "Tzitzimil, nombre de demonio" (the name of a demon [god]).
- Seler's index (1967:520) lists these deities as "tzitzimilé (plural of *tzitzimil*), "Dämonen der Finsternis," Sterngötter, eigentlich die Sterne, die bei entretender Sonnenfinsternis bei Tage am Himmel sichtbar werden, daher als Dunkelheitsdämonen gedacht, die bei dem Weltanfang, der beim Verlöschen des Lichts bei jeder Sonnenfinsternis gefürchtet wurde, zur Erde herabkommen und der Menschheit dieses Zeitalters ein Ende machen werden" ("demons of the darkness," star gods; actually the stars, which at the commencement of a solar eclipse became visible during the day in heaven and were therefore thought of as gods of darkness; during each solar eclipse it was feared that the extinguishing of the lights was the end of the world, and [the *tzitzimil*] would descend to Earth and bring about the end of mankind during this epoch).
60. Seler (1960–1961 2:562) translates the *tzitzimil* warrior costume as "Schreckgestalt," or "frightful specter." Berdan chooses to call this the "death" warrior costume (*Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: 30, note 101, while Anderson and Dibble translate it as "demon of the air" (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:34–35). Sullivan uses the term "demon of the dark" (*Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8). Apparently, these titles are all references to the *tzitzimil* deities and their fearful appearance in the sky during an eclipse, foretelling the dreaded destruction of mankind (see previous note).
61. H. B. Nicholson: personal communication.
62. See for example *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folio 11r.
63. *Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXIII.
64. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
65. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 20r, 21v, 23r, 24r, 26r, 27r, 28r, 29r, 30r, 33r, 36r, 41r, 50r. See also *Matrícula de Tributos* 1980: folios 3r–5v, 7r, 8v, 11r, 14v.
66. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:34–35.
67. Simeón 1963:330 "Pamitl, Drapeau, etendard, bannière" (flag, standard, banner). Also, 332 "Pantli, Drapeau, bannière, mur, ligne, rangée" (flag, banner, wall, line, rank [of soldiers]).
68. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:34.
69. Seler 1960–1961 2:567.
70. *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 87v.
71. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folio 39v.
72. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* 1892–40, 43, 48, 56, 75.
73. *Ibid.*:69. For a five-flag *pamitl* back device see pages 50, 54; for a four-flag device see pages 33, 47.
74. The only difference between *Huizahuatl's* back device and the one on folio 65r is that on the former, three quetzal feathers are inserted horizontally at two points on the stiff, flaglike section of the insignia.
75. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8 (Thelma D. Sullivan translation) "teocuitlacuzcatl temolitic." From Molina 1977: folio 100v "Teocuitla cuzcatl, joya de oro o de plata, o presa" (jewel of gold or silver, or ornament); folio 97v "Temolin, cierto escarabajo, o tauano" (certain beetle, or hornet or horsefly).
- The golden beetle necklace is depicted and glossed on *Primeros Memoriales* 1926. *estampa* XXIV.
76. *Primeros Memoriales* n.d.: chap. 4, par. 8, Thelma D. Sullivan translation.
77. There is only a small difference between the *Ticoyahuatl's* *pamitl* device and that of the Quachic warrior. Multicolored feathers appear in the stiff, flaglike portion of this device rather than just the red and white feathers of the Quachic's insignia.
78. Seler 1960–1961 2:570–571. Molina 1977: folio 84r "Quachpamitl, esdardarte, vandra, o pendon" (standard, flag, or banner); from folio 84r Quachitl, manta grande de algodón" (large manta of cotton). Thus *quachtli* (fabric) + *pamitl* (banner) = *quachpamitl*, or "fabric banner," or *quachic* (Quachic warrior) + *pamitl* = *quachpamitl*, or "Quachic banner."
79. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964–1967: folios 33v, 37r, 37v.
80. Seler 1960–1961 2:571.

FOLIO 68r

CONTENT

Register 1

The initial scene of folio 68r portrays a feast given by the young married man seated on the right. Facing him are his five guests, four of whom are identified by a gloss as *tepucltli* (youth).¹ The fifth, slightly larger figure bears the same title, but the attendant gloss reads: "*tepucltli*, [which] means youth leader."²

The uniformity in name and dress of these guests, together with their similarity to the groom in hairstyle and earplugs, implies that all were *tepucltli* age mates. However, these young men obviously have not yet reached the two senior levels, *teacbaub* (master of youths) and *tepucltlatl* (ruler of youths). Men at these higher ranks not only wear their hair in a distinctive manner but also don the traditional net capes and shell necklaces of the masters and rulers of youths.³

The speech glyphs in front of each of the six men indicate that a discussion is in progress. The attendant Spanish commentary on folio 67v explains that the groom wishes to retire from his past *tepucltli* duties; here he is asking leave of his peers. In order to encourage the granting of this request, a feast has been assembled, replete with presents for the guests. Sahagún describes the preparation of tamales, sauces, and chocolate for such a feast;⁴ the banquet depicted on folio 68r includes each of these delicacies.

Set out for the pleasure of the guests are a large basket of tamales, a sauce bowl that holds a turkey (identified by the Spanish gloss as a cooked chicken),⁵ and a decorated gourd container filled with cacao beans. From such distinctive goblets as this one, the guests will drink chocolate, the delicious indigenous beverage made from ground cacao.⁶

Among the feast items there are also two *mantas*, the capes worn by Aztec men. The wavy lines on these identical pieces of cloth may be intended to represent a decoration of some kind.⁷ Capes were commonly given as gifts among the Aztec on special occasions.

Below the textiles are portrayed a bound set of five smoking tubes, which the gloss—in acknowledgment of the pleasant fragrance of certain types of burning tobacco—identifies as "a handful of perfumes."⁸ In the *Florentine Codex*, reference is also made to the aromatic quality of smoking tubes.⁹ This fragrance may have been enhanced through the addition of liquidambar.⁹

Directly in front of the groom is a copper ax. According to Sahagún, such axes were presented to the *tepucltlatl*, the groom's former teacher, as well as to the *tepucltli* age-mates. The copper

ax served as a symbol of the young man taking his leave from the company of bachelors.¹⁰

In Sahagún's account of this custom, the ax was presented by the youth's parents at a feast held before a bride was ever sought for the young man. On folio 68r, however, the bridegroom—not his parents—is the host, and the wedding has already occurred. Indeed, his bride is very much in evidence.

Behind the groom kneels the busy wife, who wears the same round blue earplug as her husband and most of his guests. The young woman is an expert spinner, capable of drawing an impressive length of thread from the unspun fillet of raw cotton held in her left hand. This is quite a contrast to the initial, tentative attempts at spinning made by the girls of five and six years on folios 58r and 59r.

The fact that the wife is shown spinning while her husband and his friends take part in the feast is puzzling. Is it to call attention to the fact that spinning is one of a woman's most important duties, or is it intended to show that the woman was not a guest at the feast given by her husband? Perhaps the implication simply is that the husband has been fortunate enough to marry a skilled spinner, and the *mantas* offered to the guests were woven by the young wife, who has now reached full adult status.

Register 2

The next register of folio 68r deals with the distinguished status that married men could achieve. A seated ruler is shown at the left, whom both the Spanish commentary and the gloss identify as "Lord of Mexico." Walking away from the ruler are three males, each with black body paint, brown face paint, white tubular earplugs, *tequibua*-rank hairstyles, and capes worn as hip-cloths, folded and tied at the waist. All three carry obsidian-studded lances and fans; the first two of these fans also appear on folio 67r, but the third is unique to this depiction. Above the third figure is the generic blue-rimmed shield of *Codex Mendoza*, backed by an obsidian-studded war club. The implication of this imagery is warfare. The Spanish commentary on folio 67v bears this out, stating that after worthy youths marry they are elevated to high warrior ranks and become emissaries—posts of great honor.

Register 3

The third section of folio 68r shows a court of justice, complete with litigants, judges, and assistants. Sahagún provides information

on such a court. He reports that the ruler made judicial appointments from among both noblemen and valiant warriors. The former were worthy of the post because they were born into high status and also had been properly schooled. The upbringing of the latter was also important, but of equal merit was the fact that these successful warriors "had been reared in war." Whatever the chosen one's class, the qualities of wisdom, eloquence, sobriety, energy, and integrity were mandatory. Men were chosen who "did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake; nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; hence they performed their offices as judges righteously."¹¹

On the left side of register 3 sit four judges, each with a young man of rank seated behind him: all eight wear the blue diadem, indicating they are nobles. Each of the four judges has a name glyph attached to his head, analyzed below in the "Image Description" section.

JUDGES

Myxcoatlolyotlac, "The Returned Master of the Cloud Snake"¹²

The first is the chief justice—the gloss reads "judge like an *alcald*"—whose title is *Myxcoatlolyotlac*. Sahagún includes this title among those magistrates whom the ruler once executed as unworthy judges. When Motecuhzoma heard ill things of a group of judges, he seized and imprisoned them in wooden cages and had them all killed.¹³

Ezbuabuacatl (*Ezguaguacatl*), "Raining Blood"¹⁴

The second judge is *Ezbuabuacatl*. This title also appears on folio 65r, belonging to the fourth of the constables who were the emperor's executioners. Although Sahagún states that the constables were commoners,¹⁵ he nonetheless also mentions the *Ezbuabuacatl* title in connection with a higher court, of which nobles were members, and again as one of the judges who aided the ruler with difficult cases.¹⁶

Acatl Iyapanecatl, "Lord of the Reed on the Nose"¹⁷

Tequixquinabuacatl "Saltpeter Speech"¹⁸

The third judge has the title of *Acatl Iyapanecatl*. This title, as well as that of the fourth judge—*Tequixquinabuacatl*—also appears among those listed by Sahagún as advisers to the ruler.¹⁹

Thanks to Sahagún's Aztec informants, we know what traits characterized a good and a bad magistrate. The former was dignified, serious, and attentive. He carefully listened to both sides and issued a fair judgment, showing no favoritism. The bad magistrate, however, had a perpetual chip on his shoulder, set up unfair ordinances, accepted bribes, issued corrupt verdicts, and was known to do favors.²⁰

Facing the magistrates of folio 68r are six litigants, three of each sex. The men sit in the usual position of the Aztec male, cloaks wrapped tightly about their knees. The women kneel with their hands docilely crossed. Each of the sexes has its spokesperson, but the woman is the more animated in her presentation. Although these litigants appear to be arguing their own cases, the Aztec judicial system included both attorneys and solicitors. Sahagún describes them at length, in a section of his work on enchanters, sorcerers, and magicians.²¹

The "good attorney" is described as discreet, astute, diligent, constant, sharp-tongued, wrangling, ingenious, audacious, and careful. However, in addition to making rebuttals, appeals, and pleading cases, the attorney "ensnares; he accuses . . . he shouts . . . he

misleads one; he contends, emerging victorious, triumphant; he is aggressive . . . he collects tribute for one. He consumes a tenth of it—he draws recompense."

The "bad" attorney is fraudulent and dishonest; "one who spirits things away by deceit. . . . He is a hypocrite—lazy, lukewarm, negligent . . . two-faced, inconstant, squandering, dumb, mute."²²

Sahagún's description of the solicitor is equally penetrating:

The good solicitor [is] diligent, agile . . . impulsive, impetuous, over-hasty, solicitous. [He goes] without his food, without his sleep. He solicits with sympathy. . . . He goes about troubled, fearful. He does things of his own volition; he works energetically.

The bad solicitor [is] a shirker, a loafer, a pusher who blinds one, distracts one, lulls one to sleep in order to rob him; who destroys by sorcery, removes by stealth, accepts bribes; who makes corrupt pronouncements; who is bribed—who lets his tongue be silenced. . . . He cats [at the expense of] both sides. . . . He strips both sides. He sells one's goods without one's knowledge.²³

Sahagún also reports that the Aztec judicial system provided two courtrooms, one for commoners, the other for nobility. The commoners' court was known as the *Tecalli*. Officiating here were what the friar refers to as "the Mexican judges."²⁴ He explains that in the commoners' court the judges studied the cases very thoroughly. Witnesses were sought out and carefully questioned to aid the magistrates in weighing the charges.²⁵ After hearing the grievances of the common folk, the complaints were recorded pictorially. These records were then taken to the *Tlacxiltan*, the higher court, whose judges were of the noble class. It was in this latter court that a final judgment was pronounced and also that the cases of the nobility were tried.²⁶

The courtroom of register 3 of this folio apparently is a *Tecalli*. The court of the nobles, the *Tlacxiltan*, is depicted on the following folio, 69r.

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

Manta



manta: *tilmatl*²⁷

As was discussed in the "Image Descriptions" of folio 60r, the Mesoamerican backpack loom produced pieces of cloth completely finished on all four sides. As a result, it was possible to wear these webs of material just as they came from the loom, either as capes—*mantas*—or as loincloths, according to the fabric's width and length. Further processing was necessary only for the addition of decorated borders, the application of certain motifs, or the joining of two or more webs at their finished selvedge edges to create a particularly wide cape or a woman's *bui-pilli* or wrap-around skirt.

Capes were sometimes used as a means of exchange. For example, one small cape would buy a boatload of drinking water.²⁸ An unskilled slave sold for thirty large capes. However, his price rose to forty if he was "clean of body" and skilled at dancing.²⁹ The featherworkers of the *calpulli* of Amantlan, in order to buy a slave whose sacrifice would celebrate their deity's feast day, invited guests to join them in making this purchase. The contribution of large cotton capes went toward the price of the doomed slave.³⁰

A detailed equivalency of three different grades of capes to cacao beans, another form of Aztec currency, is discussed by Anderson and Dibble in Sahagún's ninth book, *The Merchants*.³¹

Smoking Tubes



smoking tubes: *acayotl*, *acaquahuil*, *yettalli*¹¹

The use of tobacco in smoking tubes—also known as smoking canes because of the plant material into which the tobacco was packed—was common among the Aztecs.¹¹ *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* contains two detailed portraits of Texcocan nobles holding flower bouquets and smoking tubes. In one case, smoke is rising from the lighted cane.¹⁴ These cigarlike tubes are frequently illustrated, either being used or being presented as offerings at ceremonies.¹⁵ Although it is usually men who are shown smoking, there is an illustration in book 4 of the *Florentine Codex* of a woman handing a lighted smoking tube to two eagerly awaiting females.¹⁶

Francisco Hernández, the official physician of the Spanish Court responsible for documenting the flora and fauna of sixteenth-century Mexico, describes smoking tubes as dried and perforated pieces of cane. These were smeared on the outside with powdered charcoal and filled with a mixture of tobacco, liquidambar, and sometimes aromatic herbs. He states that smoking this mixture induces sleep, weakens all sensations of pain or fatigue, calms headaches, alleviates asthma, and strengthens the stomach. He advises against its excessive use, however, warning that it can also bring on incurable illnesses.¹⁷

Tobacco was also used as a ritual offering. Sahagún mentions this in connection with a feast honoring the god Huitzilopochtli. Bundles of bound smoking tubes were burned in front of the idol until the smoke rose and billowed like a cloud around the effigy.¹⁸

Gifts of tobacco played an important role in the celebration of feasts. When describing such ceremonies, Sahagún often mentions guests being plied with tobacco.¹⁹ He explains how this leaf was ground, powdered, then tamped down into the smoking tubes with a heavy straw.²⁰ He also describes those who served the tobacco.²¹ In one of the illustrations that accompany these passages, two burning tobacco tubes are shown, each resting in its own three-legged "ashtray" before two male guests, who are busily eating tamales and stewed turkey.²² At such feasts, the tobacco servers followed a formalized ritual when distributing the smoking canes to guests. They offered the elongated, spear-shaped tubes with their right hand—the hand that customarily held a spear or spear thrower in battle. The round "ashtray" in which the burning tube would rest, symbolizing the shield, was carried in the server's left hand.²³

Sahagún describes very good tobacco as being of a fine consistency; it was chewed rather than smoked. He adds that although it served to dispel fatigue and aid digestion, fine tobacco also made one drunk.²⁴

Durán, discussing the ingredients of the sooty mixture that priests smeared on their bodies, includes tobacco. He also claims the Indians used it as a stimulant to calm and relieve "the pains of toil."²⁵ In another context, when discussing the Aztecs' veneration of fire, he tells of gifts of tobacco being offered to the flames.²⁶

Copper Ax



copper ax: *tepuztli*²⁷

Sahagún, when describing the ordering of the marketplace, makes it clear that copper items were grouped together. He tells of these axes being sold in the same section with copper needles and the chisels of the carpenters and sculptors.²⁸

In *Codex Mendoza* and its cognate, *Matricula de Tributos*, copper axes appear as tribute from two Aztec provinces: Tepequaculco and Quiahuicteopan.²⁹ Ax blades, shown attached to their wooden hafts, appear in both pre-Hispanic pictorials³⁰ and post-Conquest codices.³¹

Prior to the Spanish Conquest, copper axes together with lengths of cotton cloth, capes, cacao beans, and quills with gold dust served as indigenous forms of money.

Tamales



tamale: *tamalli*³²

For a discussion of tamales, a staple at Mexican feasts then as now, see "Image Descriptions," folio 61r.



Fowl/Meat Dishes

Turkeys and their usual preparation have already been discussed under "Image Descriptions," folio 61r. There was, however, sometimes a surreptitious addition to a supposedly all-turkey dish. Sahagún, when telling of a wealthy merchant's preparing for a large feast, speaks of the host providing not only some hundred turkeys, but also approximately half as many dogs. When the food was subsequently prepared for serving, "at the bottom of the sauce dish they placed the dog meat, on top they placed the turkey as required."³³

Dog meat was not always served in a disguised form. In another of Sahagún's descriptions of feast preparations, he mentions the slaying, singeing, and dressing of dogs for a main dish.³⁴

In a vivid account, Durán confirms the regular consumption of dogs, which continued into the Colonial period. He tells of attending the famous dog market at Acolman, where dogs of all sizes and shapes were regularly sold:

One day I went to observe the market day there, just to be an eyewitness and discover the truth. I found more than four hundred large and small dogs tied up in crates, some already sold, others still for sale. And there were such piles of ordure that I was overwhelmed. When a Spaniard who was totally familiar with that region saw [my amazement], he asked, "Why are you astonished? I have never seen such a meager sale of dogs as today! There was a tremendous shortage of them!"³⁵

Turkey and dog were not the only meat in the Aztec diet. Sahagún, telling of Aztec meat sellers, lists rabbit meat, hare, opossum, venison, and the "meat of wild beasts." He also includes various types of fowl: duck, crane, goose, mallard, quail, and eagle.³⁶



Cacao

cacao bean: *cacahuatl*³⁷

Motolinia points out that the highly valued cacao beans served as food, drink, and money to the Mexicans. As a result, every aspect of this valuable commodity was given close attention. The saplings were planted paired with *mudre* (mother) trees, which served to shelter the smaller, more fragile cacao. He compares the cacao bean to the almonds of Castilla and states that each pod contained thirty kernels or "almonds" of cacao, more or less.

Often, cacao was used for monetary purposes. Motolinia reports that a load or "carga" contained three *xiquipilli* (8,000) of cacao beans; thus, one "carga" of cacao contained 24,000 beans. An entire "carga" of these beans, the friar wrote in 1555, was worth four or five pesos.³⁸ A list of market prices established by a judge in Tlaxcala in 1545 provides a corresponding value in cacao beans for each item named.³⁹

Sahagún states that 100 cacao beans would buy a fine, small

cape, known as *tototlaqualtequacbtli* (bird-food cape).⁶⁰ Eighty cacao beans would buy a cloak of lesser value, and a still cheaper *manta* could be had for sixty-five beans of cacao.⁶¹

The high value placed on cacao beans in Mexican society is further attested in Sahagún's account of the tapir:

The tapir is quite rare. . . . When wild cacao grows—which no one plants . . . [it eats these]. . . . When it defecates, it heaps up [voided whole] cacao beans, almost a carrier's load. The common folk hunt for these in the forest, in order there to find the cacao beans.⁶²

There were many grades and types of cacao, some coming from a great distance; Sahagún mentions beans imported from Guatemala. The highest-quality bean was large, firm, and well developed; wizened and broken beans were undesirable. Cacao was also sold in powdered form. The "bad cacao seller," according to Sahagún's informants, employed all manner of tricks and underhanded ruses in order to deceive buyers into purchasing his inferior kernels:

[With] amaranth seed dough, wax, avocado pits he counterfeits cacao; he covers this over with cacao bean hulls. . . . The whitish, the fresh cacao beans he intermixes . . . ruins with the shrunken, the chili-seed-like, the broken, the hollow, the tiny.⁶³

Oviedo y Valdés confirms this practice of faking cacao beans. However, he describes the "bark or skin" of a kernel being removed and then filled with earth. The husk of the bean was so skillfully sealed that the substitution was unnoticeable. Only by touch could the counterfeited cacao kernel be detected.⁶⁴

The enjoyment of the delicious chocolate drink made from cacao beans was, according to Durán, restricted to the nobles and the upper classes.⁶⁵ Sahagún, however, mentions merchants' drinking it with "divine car" spice added. Apparently, this was a nutmeglike flavoring.⁶⁶

Chocolate was prepared by first grinding the cacao, then soaking, aerating, and filtering it. Next, the drink was vigorously poured back and forth until it formed a frothy head. This was removed, the liquid was allowed to thicken, and, finally, water was stirred in. The resulting drink was soft and foamy, reddish in color, and bitter in taste. Flowers, vanilla, wild bee honey, and chile were sometimes added. Apparently, chocolate of a lesser quality was literally a pale imitation, made of poor cacao beans mixed with maize flour and lime water, and, according to Sahagún, "[fit for] water flies."⁶⁷

The ruler had the option of a wide array of different types of the highest quality chocolate, which he enjoyed after his meals. His beverage was flavored with honey, ground-up dried flowers, green vanilla pods, and other seasonings. These additions resulted in a wide array of chocolate colors: bright red, orange-colored, rose-colored, black, and white.⁶⁸

Chocolate was acknowledged to have many virtues: it gladdened, refreshed, consoled, and invigorated one. However, Sahagún was warned that if a person drank too much chocolate—especially if it was made of tender, green beans—it could make one dizzy, confused, sick, drunk, and deranged.⁶⁹

Cup for Chocolate

cup for chocolate: *tecomatl*⁷⁰

There were at least three different types of vessels in which cacao was served. On folio 68r, a gourd goblet is depicted. Two additional cacao cups are shown among the tribute from the province of Xoco-

nocho.⁷¹ One type, *atlibuami*, is identifiable by its glyph as being made of stone; the other, *coquitcomatl*, appears to be pottery.⁷²

Sahagún relates that when merchants returned from a long journey, chocolate would be enjoyed at a feast in honor of the gods Xiuhtecutli and Yacatecutli. This particular chocolate was served in *teotecomatl* (sacred cups),⁷³ which are depicted in the accompanying illustration.⁷⁴ They are shaped like the gourd chocolate goblet of folio 68r.

Sahagún describes the paraphernalia needed to prepare the ruler's chocolate: the earthen jars and the strainers for making the beverage, and the painted gourd vessels, decorated stoppers, and beaters for serving it.⁷⁵

Chocolate vessels shaped like that of folio 68r are depicted several times in the *Florentine Codex*, sometimes with the stirring stick shown in the cup.⁷⁶

Title Glyphs

The four judges on folio 68r are each accompanied by his own title glyph. These are among sixteen examples of the indigenous method of depicting names or titles that occur in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*.⁷⁷



Myxcoatlaxlotlac:

"The Returned Master of the Cloud Snake"⁷⁸

The first judge's glyph consists of an eagle feather tuft surrounded by three footprints. In Mesoamerican pictorials, footprints often act as indicators of movement or a journey;⁷⁹ in this instance they apparently convey one element in the title, *tlailoa*, meaning to return. The appearance of the eagle feather tufts, rather than the usual symbol for the cloud-snake, is puzzling.⁸⁰



Ezhuahuacatl (Ezguaguacatl):

"Raining Blood"⁸¹

The glyph for this judge consists appropriately of a red-striped symbol for rain.



Acatl Iyacapaneacatl:

"Lord of the Reed on the Nose"⁸²

The third judge's glyph represents an arrow reed on a man's nose.



Tequixquinahuacatl:

"Saltpeter Speech"⁸³

The fourth of the judges is designated by a glyph consisting of a set of lips covered with small black dots, from which emerges a speech scroll. Berdan suggests the presence of the lips acts as a phonetic prompt, alerting the reader that the black spots indicate saltpeter.⁸⁴

1. Molina 1977: folio 96v "Telpochtli. mancebo" (youth, young man, bachelor).
2. See folios 57r and 63r, "Image Descriptions," for more information on the *teuchcaub* and *telpochtli* ranks and their attire.
3. Sahagún 1950–1982 6:127.
4. Since chickens were a post-Conquest introduction, no doubt what is pictured here by the native scribe is a turkey; the fowl most commonly eaten in Mesoamerica.
5. Durán (1971:200) states that the Aztecs restricted the drinking of chocolate to the upper classes.
6. See Anawalt essay, volume 1, for an explanation of the undecorated clothing of part 3 of *Codex Mendoza*.
7. *Codex Mendoza* folio 42r depicts a tied group of canes to be made into smoking tubes; this bundle is also glossed "perfumes." Sahagún 1950–1982 8: plate 96 (1979 8: folio 50r) contains an illustration almost identical to those of *Codex Mendoza*, showing a bound bundle of five smoking tubes among goods for sale in the marketplace.
8. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 69.
9. See the Tlatlahualtepec province summary, folio 51r, for a discussion of liquidambar given in tribute.
10. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:40; 6:127–128.
11. *Ibid.* 8:54.
12. *Myxotricholotla*: Clark (1938 2:101) suggests "mixtl cloud, coatl snake, tlainlotlac he has returned." He also identifies *Mixcaatl* as the Milky Way, one of the three heartstones, and god of the chase.
13. Molina 1977: folio 57v "Mixtli. nuxe" (cloud); 23r "Coatl. culebra, melizo, o lombriz del estomago" (snake, worm, or worm of the stomach).
14. Siméon 1963: 247 "Mixcaotl, Serpent nébuleux, tourbillon de vapeurs, phénomène atmosphérique connu sous le nom de tornade—Divinité de la chasse, principalement vénérée chez les Otomis et les Chichimèques" (cloudy snake, whirlwind of vapors, atmospheric phenomenon known by the name of tornado—god of the chase, principally venerated in the land of the Otomis and the Chichimécs).
13. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:42.
14. See folio 65r description for more information on *Eshnubacatl*.
15. Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
16. *Ibid.* 8:55.
17. *Acatl* *lycapanecatl*: From Molina 1977: folio 1v "Acatl. caña" (reed); 30v "Yacatl. nariz, o punta de omei" (nose, or point of something); 79r "Pani. encima, o por defuera en la sobre haz" (on, or on the outside). Thus *acatl* (reed) + *i* (his) + *yacatl* (nose) + *pani* (on) + *catl* (signifying affiliation) = *Acatl lyapanecatl*, or "Lord of the Reed on the Nose."
18. *Tequixquinabucatl*: From *ibid.*, folio 105v "Tequixquitl. salitre" (salt-peter); 63v "Nauatl. cosa que suena bien, assi como campana &c. o hombre ladino" (thing that sounds well, like a bell, etc., or man who speaks Spanish well). *Nauatl* was also the term given to the Aztecs' tongue: "c'est-à-dire langue harmonieuse, qui flatte l'oreille" (that is to say, harmonious language, which flatters the ear) according to Siméon 1963:272.
19. Thus *tequixquitl* (salt-peter) + *nauatl* (speech) + *catl* (signifying affiliation) = *Tequixquinabucatl*, or "Salt-peter Speech."
19. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:55.
20. *Ibid.* 10:15–16.
21. *Ibid.* 10:32–33.
22. *Ibid.* 10:32.
23. *Ibid.* 10:32–33.
24. *Ibid.* 8:54–55.
25. *Ibid.* 8:42.
26. *Ibid.* 8:54–55.
27. Molina 1977: folio 113r. "Tilmatl. manta" (mantle/cap).
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:48.
29. *Ibid.* 9:46.
30. *Ibid.* 9:87.
31. *Ibid.* 9:48, note 15.
32. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 42r uses the word *acayelt* to gloss the depictions of smoking tubes in the tribute section. From Siméon 1963:161 "Yétl. Fumée odoriférante. parfum; tabac, plante médicinale comant deux variétés principales nommées *piciet* et *quahyeltl*" (odoriferous smoke, perfume; tobacco, medicinal plant composed of two principal varieties named *piciet* and *quahyeltl*). Thus *acatl* (cane/reed) + *yeltl* (tobacco) = *acayelt* or "tobacco cane."

Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:69) identify the term *acaiatl* as "pipes." They define *acayauitl* (*ibid.* 3:44; 8:69) as "smoking tubes"; this term consists of the elements *acatl* (reed) and *quauitl* (wood). They also

translate *tiatlalli* as "cigars" (*ibid.* 8:69); however, the corresponding Spanish text calls it "cañas de humo" (smoking canes; Sahagún 1975:476).

33. See folio 42r in the tribute section of *Codex Mendoza* for a bundle of canes that are to be made into smoking tubes.
34. *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* 1976: folios 105r, 107r.
35. For examples of smoking tubes being used at ceremonies, see Sahagún 1950–1982 2: plates 12, 20; 3: plate 7; 4: plates 26, 86–88; 9: plates 28, 30 (1979 2: folios 26v, 31r; 3: folio 8v; 4: folios 24v, 69v, 69v; 9: folios 28r, 29v).
36. Sahagún 1950–1982 4: plate 88 (1979 4: folio 69v).
37. Hernández 1959 2:176.
38. Sahagún 1950–1982 4:78.
39. *Ibid.* 4:122.
40. *Ibid.* 4:123.
41. *Ibid.* 4:124.
42. *Ibid.* 4: plate 87 (1979 4: folio 69r).
43. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:34. This same manner of presentation was also used when passing flowers to guests, a custom that often followed the offering of smoking tubes at feasts. However, in this case, the elongated "spear" flower was offered with the server's left hand and the round "shield" flower with the right. The server would present the bouquets while facing the guest, who could then accept them with the appropriate hand.
44. *Ibid.* 10:94.
45. Durán 1971:115.
46. *Ibid.*:262.
47. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:68 "tepoztl"; *Marricula de Tributo* 1980: folios 9r, 10v "tepoztl." From Molina 1977: folio 104v "Tepuztli. cobre o hierro" (copper or iron).
48. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:68.
49. *Codex Mendoza*: Tepequacuico, folio 37r; Quiauhquepan, folio 40r (*Marricula de Tributo* 1980: folios 9r, 10v).
50. For pre-Hispanic examples of copper axes attached to wooden shafts, see *Codex Copi* 1968: 6 observe; 3, 7 reverse; *Codex Fajersjöer-Mayer* 1971:28; *Codex Laud* 1966:4, 9, 20D; *Codex Borjia* 1976:12.
51. For examples of copper ax blades attached to wooden shafts in post-Conquest pictorial, see *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 49r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 31r; Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 34 (1979 1: folio 26r).
52. Molina 1977: folio 90v "Tamalli. pan de maye embuelto en hojas y cozido en olla" (bread of maize wrapped in leaves and cooked in an olla).
53. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:48.
54. *Ibid.* 4:123.
55. Durán 1971:278.
56. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:80.
57. Molina 1977: folio 10v "Cacaual. grano de cacao" (cacao bean).
58. Moctolinia 1971:216–217.
59. Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart 1976:210–213.
60. Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 9:48) identify *totolaqualequachtli* as "first grade, fine, small capes, at 100 cacao beans."
61. A literal translation of the name would be: Molina 1977: folio 151r "Totol. paxaro" (bird); 133r "Tlaqualli. comida, o viande" (food, or meat). Therefore, *totol* (bird) + *tlaualli* (food) + *tequachtli* (cotton cape) = *totolaqualequachtli*, or "bird-food cape."
61. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:48. Anderson and Dibble provide the following footnote, apropos this passage: "The Spanish text implies a distinction, which does not appear in the Nahuatl column, among *totolaqualequachtli* (first grade, fine, small capes, at 100 cacao beans), *tequachtli* (second grade, fine, small capes at 80), and *quachtli* (third grade, large capes, at 60—not the 65 mentioned in the Nahuatl text)."
62. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:4. One name given to this wild cacao is *teocaca-buati*. This is derived from *teotl* (god) and *caca-buati* (cacao bean); thus *teocaca-buati* can be translated as "god-cacao" or "sacred cacao," or "genuine cacao."
63. *Ibid.* 10:65.
64. Oviedo y Valdes 1851–1855 1:316.
65. Durán 1971:200.
66. Sahagún 1950–1982 9:27, note 2.
67. *Ibid.* 10:93.
68. *Ibid.* 8:39–40.
69. *Ibid.* 11:119.
70. Molina 1977: folio 93r "Tecomatl. vaso de barro, como taça honda" (vesel of clay, like a deep cup).
71. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 47r; *Marricula de Tributo* 1980: folio 13r.
72. Clark 1938 1:81, note 7. From Molina 1977: "Atli. beuer agua o cacao" (to

- drink water or cacao); 25r "çoquitecomatl, vaso de barro" (vessel of clay).
73. *Teotl* (god) + *tecomatl* (cup) = *teotecomatl*, or "god-cup" or "sacred cup."
74. Sahagún 1950–1982 9: 28, plate 24 (1979 9: folio 25r).
75. Sahagún 1950–1982 8: 40.
76. For examples of chocolate vessels similar to that of folio 68r, see Sahagún 1950–1982 2: plate 43; 6: plate 48; 9: plate 24; 10: plates 59, 68 (1979 2: folio 105r; 6: folio 212r; 9: folio 25r; 10: folios 24v, 27v).
77. For a discussion of the indigenous glyphic writing system, see chapter 7 by Berdan in volume 1. See also appendix E in that volume for a more detailed analysis of each of *Codex Mendoza's* personal name, title, and placename glyphs.

78. See note 12.
79. See "Image Descriptions," folio 57r for a discussion of footprint glyphs in the codices.
80. For examples of the *mixcoatl* or cloud-snake symbol incorporated in glyphs see *Codex Mendoza*: folio 5v (place glyph for Mixcoac) and 17v (title glyph for *Mixcoatl Tlacatectli*).
81. See folio 65r description, note 35 for an analysis of this title.
82. See note 17.
83. See note 18.
84. See appendix E, volume 1.

CONTENT

Folio 69r presents a schematic plan of Motecuhzoma's palace, including two ground-level council chambers, entryway stairs, a courtyard, two guest quarters, and the ruler's personal living area.

At the top of the palace, seated within a doorway, is the emperor, the only bearded individual in the entire *Codex Mendoza*. The conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo confirms this interpretation of Motecuhzoma's appearance, describing his scanty black beard as being well shaped and thin.¹

Directly above the palace is a gloss that reads, "Throne and dais of Motecuhzoma where he sat in audience and to judge." This area of the palace was the *Tlatocacalli* ("Ruler's House"),² defined by Sahagún as the ruler's personal quarters.³ The illustration that accompanies Sahagún's description shows a *Tlatocacalli* almost identical to that of *Codex Mendoza*, complete with the same frieze decoration. There, too, the bearded emperor—wearing a blue diadem—is seated on a reed mat within the doorway.⁴

The two buildings on either side of the emperor's quarters are identified by the glosses as guest houses. These no doubt represent what Sahagún describes as the *Cocacalli* ("Guest House"): "there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him."⁵ The folio 69r gloss states that the house on the right is meant to accommodate the visiting great lords of Texcoco and (the less powerful) Tlacopan, which, together with Tenochtitlan, made up the Aztec Triple Alliance empire. The rulers of these allied city-states, because of their close political association with Tenochtitlan, are understandable palace visitors. An equally pragmatic connection between Tenochtitlan and the guests listed as lodging in the house on the left is less evident.

Although the gloss on folio 69r asserts that the city-states of Tenayuca, Chiconauhtla, and Colhuacan were "friends of Motecuhzoma," no other Aztec source links these three polities. Nor are Tenayuca and Chiconauhtla ever specifically mentioned as particularly close allies of Tenochtitlan. Colhuacan, however, with its established claim to preserving the royal Toltec bloodline in its ruling house, did have historical connections with the Mexica of Tenochtitlan. Colhuacan was a steady source of wives for all the early Chichimec groups, including the Aztecs, who were newcomers to the Valley of Mexico in the thirteenth century.⁶ Perhaps Tenayuca and Chiconauhtla also had ties of blood or marriage with Tenochtitlan. The native scribe who drew folio 69r may have

been making an obscure political statement through this unique grouping of these particular three city-states.

The guest houses open out onto what the two identical glosses refer to as the "courtyard of the royal palace of Motecuhzoma." The gloss on the stairs also refers to this area: "These lines [steps] go up [and] open on the courtyard of Motecuhzoma's palace, as drawn." This extensive area may have been used by the palace's *cuicacalli* for the teaching and performance of ritual songs and dances.⁷

Down the flight of stairs, on what appears to be the ground level, are located two official chambers. To the left is what the gloss refers to as the "Council Hall of War." This area is probably the *Tequihuacacalli* ("House of the *Tequihua* Warriors," also known as the *Quauhcalli*, or "House of the Eagle Warriors").⁸ The *Tequihuacacalli* was a gathering place for the "brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals, whose personal charge was command in war."⁹ The accompanying Spanish commentary on folio 68v states that the provisioning of warriors also took place in the area. This is impossible to verify, because Sahagún provides no information on where the palace's arsenal was located.

The official chamber on the right is identified by the Spanish gloss as "Motecuhzoma's Council Hall." Seated within are four judges who, according to the commentary on folio 68v, sit in deliberation on appeals cases originating in the commoners' court, depicted on the previous folio, 68r. This council hall, then, is the high court already discussed, the *Tlacxitlan*. Decisions here were made by rulers, princes, and high judges. Supposedly, no hearings were ever delayed in this courtroom; all judgments were handed down at once. Sahagún adds that these judges were influenced by neither friendship nor reward.¹⁰

Seated before the emperor's council hall are four litigants, whose position vis-à-vis the judges gives literal meaning to the translation of *Tlacxitlan*, "At the Feet."¹¹ All are pleading their cases; the women appear to be pointing accusing fingers at the men. A tiny dotted line joins the speech glyph of one of the seated male litigants to the emperor's council hall. Footprints lead from this individual and up to a standing man, who is walking away. Perhaps the latter's case has already been heard; his expression offers no clue as to the verdict. A second set of four footprints leads off to the right from one of the seated women; possibly the women will leave in one direction, the men in the other.

The accompanying Spanish commentary on folio 68v states that a judgment from this high court could be appealed to as exalted a

level as the ruler himself, whose word was final. Sahagún confirms that the ruler gave special attention to trials, listening to all the accusations, complaints, afflictions, and miseries of the common folk, including orphans, vassals, and the poor.¹⁴ Apparently this access to redress did not go unnoticed. There were citizens who were so often involved in legal appeals that a standard admonishment was delivered to them: "Is it as if thou thinkest the ruler or authority to be thornless? Dost thou consider him to be spineless as thou goest bringing thy complaints before him? Perhaps the continuous complaints trouble the ruler greatly!"¹⁵ The Indians' propensity for long and drawn-out litigation continued on into the Colonial period, when it was well documented.¹⁶

The royal palace enclosure also contained many other meeting areas and specialized living quarters where residents who appear on the fifteen folios of the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza* were housed. For example, the council chamber of the constables—the emperor's executioners seen on folios 65r and 66r—was the *Achcaucalli* ("House of Constables").¹⁷ The palace compound also included the *Petlacalco* ("House of Coffers"),¹⁸ the combined jail and royal storehouse, and the *Calpixcacalli* ("House of the Majordomo")¹⁹ or *Texamalli*,²⁰ the domain of the majordomos and tribute gatherers; reference is made to both these groups on folio 70r. Singers and dancers lived in the *Mixocacalli* ("Cloud-Snake House"),²¹ awaiting the call from the emperor to entertain him; folio 70r depicts such a performer. The *Malcalli* ("Captive House")²² was the compound where war captives such as those on folios 64r and 65r were provisioned until the fateful hour for their sacrifice arrived.²³

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS



Motecuhzoma

Motecuhzoma the Younger: Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin ("Angry Lord, the Younger")²⁴

The portrayal of a bearded Indian in the Mesoamerican codices is unusual. Beards were not unknown among the Aztecs; Sahagún's native informants provide statements concerning them, but these comments have a post-Conquest ring: "Beard: pointed at end, sharp at end . . .

long . . . chili-red, ruddy, it whitens, it becomes curly . . . it becomes tangled, beard is shaved . . . beard is cropped, he who has a beard—no longer is his beard disliked."²⁵ Sahagún also lists various attributes connected with beards. One of the most interesting, in light of Motecuhzoma's beard in the *Codex Mendoza*, is "Hair of face . . . it makes one estimable, it gives one esteem."²⁶

Motecuhzoma is sometimes portrayed with a beard in the *Florentine Codex*,²⁷ although—perhaps as the result of different scribes—this same emperor is also shown clean-shaven in some examples.²⁸ Nonetheless, there seems little doubt but that Motecuhzoma actually did have a beard.

Motecuhzoma is the only person in *Codex Mendoza* portrayed *en face*, a European artistic convention. An additional example of Old World influence is evident in the attempt at perspective in the rendering of the emperor's palace.

Díaz del Castillo, the soldier-turned-historian who accompanied Cortés in 1519, provides a further description of Motecuhzoma's

appearance and personal demeanor. He estimated the emperor to be about forty years old (actually, Motecuhzoma was fifty-two years old in 1519).²⁹ Díaz del Castillo describes the emperor as being "of good height," slender, and well proportioned. His countenance was cheerful but, when necessary, could be grave. In his personal habits, Motecuhzoma was very neat and clean, bathing every afternoon and repeatedly putting on changes of completely fresh clothing. Díaz del Castillo also reports that the emperor "was free from unnatural offences." Apparently he was a man of refinement and sensitivity. For example, he was very discreet in his relations with his many concubines as well as with his two legitimate wives, "and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants."³⁰

Hernán Cortés, a more factual if less detailed and engaging reporter than Díaz del Castillo, also describes Motecuhzoma's surroundings. Unfortunately, Cortés offers little specific information on the palace itself, evasively explaining that it was simply too marvelous to describe.³¹ He does, however, provide an eyewitness account of the courtly etiquette attending the Aztec emperor. At dawn every day, Cortés alleges, 600 noblemen and their attendants would arrive at the palace to spend the day walking about and talking. Their servants were so numerous as to fill two courtyards and the very large adjacent street. Tremendous quantities of food were served to all throughout the day, "to each according to his rank."³²

When Motecuhzoma dined, Cortés tells us, three or four hundred boys brought dishes "without number," of every kind of food—meat, fish, fruit, vegetables—and because the climate was cold, braziers kept the platters warm. All the food was placed in a great room, which was almost always filled, where the emperor ate seated on a "finely made, small leather cushion." He shared portions of his food with five or six old men, who ate apart from their ruler. Both before and after eating, Motecuhzoma was provided with water and towels, which were supposedly never used again, nor were any of the emperor's dishes.³³

Bernal Díaz del Castillo also provides information on the emperor's cuisine, most of which corroborates Cortés's account, if more sensationally. Díaz del Castillo reports that for each meal more than thirty dishes were served for the ruler's pleasure. The cooks would prepare 300 plates of Motecuhzoma's food, and more than 1,000 for his guard. Díaz del Castillo writes,

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and other things which are bred in this country, and they are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a hurry.³⁴

Díaz del Castillo also comments on the manner in which the emperor was served; his account is considerably more elaborated than that of Cortés. After speaking of the fragrant scent of the braziers that warmed Motecuhzoma's dining area, Díaz del Castillo describes a richly adorned screen, covered with figures of idols worked in gold, which was placed before the fire. In front of this was the low table at which the emperor was seated on a finely worked stool. "Four very beautiful cleanly women" brought water and towels for his hands. As soon as Motecuhzoma began to dine, the women placed the gold-encrusted wooden screen before him so no one could watch him eating. Díaz del Castillo also mentions four "old men," or "Chieftains," conversing with the emperor

while he ate, and sometimes being invited to share a portion of choice dish.¹¹ Possibly, these men were the "Council of Four," group of advisers to the ruler, from which the next ruler would be chosen.¹² While the emperor ate, no one made any noise or spoke aloud. Diaz del Castillo also mentions that the emperor was brought a chocolate drink in a cup of pure gold.¹³ After dinner, Motecuhzoma sometimes enjoyed a smoking tube.¹⁴

Diaz del Castillo also speaks of various types of entertainment provided for the enjoyment of the emperor and his dinner guests. He describes the ruler's giving what was left of the lavish food and jugs of cacao to singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Spaniard also includes among the emperor's performers those whom he equates to European court jesters: hunchbacks with "their bodies almost broken in half."¹⁵

Those who visited the emperor in the palace, no matter how elevated their rank, approached Motecuhzoma clad in very modest apparel, barefoot and with their eyes lowered to the ground. They never looked up directly into his face. After making three obeisances, and addressing him as "Lord, my Lord, My Great Lord," they made their report. The emperor dismissed his supplicants with a few words. On taking leave, they never turned their backs until they had left the room.¹⁶

Cortés confirms the above account and adds that when the emperor made one of his infrequent excursions outside the palace, those whom he met in the streets turned their faces so as not to gaze directly at him. The bystanders all prostrated themselves until the emperor had passed. Cortés also reported to the king of Spain that the ceremony attending the comings and goings of Motecuhzoma were of a degree of elaborateness unheard of by the Europeans.¹⁷

Palace

palace: *tepancalli*¹⁸

Tenochtitlan contained at least two major royal palaces at the time the Spanish arrived. The conquistadors were housed in the former residence of the preceding ruler, the deceased Emperor Axayacatl.¹⁹ This palace was located near that of Motecuhzoma, in the same general area of the great central precinct.



In addition to the imperial palaces, there were the impressive compounds of the more powerful Aztec lords. This multiplicity of the noble residences may be what is reflected in the conflicting definitions of "palace" given by Sahagún's Aztec informants. A palace is referred to as a good, fine place of honor and dignity but also as a fearful place of haughtiness, pride, and arrogance. In palaces one is intoxicated, flattered, and perverted. A palace is not an ordinary place; indeed, knowledge and wisdom reside there. A palace is well made, with carved stone and smooth plaster, and is of dimensions "high, very high, enormously high." But in another sentence a palace is also described as "low, squat, a small house . . . of ordinary size, pleasing." Either Sahagún had a number of informants with varying strong responses to and experiences with these noble residences or there was a wide range in what was actually referred to as a palace.²⁰

The illustration of the *Tepancalli* that accompanies the above descriptions of palaces is that of an imposing building's entrance. It

is composed of a large cross beam held up by two vertical posts; the lower portion of the building's façade is of stone.²¹

Sahagún further describes palaces as city buildings where lords lived and audiences were held. He also notes that public lawsuits were heard in palaces.²²

As stated in the "Content" section, Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* illustration of Motecuhzoma's living quarters, the *Tlatocacalli*, shows exactly the same decoration on the frieze on the façade of the building as that of *Codex Mendoza* folio 69r. This design, a row of evenly spaced circles with smaller circles centered within, must have been quite prevalent in Tenochtitlan. It seems to signify a palace or some such important building, and also appears repeatedly on temples, ceremonial buildings, and architectural elements in *Codex Mendoza* place glyphs,²³ as well as throughout the scenes depicted in *Florentine Codex*, particularly in book 12, *The Conquest*.²⁴

In addition to the palace areas already discussed, the emperor's establishments included the *Totoacalli* ("Bird House"),²⁵ a royal "zoo," but *Codex Mendoza* contains no reference to that intriguing area. Cortés speaks in some detail about the beautiful rooms of this structure, which contained separate pools for domesticated waterfowl and birds of prey, as well as an enclosure for lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, and cats of many kinds. The inhabitants of Motecuhzoma's "zoo" were not all from the animal kingdom; there was a room that housed albinos, and another for dwarves and hunchbacks.²⁶ The Nuremberg map of Tenochtitlan, first published in 1524, places the zoo southeast of and next to the Great Temple precinct.²⁷

NOTES

1. Diaz del Castillo 1967 2:60.
2. From *tlatoca* (ruler; see Molina 1977: folio 140v) + *calli* (house) = *Tlatocacalli* or "Ruler's House."
3. Sahagún 1950-1982 11:271.
4. *Ibid.* 11: plate 889 (1979 11: folio 241v).
5. From *caalli* (guest; see Andrews 1975:428) + *calli* (house) = *Caacalli* or "Guest House."
6. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:44.
7. See Anawalt 1990 and chapter 8 by Anawalt in volume 1 for information on the Colhuacan/Toltec heritage as reflected in the Aztec rulers' cloak of office.
8. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:43.
9. *Ibid.* From *tequihuacalli* (seasoned warrior) + *calli* (house) = *Tequihuacacalli* or "House of the Tequihua Warriors." For information on these valiant warriors, see page descriptions for folio 62r.
10. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:43. From Molina 1977: folio 87v "Quauhtli, aguilá" (eagle); thus *quauhtli* (eagle) + *calli* (house) = *Quauhcalli*, or "Eagle House." The *Quauhcalli* is named for the eagle warriors discussed in the page descriptions for folio 64r.
11. Coincidentally, *quauhcalli* ("wood house") is also the name given to the wooden cage used to house prisoners. See Sahagún 1950-1982 8:44; Molina 1977: folio 80r "Quauhcalli, jaula grande de palo, adonde estáu los presos por sus delictos" (large cage of wood, where the prisoners were for their crimes).
12. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:43.
13. The "Council House of War" instead may be the *Tepicalli* ("House of Nobles"), which Sahagún (*ibid.* 8:42) calls a "place of discussion" for "noblemen, the brave warriors, the valiant men, wise in war." From Molina 1977: folio 93v "Tepicalli, hidalgos" (person well born). Thus *tepicalli* (noble) + *calli* (house) = *Tepicalli* or "House of Nobles."
14. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:41-42.
15. Molina 1977: folio 120r "Tlacuitlan, en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante" (at the base, or at the feet of the trees, or of something similar). Stevens (1726) also defines *baxo* as being the lower floor in a house; this may therefore be a reference to the physical location of the high court chamber in the palace.
16. Sahagún 1950-1982 8:54.
17. *Ibid.* 6:245.

16. Borah 1983.
17. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:43. From *acbaucabtl* (constables) + *calli* (house) = *Acbaucabtl*, or “House of Constables.” For more information on the *acbaucabtl*, see the page descriptions for folio 65r.
18. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:44. From Molina 1977: folio 81r “Petlacalli. petaca a manera de arca que hazen de cañas texidas” (dumper/basket in the form of a chest which is made of woven reeds). The *Ateez* used these chests to store valuables; for more information, see the page descriptions for folio 70r.
19. Sahagún 1979 8: folio 28v (transcribed as *Calpicacalli* in Sahagún 1950–1982 8:44). From Molina 1977: folio 11v “Calpixqui. mayordomo” (major-domo). Thus *calpixqui* (major-domo) + *calli* (house) = *Calpicacalli*, or “House of the Major-domo.”
20. The *Texanacalli*, along with the *Calpicacalli*, are described by Sahagún (1950–1982 8:44) as the place where the major-domos and tribute gatherers assembled. *Codex Mendoza’s* folio 70r contains a depiction of a building identified as *Texanacalo*, which is also glossed as the “house where they assemble for public works.”
- Unfortunately, no satisfactory translation of the term *Texanacalli* has offered itself. Clark (1938 2:117; 3: folio 70r overleaf) transcribes this as *Tecbanacalo*, and defines it as “Public Works Dept.,” evidently following the Spanish gloss and commentary.
- Another possibility lies in the term *texamatl*, a type of paper made from the leaves of trees (Siméon 1963:487). “House of Paper” perhaps would be in keeping with the *Texanacalli’s* tribute gathering activities and the tribute tallies, of which *Matricula de Tributos* and the second part of *Codex Mendoza* are examples.
- See “Image Descriptions,” folio 70r, for additional discussion of the *Texanacalli*.
21. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:45. From Siméon 1963:247 “Micoat, Serpent nébuleux, tourbillon de vapeurs, phénomène atmosphérique connu sous le nom de *tornado*.—Divinité de la chasse, principalement vénérée chez les Otomis et les Chichimèques” (cloud serpent, whirlwind of vapors, atmospheric phenomenon known by the name of *tornado*; divinity of the chase, principally venerated by the Otomis and Chichimecs). Thus *micoatli* (cloud snake) + *calli* (house) = *Micoacalli*, or “Cloud-Snake House.”
22. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:45. From Molina 1977: folio 51v “Malli. captiuo en guerra, o captiuado” (war captive, or captured). Thus *malli* (captive) + *calli* (house) = *Makalli*, or “Captive House.”
23. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:44–45.
24. From Molina 1977: folio 93v “Tecutli. caullero, opricipal” (knight/gentleman, or chief); folio 27v “çuma. poner el ceño el que esta enojado” (for one who is angry to frown); folio 160v “Xocoyotl. hijo o hija menor o posterera” (younger or later son or daughter). Thus *mucama* (to frown in anger) + *tecabtl* (lord) + *xocoyotl* (younger son or daughter) + *tzin* (honorific) = Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, “One Who Frowns in Anger Like a Lord, the Younger” or more simply, “Angry Lord, the Younger.”
25. Sahagún 1950–1982 10:111.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* 12: plate 17 (1979 12: folio 10v) and passim.
28. Sahagún 1950–1982 12: plates 9, 11 (1979 12: folios 3r, 5r).
29. H. B. Nicholson: personal communication, June 1988.
30. Díaz del Castillo 1967 2:60.
31. Cortés (1971:109) states: “The palace inside the city in which he [Motecuhzoma] lived was so marvelous that it seems to me impossible to describe its excellence and grandeur. Therefore, I shall not attempt to describe it at all, save to say that in Spain there is nothing to compare with it.”
32. *Ibid.*:111.
33. *Ibid.*:111–112.
34. Díaz del Castillo 1967 2:61–62.
35. *Ibid.*:2:62–63.
36. See folios 65r and 67r “Content” sections for discussions of the Council of Four.
37. Díaz del Castillo 1967 2:63.
38. *Ibid.*:2:64.
39. *Ibid.*:2:63.
40. *Ibid.*:2:61.
41. Cortés 1971:111–112.
42. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:270. Also, Molina 1977: folio 93r “Tecpan calli. casas reales, o de gran señores” (royal houses, or houses of high lords).
43. Díaz del Castillo 1967 2:43.
44. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:270–271.
45. *Ibid.* 11: plate 888 (1979 11: folio 241v).
46. Sahagún 1950–1982 11:270.
47. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 5v, 10v, 13r, 17v, 32r, 34r, 36r, 37r.
48. For additional examples of the frieze design over the lintel of the doorway to the living quarters of Motecuhzoma on folio 69r, see Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 32; 2: plates 13, 48, 49; 6: plate 51; 8: plates 55, 66–68, 80, 84; 12: plates 23, 39, 44, 46, 51, 55, 69, 74, 89, 125–127 (1979 1: folio 22v; 2: folios 28r, 106v; 6: folio 214v; 8: folios 10v, 26r, 27r, 35v, 37r; 12: folios 14v, 23r, 26r, 29r, 30r, 33v, 36r, 42v, 58r, 58v).
49. Sahagún 1950–1982 8:45. From Molina 1977: folio 151r “Tototl. paxaro” (bird). Thus *tototl* (bird) + *calli* (house) = “Bird House,” no doubt so named because birds were one of the featured attractions.
50. Cortés 1971:109–111.
51. See Nicholson 1955 for an illustration of the Nuremberg map and a detailed discussion of Motecuhzoma’s zoo.

CONTENT

Folio 70r is concerned with the advice, warnings, and training given to youths in an attempt to make their futures productive. Also illustrated are seven bad examples, young people who have ignored the counsel of parents and elders. The commentary on folio 69v indicates that these wasteful lives are the result of idleness and self-indulgence.

Upper Register

The gloss in the center of the top register reads, "Father who counsels his son to be virtuous and not roam about as a vagabond." The youth is being urged to settle down and apply himself so as to achieve an honorable position in life. A desirable career is depicted to the left: an emperor's messenger holds his prestigious badges of office, a fan and staff. To the right, a singer-musician performs for another respected personage. Payments for the entertainer's service have been placed before him: a loincloth and cape, a basket full of tamales on a stand, a flower bouquet, and a smoking tube.

Sahagún confirms that the ruler rewarded his entertainers—including songwriters, composers, drummers, and dancers—with gifts of foods: tamales with beans, fruit, and turkey.¹ The friar also gives us a sense of the colorfulness and energy of the Aztec music and dancing. The impression is one of liveliness and intensity. Those who led the singing gave the pitch, some whistling with their fingers. The dance leaders urged the dancers on, directing them with trembling voices, while other musicians made noises like a weasel.²

Middle Register

The second section of folio 70r shows a "house where they assemble for public works,"³ in which sits a figure glossed *major-domo* and *Petlacacatl* ("Keeper of the Reed Coffers").⁴ According to the commentary on folio 69v, the two youths before him weep "because he has ordered them to perform personal services, represented by the digging sticks and baskets." These boys also receive stern advice on the fate which awaits those who do not apply themselves sensibly. This lesson is illustrated on the right, where idleness has led to vagabonding, inveterate ball-playing, destructive gambling, and thievery.

The first of the four bad examples is a vagabond whose hands and feet are sadly twisted and malformed. In Aztec society, where

everyone was expected to remain in place, hard at work, there was little tolerance for drifters. Not only was such a way of life unproductive but it was also potentially dangerous. Those who wandered abroad at night were in danger of falling victim to the Cihuapipiltin, the deified souls of women who had died in childbirth.⁵ The dreaded "Princesses" were known to harm men whom they found roaming aimlessly, particularly at crossroads:

They [the Cihuapipiltin] were angered by men; they tricked men. When someone was under their spell, he was possessed, his mouth was twisted, his face contorted, he lacked use of a hand, his feet were misshapen, his feet were deadened, his hand trembled, he foamed at the mouth.⁶

The second bad example is a ball player, skillfully bouncing a rubber ball off his hip as he plays the demanding game of *allamaliztli*.⁷ Taken in moderation, this lively sport carried no inherent connotations of evil or disrepute. Indeed, it was the pastime of Aztec lords and nobles, and even the ruler himself. The emperor had his own professional ball players on whom he regularly placed high stakes.⁸ The problem was that young men sometimes became addicted to the game to the exclusion of all else.

Directly below the ball player squats a gambler, absorbed in his game of *patolli*, which the gloss says "is like dice."⁹ To the side of the game's four bean "dice" is a cape, with two of its corners still knotted, as though it had been impulsively pulled off over the head. Considering the Aztec gamblers' reputation for complete commitment to their game, this cape may represent a desperate wager by the near-naked player.

Judging from Durán's account of *patolli* gamblers, they were often absorbed not only with the game but also with the accoutrements of their "craft." He tells of Indians who, with "a thousand loving words," cajoled the beans and mat to behave favorably and then set them in a place of worship. Food, drink, and incense were placed before these revered implements of the game. "When the ceremonial gift had been delivered, they [the gamblers] went off to play in the most carefree manner."¹⁰

Durán also tells of inveterate gamblers constantly going about with mats under their arms and their "dice" tied up in small cloths, everything at the ready. Such men were held to be "infamous and knavish people, idle, dishonest, vicious, enemies of honest toil." Parents advised their children to shun these gamblers, fearing the young might also become addicted to *patolli*. Durán claims

that even once-wealthy gamblers were invariably indigent, having staked everything on the game: jewels, precious stones, slaves, granaries, maguery fields, orchards, and, finally, even themselves. One, in the end, ruefully said, "I am not worried about the game but about getting out of it."¹¹

The fourth bad example is a thief: stealing is presented as the final resort of the self-indulgent. Sahagún tells of the decline of such a wastrel. He had lived dangerously, completely given over to ball playing and *patolli*. Having lost all his own possessions, he tried to deceive others into wagering with him. He went about clothed in rags and tatters, having "no bowl or jar." His obsession brought pain, misery, and suffering to everyone.¹² The thief on folio 70r may have turned to robbery because he was driven by such despair.

Sahagún, however, also presents the victims' side of theft: "[the victims] looked into . . . their coffers, woven reed containers, and palm leaf baskets. The bracelets, the green stone, and the quetzal feather mats . . . no more lay about. All was bare and laid waste."¹³ The about-to-be-pilfered coffer depicted here contains a woven fabric as well as two green stones strung on a red cord.

Lower Register

The remaining section of folio 70r contains five scenes of artisans teaching their trades to their sons. To the right of these virtuous vignettes are two examples of additional bad ends awaiting those who surrender themselves to idleness: gossip and drink.

The first of the artisan scenes has to do with carpentry. The father holds a section of a tree trunk in one hand and his ax in the other; splinters indicate that he is showing his son how to shape a piece of wood properly. Sahagún speaks of the difference between good and bad carpenters: a good worker is one who uses the plumb and cord to mark lines. He straightens the lumber, evens the edges, and planes them. Beams are polished, and their edges are matched. Lumber is properly cut into parts, and uprights are set in place. A good carpenter works carefully, sculpting the wood as well as carving and smoothing its surface.

In contrast, "the bad carpenter [is] one who breaks [the work] into pieces, who raises a clattering din; who is a nonchalant worker, a mocker; uncooperative, wasteful, squandering. . . . He dismembers [the work]—breaks it up. He forms crooked objects."¹⁴

The second father-son scene concerns a lapidary, who is using a piece of cane to polish a green stone. At the end of this jewel is a red and white flower, the Aztec symbol for that which is precious. Two additional green stones, strung on a red cord, lie on the ground below. In addition to cane tools such as this father holds, lapidaries used sand to shape and polish many types of precious stones, including "green stones; emerald-green jade; blue obsidian; the very smoky fine turquoise; the transparent, the herb-green, the deep green jewels of green stone."¹⁵ Sahagún characterizes a good lapidary as "an abradar, a polisher; one who works with sand; who glues [mosaic] with thick glue, . . . rubs [stones] with fine cane, makes them shine."¹⁶

The third of the artisan scenes shows a scribe instructing his son in the use of the painting tool. Thanks to Sahagún, we know how such scribes worked. These men were skilled with both ink and charcoal. The painters were trained in grinding and dissolving pigments, judging colors, creating shadows, and properly rendering the feet, face, and hair of humans. They also knew how to draw gardens, paint flowers, and create what Sahagún refers to as "works of art."¹⁷

The scribe of folio 70r paints a document that is drawn, appropriately, in red and black. These were the colors that represented the wisdom contained in the Aztec pictorial manuscripts. In an account of the early migrations of the Mexica—the future mighty Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico—Sahagún tells of the wise men who carried the ancient writings.¹⁸ He refers to "The Black, The Red of the Ancient Ones: This saying was said of the customs of the ancient ones—that which they left established, a way of life."¹⁹ Another metaphor states: "Their books, their paintings: This means the same as 'their black, their red.'²⁰

The gloss above the fourth artisan states that he is a "metal-worker," but the glyph that appears in his crucible identifies him specifically as a worker in gold. The goldsmith sits blowing into the brazier with a pipe so as to raise the temperature of the charcoal to melt the gold for casting. Sahagún describes this type of artisan as one who is "skilled of hand . . . a purifier [of gold]. . . . He beats out new designs; he melts, he pours [the gold]; he forms the charcoal [mold]; he casts, he liquefies [the gold]; he places [the heated mold] on the sand." Inept goldworkers, however, would let ashes swirl into the molten gold and ruin it. Also, dishonest craftsmen would sometimes steal portions of the gold with which they were working.²¹

According to Sahagún, those who fashioned gold were divided into two classes. Goldsmiths were employed only to beat and thin out the gold, then flatten it with a stone; it was the finishers who were considered the real master craftsmen.²²

The final artisan couple are featherworkers. Both father and son are busily preparing colorful feathers, perhaps for application on a back device, feather mosaic, or head ornament. The father holds a bone blade for gluing; his son works with a thick needle strung with maguery thread. Sahagún explains that feathers could be secured in place by either of these methods.²³ He also describes both good and bad artisans:

The good feather seller [is] a gentle worker—one who esteems [his wares], who is dedicated. He sells various feathers—precious feathers . . . fine green feathers, chili-green feathers, those curved at the tip, the feathers of young birds . . . [feathers of the] troupial, of the blue cotinga. The bad feather worker [is] a [fraudulent] embellisher of feathers, a treader of feathers with glue. He sells old, worn feathers, damaged feathers. He dyes feathers . . . which are faded, dirty, yellow, darkened, smoked.²⁴

Featherworkers constituted a particularly respected artisan guild centered at Amantlan, a distinct *barrio* within Tlatelolco. There they had their own temple for their patron deity, Coyotlnahual, an effigy beautifully adorned with gold and plumes. The detailed and magnificent work of these featherworkers was so respected by Sahagún's Indian informants that the friar devotes four chapters to detailing their craft and way of life.²⁵ Or perhaps the informants themselves were from Amantlan, hence this emphasis.

Returning to the bottom register of folio 70r, to the right of the artisan scenes appear depictions of two further sins that can grow out of idleness. The first is embodied by a gossip; the gloss reads, "Person with a vicious tongue, and a gossipier." The accompanying glyph is two snakes' heads. Sahagún, in a chapter where he examines the vicious and perverse in human behavior, places a gossip under the heading of "The Traitor": "[he] is a gossip. [He is] excitement, dung. He sows discord among people. He excites revolt, he causes turmoil. He makes one swallow falsehoods. He spits in one's mouth."²⁶

Those born under the day sign Nine Deer were believed to be prone to gossip; they were "discourteous, evil-spoken, great talkers, big-mouthed . . . belittling and depreciating others in their speech. . . . They were sowers of discord, of gossip . . . spreaders of tales."²⁷ Those born under Six Dog were, in addition, also slanderers: "On this one they loaded and heaped up gossip and bad repute . . . they spotted, ruined, sullied, smudged, and destroyed one's good reputation."²⁸

Further emphasizing the strong disapproval of loose and vindictive talk, Sahagún reports that an Aztec ruler counsels his son that if the boy could not ignore what was said, he should at least stay quiet and only listen. In short, he should not contribute to gossip.²⁹

The final vignette accountable to idleness is a pictorial parable of wickedness and dissolution. A couple sit on either side of a rumaged, looted woven coffer, each drinking *pulque*—note the diagnostic foam at the top of the cups. In front of this scene of wanton indulgence is an overturned container of *pulque*; tiny dots provide the clue to the potent liquid formerly within. Adjacent to the spilled *pulque* are a black bean and a grain of maize, tokens in games of chance or in divination.³⁰

Directly behind the imbibing woman is what appears to be a knotted rope; the accompanying gloss reads, "The vice of drunkenness leads to thieving." This nooselike object is the root of a plant, *quapatl*, that was often placed in *pulque* to make it more powerful. Motolinia speaks of the effect of such a root. Prior to its addition, the juice of the maguicy plant was light and sweet. However, *pulque* with the root in it, after cooking and fermentation, became somewhat thick and had a bad smell. Those who became drunk on such *pulque* were said to fare the worse for it.³¹

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

Messenger



messenger: *titlantli*³²

The messenger carries a fan and staff, the same symbols of an imperial mission shown on folio 66r. There are a total of thirteen fans depicted in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*.³³ In each case, the male who carries a fan also holds either a staff or an obsidian-studded lance.

Singer/Musician



singer: *cuciani*³⁴

musician: *cucamatini*³⁵

The quality of Aztec singers' and musicians' performances was an extremely serious matter. Sahagún, when describing entertainments of the ruler, tells of the tremendous pressure on performers not to make mistakes. If singers were off-key, drums played out of tune, chanters marred a song, or dance leaders misdirected a dance, the ruler had the erring one imprisoned. Such an unfortunate is reported subsequently to have been put to death.³⁶

Sahagún describes a good singer as one who uttered clear sounds in a full, well-modulated voice, perhaps in a falsetto. Such a performer could also compose music and had a large repertoire of songs. The bad singer, however, was hoarse with a harsh, dull voice. His grunts made one's ears ring. He was also restless and forgetful, a presumptuous, vain fellow who went about bragging.³⁷

Ground Drum

ground drum: *buehuetl*³⁸

The upright drum appearing on folio 70r has a jaguar-skin top and the arrowlike symbol for a rattle at its base. A similar drum, though with brown and gray curves representing stone, appears on folio 28r as the place glyph for Tehuchec, "On the Stone Drum."

Sahagún, when discussing the various ceremonies, mentions ground drums repeatedly.³⁹ Also, when he describes the *Mixcoacalli*—the area of the palace where the singers and dancers lived—he lists their instruments; among these is the ground drum.⁴⁰ The illustration accompanying this description shows a group of musicians performing; one plays a tall, standing drum identical to that of *Codex Mendoza's* folio 70r.⁴¹

Seler, in a discussion of musical instruments, describes the ground drum as a wooden cylinder covered with skin, which stands on carved feet, and is beaten with the knuckles of the hand.⁴²

Durán tells of a great drum that was in the temple of Quetzalcoatl, an instrument whose "voice" was so loud and hoarse that its sound was heard all over the city. It was beaten at sunset and again at dawn, and all those living in the city were said to have ordered their days by the sound of that venerable instrument.⁴³

Ground drums almost identical to that of folio 70r can be found in several of the other Aztec pictorials.⁴⁴ *Primeras Memoriales* also contains a depiction of a ground drum similar to the *buehuetl* of folio 70r; it appears on a back device.⁴⁵

Pottery Stand Holding a Basket of Tamales



Tamale baskets have already been discussed;⁴⁶ this depiction of a pottery stand supporting such a basket is the only occurrence in *Codex Mendoza*. Although Diaz del Castillo speaks of braziers warming Motecuhzoma's food,⁴⁷ it is doubtful that this stand contains smouldering charcoal to keep the tamales warm. A basket placed atop such an apparatus would quickly ignite.

Flower Bouquet



flower: *xochitl*⁴⁸

Flowers played an important role in Aztec life, not only as decorations for ceremonial events but also in each individual's life. Durán comments on the Aztecs' fondness for flowers:

They become the happiest people in the world smelling them, for these natives in general are most sensuous and pleasure loving. They find gladness and joy in spending the entire day smelling a little flower or a bouquet made of different kinds of flowers; their gifts are accompanied by them; they relieve the tediousness of journeys with flowers. To sum up, they find the smelling of flowers so comforting that they even starve off and manage to survive hunger by smelling them.⁴⁹

Durán also tells of a festival called the "Distribution of Flowers," a ceremony involving mutual invitations, costly banquets, the exchange of gifts and flowers, and much coming and going. The haughty lords, however, held themselves apart, remaining resplen-

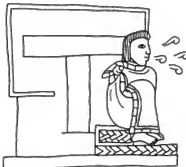
dantly aloof in their palaces. "They remained reclining upon their seats, surrounded by flowers, picking up one and laying it down, taking another and abandoning it, all this time exhibiting their high dignity and lordliness."¹⁰

As might be expected in a ritual-laden society that revered flowers, there was an established protocol for the presenting of bouquets. Sahagún describes the distribution of symbolic flower bouquets at the end of a merchant's banquet. A server would offer the "spear flower"—an elongated bouquet—and the round "shield" flower in such a manner that a guest would accept them in the hands that properly would hold a shield or spear in battle.¹¹ Here is yet another example of the pervasive influence of warfare on Aztec society.

Sahagún provides an accompanying illustration for the above description of the presenting of flowers. It gives a clear depiction of the two bouquets.¹² Unfortunately, the bouquet of folio 70r does not match either the "shield flower" or the "spear flower." Instead, the closest counterpart occurs in *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* held by a Texcoco lord who also carries a smoking tube and a very long arrow.¹³

Sahagún also provides an illustration of the making of flower bouquets,¹⁴ accompanied by a short text: "I make flowers. I form them to be extending, uneven, rounded, round bouquets of flowers."¹⁵

Flower bouquets are shown in both pre-Hispanic¹⁶ and post-Hispanic pictorials.¹⁷



House for Public Works

"House for Public Works":
*Texanacalo*¹⁸

The *Texanacalli*, along with the *Calpixcacalli*, is described by Sahagún as the dwelling of majordomos and tribute gatherers, where they assembled to await the command of the ruler and to administer his tribute. According to a steward's inventory meant death. His widow and children were then cast destitute from their home, for "all belonged to the ruler."¹⁹

Elsewhere Sahagún describes the *Calpixcacalli* as the "strong house to keep the lords' property: It is the house of the steward, or where the property of the ruler or of the city is guarded."²⁰

A related building, the *Petalacalo*, is described in an earlier paragraph in the *Florentine Codex* as the building in which food was stored. More than 2,000 measures of dried maize kernels were kept there in wooden grain bins, reportedly a twenty year supply for the city. Other bins contained dried beans, chia, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chia, coarse salt, chiles, and squash seeds.⁴¹ The bulk of this food supply presumably was collected as tribute. This link between the two buildings' functions could account for the presence on folio 70r of the *Petalacalatl*, or "Keeper of the Storehouse,"⁴² seated before the *Texanacalli*. Note that this official is also glossed "majordomo."

Carrying Basket



carrying basket: *buacalli*⁴³

This type of carrying basket, apparently worn over the shoulder, seldom appears in other Aztec pictorials. However, the *Florentine Codex* does contain two examples. The first shows a woman emptying corn from such a bas-

ket into a bin.⁴⁴ The other depiction of this type of basket appears in a drawing illustrating a discussion of the collection of volcanic earth.⁴⁵

The Aztecs, whose animistic beliefs imbued inanimate objects with conscious spirits, yearly performed a ritual in gratitude to their tools, which had served them well and faithfully. Durán relates that during the month of Etzalcualiztli ("Eating of *Etzalli* [cooked maize and beans]"), a ceremony was held to afford a much-needed rest to agricultural implements: rumples, digging sticks, baskets, carrying boards, and cords used to tie bundles. On the day of this particular feast, all these items were placed on a special platform in a farmer's home and thanked for their help in the fields and on the road. Food, *pulque*, and incense were then offered to the tools, as well as "a thousand salaams, salutations, and speeches. This rite was called *Repose of the Servile Implements*."⁴⁶

Vagabond



vagabond: *çannennemqui*⁴⁷

The Aztec sources make almost no mention of vagabonds; the identity of the figure on folio 70r was deduced from his misshapen limbs. As a heedless wanderer, this unfortunate youth must have encountered the vindictive Cihuapiltin goddesses. On the special occasions when these so-called "Princesses" were most likely to descend, children were carefully shut away in the houses in order to protect them. Those unlucky enough to incur the wrath of these vengeful deities might thenceforth suffer a variety of maladies: twisted lips, a shrunken mouth, crossed eyes, or weakened vision. One might also go insane and even foam at the mouth as if possessed by a devil, or "have withered, twisted arms; or be lame."⁴⁸

Ball Player



ball player: *ollamani*⁴⁹

The ball game known as *ollamaliztli* was played throughout Mexico, both in "illustrious, civilized, and powerful cities" and in smaller towns. Durán reports that in the larger communities, the lords stressed the game "inordinately."⁵⁰ Sahagún confirms the nobles' passion for the game and describes the high gambling stakes involved.⁵¹ He also reports that the lords used the sport to pacify the populace. If the common folk seemed fretful, a diverting ball game was ordered to be played. During such a contest all manner of bets were placed; even the poor people wagered their lowly maguey-fiber cloaks.⁵²

Sahagún describes the ball court, *tlachtli*, as being shaped like a capital *I* laid on its side. Tall walls bounded the court, which had a line drawn down the center. On either side, set high into each wall, was a stone ring. A player scored in this game by propelling the hard rubber ball through the small opening of the opposing team's ring.⁵³

Durán also discusses the size and shape of the ball courts, stating that they were narrow in the middle and wide at the ends; the many corners added to the excitement of a game involving a constantly rebounding rubber ball.⁵⁴ He states that the walls that encircled the court were from eight to eleven feet in height.⁵⁵

Durán further comments on the ball itself, stating that it was as large as a small bowling ball and made of *allin* (rubber),⁵⁶ which the Spaniards called *batei*. It was the resin "of a certain tree."⁵⁷ When cooked, this sap became stringy. The resulting material was much

esteemed and prized by the Mexican people and was used both as medicine and religious offering. As for the lively ball itself, "Jumping and bouncing are its qualities, upward and downward, to and fro. It can exhaust the pursuer running after it before he can catch up with it."⁷⁷ In another context, Durán explains that the word for rubber means "bounce," and likens it to a nerve.⁷⁸ Obviously, rubber was ideal for use in the ball game.

When one played *ollamalitzli*, the point was to use only the buttocks and knees in moving the ball around, never to touch it with hand, foot, calf, or arm. Durán reports that some of the players were so skillful that they could play for an hour without ever allowing the ball to touch the ground.⁷⁹ Durán goes on to describe the ball players' equipment. Over the loincloths they wore a short deerskin garment to protect their thighs from being scratched by the stuccoed floor of the court as they dropped to their knees for difficult maneuvers. They also wore gloves so as not to injure their hands when supporting themselves against the ground.⁸⁰ Note the protected hands of the player on folio 70r.

Durán, describing how dangerous playing in a ball game could be, mentions a move reminiscent of the posture of the folio 70r player:

On seeing the ball come at them, at the moment that it was about to touch the floor, they [the players] were so quick in turning their knees or buttocks to the ball that they returned it with an extraordinary swiftness. With this bouncing back and forth they suffered terrible injuries on their knees or thighs so that the haunches of those who made use of these tricks were frequently so bruised that those spots had to be opened with a small blade, whereupon the blood which had clotted there because of the blows of the ball was squeezed out.⁸¹

There are depictions of *tlachtli* and rubber balls in both the pre-Hispanic⁸² and post-Conquest codices.⁸³ The Aztec province of Tlaxtepec, located in the hot and temperate countries of the Gulf coast, sent among their annual tribute "sixteen thousand round balls of rubber [*óli*], which is the gum of trees, and when the balls are thrown on the ground they bounce very high."⁸⁴

Patolli Player

patolli: *patolli*⁸⁵

Patolli was a simple race game; the winning player was the one first able to move his six counters completely through the prescribed course of squares.⁸⁶ However, according to Sa-

hagún, the game was not without the promise of high drama. If, in the course of play, a participant threw the "dice" beans in such a way as to make one of them stand on its side, it was regarded as a great event. The lucky thrower then won all the costly goods wagered on the game, whether or not his opponent had the opportunity to make his moves.⁸⁷

Durán also reports on *patolli*, calling it the "game of the mat." He likens it to pachisi or backgammon.⁸⁸ He describes the playing mat as having an X painted on it with liquid rubber. Within the arms of the X, lines were drawn so as to form squares. Twelve pebbles—red and blue—were used in these compartments. Bets were made on the player who could best handle the dice, which were five or six black beans, each of which had a number painted on it.⁸⁹ This game invariably drew a large crowd. Onlookers and gamblers pressed against each other around the mat, some waiting to play, others to place bets.⁹⁰



Codex Magliabecchiano contains an excellent illustration of a game of *patolli* being overseen by the god Macuilxochitl. The design of the mat, the drawn squares, and four bean "dice" are all clearly evident.⁹¹



Thief

thief: *ichtequi*⁹²

Sahagún describes a thief as

poor, miserable, useless, full of affliction, undone, niggardly, hungry . . . gluttonous, corrupt, prying. He makes plans, spies, breaks through the walls of one's house,

fishes things out with his hand. He pants; his heart flutters. He slavers; his mouth waters.⁹³

Sahagún tells of thieves who bewitch the sleeping occupants of a household through the use of a special magic power contained in the severed arm of a woman who died in childbirth.⁹⁴ These intruders, after eating, drinking, and having their way with the paralyzed inhabitants, entered the owners' storerooms. There they bundled up all the capes, large cotton blankets, greenstone, gold, and other articles of value. All these treasures were laden onto the thieves' backs, and they then furtively stole away.⁹⁵ Two drawings illustrate this story. The first shows the thieves robbing the house; in the second they stealthily depart with their ill-gotten gains.⁹⁶

Reed Coffers

reed coffer: *petlacalli*⁹⁷

The Aztec receptacle for storing valuables was a woven reed coffer. Appropriately, the term for this container appears as a metaphor in formal speeches. For example, a dignitary praising the ruler to the inhabitants of the city says: "The coffer, the reed chest, is opened; thou hast seen that there lie inert, lie folded the store of the governed, the secrets, and the commandments of our lords."⁹⁸

Such chests often held precious personal mementos of important occasions. For example, Sahagún tells of the merchant who attained the honorable position of making a "bathed slave" available for human sacrifice. As long as the merchant lived he zealously guarded his reed box, because it contained the sacred raiment of his sacrificed offering. In addition to the victim's cape and loincloth, all the hair from the crown of the slave's head was carefully stored in the owner's *petlacalli*. So valuable were these precious objects that at the time of this merchant's death, they were burned together with his mummy bundle.⁹⁹

The folio 70r scene of the thief pilfering the reed coffer has an exact counterpart in the *Mapa Quimatzin*.¹⁰⁰

Carpenter

carpenter: *quanxhiqui*¹⁰¹

Aztec carpenters made use of a variety of woods, including fir, pine, cypress, and cedar. The construction of a house or larger building called for a variety of lumber ranging from thick foundation beams to uprights, floor joists, pillars, doors, and specially treated wood for certain façades. In addition to axes and awls, carpenters went about their work using wooden levers, pointed stakes, and other simple tools. With these implements they trimmed out felled trees into boards, drilled holes in planks, and honed wood for sieve rims so thin they trembled.¹⁰²

Carpenters also fashioned tribute items. The Aztec province of



Quahuacan every eighty days sent finished lumber—1,200 large beams, 1,200 broad beams, and 1,200 narrow pillars—as part of its imperial tribute.¹⁰³



Lapidary

lapidary: *stlatequi*¹⁰⁴

The work of the Aztec lapidaries was highly prized and carefully guarded, as is evident in many of Sahagún's accounts. For example, he tells of distinguished traders and vanguard merchants displaying precious items they usually kept hidden. Listed are round and cylindrical objects made of both ordinary and resplendent greenstone as well as large and small pieces of turquoise.¹⁰⁵

Allusions to jewelry appear repeatedly in metaphors. For example, guests at a gathering to view a newborn baby speak of their high esteem for the little one in terms of valued jewels: "We shall love him like a precious necklace or a precious stone bracelet."¹⁰⁶ The Aztecs evoked this same terminology when they spoke of the day signs: "[We have] assembled, [the day signs], as if they were a necklace, a bracelet. Here like a precious necklace or bracelet, with paintings, we have strung and threaded them together."¹⁰⁷ Similar metaphors also appear in the words of an Aztec prayer, alluding to the new day: "It hath become day: The precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise have been cast, have been perforated."¹⁰⁸

The search for deposits of precious stones was sometimes initially frustrating. Some of these minerals were found only as embedded sections of a "mother stone," not apparent at first glance. According to Sahagún, people located other highly valued minerals by going out early in the morning and watching carefully for a smokelike column of vapor that certain precious stones were said to emit. Some prospectors studied the surrounding foliage for clues; it was believed that the presence of greenstone caused the surrounding growth itself to be greener. Although certain stones were sought out at ground level, others were mined, such as turquoise, amber, rock crystal, obsidian, flint, mirror stone, jet, and bloodstone.¹⁰⁹

Sahagún also provides information on the kinds of sands used by lapidaries when working precious jewels. Emery, pulverized lead, pyrite, pulverized mirror stone, and flint sand served as grinders to clean, polish, and scour the gems.¹¹⁰

There are a number of illustrations in the Aztec pictorials of green stones strung on red cords, very similar to those of folio 70r.¹¹¹

In addition to gemstones, certain seashells were used for personal adornment.¹¹²

Codex Painter

codex painter: *tlacuilo*¹¹³

Durán provides a description of Aztec pictorial documents and the way in which they were used. He refers to the painted symbols and how this indigenous picture writing was recorded in "books and on long papers." Durán speaks particularly of the pictorial native histories, which included "memorable events in war, victories, famines and plagues, prosperous and adverse times."¹¹⁴

The codices were used in a variety of ways and contexts. When a baby was born, soothsayers consulted the appropriate book to determine the infant's day sign.¹¹⁵ As children grew older, parents urged them to learn to read the painted documents.¹¹⁶ Temple



school included lessons in divine songs that were recorded in the pictorial manuscripts.¹¹⁷ Judges consulted judicial books and kept careful records of court proceedings in them during trials.¹¹⁸ The codices further served as almanacs, telling farmers when to sow and harvest,¹¹⁹ as a way of keeping tribute records,¹²⁰ and also as maps, histories, and genealogies. In addition, Durán mentions pictorial documents being compiled at the time of a marriage to detail the property of the couple in the event of a divorce.¹²¹

Motolinia lists five types of subject matter contained in the codices. The first dealt with years and time, the second with the days and yearly festivals, the third with the Indians' dreams and auguries. The fourth type of codex was devoted to the baptism and naming of children; the fifth contained ritual matters and prognostications for marriages.¹²²

Commenting on the material from which the post-Conquest codices were made, Sahagún states that the paper seller was also the paper beater who "sells coarse paper, bark paper, maguey fiber paper."¹²³ Motolinia also comments on the Indians' paper. He says the best was made from the maguey plant; such sheets were used throughout New Spain. According to this friar, much of the Colonial native paper production took place in Tlaxcala.¹²⁴

Information on the sources of the colors used by the Aztec painters can be found in Sahagún. He starts his list with cochineal, the tiny red insect that grows on the nopal cactus, and differentiates between its three shades of red. Light red was also derived from the blossoms of a tropical plant. Blue was obtained from the blossom of an herb. Fine yellow, the friar states, came from a plant called the "flower which dyes." Light yellow was derived from a climbing vine that came from the hot lands. A number of colors were made by combining tree bark, fruit of trees, shrubs, herbs, and ground-up stones. Black "is the smoke of pine pitchwood, the lampblack." It was used for dyeing, tracing, and blending.¹²⁵

Sahagún also describes those "colors which are only manufactured." Dark green was created by adding blue to yellow. Brown was made through mixing cochineal and alum. Herb-green resulted from a combination of a little green and a little dark yellow. *Huitzteculli*, "thorn charcoal," a blackish-brown, was carbonized, brownish brazilwood. A tawny color was achieved by soaking Spanish moss and adding a little mud, called *palli*. "*Tlapalli*," says Sahagún, "is the collective term for all the different colors—the clear, the good, the fine, the precious, the wonderful."¹²⁶

Goldworker

goldworker: *cuztic teocuitlapitzqui*¹²⁷

Tenochtitlan received a regular supply of gold from the provinces. For example, the yearly tribute from Tlapan included twenty bowls of gold dust, each containing approximately two handfuls, and ten tablets of gold.¹²⁸ Each of the latter was four fingers wide, three-quarters of a *vara* (2.78 feet)¹²⁹ long, and the thickness of vellum.

Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians did not have to mine for gold; the rivers provided the precious metal in the form of grains and nuggets of varying sizes. The Indians panned the river sands and sometimes found gold "as big as grains of maize." "The name of this gold, the yellow, the white [silver]—its name comes from *teotl* [god] and *cuitlatl* [excrement], because it is wonderful, yellow, good, fine, precious."¹³⁰

After the gold was culled from the rivers and the sand washed away, the metal was melted, cast, and hammered out into sheets to



create jewelry, vessels, and other articles. In order to “make things beautiful . . . make things give off rays,” gold sprays and rubs were also used on certain objects.¹³¹

Sahagún provides a drawing of gold casting much like that shown on folio 70r.¹³² The friar’s illustration accompanies a lengthy section describing the multistep preparation of clay molds into which molten gold was poured in the “Lost Wax” process.¹³³

Scenes of goldsmiths raising the heat in their braziers by blowing onto the coals through long tubes, as in folio 70r, occur in another Aztec pictorial.¹³⁴ Depictions of braziers used for other aspects of goldworking also appear.¹³⁵

Within the folio 70r goldsmith’s brazier is the glyph for gold. This same symbol occurs in other Aztec pictorials, worn as a pectoral by deity impersonators and as an indicator of the wealth of a dead merchant.¹³⁶

Featherworker

featherworker: *amantecatli*¹³⁷

According to Sahagún, the precious multi-colored feathers that decorated the Aztecs’ magnificent costumes of prestige and power were not imported into highland Tenochtitlan until the reign of the emperor Ahuitzotl (1486–1502). Prior to that time, more sub-

dued feathers had been used, such as those of the local heron and duck. It was the vanguard merchants, those intrepid travelers to the distant “hot lands,” who made the feathers of tropical birds available. Only during the reign of Motecuhzoma II (1502–1520) were the most valued of all the plumes said to have arrived, those of the quetzal bird. This luxury import was supposedly the result of Aztec excursions into the Xoconochco area of the Pacific coast, far to the south, where the elusive bird makes its home in the high cloud forests of Guatemala and Central America. It was also during the second Motecuhzoma’s reign that the highly skilled featherworkers were “housed separately,” in their own barrio. These were the revered, skilled artisans who “painted with feathers.”¹³⁸

Sahagún’s long and detailed description of how feathers were crafted into works of art reflects the high value placed on the skill that created these prestigious items. The initial step in constructing a feather object was creating the pattern, which was painted by a scribe. Then began the multistage process of creating a transparent, glue-hardened foundation strong enough to receive the feathers. A smooth maguey leaf was chosen as the form on which to create this base. Glue was applied, and then a spider-web-thin piece of corded cotton was placed over the maguey leaf. When this cotton had dried, it was removed, positioned over the original design, traced, reglued, redried, and placed onto a piece of coarse paper. This could then be cut out in the desired shape. Only at this point was the base finally ready to receive feathers.

Feathers could be applied in either of two methods: by gluing or by binding in place with a piece of maguey thread. Both methods are illustrated in folio 70r. In the gluing process, common feathers were first dyed the desired colors for the background of the design. Alum and saltpeter were added to the dye pot to serve as mordants. These dyed feathers were next treated with glue so as to make them stiff and strong. They then could be applied to the cutout design, forming the base on which the exotic and costly precious tropical feathers were very carefully attached, using a glue prepared by the children who assisted the featherworkers.

Applying feathers with maguey thread was necessary when mak-

ing such items as fans, feather bracelets, back devices, and warrior shirts, the *ebuatl*. This method involved tying a noose around the midpoint of each feather in order to secure it in place. Sahagún describes the process in great detail for the most highly valued of feathers, the blue-green quetzal.¹³⁹ He also enumerates the great range of multicolored feathers used in the warrior devices. He claims that all these insignia were made of nothing but precious feathers: quetzal, troupial, red spoonbill, yellow parrot, trogon, blue cotinga, and hummingbird.¹⁴⁰ The friar also enumerates the tools used to work feathers: a copper scalpel, a bone blade for gluing, painting tools, a paint dish, and a wooden cutting board.¹⁴¹ He makes it clear that women, as well as men, served as featherworkers.¹⁴²

An instructive set of drawings showing the various stages of feather handiwork accompanies Sahagún’s detailed discussion of featherworkers.¹⁴³

Durán states that there was a sumptuary law that prohibited the wearing of feather articles—referred to as “the Shadow of the Lords and Kings”—without the permission of the sovereign.¹⁴⁴ The working of feathers was a task so highly honored that it was performed by Aztec nobles as well as professional artisans. In a passage from Sahagún, a ruler advises his son to pay attention to the art of featherworking, so that “in time of suffering, when misery dominateth, [the artisanship] will be a rampart, a buttress, [so that] there is food, there is drink.”¹⁴⁵ This sound counsel is not restricted to the ruler’s son; he gives the same advice to his daughter.¹⁴⁶

Gossiper

gossiper (“two-headed-snake gossip”):

*maqizcoatl cbiqumoli*¹⁴⁷



The gossiper is unusual in *Codex Mendoza* from two standpoints. First, aside from the military and official apparel depicted on folios 64r, 65r, 66r, 67r, and 70r, his is the only cloak that has a design motif on its border. In addition, the gossip on this folio and the thief on the subsequent folio 71r are the only two “bad-example” depictions to have explanatory glyphs attached to their heads. In the rest of the ethnographic section, glyphs have been restricted to the titles of dignitaries.¹⁴⁸

Pulque-Enhancer Root

pulque-enhancer root: *quapatli* or *ocpatli*¹⁴⁹



To the right of the drunken couple, directly behind the woman, is a two-strand, knotted “rope.” This is the root *quapatli*, an enhancer to augment the potency of wine.¹⁵⁰

It is also depicted on folio 23r of *Codex Mendoza*, poking out of a pulque bowl as an element in the place glyph for Ocpayucan, “Place Full of *Ocpatli*.”

The root, drawn in the “knotted rope” manner of folio 70r, appears in scenes of ritual drinking in the cognate pictorials *Codex Magliabecchiano*¹⁵¹ and *Codex Tudela*.¹⁵² In the latter depiction, one of the three depicted roots already has been thrust into the pulque vat.

This same root, again looking like a two-strand knotted rope, appears twice in the Aztec ritual pictorial *Codex Borbonicus*. The pulque goddess, *Mayahuel*, holds it in her right hand as she is shown emerging from a maguey plant.¹⁵³ It is also in a scene where the goddess *Tlazolteotl* is giving birth.¹⁵⁴ The emerging baby holds a strand of the root in each hand, one skin looped over the other. Perhaps the root was used to mitigate the pains of childbirth.

Sahagún describes a potent ceremonial drink that possibly was augmented *pulque*. It was given to sacrificial victims in order to ensure their cooperation, and perhaps also to spare them pain. Slaves about to be sacrificed were taken to the temple of Huitzilopochtli and provided with a drink called *it-patlactli* (obsidian medicine).¹¹⁵ After drinking this, the slaves acted as though they had imbibed a great deal of *pulque*. As a result, "no longer did they bring them [the slaves] carefully."¹¹⁶

Durán also refers to an addition to *pulque*: "native [Mexican] wine came from the honey water of the maguey plant with the root inside."¹¹⁷ He makes other references to potent drinks. For example, in describing an unarmed captive about to participate in the gladiatorial sacrifice of Tlacaxipehualiztli, he tells of the victim's being forced to drink *Teocitli*, "Divine Wine."¹¹⁸ In a footnote to this passage, Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden point out that Durán mentions such augmented "wines" more than once, but always in connection with men about to endure a terrible fate. They comment that numerous drugs were common to ancient Mexico, among them peyote and the "divine mushroom," which produced ecstasy and wild dreams.¹¹⁹

Sahagún describes the effects of hallucinogenic mushrooms, *nanacatl*, which were often served with honey at the end of banquets.¹²⁰ When the mushrooms took effect, some guests began to dance, while others wept. Visions began. Some saw themselves die in battle, others witnessed their own bodies being eaten by wild beasts. Certain guests envisioned being taken captive in war, becoming rich, buying slaves, or committing adultery and then dying by stoning. "However many things were to befall one, he then saw all in vision; even that he would be drowned."¹²¹

Jimson weed, *tlapatli*, was another hallucinogenic used by the Aztecs.¹²² Sahagún's informants report that when someone behaved in a dazed or unruly manner, panting and beating his breast, people would accuse him of acting strangely because he had been taking jimson weed.¹²³

NOTES

- Sahagún 1950–1982 4:26.
- Ibid.
- This building is also glossed "texamcalco" (*texamcalli*), the house where tribute collectors and majordomos assembled to administer the tributes (Sahagún 1950–1982 8:44). For more information on this section of the palace complex, see folio 69r.
- Petlacalcatl*. Molina 1977: folio 81r "Petlacalli. petaca a manera de arca que hazen de cañas texidas" (trunk like a coffer that they make from woven canes). Thus *petlacalli* (reed coffer) + *catli* (signifying affiliation) = *Petlacalcatl* or "Keeper of the Reed Coffers." *Petlacalcatl* may be a term synonymous with *calpasqui* (majordomo), or it may be a specific title conferred upon that official, or it may be a related post.
- For more information on the Cihuapitpitin, see folios 57r and 64r.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 1:71–72.
- Molina 1977: folio 76r "Ollama. jugar a la pelota con las nalgas" (to play ball with the buttocks); "Ollamaliztli. juego de pelota desta manera. f. el acto de jugar" (ball game [played] in this manner; the act of playing).
- Sahagún (1950–1982 8:29), when describing the game, calls it *tlachtli*. This term usually refers to the court in which the game is played (H. B. Nicholson, personal communication, June 1988). See also Molina 1977: folio 117r "Tlachtli. juego de pelota con las nalgas. f. el el lugar donde juegan assi" (ball game [played] with the buttocks, the place where they play this).
- Sahagún 1950–1982 8:29, 38.
- Molina 1977: folio 80r "Patolli. dados para jugar, o juego de fortuna" (dice for playing, or game of chance).
- Durán 1971: 104.
- Ibid.:305.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 4:94.
- Ibid.: 4:105.
- Ibid.: 10:27.

- Ibid.: 10:60.
- Ibid.: 10:26.
- Ibid.: 10:28.
- Ibid.: 10:190.
- Ibid.: 6:258.
- Ibid.: 6:259.
- Ibid.: 10:25–26.
- Ibid.: 9:69.
- Ibid.: 9:92.
- Ibid.: 10:61.
- Ibid.: 9:83–97.
- Ibid.: 10:38.
- Ibid.: 4:50–51.
- Ibid.: 4:73.
- Ibid.: 6:122.
- Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 78r contains a scene of a woman casting black beans and kernels of maize such as these for divination. Black beans were also the "dice" used in the game of *patolli*.
- Motolinia 1971:32.
- Molina 1977: folio 113v "Titlantli. mensajero, o embaxador" (messenger, or ambassador).
- See *Codex Mendoza*: folios 66r, 67r, 68r, 70r for fan depictions.
- Molina 1977: folio 26v "Cuicani. cantor" (singer).
- Simeón 1963:121 "Cuicamatini, Musicien, celui qui sait ou apprend la musique" (musician, one who knows or learns music).
- Sahagún 1950–1982 8:56.
- Ibid.: 10:28–29.
- Molina 1977: folio 157r "C'ueuti. atabal" (kettledrum).
- Seler (1960–1961 2:700) distinguishes between two types of kettledrums, or *buehuelt*: the larger *tlaplan buehuelt*, which stood on the ground, and a smaller version that was held under the arm or between the legs. While Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún 1950–1982 *passim*) translate *buehuelt* as "ground drum," they define *tlaplan buehuelt* as "upright drum" (ibid.: 2:75). The drum pictured on folio 70r would appear to be this latter type of kettledrum.
- From Molina 1977: folio 124v "Tlalpan. en el suelo" (on the ground). Thus *tlaplan* (on the ground) + *buehuelt* (kettledrum) = *tlaplan buehuelt*, or "kettledrum on the ground."
- For examples of the ground drum being mentioned in regard to ceremonies, see Sahagún 1950–1982 2:75, 101, 110; 4:26, 8:49, 56; 9:37; 10:169, 176.
- Ibid.: 8:45.
- Ibid.: 8: plate 69, 70 (1979 8: folios 28r, 30r).
- Seler 1960–1961 2:677.
- Durán 1971:134.
- For examples of ground drums very similar to that of folio 70r, see *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:4, 26, 28, 33; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 72r, 82r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folios 55r, 66r; Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 27 (1979 1: folio 6r).
- Primeros Memoriales* 1926: *estampa* XXIV.
- For a description of tamale baskets, see "Image Descriptions," folio 61r.
- Diaz del Castillo 1967 2:61.
- Molina 1977: folio 160r "Xochitl. rosa, o flor" (rose, or flower).
- Durán 1971:238.
- Ibid.:434–435.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 9:34. Anderson and Dibble identify the "shield flower" as most probably *Helianthus annuus* and "stick flower" as *Plumeria rubra* (ibid.: notes 7, 8).
- For a description of a similar ceremony involving smoking tubes, see "Image Descriptions," folio 68r.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 9: plate 28 (1979 9: folio 28r).
- Codex Ixtlixochitl* 1976: folio 105r.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 11: plates 740–742 (1979 11: folios 198v, 199r).
- Ibid.: 11:214–215.
- For examples of flower bouquets in pre-Hispanic pictorials, see *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* 1971:30, 32; *Codex Laud* 1966:5; and *Codex Borgia* 1976:17.
- For examples of flower bouquets in post-Hispanic pictorials, see *Codex Borbonicus* 1974:4–5; *Codex Ixtlixochitl* 1976: folios 107r, 108r; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 60r; Sahagún 1950–1982 2: plates 7, 24, 39; 3: plate 19, 4: plates 26, 86–88, 90; 9: plates 29, 30, 36; 11: plates 740–742 (1979 2: folios 20v, 49r, 104r; 3: folio 33v; 4: folios 24v, 69r, 69v; 9: folios 28v, 29v, 36r; 11: folios 198v, 199r); Durán 1971: plates 10, 25.
- See folio 69r "Image Descriptions," note 20.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 8:44.
- Ibid.: 11:272.
- Ibid.: 8:44.

62. See note 4.
63. Molina 1977: folio 154r "Vacalli. angarillas para lleuar carga en las espaldas" (panniers for carrying cargo on the back or shoulders).
64. Sahagún 1950-1982 4: plate 101 (1979 4: folio 72v).
65. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: plate 861 (1979 11: folio 229v).
66. Durán 1971: 431-432.
67. Molina 1977: folio 14v "cannennemini [sic]. vagamundo"; "cannennemini. idem." (vagamundo).
68. Sahagún 1950-1982 4: 81.
69. Molina 1977: folio 76r "Ollama. jugar a la pelota con las nalgas" (to play ball with the buttocks); "Ollamani. jugador tal" (such a player).
70. Durán 1971: 314.
71. Sahagún 1950-1982 8: 29.
72. *Ibid.*: 8: 58.
73. *Ibid.*: 8: 29.
74. Durán (1967 1: *lámina* 33) gives a clear illustration of the *stachli*.
75. Durán 1971: 314.
76. Also, Molina 1977: folio 76r "Olli. cierto goma de arboles medicinal, de que hazen pelotas para jugar con las nalgas" (certain medicinal tree gum, of which they made balls for playing with the buttocks).
77. Durán 1971: 316.
78. *Ibid.*: 417.
79. *Ibid.*: 313.
80. *Ibid.*: 315.
81. *Ibid.*: 316.
82. For examples of *stachli* and rubber balls in the pre-Hispanic codices, see *Codex Borja* 1976: 21, 62 (an exceptionally fine illustration occurs on page 62) and *Codex Féjérsáry-Mayer* 1971: 29 (a gloved hand of a ball player also is shown here).
83. For examples of *stachli* and rubber balls in post-Hispanic codices, see *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 19; *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 80r; and *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 67r; Sahagún 1950-1982 8: 91 (1979 8: folio 42v).
84. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 45v, 46r.
85. Molina 1977: folio 80r "Patolli. dados para jugar, o juego de fortuna" (dice for playing, or game of chance).
86. Kendall 1980: 6.
87. Sahagún 1950-1982 8: 30.
88. For a discussion of the parallels between *patolli* and pachisi, see Durán 1971: 302, note 2.
89. Durán 1967 1: *lámina* 31 is an excellent depiction of the game of *patolli* being played. See also Sahagún 1950-1982 8: 63 (1979 8: folio 19r).
90. Durán 1971: 302-303.
91. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 60r.
92. Molina 1977: folio 32v "Ichtecqui. ladrón" (thief).
- An executed thief appears on folio 71r; see that page's "Image Descriptions" and chapter 7 by Berdan in volume 1 for a discussion of his identifying glyph.
93. Sahagún 1950-1982 10: 38-39.
94. See folio 64r description, note 7 for a discussion of the need to protect the funeral procession and grave of a woman who died in childbirth from marauders seeking such talismans.
95. Sahagún 1950-1982 4: 103.
96. *Ibid.*: 4: plates 75, 76 (1979 4: folio 60v).
97. Molina 1977: folio 81r "Petacalli. petlaca a manera de arca que hazen de cañas texidas" (trunk like a coffer which they make from woven canes).
98. Sahagún 1950-1982 6: 79.
99. *Ibid.*: 9: 67.
100. Offner 1982: 146 (*Mapa Quinarzin*, leaf 3).
101. Molina 1977: folio 87v "Quauhquin. carpintero" (carpenter).
102. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 114-116.
103. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 32r.
104. Molina 1977: folio 134v "Tlatecqui. lapidario que labra piedras preciosas" (lapidary who works precious stones).
105. Sahagún 1950-1982 4: 45-46.
106. *Ibid.*: 4: 114.
107. *Ibid.*: 4: 133.
108. *Ibid.*: 6: 17.
109. *Ibid.*: 11: 221-230. For more information on precious stones, see Berdan 1987b. *Chalchihuitl* or jadeite and its column of vapor are discussed under the description for the province of Tepequacuilco (folios 36v-37r), this volume.
110. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 237-238.
111. For examples of green stones strung on red cords, similar to those of folio 70r, see *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 68r; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1964-1967: folio 34r; *Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 77r; Sahagún 1950-1982 4: plates 26, 75-76; 8: plates 62, 63, 96; 9: plates 2, 3, 17, 26; 10: plates 112, 116, 117 (1979 4: folios 24v, 60v; 8: folios 13r, 19r, 50v; 9: summary page verso, folios 18r, 26v; 10: folios 41r, 43v).
112. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 230-231. For examples of seashells as ornamentation, see *Codex Mendoza*: folios 63r, 64r, 67r.
113. Molina 1977: folio 120r "Tlacuilo. escriuano, o pintor" (scribe, or painter).
114. Durán 1971: 395-396.
115. Sahagún 1950-1982 6: 197.
116. *Ibid.*: 6: 215.
117. *Ibid.*: 3: 67.
118. *Ibid.*: 8: 55.
119. *Ibid.*: 10: 42.
120. *Codex Mendoza*: folios 19r-55r and its cognate *Matricula de Tributis* are two examples of tribute records.
121. Durán 1971: 124.
122. Motolinía 1971: 5.
123. Sahagún 1950-1982 10: 78.
124. Motolinía 1971: 365.
125. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 239-245.
126. *Ibid.*: 11: 239-245.
127. Molina 1977: folio 27v "Cuztic teocuitlapitzqui. platero que labra oro" (smith who works gold).
128. *Codex Mendoza*: folio 39r.
129. Clark 1938 1: 74, note 11.
130. Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 233-234.
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid.*: 9: plate 62 (1979 9: folio 53v).
133. *Ibid.*: 9: 73-78.
134. For examples of goldsmiths blowing into their braziers through long tubes, see Sahagún 1950-1982 10: plate 33; 11: plate 793 (1979 10: folio 16r; 11: folio 213r).
135. For examples of braziers used for other aspects of the working of gold, see Sahagún 1950-1982 9: plates 46, 63 (1979 9: folios 51r, 53v).
136. For examples of the gold glyph in other Aztec pictorialis, see *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folios 36r, 55r, 68r; *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 59r; *Codex Ixtitlacuilli* 1976: folio 104v.
137. Molina 1977: folio 4v "Amantecat. oficial de arte mecanica" (handicraftsman of mechanical arts).
138. Sahagún 1950-1982 9: 89-93.
139. *Ibid.*: 9: 93-97.
140. *Ibid.*: 9: 89.
141. *Ibid.*: 9: 91.
142. *Ibid.*: 9: 88.
143. *Ibid.*: 9: plates 77-110 (1979 9: folios 61r-67r).
144. Durán 1971: 200.
145. Sahagún 1950-1982 6: 90.
146. *Ibid.*: 6: 96.
147. Molina 1977: folio 52v "Maquicoatli chiquimoli. chismero, o malsin" (gossip, or talebearer). From *ibid.*: folio 52r "Maquicoatli. culebra de dos cabezas" (snake with two heads); 21r "Chiquimolin. chismero" (gossip). Thus, *maquicoatli* (snake with two heads) + *chiquimolin* (gossip) = *maquicoatli chiquimoli*, or "two-headed-snake gossip."
148. For examples of glyphs as the titles of dignitaries in the ethnographic section of *Codex Mendoza*, see folios 65r, 66r, 68r.
149. Hernández 1959 2: 119-120.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *Codex Magliabechiano* 1970: folio 85r.
152. *Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 70r.
153. *Codex Borbonicus* 1974: 8.
154. *Ibid.*: 13.
155. Sahagún 1950-1982 9: 63 "itzapatlactli"; "obsidian medicine" (Anderson and Dibble translation).
156. Sahagún 1950-1982 9: 63.
157. Durán 1971: 310.
158. *Ibid.*: 178.
159. *Ibid.*: 178, note 9.
160. Molina 1977: folio 62v "Nanacatl. hongro" (mushroom).
- See Sahagún 1950-1982 11: 130 for a description of the uses and effects of hallucinogenic mushrooms.
161. Sahagún 1950-1982 9: 39.
162. *Ibid.*: 11: 147 "Tlapati, "Toloca."
163. *Ibid.*: 6: 253.

CONTENT

The final folio of *Codex Mendoza*, 71r, portrays the resolution of eight lives. It contrasts the many rewards awaiting a respected, deserving old couple with the tragic, early death of young people who lived heedlessly, violating the strict Aztec code of discipline, diligence, and duty.

Register 1

Six individuals appear in register 1. All will be or have been executed; note that three have closed eyes. Before the mouths of three of these young people are *pulque* bowls. Each container has the *yacameztli pulque*-god symbol on its side and the foam of the brew at the top. These unfortunates were obviously victims of drink. The glosses above the figures confirm their vice, stating that all became intoxicated with "wine" and died for it "according to their laws and customs."

Sahagún's Aztec informants, when describing the lamentable day sign Two Rabbit, say a person born under its influence did nothing but drink "like a pig." A drunkard's whole day—Sahagún informs us—was dedicated to drink, from the moment he awoke to the time he fell into a drunken stupor on the street. Food, rest, personal appearance, family, self-respect, health, all were forgotten in his constant preoccupation with *pulque*. He reached a point where the type or quality of what he drank no longer mattered:

And he did not bother about it [the *pulque*], nor abhor it, nor become distressed nor nauseated by it even though it were only the dregs, which indeed were like spoiled clots, with dirt, or full of gnats—full of filth and rubbish. So he swallowed it, sucked it in, and gulped it. Like a dog he licked his lips.¹

Both the drunkard's appearance and his behavior were disconcerting: he took no heed of his increasing overindulgence, sometimes falling headfirst in the street. He sometimes "went wallowing in ordure." His debauched face became red or blanched, his hair tangled, uncombed, twisted, and matted. No attempt was made to comb or arrange it.² The heavy drinker also became a constant nuisance in public. He went about shouting things not fit to be repeated, haranguing others, and boasting, until he fell exhausted, "consumed by pain and affliction."³

Returning to the young drunkards on folio 71r, the initial figure is a commoner—note his state of near-nakedness—who fell victim

to drink. Perhaps this young man led a life like that of Sahagún's "Lewd Youth," who went about drinking crude wine until he consumed "his inner substance."⁴

The clothed figure below the seminaked commoner may be a noble youth, but his high birth provided no immunity from the ravages of drink. Sahagún acknowledges this vulnerability when he describes a typical bad noble: "a fool, irresponsible, presumptuous, evil in his talk, crazy, perverted. . . . He becomes drunk; he is rude; he goes about telling tales; he becomes addicted to drunkenness; he molests people. He goes about mocking; he goes about drunk."⁵

The third victim of drink is a woman. Gender obviously was no barrier to such indulgence. Judging by her red-bordered clothing and blue earplugs, this female is of the upper class. Sahagún describes such a "bad" noblewoman as vain, petty, constantly drinking, rude, and a teller of tales.⁶

These three demonstrate that anyone might fall victim to *pulque*. However, this does not deny that the fermented drink also had a positive role in the society. Indeed, among the Aztecs, the drinking of *pulque* was not a crime if done on the appropriate occasions. At certain ceremonial or ritual events, it was even required.⁷ Everyone drank at the time of selected religious festivals; *pulque* was even given to tiny children.⁸ The state's problem was restricting the populace to drinking only on the proper occasions. This must have been a very real challenge, because there are repeated references to making public examples of those caught surreptitiously imbibing. For example, Motolinia speaks not only of punishing drunkards by displaying them in the marketplace but also of taking away their homes because they were not worthy to mingle with their neighbors.⁹

Sahagún puts the case even more dramatically, describing the public executions of persons convicted of unlawful drinking. The condemned were brought out in the evening, before the gathered throng, with their wrists bound together. The constables placed them in the middle of the marketplace, where the high judges admonished all present. "They spoke about pulque, which no youth was to drink. . . . And when this was done . . . Motecuhzoma's slayers, his executioners, struck the backs of each [of the criminals'] heads."¹⁰

Returning to folio 71r, the fourth executed wrongdoer is a thief, identified as such by the glyph drawn above his head.¹¹ As the gloss states, the thief has been killed by stoning; note the five large stones surrounding his body. Sahagún confirms this punishment, repeatedly referring to stoning as the fate of thieves. For example,

a guest at a banquet, while under the influence of hallucinogenic mushrooms, has a vision of his own head being crushed by stones as punishment for stealing.¹¹ In another instance, thieves who had danced with a dead woman's forearm so as to bewitch people and rob them were named "struck-by-stones" (*tetzotzonme*)¹² in reference to their eventual execution by stoning.¹⁴ In contrast, Motolinia states that thieves were hanged.¹⁵

The final execution scene shows two adulterers under a blanket. Although there is a stone behind each head, the couple still have their eyes open; apparently the execution has not yet taken place. The gloss reads: "These two figures lying down and covered with a cloth denote that he who had carnal relations with a married woman, they killed them by stoning, according to the laws of the lords of Mexico."¹⁶

Sahagún contains repeated references to adultery. For example, a male adulterer was "one who seized other skirts and blouses, one who remained on female naves."¹⁸ An adulteress is described in even harsher terms: "[She merits] laughter, ridicule, sneers, mockery. She is nameless, fameless—[as if] dead, deceased. [She is] a bearer of bastards, an aborter. No one deals with her. She commits adultery. . . . She cheats, deceives, blinds [her husband]."¹⁷

Motolinia makes it clear that a married man could have relations with an unmarried woman and it was not considered adultery, but if the woman involved was married—and the act discovered—no matter what the man's status, prior exemplary life, or influential connections, both he and the woman would be executed for their crime. He cites a famous case of a Tlaxcalan high-born noble, brother of Maxixcain—one of the four leaders of Tlaxcala—who was tried by his peers, found guilty, and killed for his adulterous indiscretion.¹⁹

Adultery was held to be particularly serious for the nobility. Extramarital relations threatened the bonds of marriages arranged with particular thought to established bloodlines and the continuation of political alliances. To cloud the issues of ancestry and inheritance of offspring was to threaten a major purpose of the marriage tie.

The dire consequences of adultery are reflected in the advice given by a noble mother to her daughter: "My youngest one, dove, if thou art to live on earth, do not know two men." She warns her daughter that should such an act be discovered, the girl's head would be crushed by a stone and her body dragged on the road.¹⁹ Durán reports that a male could receive the same severe punishment for this offense. If a man was caught in adultery, he was stoned, a rope was placed around his neck, and he was dragged throughout the entire community. His body was then cast outside the city to be eaten by wild beasts.²⁰

According to Sahagún, adultery was not limited to the young or middle-aged. He relates the interesting example of "a decrepit old man, white-headed" whose repressed early years led to a carnally adventurous later life. He also tells of the case of two lively old women who were imprisoned because they had betrayed their spouses with young priests. When asked by the ruler why they felt they still required "the carnal act," the women replied:

"Ye men, ye are sluggish, ye are depleted, ye have ruined yourselves impetuously. It is all gone. There is no more. There is nothing to be desired. But of this, we who are women, we are not the sluggish ones. In us is a cave, a gurge, whose only function is to await that which is given, whose only function is to receive. And of this, if thou hast become impotent, if thou no longer arousest anything, what other purpose wilt thou serve?"²¹

Sahagún does not report the outcome of these two intriguing cases.

Register 2

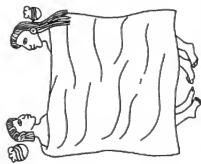
The remainder of folio 71r is devoted to one of the principal joys of Aztec old age: the privilege of unrestricted drinking. Sahagún confirms this custom of long-awaited indulgence, stating that it was the prerogative only of those who had already raised their families.²²

At the top of register 2 are ten small blue dots and three larger round turquoise mosaics. Each of the latter has a banner, denoting the number 20; together, these counters total seventy. This depiction, together with the scene of the elderly couple enjoying *pulque*, illustrates the statement of the two accompanying glosses: only after the age of seventy, and only if a couple had successfully raised a family, could old people indulge themselves in drink. Here the old man and his wife are shown being spoken to and waited on by grandchildren. Note that the young girls still wear their hair long, in the style of unmarried maidens.

The grandfather has a wreath about his head and holds a large flower bouquet. The gloss reads, "An old man seventy years old had permission, in public as well as in private, to drink wine and become intoxicated, on account of being at such an age and having children and grandchildren; because of his age he was not forbidden drinking and intoxication." He appears to be singing loudly, judging by the curve and size of his speech glyph.

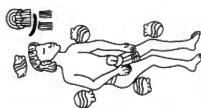
On the bottom register, two aged women are in conversation. The accompanying gloss reads, "The old wife of the old man drawn above who, for the same reason, had the privilege and freedom to become intoxicated like her husband, and because she had children and grandchildren. To all those of like age, intoxication was not forbidden." The first old woman is holding a cup of *pulque* and appears to need the ministrations of her grandchildren, who reach out helping hands. Her aged companion seems to be equally devoted to such indulgence. She approaches the large, brimming container with a gesture of either assistance for her friend or supplication to the *pulque* gods. These venerable matrons are obviously reaping the reward for a hardworking and responsible life.

IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS



Adulterers

adulterer: *retlaxinqui*²³
The same symbol for adultery, a man and a woman under a blanket, appears in *Codex Vaticanus A*²⁴ and *Codex Borgia*.²⁵ Pictorial depictions of the punishment of adulterers by stoning also appear in *Mapa Quinatzin*²⁶ and *Codex*



Thief

thief: *icbtcequi*²⁹
The thief's profession is represented phonetically by an obsidian blade (*itzli*) cutting a lock of hair (*tequi*, to cut).²⁹ Other than

the titles of dignitaries, this identification glyph and that of the gossip on folio 70r are the only two such notations in the ethnographic section.

For a detailed discussion of the activities of thieves in the Aztec world, see folio 70r.

Banner



banner: *quachpamiltl*¹⁰

In the Aztec counting system, the symbol for 20 was a banner. Hence, when a banner is attached to an object that image is multiplied by twenty.

Turquoise Mosaic Disk

turquoise mosaic disk (year): *xibuitl*¹¹

The Nahuatl word for turquoise, *xibuitl*, also means year. When a banner is attached to the disk, twenty years are indicated, an example of the phonetic aspect of the Aztec writing system.

Codex Mendoza contains depictions of similar turquoise mosaic disks in the tribute list from the Aztec province of Tluchpa, located on the Gulf coast.¹²

Green Wreath Head Ornament

wreath head ornament: *icpacxochitl*¹³

The old man of folio 71r wears a green wreath of what appears to be interwoven plant material. A similar wreath is worn by the god Ixtlilton, "Little Black-Face."¹⁴

This fertility deity was connected with solar warmth, flowers, feasting, and pleasure;¹⁵ the elderly *pulque* drinker of *Codex*



Mendoza appears to be enjoying just such rewards after a long, judicious, and responsible life.

NOTES

- Sahagún 1950–1982 4:11.
- Ibid.
- Ibid. 4:12.
- Ibid. 10:37.
- Ibid. 10:16.
- Ibid. 10:50.
- For more information on ceremonial *pulque* drinking, see folio 61r.
- Every fourth year, *pulque* was given to children at the annual Izcalli *teotoma* festival (Sahagún 1950–1982 2:169).
- Motolinía 1971:362.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 2:106.
- See "Image Descriptions" for an explanation of the thief's glyph.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 9:39.
- Ibid. 4:105–106 "teetzotzonme." From Molina 1977: folio 111v "Tetzotzona. dar golpes con piedra" (to strike blows with stone).
- Sahagún 1950–1982 4:105–106.
- Motolinía 1971:357.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 4:5.
- Ibid. 10:56.
- Motolinía 1971:321.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 6:102.
- Durán 1971:96.
- Sahagún 1950–1982 6:118–119.
- Ibid. 2:106.
- Ibid. 10:56 "tetlaxinqui." Also, Molina 1977: folio 110r "Tetlaxinqui. adultero"; "Tetlaximani. adultero"; 102r "Tepanyani. adultero"; "Tepanyanqui. idem" (adulterer).
- Codex Vaticanus A* 1979: folio 12v.
- Codex Borgia* 1976:9.
- Offner 1982:146–147 (*Mapa Quinatzin*, leaf 3).
- Codex Tudela* 1980: folio 61r.
- Molina 1977: folio 32v "Ichtecqui. ladrón" (thief).
- Siméon 1963:187 "Iztzli, Obsidienne ou fragments d'obsidienne servant de couteaux, de rasoirs, de lancettes, de flèches, de miroirs, etc." (obsidian or obsidian fragments serving as knives, razors, darts, arrows, mirrors, etc.); Molina 1977: folio 105r "Tequi. cortar algo" (to cut something).
- See chapter 7 by Berdan in volume 1 for a discussion of this identifying glyph.
- Molina 1977: folio 84r "Quachpamiltl. estandarte, vanderá, o pendón" (standard, banner, or pennant).
- Molina 1977: folio 159v "Xiuiltl. año, cometa, turquesa e yerua" (year, comet, turquoise, and grass).
- Codex Mendoza*: folio 52r.
- Molina 1977: folio 33v "Icpacxochitl. guirnalda de flores para la cabeza" (wreath of flowers for the head).
- Sahagún 1950–1982 1: plate 16 (1979 1: folio 11v).
- Nicholson 1971b: table 3.

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Folio 67r: Preparations for an Attack; High-Ranking Warriors in Battle Attire
Folio 71v: Life's End: Punishments and Rewards

A. Illegit cosmographie
du Lou.

numero de dms. 11.

7



colhuacan. pueblo.

tenochyucan. pueblo.





tequixquiac / 20ⁿ



chimalzpozauca



esta pintura de
lo selo, flebas
significan que
220 6

chalcoo / 20ⁿ



x. 20ⁿ

estas cabezas significan
como personas mexicanas
que fueron muertos por
los de Chalcoo.



esta figura signi fican la
ponte selos naturales
de los de chalcoo
se rebelaron contra
los mexicanos Injien
los selos en quebraza
les quatro canoas
con la piedra q' tiene
en las manos / 2 mas
como personas q' m a
fueron en la q' flebas
don



thatiluloo. ꝑũ



athapulco. ꝑũ



xolathulco. ꝑũ



ystu mentos
se g'ueca



capulaac. ꝑũ



metepoc. ꝑũ



thacotepoc. ꝑũ



cooyacac. ꝑũ



quank'omoyem. ꝑũ



mtaco de mtes. > 11.

xochiacan. ꝑũ



teotenanco. ꝑũ



caliyamayem. ꝑũ



simantepoc. ꝑũ





numero de casas. 267.

çitlaltotec: çn



quanhtochoo: çn



çonçameo: çn



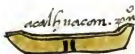
çaltocan: çn



tlacatectli: çn



çteçocan: çn



çoatitlan: çn



çuixachtitlan: çn



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çolnahuac: çn



çouipitlan: çn



çtactlan: çn



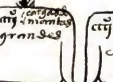
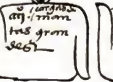
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petlacalatl.



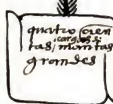
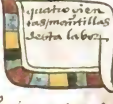
quantu... ien has... /cc... /m... /ta labor



axa hcom. pu



yopico. pu



tepe hcaloo. pu



una pieza de armas de... /ta... /en... /plumas... /ficca



una pieza de armas de... /ta... /en... /plumas... /ficca



tecolaxcom. pu



tepech pam. pu



una pieza de armas de... /ta... /en... /plumas... /ficca



una pieza de armas de... /ta... /en... /plumas... /ficca



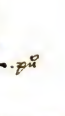
tequamecom. pu



huiclopuchoo. pu



colhuacincoco. pu





chilapom. xpi



chilapom. xpi



huizaco. xpi



huizaco. xpi



huizaco. xpi



huizaco. xpi



huizaco. xpi



chilapom. xpi



chilapom. xpi



1 corgas de
atq. matas
seora



atq. corgas

1 corgas de
atq. mantas
seora



atq. corgas

1 corgas de
atq. mantas
seora



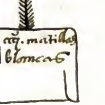
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atq. mantas
seora



atq. corgas

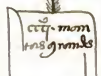
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blancas



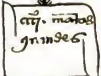
una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba

1. huizaco. xpi



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba



una pieza de ormas de
lomas fijas de
seora Simba

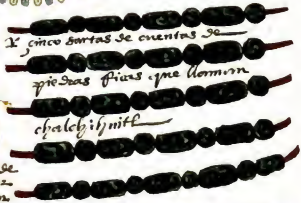
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de
huizaco. xpi



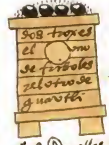
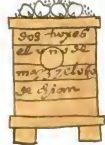
atq. xicaras



atq. xicaras



1. cinco sartas de cuentas de
piezas fijas que llaman
chalechihitl



atq. xicaras
de
huizaco. xpi

atq. xicaras
de
huizaco. xpi



1. huizaco. xpi

atq. xicaras
de
huizaco. xpi

atq. xicaras
de
huizaco. xpi



tochtotecpiti



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



agnas. pi



Una pican de armadillo de plumas blancas y de colores verdes y amarillos. Se llama el diuñen de la pafrao.



una faja de la se de color verde y amarillo



cu. m. fajas de color verde y amarillo



cu. con gas de mata cas sus labuz



otra titlan/pi



cochama lozpa. pi



micham. pi



micham. pi



yoza in tepac. pi



micham. pi



teotitlan. pi



ximiltepec. pi



exitlan. pi



tajinam, oxtoc. pi



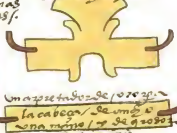
toxtoc. pi



Una faja de la se de plumas blancas y amarillos



Una pin de mata de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



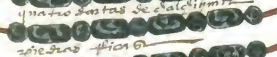
haspieno



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



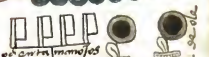
una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



seca de apitl



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



que se usa para



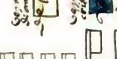
una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



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una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



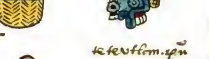
una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



una pican de nubes de color verde y amarillo



noconochco. qn

och qamz hti

Ena hilita

tlax xipeh maliz hti



Los ornos de ephale hmiti / qpidras frias



atq. monojos de
apimales
br-ss
LES.

atq. monojos
de apimales
crifos los dds.

atq. monojos
de apimales
br-ss.

atq. monojos
de apimales
br-ss.

atq. monojos
de apimales
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de apimales
br-ss.

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de apimales
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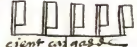
ayotlam. qn



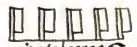
Un bote de embudo
de un
cargos de
cacao



macatlan. qn



bornte qn les de
figza



Genio qn ioles
de figza.



acapeh thampn



atq. tecomates de
seorra con
benen cacao.



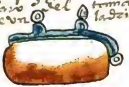
atq. tecomates de
seorra con
benen cacao.



hnebructim. qn



Una pica grande de embaz
cavo de sel toman
la d'zillo.



Una pica grande de embaz
cavo de sel toman
la d'zillo.



tuch: xpa. xpi



tuch: xpa. xpi



cih: nontex: xpi



xpa: xpi



ogelotex: xpi



niagna: xpa. xpi



mictom: xpi



at: corgas de matras de la buz



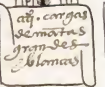
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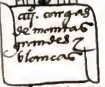
at: corgas de max: tlatl g: xpa: xpi



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



lax: corgas de matras de la buz



lax: corgas de matras de la buz



lax: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



at: corgas de matras de la buz



una pieza de xpa: de plumas fijas: de la buz



una pieza de xpa: de plumas fijas: de la buz



xx: talca de xpa: de la buz



una faja de xpa: de la buz



una faja de xpa: de la buz



dos piezas de xpa: de la buz

una pieza de xpa: de la buz

dos xpa: de la buz



Solus, onza p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
 signi fia. onza
 m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 castigando dondell p[ro]mo
 m[un]dos con xij. ab

Sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 xij. ab
 castigando p[ro]mo
 a. m. de los m[un]dos con
 xij. ab

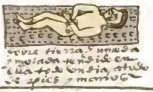
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 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a

xij. ab

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab



esta p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
 la p[ro]p[ri]a

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 de m[un]do con
 sus m[un]dos



xij. ab

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 con castigando
 p[ro]mo



con castigando
 p[ro]mo

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 con castigando
 p[ro]mo



xij. ab

m. de los m[un]dos
 sust[en]ta p[ro]p[ri]a



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 con castigando
 p[ro]mo



una tilla y media
 m[un]do de. xij. ab
 con castigando
 p[ro]mo



l'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
l'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
l'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
l'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
l'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar



me' m'ra. n'ra
b'ra. g'ra. n'ra.



al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar



al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar



2

m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con
al'p'm. m'bia' m'nguar / scitit' como con
m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con



scitit' como con
scitit' como con
scitit' como con



m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con
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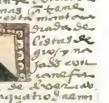
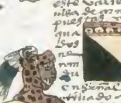
m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con
m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con
m'ndon f'rigu / scitit' como con



el robe de tecti' f'rigu f'rigu
el robe de tecti' f'rigu f'rigu
el robe de tecti' f'rigu f'rigu



este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia



3

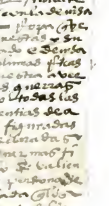


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este valiente con la denia

este valiente con la denia
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este valiente con la denia

este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia

4



este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia

este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia

este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia
este valiente con la denia

alfarqui / Genla guerra cas
hino lunene nigo.



el mismo alfarqui se
... las para el autibudo
... enemigos en la guerra se
... la de esta de
... de esta de



el mismo alfarqui de otras
... de autibudo en la guerra
... en la guerra de
... de esta de
... de esta de



el mismo alfarqui de esta
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de



el mismo alfarqui de otras
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de



el mismo alfarqui de otras
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de
... de esta de



quatinochli.
xerita



tilomalim.
xerita



tenpomeatl.
xerita



legguinacatl.
xerita



Estos quatro
de esta guerra
de esta guerra
de esta guerra
de esta guerra

hadeyucatl.
xerita



tezeconcati.
xerita



tiocoyucatl.
xerita



tovaltecatl.
xerita



Estos quatro
de esta guerra
de esta guerra
de esta guerra
de esta guerra

tequihua



tequihua



tequihua



tequihua



tianguis



esta particula es el fin del uso de otras con plaga de guerra para ser hebreo al ser no de mas las figuras de los tequihua significa ser cubierto de...
esta es la casa de los tequihua...
esta es la casa de los tequihua...
esta es la casa de los tequihua...

17

tequihua



tequihua



tequihua



tequihua



esto mas son vasallos de la caque



mexican

fosela flegas



El estilo q' osco es interpretacion de lo figurado en
 esta historia dupla el letor / por que no se dio lugar
 al interpretador de ningun lugar / como cosa
 no acordada y pensada de enter p'cto a los de
 profetas / Anzi m' smo en donde son nombrados
 alfaqui mayor / y alfaqui novicio fue / na d' vez
 tenien del interpretador p'ncipales nombres que
 son moyses / ase de entender / por el alfaqui
 mayor / sacerdote mayor / y por el novicio / sa
 cerdote novicio / y donde son nombrados diez q'nta
 ase de entender por templos / diez dias antes
 de la partida de la flota se dio al interpretador
 esta historia ya que la interpretase / el qual
 desahido fue de los yndios que acordaron tarde
 y como cosa se corriga no se tubo q'into en el lecto
 lo convenia interpretarse / y se dio lugar por
 que se sacara en limpio limando los vocablos
 y orden que convenga / y avn que las ynterpre
 taciones son toscas no sea de tener nota q'nia la
 sustancia de las aclaraciones lo que significan las
 figuras / las quales son bien declaradas por ser
 como es el interpretador de la buena lengua
 mexicana

+ THEOPHILUS.
 1553

~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~

VOLUME 4

Pictorial Parallel Image Replicas
of *Codex Mendoza*

with Transcriptions and Translations
of the Spanish Commentaries
and
Translations of the Spanish Glosses



FOLIO iir

ms. fo
Historia mexicana Hispanica cum
figuris. quasi hierogly-
phicis./

See Purchas's Pilgrims
Lib. v. cap. vii. p. 1066.
(1625) I.1.3. Art. Seld.

Mexican Hispanic History with
quasi-hieroglyphic figures.

FOLIO iiv

d. youreselfe in gold rydinge to
londen y^e 7th of september 1587 / v^t

Comiença la ystoria y fundaçion de la çibdad de mexico fundada E poblada por los mexicanos que en aquella sazón se nonbrauan meçiti / los quales el origen que tubieron de ser señores y de sus hechos y vidas / breue y sumariamente En esta ystoria se declara / segun que por las pinturas e figuras susçesiuamente van significadas /

En el año de mill y trezientos y veinte y quatro años despues del aduenimiento de nuestro señor y saluador Jesu Christo /. los mexicanos llegaron Al asiento de la çibdad de mexico /. y como les quadrase el espacio y asiento della despues de aver muchos años peregrinado en su viaje de tierras en tierras / y en algunas dellas aver hecho paradas por algunos años Aviendo partido de lexos tierra /. en la prosecucion de su viaje no ayendoles contentado en las paradas que avian hecho / Aportaron al lugar de mexico /. En la qual sazón estava todo anegado de agua con grandes matorrales de Anea que llaman tuli' / y carrizales muy grandes a manera de bosques / tenia en todo el espacio del asiento vna encruçijada de agua limpia y desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales / la qual encruçijada era a manera de aspa de sant andres segun que en lo figurado haze demonstraçion /. y casi al Riñon y medio del espacio y encruçijada hallaron los meçiti vna piedra grande o peña florida ençima yn tnal grande en donde yn agula caudal tenia su manida y pasto segun que en el espacio del estava poblado de guesos de aves y muchas plumas de diuersas colores /. y como todo el asiento obiesen andado y paseado y le hallasen fertil y abundante de caças de aves y pescados y cosas mariscas con que se poder sustentar y aprouechar en sus grangerias / entre los pueblos comarcanos /. y por el Reparó de las aguas que no les pudiesen sus vezinos enp(ecer / y por otras cosas y causas determinaron en su peregrinacion no pasar adelante /. y ansi determynados de hecho se hizieron fuertes tomando por murallas y cerca las aguas y emboscadas de los rales y carrizales /. y dando principio e origen de su asiento y poblacion fue determinado por ellos nombrar y dar titulo el lugar llamandole tenuchtitlan / por Razon y causa del tnal produçion sobre piedra /. porque tenuchtitlan ynterpretado en nuestro castellano dize tnal produçido sobre piedra /. El exerçito mexicano truxo por caudillos diez personas nonbradas /. oçelopan / quapan / Acaçitli / Ahuexotl / tenuch / teçineuh / xomimitl / xocoyol / xiuhecaquin / Atototl / que ansi mysmo en lo figurado hazen demonstraçion /. los quales Aviendo / hecho su asiento Eligieron por cabeça y señor A tenuch /. para que los governase como persona espeçial para ello y en quien concurrían partes y abilidad para exerçer señoría /. y los demas caudillos que fuesen como fueron sus hazedores y capitanes de la demas jente popular /. y en el discurso de su poblacion Aviendo pasado algunos años y multiplicando su jente /. Ansi mysmo fue nonbrada la çibdad / mexico /. Nonbrado / y deriuado de los mexicanos /. nonbrandose lugar e asiento de mexicanos /. y como la jente se obiese en algo aumentado / como jente osada y belicosa dieron principio a sus animos en preualear sobre sus vezinos /. y ansi por fuerça de armas lo manifestaron en que sometieron por sus vasallos y tributarios / a dos pueblos comarcanos de mexico nonbrados colhuacan / y

Here begins the history of the city of Mexico, founded and populated by the Mexicans, who in that time called themselves Mexicans [meçiti]. This history relates, briefly and in summary, how they came to be lords, and their deeds and lives, as the following pictures and figures demonstrate.

In the year 1324 after the coming of our lord and savior Jesus Christ, the Mexicans arrived at the site of the city of Mexico, and since they liked the space and site after having wandered for many years in their journey from place to place, in some of which they had stopped for some years, having left from a distant land. In the course of their journey, having not been content with any of the stops they had made, they arrived at the site of Mexico.

At that time all [the region] was inundated with water, with immense thickets of rushes that they called *tuli*,¹ and extensive marshes like forests. The entire site had a crossway that was of clear water, and was free of the thickets and marshes. The crossway was in the form of Saint Andrew's cross, as the drawing shows. And almost at the center and middle of the site and crossway the Mexicans [meçiti] found a great stone or rocky hill, on top of which flourished a large prickly pear cactus, where a red-tailed eagle had its acric and feeding ground; and the area was covered with bones of birds and many feathers of diverse colors.

And since they explored the entire region and found it fertile and full of game birds, fish, and shellfish with which they could sustain themselves and profit in their trading with nearby towns, and because the water [provided] a defense [so] that their neighbors could not harm them, and for other reasons, they determined not to proceed further in their journey. And with this determined, they strengthened their position using the waters for walls and fences, and reeds and marshes for ambushes. And to inaugurate the foundation of their settlement they decided to give the site a name, calling it Tenochtitlan [tenuchtitlan] because of the prickly pear cactus growing on the stone, for Tenochtitlan means, in our Castilian, "prickly pear cactus growing on a stone."

The Mexican army chose for its captains [caudillos] ten persons named Oçelopan, Quapan, Acaçitli, Ahuexotl, Tenuch, Teçineuh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xiuhecaquin, and Atototl, who are likewise shown in the drawings. These, having agreed together, elected Tenuch as head and lord [señor], so that he should govern them, since he was a person especially gifted with leadership abilities. And the remaining captains were responsible for supervision of the rest of the populace.

In the course of some years, the inhabitants were multiplying and so the city was named Mexico, a name derived from the Mexicans, naming it the place and site of the Mexicans. And as the people had developed as daring and warlike, they gave vent to their spirit by overcoming their neighbors. Thus by force of arms they manifested (their power) by subjecting as vassals and tributaries two towns near Mexico called Colhuacan and

1. In Nahuatl, *tollm* or *tullm*.

2. John Selden's motto, written in Greek.

tenayucan / que así mismo parece y haze demostración por lo figurado / lo qual paso en el discurso del señorío de tenuch /. que fueron çinquenta y vn años / y al Remate dellos / murio /.

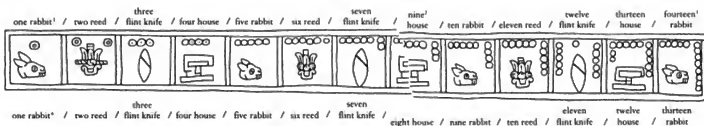
lo figurado de azul en los margines desta ystoria / cada vna casita o apartado significa vn año / y son el numero de años y bidas que tuvieron los señores de mexico / y para que abiertamente y clara de entienda / lo figurado y la cuenta y nombres de los años es que en los puntos de cada vn apartado contavan por el punto primero numerando hasta llegar a treze puntos / y de allí delante tornaban a dar principio en su cuenta A vn punto y susçesiuamente yban discurrendo hasta llegar a los treze puntos / avnque en los apartados y casitas estan diuersas figuras /. pero la principal cuenta es la de los puntos /. y avnque haze poco al caso en lo que cada vn apartado o casita los nombres de los años que nonbravan y ponian en lo del numero del primer punto hasta los treze puntos / para que se entienda se haze aqui por si señal y demostración de los nombres con sus ynterpretaciones para dar nota al lector /.

en la orden y Regla de los apartados o casitas numeradas por años / en la casita donde pende vn Ramo con su pie y a manera de flor / significa año aziago fortuyto que los mexicanos tenian y temian / diciendo que sus antepasados de tiempo ynmemorial les avian dexado aviso que en los tales años que susçedian de çinquenta y dos en çinquenta y dos años eran peligrosos fortuytos e aziagos por causa de que en tales años avia sido el diluivo de aguas general /. y así mismo la tenebrosidad de eclipse de sol y terremoto vniuersal /. y así en el tal año hazian grandes sacrificios y çerimonias a sus dioses y se daban a hazer penitencia y se abstienen de todos errores para quando llegase el propio dia y ora del tal año /. en el qual dia generalmente apagavan todos las lumbreres y fuegos hasta que pasase el dia / y pasado çençidian lunbre nueva trayda de vna sierra sacada por vn saçerdote

Tenayucan, which also appears and is shown in the drawings. This happened during the reign of Tenuch, which lasted fifty-one years, at the end of which he died.

Each little compartment or division figured in blue in the margins of this history means one year, and they [refer to] the number of years in the reigns of the lords of Mexico. To understand the drawings and the count and names of the years, observe that each division has dots, counted from one to thirteen, and returning to begin at one, and so on, until it arrives at thirteen, although each division and little compartment has a different glyph. But the essential count is that of the dots, and it matters little which year names are placed in each division or little compartment, numbered one to thirteen. To understand this, and to aid the reader, the names with their interpretations are shown here.

In the order and rotation of the divisions or little compartments numbered by years, the little compartment that has a branch hanging with its trunk, and like a flower, signifies a year of bad fortune that the Mexicans had and feared, saying that their ancestors from time immemorial had declared that such years, which appeared every fifty-two years, were dangerous and unlucky because in such years a universal flood had occurred, and also an eclipse of the sun and widespread earthquake. And so in such a year they performed great sacrifices and ceremonies to their gods, and when the precise day and hour of such a year arrived, they did penance and abstained from all misbehavior. During the entire day they extinguished all lights and fires until the day ended, and, at day's end, they lit new fires [from a fire] carried from a hill by a priest.

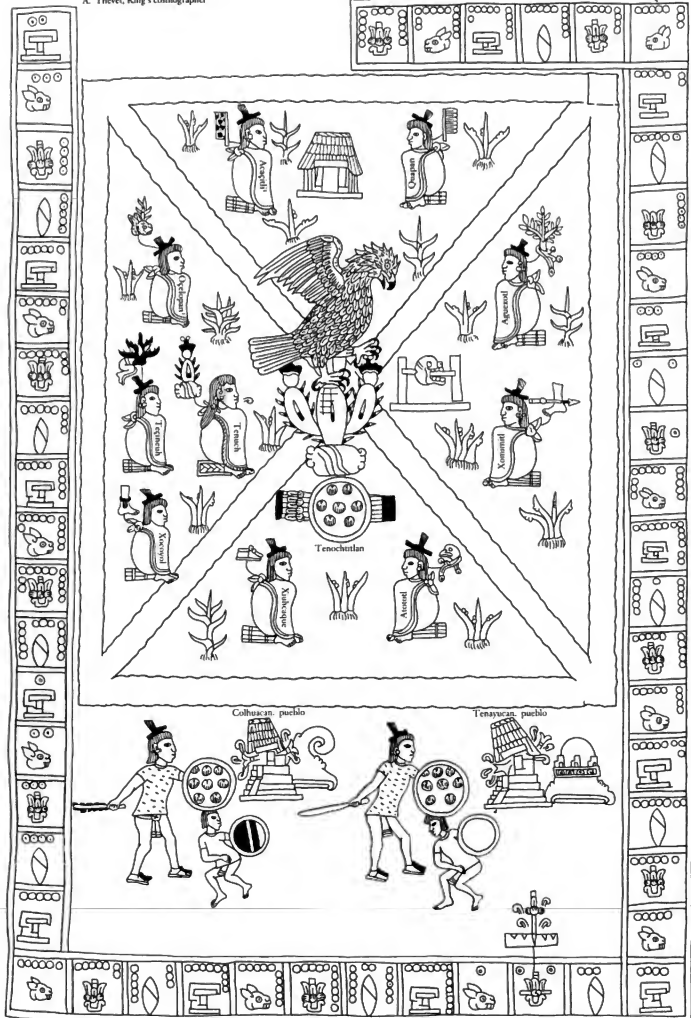


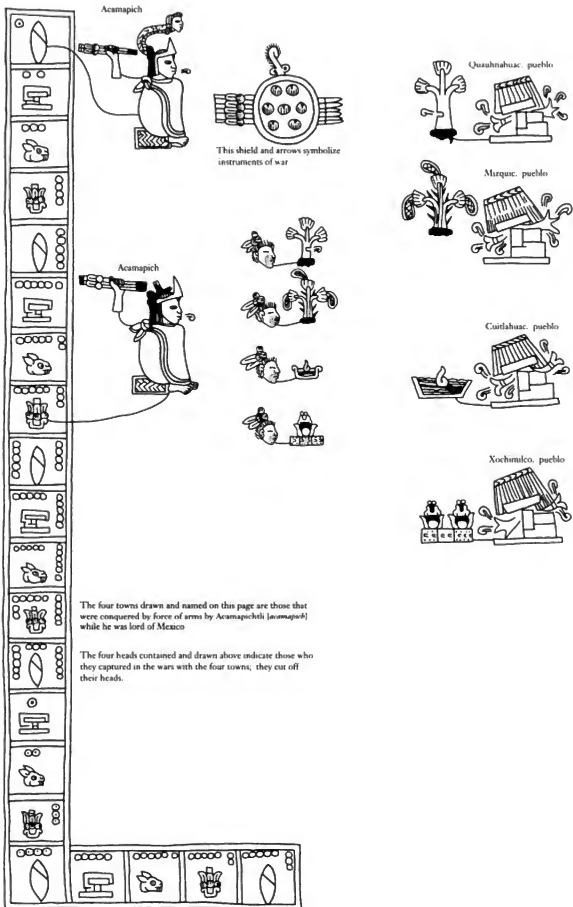
lo de suso que esta escrito de colorado son los nombres que ponian a los años que es cada vn aparto /. y la ynterpretacion de los tales nombres son los de abaxo de vn apartado /. en lo de lo colorado donde esta numerado [sic] vna x. que son diez / nonbran. matlaçtli/.

That which is written above each division in red are the names of the years. And the interpretation of such names are those below each division. Where an "x" is written in red, which is ten, they call [it] *matlaçtli*.

1. This row of glosses, above the year glyphs, is written in Nahuatl.
2. The annotator missed a number here; logic, and the glyph, indicate that this should be "eight house."
3. Having jumped the numbering from seven to nine, the annotator is really in trouble now. The numbering sequence for year counts only encompassed 1-13, and then returned to 1. It is especially odd to find this sort of error in the Nahuatl glosses.
4. This row of glosses, below the year glyphs, is written in Spanish. Unlike the Nahuatl above, the numbering sequence, like the glyphs, is correct.

1. The glosses for Açaçtli (Reed-Hare) and Oçelopan (Jaguar-Banner) should be reversed.





El año de mill y trezientos y setenta y siete¹ en el dicho señorío y governacion susçedio acamapichtli / y durante su señorío por fuerça de armas gano y conquisto / los pueblos contenidos en las pinturas y en ellas nonbrados / que son / quauhnahuac / y mizquic /. y cuitlahuac /. y xochimilco / los quales fueron tributarios Reconociendo vasallaje /. los años que biuio el dicho acamapich en el dicho señorío tuvo por exerçio e ynclinaçion tener muchas mugeres hijas de todos los principales de mexico en las quales obo muchos hijos que fueron origen de se ampliar muchos caçiques y capitanes gente belicosa mediante los quales / se fue avmentando y ensanchando la çibdad de mexico en gran potestad segun que susçesivamente en sus discursos por lo figurado con sus aclaraciones va significado /.

las dos figuras con sus titulos e nonbres de acamapich son vna mysama cosa Resumida en sustancia por que la primera figura demuestra el prinçipio y susçesion del dicho señorío /. y la segunda figura demuestra el año despues que susçedio en el dicho señorío / quando enpeço a conquistar e sujetar los dichos quatro pueblos /.

el dicho señorío tuvo discurso de veynte y vn años al cabo de los quales murio y paso desta presente vida el dicho acamapich /. el qual dicho falleçimiento fue en el año de myll y trezientos y noventa y ocho años⁴ /. va testado o diz çineco no enpeça / va en el margin de aRiba o diz setenta y siete vala /. va testado o diz y veynte y seys no enpeça / va entre Renglonos o diz y noventa y ocho años vala

In the year 1377,¹ Acamapichtli succeeded to the said lordship and government. And during his reign he won and conquered by force of arms the towns contained and named in the drawings, which are Quauhnahuac, Mizquic, Cuitlahuac, and Xochimilco, and which were tributaries and acknowledged vassalage. While the said Acamapichtli was ruler, he had many wives, daughters of all the nobles² of Mexico, by whom he had many children [sons].³ These children were the ancestors of the many warrior *caçiques* and captains who increased and extended the great power of the city of Mexico, as further on the drawings, with their explanations, will show.

The two figures of Acamapichtli, with his titles and names, are the same. The first figure denotes the beginning and succession to the said lordship, and the second figure denotes the year following his succession to the said lordship, when he began to conquer and subjugate the said four towns.

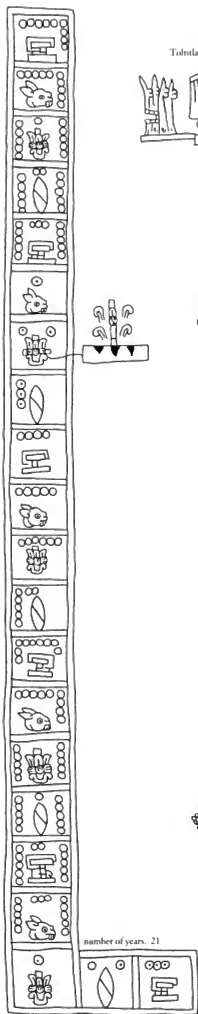
The said lordship lasted twenty-one years, at the end of which, in the year 1398,⁴ the said Acamapichtli died and passed from this present life. It is attested that "five" is marked out; in the margin above it says "seventy-seven." Let it stand. It is attested that "twenty-six" is marked out; between the lines it says "and ninety-eight years." Let it stand.

1. There appears to have been a sequence of changes here, from 1305 to 1375 to 1377.

2. *Principales* were persons of important stature, such stature gained through birthright and personal achievements.

3. It is ambiguous whether "sons" or "children" is meant.

4. "Y beynte y seys" has been crossed out and replaced by "y noventa y ocho años" as noted by the "corrector" in the final statement on this page.



Totlan. pueblo



Quauhtlan. pueblo



Chalco. pueblo



Tulangco. pueblo



Huqlyhuitt



This painting of shield and arrows symbolizes the conquests of the *pueblos* drawn and named [on this page]

Xaltocan. pueblo



Otumpa. pueblo



Acolman. pueblo



Tezcaco. ciudad



FOLIO 4r

El año de mill y trezientos y noventa y seys¹ en el dicho señorío susçedio huiçilyhuitl / hijo de acamapich / y durante el discurso de su señorío por fuerça de armas gano y conquisto ocho pueblos que son los contenydos en las pinturas de atras yntitulados los nombres de los dichos pueblos / los quales fueron tributarios al señorío mexicano / Reconoçiendo vasallaje / el dicho huiçilyhuitl fue belicoso en guerras e ynclinado de tener muchas mugeres de las quales obo muchos hijos / con que se fue avmentando la grosedad de los mexicanos

El discurso del señorío y vida del dicho huiçilyhuitl fue veynte y vn años al fin de los quales murio y paso desta presente vida / segun que en las figuras de las casitas de azul / son numerados / va testado o diz veynte y seis no enpezca / va en el margin de aRiba o diz noventa y seys vala

In the year 1396, Huitziluhuitl [*huiçilyhuitl*], son of Acamapichtli [*acamapich*], succeeded to the lordship. And during his reign he conquered and took by force of arms the eight towns that are contained and named in the paintings on the previous page. These were tributaries and subjects of the Mexican lordship. Huitziluhuitl was warlike in battle and inclined to have many wives, by whom he had many children [sons] who added to the power of the Mexicans.

Huitziluhuitl's reign lasted twenty-one years, as counted in the little blue compartments, at the end of which he died and passed from this present life. It is attested that "twenty-six" is marked out in the margin above it says "ninety-six." Let it stand.

1. This number was changed from twenty-six; the correction is noted at the end of the commentary.



Chimalpopuca



This painting of shield and arrows symbolizes war



Tequiquate, pueblo



Chalco, pueblo

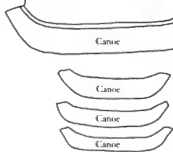


Chimalpopuca
deceased

10 years



These heads indicate five Mexicans who were killed by those of Chalco



Canoe
Canoe
Canoe
Canoe



This figure indicates the role of the *namraín*' of the *pueblos*' of Chalco who rebelled against the Mexuans, doing them harm by breaking four canoes with the rock he has in his hands. Also, five persons were killed in the rebellion.

El año de mill y quatrozientos¹ y diez y siete² años en el dicho señorío de Mexico por fin y muerte de huicilyhuil / susçedio chimalpopuca en el dicho señorío / el dicho chimalpupuca fue hijo del dicho huicilyhuil / y durante el dicho señorío sujeto por fuerza de armas los pueblos de tequixquiac / y chalco ques vn gran pueblo y Reconociendo vasallaje pagavan tributo al señorío de Mexico / segun que en las pinturas de atras haze demostracion / y tenyendo los dichos pueblos ansi sujetos / el dicho pueblo de chalco como poderoso acabo de çiertos años se Rebelo contra los mexicanos / y de la Rebelion se les Recreçio a los mexicanos daño en que les mataron çinco personas y les quebraron quatro canoas segun que atras esta significado por las pinturas con sus aclaraciones /.

El discurso de su vida y señorío del dicho chimalpupuca fueron diez años al cabo de los quales murio / segun que en la pintura de las casillas de azul esta numerado en el margin ansi mysmo el dicho chimalpupuca en el discurso de su vida tuvo muchas mugeres e hijos por que lo tenyan por grandeza va emendado o diz quatrozientos vala /. va testado a diz çuarenta y siete año ençepça / va en el margin de aRiba o diz diez y syete vala

In the year 1417, on the death of Huitziluhuitl [*huicilyhuil*], Chimalpopuca [*chimalpopuca*] succeeded to the said lordship of Mexico. Chimalpopuca was the son of Huitziluhuitl, and during his reign he subjected by force of arms the towns of Tequixquiac and Chalco, which is a large town. They acknowledged vassalage and paid tribute to Mexico, as shown by the paintings on the previous page. A few years after these towns had been subjugated, the town of Chalco, being powerful, rebelled against the Mexicans, killing five persons and damaging four canoes, as indicated by the drawings with their explanations.

The reign of Chimalpopuca lasted ten years, at the end of which he died, as numbered in the little blue compartments in the margin. And also Chimalpopuca, in the course of his life, had many wives and children [sons] because it was considered honorable. It is corrected to say "four hundred." Let it stand. It is attested that "forty-seven" years is marked out; in the margin above it says seventeen. Let it stand.

1. This may have read three hundred before the correction.

2. This had read "çuarenta y siete," then "diez y nueve," then finally "diez y syete."

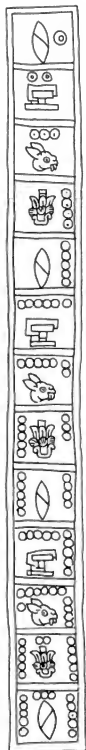
OPPOSITE: FOLIO 4v

1. This was the typical Spanish referent for "Indian." In native parlance, could be translated as "citizen."

2. The word *canoas* is neither Spanish nor Nahuatl, but rather of Arawak derivation.

FOLLOWING:
FOLIOS 5v and 6r

1. The annotator undoubtedly intended to add the near-universal "pueblo," but ran out of room at the margin.



number of years. 13

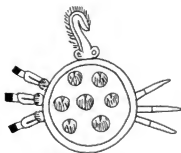
Azcapuálico, pueblo



Coyuacan pueblo



Tecalhuacayan pueblo



This shield and arrows symbolize the instruments of war (weapons) with which they defeated the pueblos drawn and named on these pages.

Quaquacan pueblo



Tlacuapan, pueblo



Atlacuahuayan, pueblo



Mixcoac, pueblo



Quauvimalpan'



Quauhritlan, pueblo

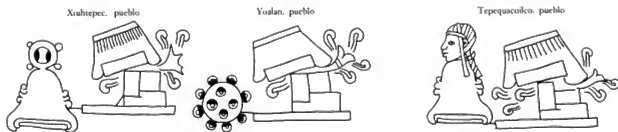
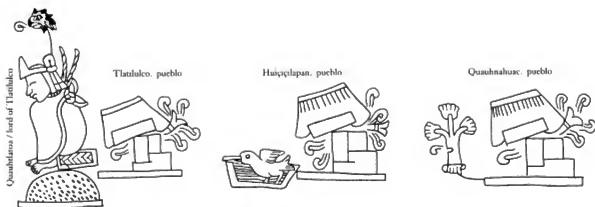
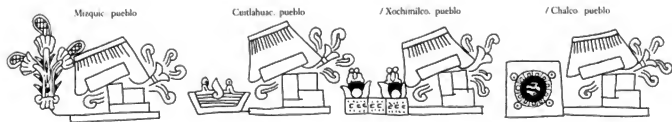


Tecpan, pueblo



Acolhuacan, pueblo





En el año de myll y quatrocientos y veynte y siete¹ años en el dicho señorío de mexico por fin y muerte de chimalpopoca susçedio en el dicho señorío / yzcoatzí hijo de acamapich / señor que fue de mexico y durante el dicho señorío gano y conquysto por fuerça de armas veynte y quatro pueblos que son los figurados antes desta plana los quales pueblos de vna entrada que hizo los sujeto al señorío de mexico por ser como fue el dicho acamapich valiente y belicoso en armas y onbre de buen juyzio e ynjenyoso en muchas cosas por donde con sus buenas yndustrias sojuzgo los dichos pueblos los quales le tributavan Reconociendo vasallaje / el dicho yzcoatzí tuvo muchas mugeres de las quales tuvo siete hijos e hijas² / y en el dicho señorío tuvo curso de treze años al fin de los quales el dicho yzcoatzí falleçio y paso desta presente vida / va testado o diz nueve no enpeza / va en el margin de aRiba o diz siete vala

In the year 1427, at the death of Chimalpopoca, Itzcoatl [yzcoatzí] succeeded to the lordship of Mexico; he was the son of Acamapichtli [acamapich], who had been lord of Mexico, and during his reign he won and conquered by force of arms twenty-four towns, which are those drawn on the previous page. He subjugated these towns to the lordship of Mexico in one expedition, since, like Acamapichtli, he was valiant and warlike, and a man of good judgment and clever in many things; so with his able leadership these towns gave tribute and recognized vassalage. Itzcoatl had many wives, by whom he had seven sons and daughters.¹ And he reigned thirteen years, at the end of which Itzcoatl died and passed from this present life. It is attested that "nine" is marked out; in the margin above it says "seven." Let it stand.

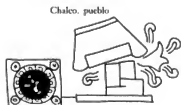
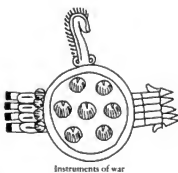
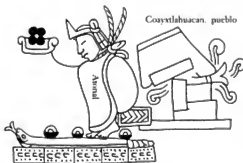
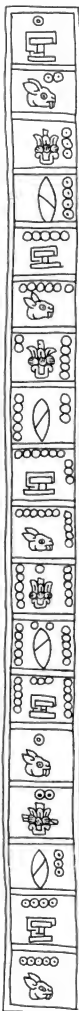
1. This number was changed; the correction is noted at the end of the commentary.

2. This is a departure from the earlier formula, where the exact number of offspring is not given. Perhaps the number was small enough in this case to be notable.

FOLIO 7r: BLANK

FOLLOWING:
FOLIOS 7v and 8r

FOLIO 7r · 19



Yauhtepc. pueblo



Tepuztlan. pueblo



Tecpatzinc. pueblo



Yacqichdan. pueblo



Tlachco. pueblo



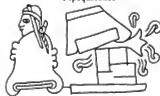
Yoahtepc. pueblo



Tlacoauhtitlan. pueblo



Tepequacuico¹



Quiyauhtepan. pueblo



Chontalcutlan. pueblo



Hueyupchtlan. pueblo



Atozomilco. pueblo



Axocapan. pueblo



Tulan. pueblo



Xilotepc. pueblo



Yzacuncatlapico. pueblo



Atozomilco. pueblo



Tlapacayan. pueblo



Chapolyxcitla. pueblo



Tlatlahuquitepec¹



Cueitlaxlan. pueblo



Quauhtochco. pueblo



1. Apparently the annotator had no room at the edge of the page to add the usual "pueblo." This was undoubtedly just an omission, since Tepequacuico and Tlatlahuquitepec were important centers, even provincial capitals.

En el año de myll y quatroçientos [sic] y quarenta¹ años en el dicho señorío de Mexico por fin y muerte de yzcoatzí / susçedio en el dicho señorío guegue motecçuma / hijo que fue de guycilyhuil señor que fue de Mexico y durante el dicho señorío conquysto y gano por fuerça de armas treynta y tres pueblos segun que estan figurados en las planas de atras antes desta en el çircuyto de la figura del dicho guegue motecçuma / y ayvendolos sujetado al señorío de Mexico le pagauan tributo Reconoçiendo vasallaje /

Este guegue motecçuma fue señor muy graue y seuero y aplicado a virtud / y fue hombre de buen natural y juyzio / y Enemigo de viçios malos / y por su buena ynclinaçion puso orden y leyes en su Republica y en todo sus vasallos de como avian de byuir so graues penas que para ello puso las quales mandaua executar sin Remysion alguna al que las quebrantaua / pero no fue cruel / antes benino zeloso del byen y pro de sus vasallos / no fue viçioso en mugeres /. tuvo dos hijos² / fue muy tenplado en el beuer que jamas en el discurso de su vida no le sintieron en beodarse / segun que los naturales yndios en general son ynclinados en extremo a la beodez / antes al que tal hazia le mandaua corregir y castigar /. y por su seueridad y buen enxemplo de su biuir fue temydo y Respetado de sus vasallos todo el discurso de su vida³ que fueron veynte y nueve años al cabo de los quales muryo y paso desta presente vida /. va testado o diz y dos no enpezca

In the year 1440, on the death of Itzcoatl [yzcoatzí], Huehue Motecuhzoma [guegue motecçuma] succeeded to the said lordship of Mexico. He was the son of Huitzilihuitl [guycilyhuil], former lord of Mexico, and during his reign he conquered and won by force of arms thirty-three towns, which are drawn on the previous page around the figure of the said Huehue Motecuhzoma. And having [been subdued] to the lordship of Mexico, they paid tribute, acknowledging vassalage.

This Huehue Motecuhzoma was a very serious, severe, and virtuous lord, and was a man of good temper and judgment, and an enemy of evil. He imposed order and laws for the conduct of life in his land and on all his subjects, and imposed serious penalties for breaking the laws, ordering execution without pardon to any who broke them. But he was not cruel. He was kind to his subjects and jealous of their welfare. He was moderate with women, had two sons,² and was very reserved in drinking; during his lifetime he was never affected by drunkenness, although the Indians generally are much inclined to drinking. He ordered offenders to be corrected and punished, and by his severity and good example, he was feared and respected by his subjects during his entire lifetime,³ which was twenty-nine years, at the end of which he died and passed from this present life. It is attested that "two" is marked out.

1. "Y dos" has been crossed out.

2. Two sons seems to be an unrealistically low figure, although this may be referring to sons of his first wife only.

3. Here as elsewhere in this section of the *Mendoza*, "vida" refers to the years of the ruler's reign.

FOLIO 9r: BLANK

En el año de myll y quatroçientos y sesenta y nuebe¹ años en el dicho señorío de mexico por fin y muerte de guegue motecçuma / susçedio en el dicho señorío axayacati / hijo de teçoçomocli y nyeto que fue de yzcoatzī señor que fue de mexico / y durante el tiempo que el dicho axayacati fue señor conquysto y gano por fuerza de armas treynta y siete pueblos segun que susçesiuamente estan figurados y nonbrados /. entre los quales pueblos por fuerza de armas sujeto debaxo de su señorío el pueblo de tlatlulco cosa de mucha calidad / y el señor de tlatlulco en aquella sazón era moquihuiç, persona poderosa y de gran calidad y por ser de su natural orgulloso / dio prinçipio y ocasion al señor de mexico de disensiones y guerras / ayendo los tyempos antes tenydo los por amygos /. por la qual ocasion tuyeron grandes Recuentos y batallas en donde el dicho moquihuiç señor de tlatlulco / murio despeñandose de vn cu o meçquita alta / por causa de que vyendose apretado en la batalla uyendo de vençida se entro en la meçquita a guareçer / porque no fuese preso / y Reprehendyendole vn alfaqui que en la meçquita estaua / Reputandose a corvardia [sic] / se despeño como dicho es /. en la qual sazón los mexicanos salieron vitoriosos / y desde entonçes el pueblo de tlatlulco hasta que los españoles conquystaron a mexico / fueron vasallos del señor de mexico pagandole tributo y Recoçiendo [sic] vasallaje /

fue axayacatzī muy valiente y belicoso en guerras y fue dado a mugeres con gran viçio por donde tubo muchas mugeres e hijos / fue soberuio y bullicioso / por donde todos sus vasallos le temyan en extremo /. sustento y aprouo por bueno las leyes y fueros que su antecesor guegue motecçuma / puso segun que en su historia sea hecho mynson /. y en el dicho señorío tuvo curso de doze años al fin de los quales falleçio y paso desta presente vida /.

va testado o diz vn / no enpeçca /. va en el margin de aRiba o diz nueve vala

In the year 1469, on the death of Huehue Motecuhzoma [*guegue motecçuma*], Axayacatzin [*axayacati*] succeeded to the said lordship of Mexico. He was the son of Tezozomoc [*teçoçomocli*] and grandson of Itzcoatzin [*yzcoatzī*], former lord of Mexico. And during Axayacatzin's reign, he conquered and gained by force of arms thirty-seven towns, drawn and named in succession. Among these towns subjected by force of arms during his reign was the town of Tlatelolco [*tlatlulco*], an event of great note. And the lord of Tlatelolco at that time was Moquihuiç, a powerful and haughty man. He began to pick quarrels and fights with the lord of Mexico, although formerly they had been friends. Great battles resulted, in which the said Moquihuiç, lord of Tlatelolco, being pressed in battle and fleeing to take refuge in a temple so he would not be taken prisoner, and being rebuked by one of the temple's priests for cowardice, flung himself from a high temple and died. In this way the Mexicans emerged victorious, and since that time until the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the people of Tlatelolco were vassals of the lord of Mexico, paying tribute and acknowledging vassalage.

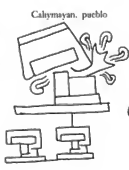
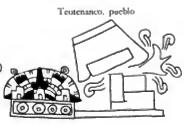
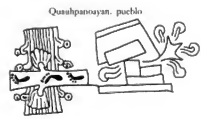
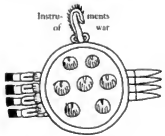
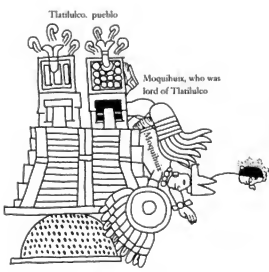
Axayacatzin was valiant and warlike in battle. He was very attracted to women and had many wives and children [sons]. He was proud and restless, and all his subjects greatly feared him. He upheld and supported the laws and statutes that his predecessor Huehue Motecuhzoma made, as already mentioned in the history. And the said reign lasted twelve years, at the end of which he died and passed from this present life.

It is attested that "one" is marked out. In the margin above it says "nine." Let it stand.

1. "Vn" has been crossed out and replaced by "nuebe."



number of years. 12



Tulacan. pueblo



Xiquipico. pueblo



Tenancingo. pueblo



Tepeyac. pueblo



Tlaximilcoyan. pueblo



Ozama. pueblo



Xocotitlan. pueblo



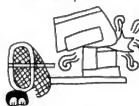
Ocotlan. pueblo



Oztotepec. pueblo



Matlaltan. pueblo



Cuecomatlan. pueblo



Tecalco. pueblo



Cuautlan. pueblo



Pascahuatlán. pueblo



Ahuiluzapan. pueblo



Tlaxlan. pueblo



Mixtlan. pueblo



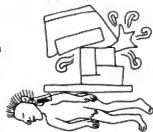
Caecahuatlán. pueblo



Tetzapotitlan. pueblo



Miquiyatlan. pueblo



Tamuc. pueblo



Tanpatel. pueblo



Tuchpan. pueblo



Tenextepac. pueblo



Quauhtlan. pueblo



FOLIO 11r: BLANK

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 10v

En el año de myll y quatroçientos y ochenta y Dos¹ años en el dicho señorío de mexico por fin y muerte de axayacatl / susçedio en el dicho señorío tiçoçicatzin hermano del dicho axayacatl / y durante el tiempo de su señorío conquysto y gano por fuerça de armas catorze pueblos segun que susçesiuamente estan figurados y nonbrados /.

yten el dicho tiçoçicatzi fue por extremo valiente y belicoso en armas y antes que susçedyese en el dicho señorío hizo por su persona en las guerras cosas hazañosas de valentia por donde alcanço tomar ditado de tlacatecatl / que tenyan por titulo de gran calidad y estado y era el punto de que en vacanço el dicho señorío el tal punto y grado susçedia luego en el dicho señorío / lo qual ansi mysmo sus antecesores hermanos atras contenydos y padre y aguelo tuyeron el mysmo curso del dicho titulo y ditado por donde subyeron a ser señores de mexico /.

yten el dicho tiçoçicatzin por avtoridad y estado del dicho señorío tuvo muchas mugeres e hijos que en ellas obo / y fue honbre graue y seuro en mandar y ser temydo e acatado de sus vasallos / fue ansi mysmo aplicado e ynclinado a cosas buenas y virtuosas y buen Republicano / e mando guardar y aprobar por buenas las leyes y fueros que sus antecesores avyan amplido y guardado desde en tyempo de gueguc motecçuma / y fue zeloso de punir y castigar los malos viçios y delitos que sus vasallos cometyan / y ansi la Republica mexicana tuvo el tyempo de su vyda / hordenada y byen Regida / fue el discurso de su vyda² çinco años al fin de los quales murio y paso desta presente vida / va emendado o diz dos vala

In the year 1482, Tizoc [*tiçoçicatzin*] succeeded to the lordship of Mexico on the death of his brother Axayacatl [*axayacatl*]. And during his reign he conquered and took by force of arms fourteen towns drawn and named [on the following page].

And the said Tizoc was extremely valiant and warlike in battle, and before succeeding to the said lordship, he personally performed valiant deeds in the wars, for which he was awarded the title of *Tlacatecatl*. This title of high value and rank was the point and rank from which, in vacating said lordship, he succeeded to the said rulership, like his brothers, father, and grandfather before him, who took the same course and rose from that title to become lords of Mexico.

And the said Tizoc, by authority and rank of the said lordship, had many wives and children [sons] by them. And he was a serious and severe ruler, and was feared and respected by his subjects. He was, at the same time, dedicated and inclined to good deeds, and was virtuous and a good governor. And he ordered to have preserved, and approved as good laws and charters, [the laws] that his predecessors had enlarged and preserved since the time of Motecuhzoma. And he zealously punished the vices and crimes that his subjects committed, and so during his reign² the state of Mexico was well ordered and well governed. He reigned five years, at the end of which he died and passed from this present life. It is corrected, to say "two." Let it stand.

1. This number was changed; the correction is noted at the end of the commentary.

2. In the Spanish, "vyda," or "life."

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 12R

1. The name is written *Tiçoçicatzi*, with a vague overbar over the final "i." We have interpreted this as a final "n," rather than a random brush stroke.

2. There are only five years represented glyphically.

Tonalá ymoqueçayan pueblo



Totonen pueblo



Ecatepec pueblo



Cilan pueblo



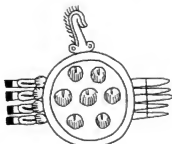
Tecaxic pueblo



Toluca pueblo



number of years: 6



This shield and arrows symbolize instruments [weapons] with which they conquered the pueblos contained on this page.

Yancuitlan pueblo



Tlapan pueblo



Ateccahuacan pueblo



Maçatlan pueblo



Nochistlan pueblo



Tamapachco pueblo



Ecatl yquapachco pueblo



Miquetlan pueblo



En el año de myll y quatroçientos y ochenta y seis¹ años en el dicho señorío de mexico por fin y muerte de tiçoçicatzi / susçedier en el dicho señorío Ahuiçoçin / hermano de su antecessor tiçoçicatzi / y durante el tiempo de su señorío por fuerça de armas conqysto y gano quarenta y çinco pueblos segun que susçesiuamente estan figurados y nonbrados / El dicho aguiçoçin fue semejante en valentia y hechos de armas a su antecessor y hermano tiçoçicatzi / por donde alcanço titulo de tlacatecatl / ques significado por gran capitán / y del dicho titulo vino a subir y susçeder en el dicho señorío /

yten el dicho ahuiçoçin / fue de su natural byen ynclinado y aplicado a toda virtud / y ansi en el discurso de su vida y señorío tuvo su Republica byen Regida y gobernada / y cunplio e hizo guardar los fueros y leyes que sus antecessores avian sustentado y guardado desde en tiempo de guegue motecuçuma / y como el estado del señorío de mexico abya subydo en gran magestad y tenia la mayor parte desta nueva españa sujetado Reconociendole vasallaje y de los muchos e Ricos tributos que le tributavan vino a mucha cumbre el dicho señorío / y como poderoso y magnanimo hazia e hizo grandes cantidades a los suyos y fue de tenplada y benyigna condiçion por donde sus vasallos y capitanes le amavan en extremo y le catavan gran Reuerençia /. ansi mysmo tuvo muchas mugeres e hijos en ellas por ser cosa anexa al dicho señorío y punto de gran estado /. fue de alegre condiçion por donde sus vasallos continamente en su vida le Restejauan con muchos e diuersos generos de fiestas y musicas de cantos e ystrumentos ansi los dias como las noches que en sus casas nunca vacaban cantores musicos y muchos ystrumentos de musicas /. fue el discurso de su vida diez y seys años al fin de los quales murio y paso desta presente vida /.
va testado o diz ocho no enpezca / va en el margin de aRiba o diz seys vala

Ahuiztotzin [*Abuiçoçin*] succeeded to the lordship of Mexico on the death of his brother Tizoc [*tiçoçicatzi*] in the year 1486. And during his reign he conquered and won by force of arms the forty-five towns drawn and named on the next page. Ahuiztotzin was like his predecessor and brother Tizoc in bravery and deeds of arms, by which he attained the title of *Tlacatecatl*, which means "great captain," and with that title he climbed and succeeded to the lordship.

And Ahuiztotzin was by nature well disposed and virtuous, and he ruled well during the course of his reign, and confirmed and kept the statutes and laws that his predecessors had maintained and kept, since the time of Huehue Motecuhzoma. And the state of Mexico had become very powerful, and had the greater part of this New Spain subjected, recognizing vassalage and paying rich tributes that brought much wealth to the lordship. And as he was powerful and generous, he gave large amounts to his friends. And he had a temperate and gentle disposition, for which his subjects and captains loved him greatly and showed him great reverence. And also he had many wives and children [sons] by them, as a matter of state and of his high position. Because of his cheerful nature, his subjects continually entertained him in his residence with diverse kinds of feasts and music with singing and instruments, so that in his houses the music never ceased, day or night. He ruled sixteen years, at the end of which he died and passed from this present life.

It is attested that "eight" is marked out; in the margin above it says "six." Let it stand.

1. This number was changed from eight to six; the correction is noted at the end of the commentary.

Tequantepec. pueblo



Coyolapan. pueblo



Yzac tlalocan. pueblo



Teocuitatlan. pueblo



Huehuetlan'



Quauhxacatlan. pueblo



Yabustlan. pueblo



Comitan. pueblo



Nantzantan. pueblo



Huipilan. pueblo



Cahuatan. pueblo



Yzatan'. pueblo



Huizlan. pueblo



Xolotlan. pueblo



Quuhnacatlan. pueblo



Maçatlan. pueblo



Ayauhtschcutlatlan. pueblo



Quahuatlan. pueblo



Caerçalcuatlapila pueblo



Mapachtepec. pueblo



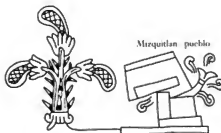
Quahupiolan. pueblo



Tlacotepec pueblo



Mizquitlan pueblo



FOLIO 14r: BLANK

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 13v

1. The ever-present "pueblo" appears to be lost in the margin here.
2. It appears that the annotator began to write "-pan," then amended it to read "-flan."

En el año de myll y quynientos y dos¹ años en el dicho señorío de mexico por fin y muerte de ahuicoçin / susçedio en el dicho señorío Motecçuma el qual al tyempo que susçedio en el dicho señorío estaua ya mexico encunbrado en gran magestad y avtoridad / y por aver el çusçedido en el dicho señorío por su mucha grauedad y seueridad engrandeço en estremo el estado y señorío de mexico mucho mas que sus antecesores /. fue motecçuma hijo de axayacaçin que fue señor de mexico / y primero que subyese en el dicho señorío tuvo meritos de hombre valiente en las guerras y capitánias por lo qual tuvo titulo de tlacatectli / y así susçedio en el dicho señorío segun dicho es. y estando en el dicho señorío amplio mas en todo estremo el ynperio mexicano / domynando sobre todos los pueblos desta nueva españa en que le dauan y pagavan grandes tributos y de balor de mucha Riqueza / y fue de todos sus vasallos por estremo temido / y por el consiguyente sus capitanes y prencipales / en que nynguno quando negoçiauau con el por el gran acatamyento que le tenyan y temor no osavan myralle a la cara / sino que tenyan los ojos baxos en el suelo y la cabeça humyllada e ynclinada al suelo / y otros muchos estremos y Respetos y çerimonias que le hazian e acatauan por la mucha magestad que les Representaua de que no se haze aquy mynsion por evitar prolixidad /.

despues de aver motecçuma susçedido en el dicho señorío hizo conqystrar quarenta y quatro pueblos segun que adelante estan figurados y nonbrados y los sujeto debaxo de su señorío e ynperio y en Reconoçimiento de vasallaje todo el tiempo e discurso de su vida le pagavan y pagaron muchos y grandes tributos segun que adelante por las figuras con sus aclaraciones se manyfiesta /.

fue motecçuma de su natural sabio y astrologo e filosofo / y astuto y general en todas artes así myltitares como en las demas tenporales y por su mucha grauedad y estado tuvo origen en su señorío de ynperio segun que los suyos le acataron con gran veneraçion y potestad que en comparaçion de sus antecesores nynguno llego con harta parte a tanto estado y magestad /.

va testado o diz quatro no enpezca / va en el margin de aRiba o diz dos vala

In the year 1502, on the death of Ahuitzotzin [*ahuicoçin*], Motecuhzoma [*motecçuma*] succeeded to the lordship of Mexico. At the time he succeeded to the said lordship, Mexico had risen to great majesty and authority, and having succeeded to the lordship, by his great seriousness and gravity he greatly advanced the state and lordship of Mexico, more than did his predecessors. Motecuhzoma was the son of Axayacatzin [*axayacaçin*], who was lord of Mexico. And he was the first who rose in the said lordship through his bravery and leadership in war, for which he carried the title of *Tlacatectli*. And so for this he succeeded to the said lordship. And during his reign he greatly extended the Mexican empire, ruling over all the towns of this New Spain, so they gave and paid him large and richly valuable tributes. And he was so greatly feared by his vassals, and by his captains and leaders, that when they negotiated with him, out of the great esteem and fear they had, none dared look him in the face, but they kept their eyes on the ground and their heads bowed and inclined to the ground. They performed other very extreme acts, observances, and ceremonies out of respect to his majesty, but to avoid tediousness, these are not mentioned here.

After having succeeded to the said lordship, Motecuhzoma conquered the forty-four towns drawn and named here, and subjected them to his lordship and empire. And in acknowledgment of vasalage, during his entire lifetime they paid him many and large tributes, shown further on in the figures with their explanations.

Motecuhzoma was by nature wise, an astrologer, a philosopher, and skilled in all the arts, civil as well as military. His subjects greatly respected him because of his gravity, demeanor, and power; none of his predecessors, in comparison, could approach his great state and majesty.

It is attested that "four" is marked out; in the margin above it says "two." Let it stand.

1. Corrected from "quatro."

los fueros y leyes de sus antecesores desde en tyempo de gueguc motecucma hasta su tyempo / mando guardar y cumplir enteramente con mucho zelo / y como fue hombre tan sabio por su buena naturaleza ordeno y compuso otros fueros y leyes los que le pareçio que faltavan a cumplimiento de los de atras sin nynguna derogar / todo para el pro y buen gobierno de su Republica y vasallos /.

fue ynclinado de tener muchas casas de mugeres hijas de señores sus vasallos y confederados / y en ellas tuvo muchos hijos / y el tener tantas mugeres fue mas por mostrar gran magestad y señorio porque lo tenyan por gran estado / entre las quales las hijas de los mas señores y autoridad / las tuvo por mugeres legitimas segun sus Rictos y çerimonyas / y estas tenya dentro de sus palacios y casas de su morada / y los hijos que dellas proçedian eran tenyidos en mas Reputaçion como legitimos / mas que los otros ayvulos de las demas mugeres / la orden que entenellos y conversallas tuvo / es historia larga de contar / y por ser la presente ystoria sumaria / se dexa de Relatar /.

la cantidad y valor y numero de los tributos que sus vasallos le pagavan se vera y entendera adelante segun que por las figuras estan significadas y aclaradas / de las cosas y generos que le tributavan / y tuvo por extremo / en los tributos que le pagavan segun que por el eran tasados fuesen syenpre complidos y para ello tuvo sus calpixques¹ y hazedores puestos en todos los pueblos de sus vasallos / a manera de gobernadores que los Regian mandaban y governavan / y como era tan temydo nynguno se osava desmandar ny exçeder de su voluntad y mando sino que por entero se guardava y cumplia. / porque fue ynRemysible en la execuçion y castigo de los Rebeldes /.

a los diez y seys años del señorio de motecucma los mexicanos tuyeron aviso de çiertos españoles descubridores desta nueva españa sobre que la venyda y armada de los españoles para ganar y conqystrar esta tierra avya de ser al cabo de doze meses y ansi los mexicanos tuyeron cuenta en ello y hallaron ser verdad porque al cabo de los doze meses fue la venyda y llegada al puerto desta nueva españa a los dichos doze meses en la qual vnyo don fernando cortes marquesado del valle que fue a los diez y siete años del seniorio del dicho motecucma / y a los diez y ocho años del dicho seniorio acabo motecucma su discurso en el qual murio y paso desta presente vida / al tiempo que motecucma susçedio en el dicho seniorio Era onbre de Edad de treynta y çinco años pocos mas o menos / de manera que al tiempo de su fin y muerte tenya de edad çinquenta y tres años.² /.

luego en el año siguiente despues del falleçimiento de motecucma / se gano y paçifico por el marqués del valle y sus consortes / esta çibdad de mexico y otros pueblos comarcanos a el y ansi se fue ganando y paçificando esta nueva españa³ /.

He commanded the statutes and laws of his predecessors, from the time of Huehue Motecuhzoma [*gueguc motecucma*] until his time, to be fully obeyed, with great zeal. And since he was by his good nature a wise man, he ordered and composed other statutes and laws that he felt they lacked and that complemented the existing ones, without revoking any; all for the benefit and good government of his republic and vassals.

He was inclined to have many wives, daughters of his subject and confederate lords. And from these he had many children [sons]. And he had so many wives to demonstrate his great majesty and lordship, because they held him in high estate. Among them, he took the daughters of the most powerful as legitimate wives according to their rites and ceremonies, to live in his palaces and houses. And the children of these legitimate marriages were held in higher rank, more than the others from the other wives. The dealings he had with them would make a long story to relate and therefore are omitted from this brief history.

The quantity, value, and amount of the tribute that his subjects paid him will be seen and understood later, according to the annotated drawings of the things and types they paid. He demanded that they pay much in tribute, and that they always comply; and for this he put his *calpixques*¹ and stewards in all the towns of his subjects, as governors who commanded and governed them. And since they were so feared, no one dared countermand or overstep his will and order. But [his will] was entirely kept and obeyed, because he was inexorable in the execution and punishment of rebels.

In the sixteenth year of Motecuhzoma's reign, the Mexicans had a report of certain Spaniards, discoverers of this New Spain, who would return in ships at the end of twelve months to win and conquer this country. And so the Mexicans took note of it and found it to be true, because at the end of the twelve months, Don Hernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, arrived at the port of this New Spain. This was in the seventeenth year of the reign of the said Motecuhzoma, and in the eighteenth year of said reign Motecuhzoma ended his rule and died and passed from this present life. Motecuhzoma succeeded to the said lordship when he was a man of thirty-five years, more or less, so that when he died he was fifty-three years old.

Then in the following year, after the death of Motecuhzoma, the Marqués del Valle and his companions won and pacified this city of Mexico and other neighboring towns. Thus was won and pacified this New Spain.

1. *Calpixque*: tribute collectors.

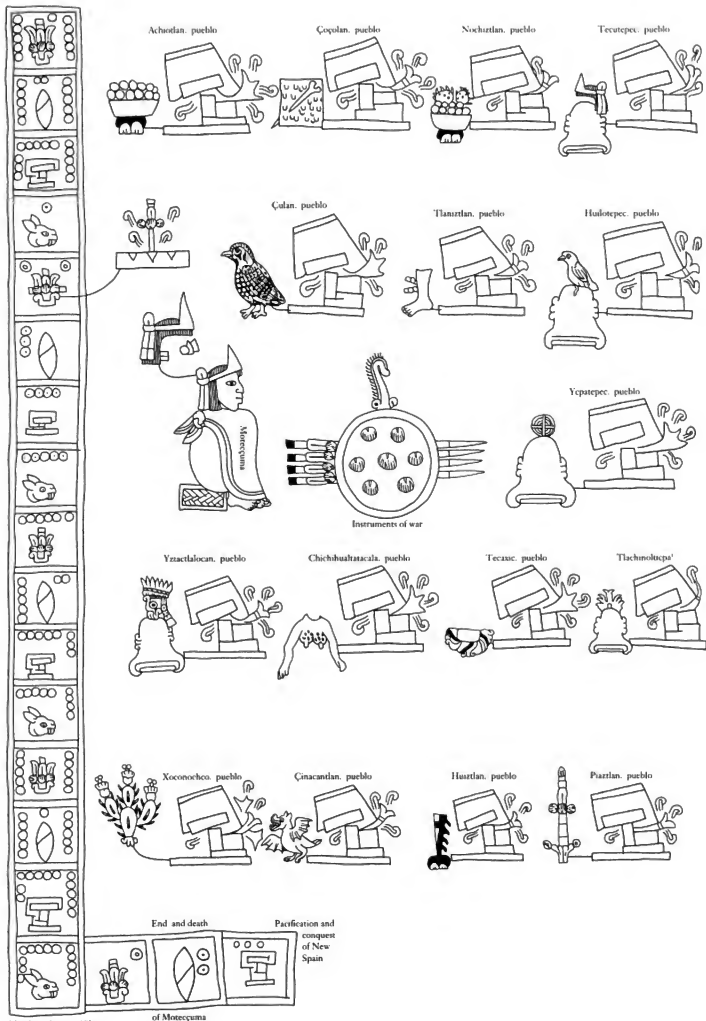
2. Preceding these numbers, "squarenta y ocho años" was crossed out.

3. The last two paragraphs of this section seem to have been added later, perhaps in a different hand. This is consistent with the Conquest-period year glyphs added on folio 15v.

FOLLOWING:
FOLIOS 15v and 16r

1. The ever-present "pueblo" was probably intended, but the annotator ran out of space at the margin.

2. This was originally written "xvi"; the remaining "ii" were added in the same light pen as the three year glyphs above the gloss.



Number of years. 18'

Molanco, pueblo



Caquantepec, pueblo



Pipiyaltepec, pueblo



Hueyapan, pueblo



Tecpatlan, pueblo



Amatlan, pueblo



Caltepec, pueblo



Pantepec, pueblo



Tecoacno, pueblo



Tecoqahta, pueblo



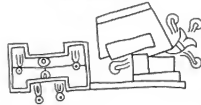
Techapan, pueblo



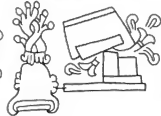
Cacatepec, pueblo



Tlachiquilauca, pueblo



Malinaltepec, pueblo



Quimichtepec, pueblo



Yzucotepec, pueblo



Cencontepec, pueblo



Quetzaltepec, pueblo

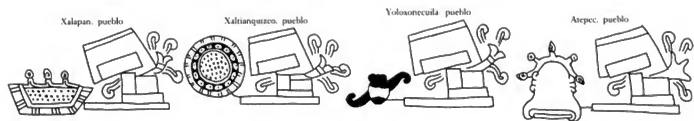


Cuezoconaytlahuacan, pueblo



Huesolotan, pueblo





FOLIO 17r: BLANK

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 16v

FOLLOWING: FOLIOS 17v and 18r

FOLIO 17r · 39

Cataltepec pueblo



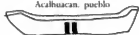
Empanaco pueblo



Xaltocan pueblo



Acalhuacan pueblo



Coatitlan pueblo



Huaxtimitlan pueblo



Coatlayauhcan pueblo



Acólmahuac pueblo



Pupotlan pueblo



Yxtacalan pueblo



Chalco ascenco pueblo



Quauhtochco pueblo

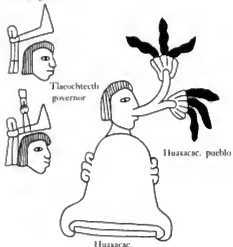


Mixcoul



Tlacatectli governor

Tlacatectli governor



Tlacatectli governor

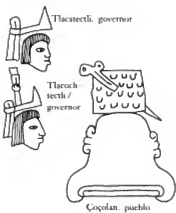
Huaxcac pueblo

Huaxcac

Yatesucan pueblo



Tlacatectli governor

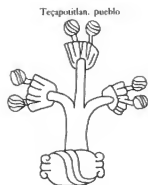
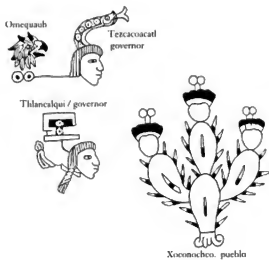
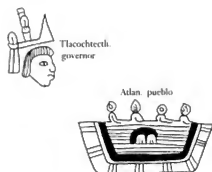
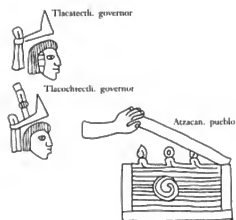
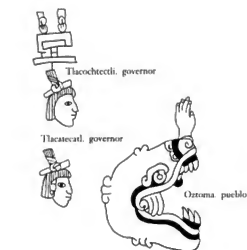


Tlacatectli / governor

Coçolan pueblo

Poçtepec pueblo





The towns drawn and named on this and the preceding page were governed by *caciques* and *principales* of Mexico, placed [there] by the lords of Mexico for the protection and good government of the *naturales*. And they had complete charge of collecting and ordering the collection of the rents and tributes which [the towns] were obligated to give to the state of Mexico, and [they were in charge of] preventing the towns from rebelling.

End of the first part of this history!

La segunda parte de la historia. /

En la plana siguiente estan figurados e yntitulados las cosas y generos que tributavan los de tlatlulco / que al presente llaman santiago al señero [sic] de meuco. / y Resumydo aquy el dicho tributo es lo siguiente

tenyan por tributo Reparar siempre la mezquita nonbrada huiznahuac /

yten quarenta çestos grandes del tamaño de media hanega² de cacao molido con harina de mayz / que llamavan cacahuapinoli en que cada vn çesto tenya myll y seysçientas almendras de cacao

mas otros quarenta çestos de çianpinoli³ /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas⁴ grandes.

mas ochenta pieças de armas de plumas valadis / y otras ochenta Rodelas ansi mysmo de plumas valadis de las diuisas y colores que estan figuradas /.

todo lo qual Eçeto las dichas armas y Rodelas / daban de tributo de ochenta en ochenta dias / y las dichas armas y Rodelas daban de tributo vna vez en todo el año /.

tuvo prinçipio el dicho tributo desde en tienpo de quauhtlatoa y moquihux señores que fueron de tlatlulco /.

los señores de mexico que dyeron prinçipio a los de tlatlulco para que les tributasen Reconociendo vasallaje / fueron yzcoaçi / y axayacaçi /.

Second part of the history.

On the following page are drawn and named the things given in tribute to the state of Mexico by the people of Tlatelolco, now called Santiago. Briefly, the said tribute is the following:

They had as tribute to keep in constant repair the temple called Huiznahuac;

And forty large baskets, the size of a half *fanega*,² of cacao ground with maize flour, which they call *cacahuapinoli*; each basket contained one thousand six hundred cacao beans;

Also another forty baskets of *çianpinoli*;³

Also eight hundred loads of large cloaks;⁴

Also eighty warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, and another eighty shields, likewise of ordinary feathers, of the styles and colors drawn;

All of this, except for the said warrior costumes and shields, they gave in tribute every eighty days; the said warrior costumes and shields they gave in tribute once a year;

The said tribute was begun from the time Quauhtlatoa and Moquihux were lords of Tlatelolco;

The lords of Mexico who began receiving tribute from the people of Tlatelolco, acknowledging vassalage, were Itzcoatl and Axayacatl.

1. "19" was written in the upper-left-hand corner of this verso page.

2. A *fanega* is equivalent to approximately 1.6 bushels.

3. A mixture of chia and ground maize.

4. Rectangular pieces of woven cloth, usually worn as cloaks by men. However, cloths called *mantas* were also used for such widely diverse purposes as wall hangings, bed coverings, and currency.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 19r

1. The annotator here is using the Arabic word for "temple," for which he later apologizes.



20 baskets of cacao ground



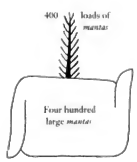
20 of baskets ground cacao



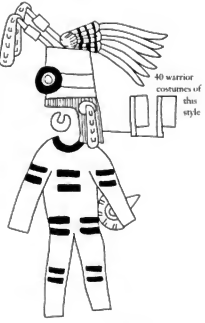
20 of baskets of pineal



20 baskets of pineal



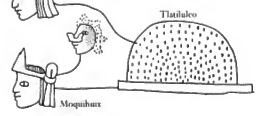
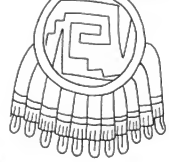
These four figures, like flowers, indicate eighty days, each flower (being worth) twenty days, in which the people of Tlatelolco gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico those things drawn and named on this page.



40 shields of this style



40 shields of this style



los pueblos figurados en las dos planas siguientes Resumydos aquy son diez y ocho² pueblos segun que estan yntitulados /. por los señores de mexico tenyan puesto vn governador llamado petlacalcatl³ / avnque en cada vn pueblo tenyan puestos vn calpixque⁴ ques como mayordomo que tenyan a cargo de hazer Recoger los Rentos y tributos que los dichos pueblos tributavan al señorío de mexico / y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho petlacalcatl como su governador / las cosas y generos que los dichos pueblos tributavan son las siguientes

dos myll y quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes de tela torçida ochoçientas⁵ cargas de mantillas Ropa Rica de las colores que estan figuradas

quatroçientas cargas de maxtlac,⁴ que seruan de pañetes /.

quatroçientas cargas de huipiles y naguas /. todo lo qual davan de seys a seys meses de tributo /.

yten mas daban çinco pieças de armas de plumas Ricas y otras tantas Rodelas / de las colores e diuisas que estan figuradas /.

yten mas tributavan sesenta pieças de armas de plumas valadis / y otras tantas Rodelas de las colores y diuisas que estan figuradas /.

yten mas tributavan vn troxe de frisoles / y otro troxe de çhian / y otro troxe de mayz / y otro troxe de guavtli / ques semylla de bledos /, lo qual de las dichas armas y Rodelas y troxes de frisoles y las demas semyllas / pagavan e tributavan los dichos pueblos vna vez en el año /.

The eighteen² towns drawn and named on the following two pages were ruled by a governor, called *petlacalcatl*,³ assigned by the lords of Mexico; and although in each town they placed a *calpixqui*,⁴ like a majordomo, who was in charge of collecting the rents and tributes that the said towns gave to the state of Mexico, all the said majordomos assisted the said *petlacalcatl* as their governor. The things the said towns paid in tribute are the following:

Two thousand four hundred loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth; Eight hundred loads of small cloaks, rich clothing of the colors drawn;

Four hundred loads of *maxtlac*,⁴ which served as loincloths;

Four hundred loads of women's tunics and skirts—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they gave five warrior costumes of rich feathers, and as many shields, of the colors and styles drawn;

And also they paid in tribute sixty warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, and as many shields, of the colors and styles drawn;

And also they gave in tribute one bin of beans, another of chia, another of maize, and another of *huautli*, which is amaranth seed; the said towns paid in tribute the said warrior costumes, shields, and bins of beans and other seeds once a year.

1. "20" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

2. Twenty-two towns are shown.

3. This was a head tribute overseer; see the descriptive section in volume 2 for a discussion of this name.

4. Tribute collector; the commentator uses the plural form, *calpixque*.

5. The commentator elsewhere correctly writes *maxtlatl*.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 20r

1. A place-name would more properly be Petlalcalco, and such a place is described in Sahagún as a food storage place and/or a locale along the western canal (1950–82 8:44, 51; 12:68, 71). Petlacalcatl would more appropriately designate a person from Petlalcalco or a tribute official (*ibid.*: 8:51).

2. *Maxtlac* is written, although *maxtlatl* would be the more conventional form.

3. While *cargas* (loads) is added immediately following "four hundred," the *de* (of) is missing, suggesting that here, as elsewhere, the notion of "loads" was an afterthought.



Governor Petlacalco



Naxalpan pueblo



Yopoco pueblo



Tepetlaco pueblo



Tecosapan pueblo



Tepechpan pueblo



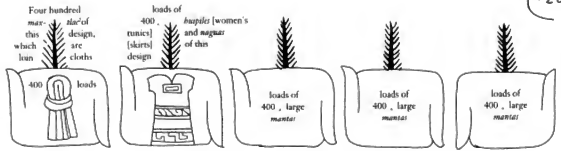
Toqueamecan pueblo



Huiclopucheco pueblo



Colhuacan pueblo



Four hundred loads of this design, are cloths

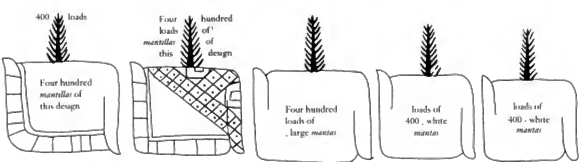
400 loads of this design

400 loads of this design

400 loads of this design

400 loads of this design

400 loads of this design



400 loads of this design

Four hundred loads of this design

Four hundred loads of this design

400 loads of this design

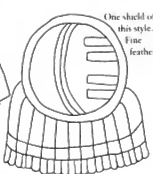
400 loads of this design

400 loads of this design

One warrior costume of this style, annually. Fine feathers



One shield of this style. Fine feathers



One warrior costume of this style, annually. Fine feathers

One shield of this style. Fine feathers



One warrior costume of this style, annually. Fine feathers

One shield of this style. Fine feathers



One warrior costume of this style, annually. Fine feathers

One shield of this style. Fine feathers



Coçotlan pueblo



Tepepulan pueblo



Olac pueblo



Acapan pueblo

Cantabauac. pueblo



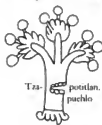
Tenacacoc. pueblo



Misquic. pueblo



Aochpanco. pueblo



Tzapotlan. pueblo

Xico. pueblo



Tozac. pueblo



Tecalco. pueblo



Tlaconahuco. pueblo



Nestlan. pueblo

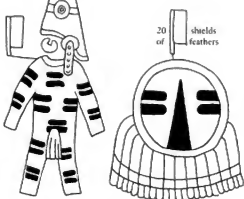


One warrior of this annually, costume style of rich feathers



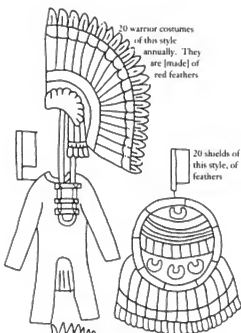
One shield of this style, of rich feathers

20 warrior costumes of this style annually, of rich feathers



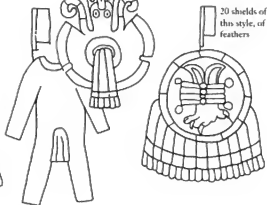
20 of shields of feathers

20 warrior costumes of this style annually. They are [made] of red feathers



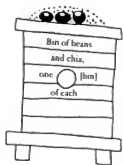
20 shields of this style, of feathers

20 warrior costumes of this style annually, of blue style, of ordinary feathers

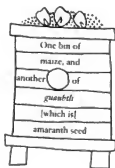


20 shields of this style, of feathers

Bin of beans and chia, one [bin] of each



One bin of maize, and another of guantels [which is] amaranth seed



los pueblos figurados y nonbrados en las dos planas siguientes Resu-
nydos aquy son veynte y seys pueblos / en los quales / los señores
de Mexico desde que fueron conquistados por ellos tenyan puestos
calpixques en cada vno dellos / y en lo mas principal domynava
sobre todos ellos vn governador / para que los mantuyese en paz y
en justicia y les hiziese cumplir sus tributos / y porque no se Reve-
lasen /. los tributos que daban todos los pueblos juntos adelante
contenydos son los siguientes /.

dos myll¹ cargas de mantas grandes de mantas² torçidas /.

mas mill y dosçientas³ cargas de canahuac⁴ Ricas que son matillas
[sic] de que los señores y caçiques vestian de las colores que estan
figuradas

mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl / que son pañetes

mas quatroçientas cargas de guipiles y naguas /. todo lo qual dauan
e pagavan de tributo dos vezes en el año /.

yten davan mas de tributo tres pieças de armas guarneçidas con
plumas Ricas y otras tantas Rodelas de las colores e diuysas que
estan figuradas / lo qual davan en vn año corrido /.

yten mas çient pieças de armas guarneçidas con plumas valadis / y
otras tantas Rodelas de las diuysas y colores que susçesiuamente
estan figuradas lo qual tributavan vna vez en todo el año /.

yten mas quatro troxes grandes de madera / llenas el vno de friso-
les y el otro de çhian / y el otro de mayz y el otro de guavtli ques
semylla de bledos /. en cada vn troxe cabyan quatro y çinco myll
hanegas / lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The lords of Mexico, after having conquered the twenty-six towns
drawn and named on the following two pages, placed in each town
calpixques and, in the principal one, a governor to rule over them,
to maintain peace and justice, assure tribute payment, and prevent
rebellion. The tributes, shown further on, which all the towns paid
together are the following:

Two thousand¹ loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth;²

Also one thousand two hundred³ loads of rich, narrow cotton
cloaks⁴ of the colors drawn, which are small capes the lords and
caciques wore;

Also four hundred loads of *maxtlatl*, which are loincloths;

Also four hundred loads of women's tunics and skirts—all of which
they gave and paid in tribute twice a year;

And also they gave in tribute three warrior costumes trimmed with
rich feathers, and as many shields, of the colors and styles drawn,
which they gave each year;

And also one hundred warrior costumes trimmed with ordinary
feathers, and as many shields, of the styles and colors consecutively
drawn, which they paid in tribute once a year.

And also four large wooden bins, full, the one of beans, another of
chia, another of maize, and another of *huantli*, which is amaranth
seed. Each bin contained four to five thousand *fanegas*, which they
gave in tribute once a year.

1. Following "myll" is written "quatroçientas," which was crossed out.

2. Elsewhere the commentator has more plausibly written "tela" (cloth) in
this context.

3. This has been corrected from "ochoçientas." From this and the previ-
ous passage, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the writer was tempo-
rarily distracted from his work.

4. Molina (1970:12r) defines this as "manta delgada de algodón" (thin
cotton cloak).

FOLLOWING:

FOLIOS 21v and 22r

1. A *calpixqui* is a tribute collector, the one responsible for tribute collec-
tion in this province carries the title "Acolmecat."

2. *Maxtlatl* would be more conventional, although the annotator uses this
form throughout this section of the Mendoza.

Acollhuacan. pueblo



Acollhuacan. *calpiztli*

Huiclan. pueblo



Totolapineo. pueblo



Tlachyahualco. pueblo



Tepetcpa. pueblo



Attaquemeca. pueblo



Teacalco. pueblo



Tonanylla. pueblo



Cenxalan. pueblo



Tepetlaozoc. pueblo



loads of 400 *manillas* of this color and



loads of 400 *manillas* of this design



loads of 400 *manillas* of this design



loads of 400 *white mantas*



loads of 400 *white mantas*



loads of 400 *women's mantas and skirts* of this design



loads of 400 *mantas* which are *lun cloths*



loads of 400 *large mantas*



loads of 400 *large mantas*



loads of 400 *large mantas*



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



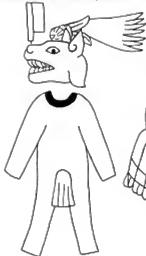
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style



One shield of feathers



Ahuastepc. pueblo



Tixtatepec. pueblo / Comitan. pueblo



/ Yaquequecan. pueblo /



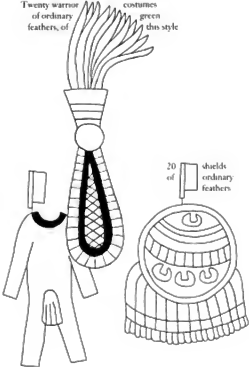
Maticco. pueblo /



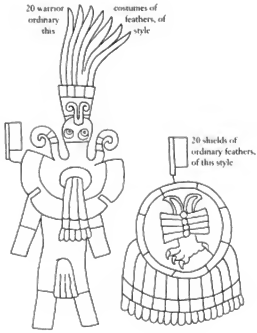
Tamazcalapan. pueblo



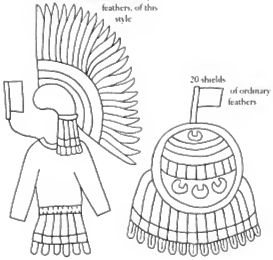
Twenty warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of green this style



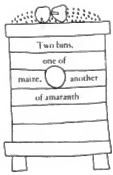
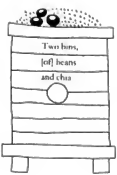
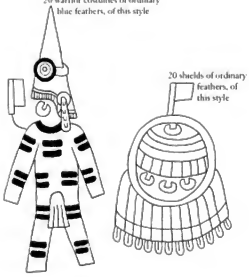
20 warrior ordinary costumes of feathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary blue feathers, of this style



los pueblos figurados y nonbrados en las dos planas siguientes numerados aquí son diez y seys pueblos / los quales tributavan a los señores de Mexico de las cosas figuradas e intituladas en las dichas dos planas / y para que fuesen byen Regidos y gobernados los señores de Mexico en cada vno de ellos tenyan puestos calpixques y sobre todos los calpixque¹ vn governador persona principal de Mexico y así mysmo los calpixques eran Mexicanos / lo qual se hazia e proueyea por los dichos señores para seguridad de la tyerra / de que no se les Reuelasen / y para que les admynystrasen justicia y byuyesen en policía /. los dichos tributos que davan los dichos pueblos segun que por las dichas figuras estan señaladas Resu-mydos aquí son los que se siguen

primeramente tributavan myll y dozentas cargas de mantas grandes de tela torçida

mas ochoçientas ^{cargas} mantillas blancas de la Ropa que vestyan mas myll y dozentas cargas de mantillas de Ricas labores Ropa que vestian los señores y caçiques /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl / que son pañetes que se ponyan

mas quatroçientas cargas de guypiles y naguas Ropa de mugeres todo lo qual tributavan dos vezes en cada vn año / de manera que cada vn tributo daban de seys a seys meses

yten tributavan mas ocho pieças de armas y quatro Rodelas guardadas con plumas Ricas de diuersas colores segun que estan figuradas / lo qual pagavan de tributo vna vez en el año /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera / llenos / de mayz y frisoles / y chian / y guavtli semylla de bledos / cabya en cada vn troxe çinco myll² hanegas / lo qual tributavan vna vez en todo el año /.

mas ocho myll Resmas³ de papel de la tierra / que tributavan dos vezes en el año / que por todos eran en cada vn año diez y seys mill pliegos de papel

mas dos myll xicaras en cada vn tributo / lo qual Davan dos vezes en el año /.

The towns drawn and named on the following two pages number sixteen; they paid tribute in the things drawn and named on the following two pages to the lords of Mexico. So that they be well ruled and governed, the lords of Mexico placed in each one *calpixques*, Mexicans, and over the *calpixque*¹ a governor who was a principal Mexican person. This was done by the said lords for the security of the land against rebellion, and so that they should administer justice and [the people] live in peace. The said tributes that the said towns gave, according to the said drawings, are briefly indicated here and are the following:

First, they gave in tribute one thousand two hundred loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth;

Also eight hundred loads of small white cloaks, clothing they wore;

Also one thousand two hundred loads of small, richly worked cloaks, clothing the lords and *caçiques* wore;

Also four hundred loads of *maxtlatl*, which are loincloths they wore;

Also four hundred loads of tunics and skirts, women's clothing—all of which they gave in tribute twice a year, so that they gave each tribute every six months;

And they gave in tribute eight warrior costumes and four shields trimmed with rich feathers of various colors, as drawn, which they paid in tribute once a year;

Also four large wooden bins, full of maize, beans, chia and *huantli*, amaranth seed. Each bin contained five thousand² *fanegas*, which they gave in tribute once a year;

Also eight thousand reams³ of native paper, which they gave in tribute twice a year, which in total was sixteen thousand sheets of paper each year;

Also two thousand gourd bowls in each tribute, which they gave twice a year

1. Uncharacteristically, the commentator did not add the Spanish plural to this word, which he usually renders in its already-plural Nahuatl form anyway.

2. The commentator seems either more sure of himself or more rushed (he had earlier indicated 4,000–5,000).

3. “Resmas” (reams) replaces a crossed-out “pliegos” (sheets), although the commentator did not change the word for sheets later on in the same passage.

Quauhnahuac pueblo



loads of mantillas of this color



loads of mantillas of this color



loads of mantillas of this color



400 loads



400 loads



400 loads of women's rumes and skirts

400 loads of women's rumes and skirts

loads of 400 large mantas

loads of 400 large mantas

loads of 400 large mantas

Tecoaquino pueblo



Chimalco pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



Huiclayapan pueblo



One shield of rich feathers



Acaul yepac pueblo



Xuchitpec pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



One shield of rich feathers



Atzacatlan pueblo



Molatala pueblo



Xuchitpec pueblo



Xmuvula pueblo / Amacuzcirtila / pueblo



Yedla pueblo



Ocupayucan pueblo /



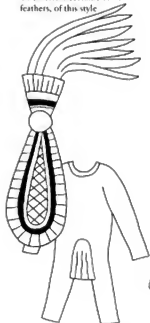
Yztepec pueblo /



Atlixcholoayan - pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers



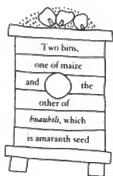
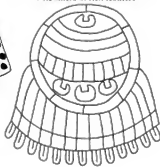
One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



Eight thousand sheets of native paper



los pueblos figurados y nonbrados en las dos planas siguientes numerados aqui son veynte y seys pueblos los quales tributavan a los señores de Mexico de las cosas figuradas e yntituladas en las dichas dos planas / y ansi mysmo como en los de atras Residian en ellos governador y calpixques mexicanos puestos por mano de los señores de Mexico ES¹

los tributos que pagavan son los que se siguen sacados de las dichas figuras y Resumydos aquy /.

primeramente tributavan quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl / que son pañetes /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles Ropa para mugeres /.

mas dos myll y quatroçientas ~~cargas~~ mantas grandes de tela torçida /.

mas ochoçientas ~~cargas~~ mantillas Ricas que vestian los señores y preñçipales² de Mexico / de las colores que son figuradas /.

mas dos mill xicaras harnizadas de las colores que estan figuradas /.

mas ocho myll Resmas³ de papel de la tierra /. todo lo qual dauan en cada vn tributo / que era de seys a seys meses

yten mas tributavan quarenta pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas de plumas teñidas y valadis de diuersas colores segun que estan figuradas /.

mas seys pieças de armas / y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas con las deuyas y colores que estan figuradas /.

mas quatro troxes de mandera [sic] grandes como los de atras / llenos de mayz y frisoles y chian y guavtli / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The towns drawn and named on the following two pages here number twenty-six; they gave as tribute to the lords of Mexico the things drawn and named on the said two pages; and likewise [as mentioned] before, a governor and *calpixques* were placed in them by order of the lords of Mexico, etc.¹

The tributes they paid, taken from the said figures and summed up here, are the following:

First, they gave in tribute four hundred loads of *maxtlatl*, which are loincloths;

Also four hundred loads of skirts and tunics, women's clothing;

Also two thousand four hundred loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth;

Also eight hundred loads of small rich cloaks, which the lords and *principales*² of Mexico wore, of the colors drawn;

Also two thousand gourd bowls varnished in the colors drawn;

Also eight thousand reams³ of native paper—all of which they gave in each tribute, which was every six months;

And also they paid in tribute forty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary dyed feathers of the various colors drawn;

Also six warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers, of the designs and colors drawn;

Also four large wooden bins like those before, full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. This is the commentator's first use of the handy "etc." in this section of the codex.

2. These were important proven men, often of high office.

3. "Plicgos" (sheets) has been crossed out here and replaced by "Resmas" (reams).



Huastec. pueblo



Xochimilcapenco. pueblo



Quauhlan. pueblo

Ahuacapan. pueblo



Aneneccaco. pueblo



Olinzapc. pueblo



Quahulytco. pueblo



Campanco. pueblo



Huacilan. pueblo



Tlalcapan. pueblo



Coscaico. pueblo



Yzampita. pueblo



Teponzan. pueblo



Yauhtepec. pueblo



Yacapichita. pueblo



Tlayacapan. pueblo



Xaloztoc. pueblo



Tecpacinco. pueblo



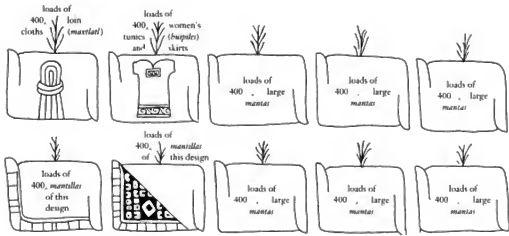
Ayonochapan. pueblo



Tlayacac. pueblo



Tehuacoc. pueblo



loads of 400 loins (mantas)

loads of 400 women's tunics and (bapsils) skirts

loads of 400 large mantas

loads of 400 large mantas

loads of 400 large mantas

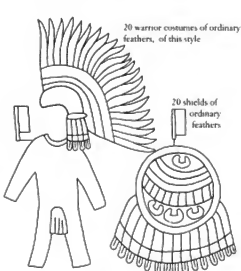
loads of 400 mantas of this design

loads of 400 mantas of this design

loads of 400 large mantas

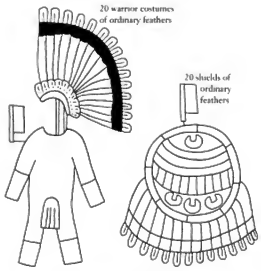
loads of 400 large mantas

loads of 400 large mantas



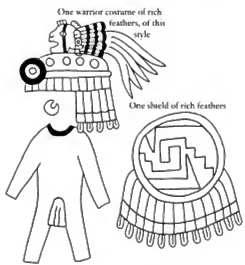
20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style

20 shields of ordinary feathers



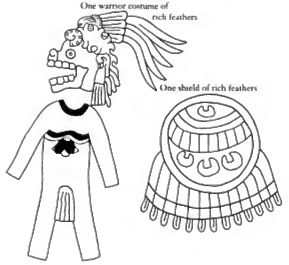
20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers

20 shields of ordinary feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style

One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers

One shield of rich feathers

25

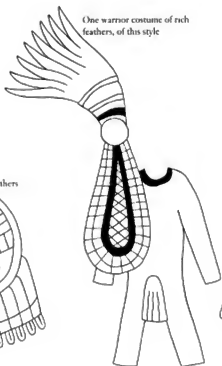
One warrior costume of rich feathers



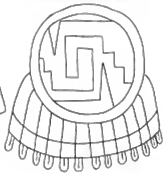
One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



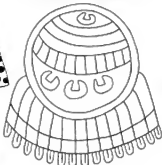
One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



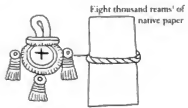
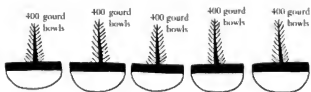
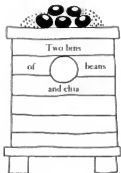
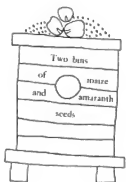
One shield of rich feathers



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



Nejapaalen. pueblo



Tototapan. pueblo

Atlatlaca. pueblo



Amiñcino. pueblo



Atl huelic - pueblo



1. *Pliegos* (sheets) has been crossed out and replaced by *Resmas* (reams).

los pueblos figurados y nonbrados en la vna plana siguyente numerados aqui son siete pueblos / los quales tributavan a los señores de mexico segun que en las partidas de atras se a hecho mynsion / y son los que se siguen

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de Ricas labores /. y ochoçientas cargas de mantillas llanas de las colores que estan figuradas /.

mas quatro myll petates que son esteras / y otros quatro myll espaldares con sus asientos / hechos de Enea¹ y otras yeruas² / lo qual tributavan de seys a seys meses /.

yten mas dos pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la [sic] diuysas y colores que estan figurados mas sesenta pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas valadis /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño y grandez de los de atras / llenos de mayz y frisoles y chian y guavtli / lo qual davan de tributo vna vez en el año /.

The towns drawn and named here on the following page number seven, all of which paid tribute to the lords of Mexico, as has been mentioned in the previous entries, and [the tributes] are the following:

First, four hundred loads of small, richly worked cloaks, and eight hundred loads of small plain cloaks of the colors drawn;

Also, four thousand *petates*, which are mats, and another four thousand seats with backs, made from *enea*¹ and other plants,² which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers of the styles and colors drawn;

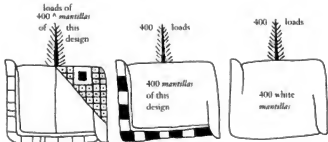
Also sixty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers;

Also four large wooden bins of the same size as those before [mentioned], full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth, which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. "Bulrushes" or "cattails."

2. A generic term for "herbs" and "grasses."

Quauhtlan pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers

One warrior costume of rich feathers

Tehuacan pueblo



One shield of rich feathers



One shield of rich feathers



Alhauayocan pueblo



20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers

20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers

20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers



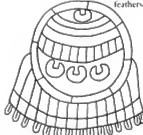
Tepozaco pueblo



twenty shields of ordinary feathers

20 shields of ordinary feathers

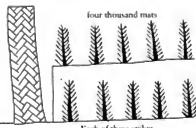
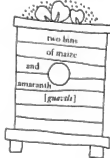
20 shields of ordinary feathers



Cuicahuacan pueblo



Xoloxco pueblo



los pueblos figurados y nonbrados en la plana siguiente / numerados aqui son diez pueblos / los cuales tributavan a los señores de mexico segun que en las partidas de atras se a hecho mynsion / y de las cosas que tributavan son las que se siguen

primeramente ochoçientas cargas de mantillas Ricas y labradas segun que estan figuradas e yntituladas

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas blancas con sus çanefas de negro y blanco /.

mas ochoçientas ^{cargas} de mantillas blancas

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles

mas quatroçientos cantaros grandes de myel espesa de maguey /. todo lo qual tributauan de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas / y otras dos Rodelas de plumas Ricas / de las deuisas que estan figuradas e yntituladas /

yten mas çarenta pieças de armas guarneçidas con plumas valadis y otras tantas Rodelas de las diuysas que estan figuradas /.

yten mas quatro troxes de madera grandes del tamaño de los de atras en las partidas significados el vno de mayz / y otro de frisoles / y otro de çhian / y otro de guavtli semylla de bledos /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The towns drawn and named here on the following page number ten, all of which paid tribute to the lords of Mexico as has been mentioned in the previous entries; and the things they gave in tribute are the following:

First, eight hundred loads of small rich cloaks, worked as drawn and named;

Also four hundred loads of small rich cloaks with their black and white borders;

Also eight hundred loads of small white cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics;

Also four hundred large jars of thick maguey syrup—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

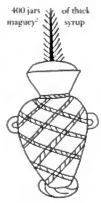
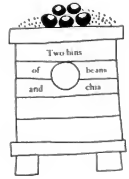
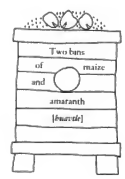
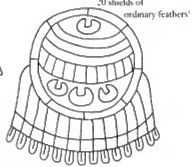
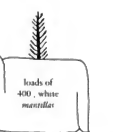
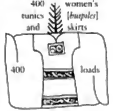
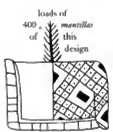
And also they paid in tribute two warrior costumes trimmed with rich feathers, and another two shields of rich feathers, of the styles that are drawn and named;

And also forty warrior costumes trimmed with ordinary feathers and as many shields of the styles that are drawn;

And also four large wooden bins of the same size as those in the previous entries, one of maize, and another of beans, and another of chia, and another of *buautli*, amaranth seed—all of which they paid in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 27r

1. The flag glyph (*pantli*) designating 20 is missing from the shield.
2. The term *maguey* is of Carib derivation; *meil* is the Nahuatl word.



numero de los pueblos de la plana siguiente contenidos e figurados y nonbrados / que tributavan a los señores de Mexico por la orden que los de atras en las partidas declarado / Resumydos aqui los dichos pueblos son syete pueblos y las cosas que tributavan son las siguientes

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de Ricas labores que era Ropa que bestian los señores y caçiques /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas blancas con sus çanefas de blanco y negro /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes de tela torçida /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de cal /, todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas y dos Rodelas / segun que sus deuisas estan figuradas e yntituladas

mas sesenta pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas valadis segun que sus deuyas estan figuradas e yntituladas mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras /, el vno lleno de mayz y otro de frisoles / y otro de çhian / y otro de guavtli / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns contained, drawn, and named on the following page is seven. They paid tribute to the lords of Mexico according to the system explained in the previous entries. Here, briefly, the things they gave in tribute are the following:

First, four hundred loads of small, richly worked cloaks, which were clothing worn by the lords and *caçiques*;

Also four hundred loads of small white cloaks with their white and black borders;

Also eight hundred loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth;

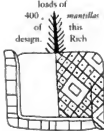
Also four hundred loads of lime—all of which they paid in tribute every six months;

And also they paid in tribute two warrior costumes trimmed with rich feathers, and two shields, according to the styles drawn and named;

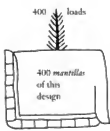
Also sixty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers, according to the styles that are drawn and named;

Also four large wooden bins of the same size as before, one full of maize, and another of beans, and another of chia, and another of amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

Atotonilco, pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style

Guaupalcazu, pueblo



One shield of rich feathers, of this color



One shield of rich feathers, of this style

Quecaltmican, pueblo



Axcayotlan, pueblo



Twenty warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style

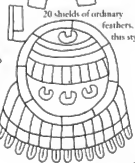


20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style

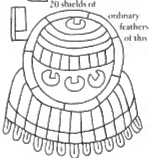


20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style

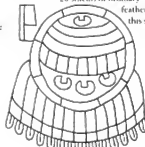
Tehuacan, pueblo



20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style



20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style

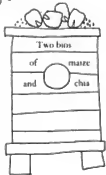


20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style

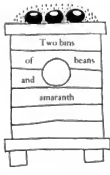
Otlazapan, pueblo



Xalac, pueblo



Two bins of maize and chus



Two bins of beans and amarant



400 of loads of lime

numero de los pueblos de la plana siguiente que son nueve pueblos segun que estan figurados y nonbrados ES.

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de labores Ricas que bestian los señores de mexico y caçiques /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas blancas con sus çañefas de blanco y negro /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantillas de enequen blancas

mas quatroçientos cantaros de myell espesa de maguey /. todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas dos pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarnçeidas con plumas Ricas de las colores e diuysas que estan figuradas e yntituladas /.

mas sesenta pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarnçeidas con plumas valadis de las colores e diuysas que estan figuradas e yntituladas

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras llenos el vno de mayz / y otro de frisoles / y otro de chian / y otro de guavtli todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns on the following page is nine, as they are drawn and named, etc.

First, four hundred loads of small, richly worked cloaks, which the lords of Mexico and *caciques* wore;

Also four hundred loads of small white cloaks with their white and black borders;

Also eight hundred loads of small cloaks of white henequen;

Also four hundred jars of thick maguey syrup—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers of the colors and styles that are drawn and named;

Also sixty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers of the colors and styles that are drawn and named;

Also four large wooden bins of the size of those before, full, the one of maize, and another of beans, and another of chia, and another of amaranth—all of which they paid in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 29r

1. The annotator wrote *enequen* here, although these are most likely *mantas* of maguey fiber.

2. The term *maguey* is of Carib derivation; *mell* is the Nahuatl word.

Hueyuchtla pueblo



Xalac pueblo



Tequisquitl pueblo



Tetlanaloayan pueblo



Xicalhuacan pueblo



Xomeyocan pueblo



Acayocan pueblo



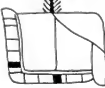
Tezcatpetomas pueblo



Anspan pueblo



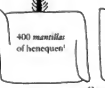
loads of 400, rich of this design



400 loads



400 loads



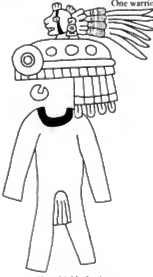
400 loads



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style

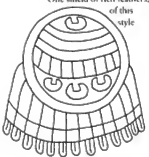


One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary yellow feathers, of this style

One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



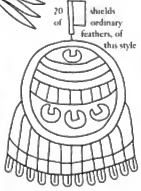
20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style



20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style



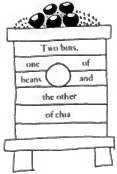
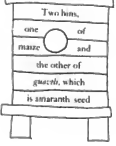
20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style



20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style



400 jars of maguay' syrup



FOLIO 29v

numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente que son seys pueblos ES.

ochoçientas cargas de mantillas Ricas Ropa que vestian los señores de mexico segun que en la dicha plana estan figuradas e yntituladas /.

mas myll y seysçientas cargas de mantillas de enequen blancas todo lo qual tributavan a los señores de mexico de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas quatro pieças de armas y otras tantas de Rodelas guardneçadas con plumas Ricas segun que las colores e diuysas estan figuradas e yntituladas /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera como los de atras llenos de mayz y frisoles y chian y guavtli / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is six, etc.

Eight hundred loads of small rich cloaks, clothing that the lords of Mexico wore, as are drawn and named on the same page;

Also one thousand six hundred loads of small cloaks of white henequen—all of which they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico every six months;

And also four warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers, according to the colors and designs drawn and named;

Also four large wooden bins like those before, full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 30r

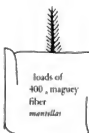
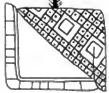
Atotonilco. pueblo



loads of
Four hundred
rich
of
mantillas
rich
this
design



loads of
400, rich
men-
of
tiles
this
design



Acaxochitla. pueblo



One warrior costume
of fine feathers,
of this style



One warrior costume
of fine feathers, of
this style

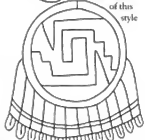


loads of
400, maguery
fiber
mantillas

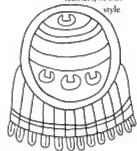
Quauaquecalozan.
pueblo



One shield of
fine feathers,
of this
style



One shield of
fine feathers, of this
style



Hueyapan. pueblo



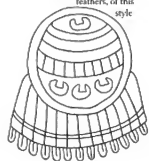
One warrior
costume of fine feathers,
of this style



One warrior costume
of fine feathers, of this
style



One shield of
fine feathers, of this
style



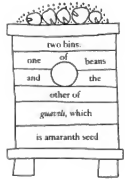
Cizahuatlocan.
pueblo



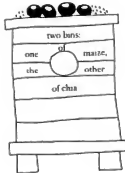
One shield of
fine feathers, of this
style



Tlalancingo. pueblo



two bins:
one of
beams
and the
other of
guarú, which
is amaranth seed



two bins:
one of
maize,
the
other
of chía

numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son syete pueblos ES.

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guipiles muy Ricos /. que es Ropa para mugeres

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas Ricas / Ropa de señores

mas quatroçientas ^{cargas} de naguas labradas

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas Ricas

mas / quatroçientas cargas de mantillas Ricas

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas vetadas por medio de colorado /. todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas vn aguila biua o dos o tres o mas segun que las hallavan

yten dos pieças de armas y otras dos Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la diuysa y color que estan figuradas

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera llenas de mayz y frisoles y chian / y guavtli /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is seven, etc.

First, four hundred loads of very rich skirts and tunics, which are clothing for women;

Also four hundred loads of rich cloaks, clothing for lords;

Also four hundred loads of worked [embroidered?] skirts;

Also eight hundred loads of rich cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of small rich cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of cloaks striped half red—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also a live eagle, or two, or three, or more, according to what they found;

And two warrior costumes and another two shields trimmed with rich feathers of the style and color drawn;

Also four large wooden bins full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

Xilotepec, pueblo



loads of 400, very rich skirts and women's tunics (guipiles)



loads of 400, of this rich mantas design



loads of 400, skirts of this design



loads of 400, rich mantas of this design



loads of 400, rich mantas of this design



Tlatchco, pueblo



loads of 400, mantas of this design



loads of 400, rich mantillas of this design



Tzayamalquipa, pueblo

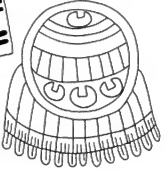


A live eagle which they gave at each tribute; sometimes three, other times four, other times more or less

One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



Michmalayan, pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



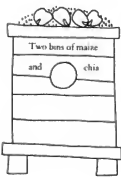
Tepetitlan, pueblo



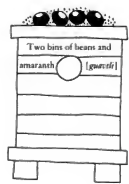
Acaochitla, pueblo



Tecoacuiltlan, pueblo



Two bins of maize and chis



Two bins of beans and amaranth [guazote]

numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son treze pueblos ES.

primeramente ochocientas ^{cargas} de mantillas Ricas de la labor que estan figuradas

mas ochocientas cargas de mantillas de enequen lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas vna pieça de armas y vna Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas /.

mas quarenta pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas valadis / las quales armas tributavan vna vez en el año /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras / llenas de mayz y de frisoles y de chian y de guavtli que ansi mesmo tributavan vna vez en el año /.

yten mas myll y dozientas cargas de leña que tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias

mas myll y dozientas vigas grandes de madera que tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias

mas dos myll y quatroçientos tablonas grande(s) que tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias¹

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is thirteen, etc.

First, eight hundred loads of small rich cloaks, of the design pictured;

Also eight hundred loads of small cloaks of henequen, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also one warrior costume and shield trimmed with rich feathers;

Also forty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers; they gave the warrior costumes in tribute once a year;

Also four large wooden bins of the same size as those before, full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth, likewise given in tribute once a year;

And also one thousand two hundred loads of firewood, which they paid in tribute every eighty days;

Also one thousand two hundred large wooden beams, which they gave in tribute every eighty days;

Also two thousand four hundred large planks, which they gave in tribute every eighty days.¹

1. One thousand two hundred of these are annotated as "morillos" on the pictorial page, and are pictured as taller and narrower than the "tablonas."

1. While the annotator says "enequen" (henequen), the fiber is most likely maguey.

Quahuacan pueblo



loads of mantillas of this design



loads of rich mantillas of 400 of this design



loads of hequequen' mantillas of 400 of



loads of hequequen' mantillas of 400 of



Tecpa pueblo



One warrior costume of rich leathers, of this style



Twenty warrior costumes of ordinary leathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary leathers, of this style



Chapoltmolan pueblo



Tlalahuaco pueblo



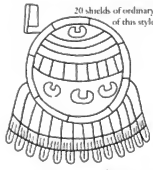
Acatoche pueblo



One shield of rich leathers, of this style



20 shields of ordinary leathers, of this style



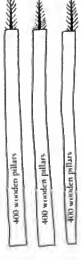
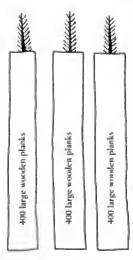
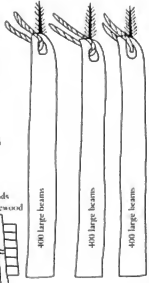
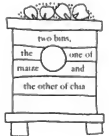
20 shields of ordinary leathers, of this style



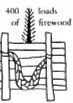
Ameyaco pueblo



Ocoatepec pueblo



pueblo Hutziquilcan



Coatepec pueblo



Quahpanoayan pueblo



Chichiquavla pueblo



Tlalahuaco pueblo



Hutziquila pueblo



numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente ES. son los pueblos treze¹

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de algodón blancas con su çanefa de verde y amarillo y colorado y azeytunado²

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de enequen labradas y vetadas de colorado y blanco y negro /.

mas myll y dozientas cargas de mantillas de enequen blancas / lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas dos pieças de armas con otras tantas Rodelas guarneçadas con plumas Ricas de las deuyas y colores que estan figuradas

mas beynte pieças de armas / y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçadas con plumas valadis de las deuyas y colores que estan figuradas /.

mas seys troxes grandes de madera como los de / atras llenas de frisoles y mayz y çhian y guavtli / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is thirteen,¹ etc.

First, four hundred loads of small white cotton cloaks, with their border of green, yellow, red, and olive green;²

Also four hundred loads of small henequen cloaks, worked and striped in red, white, and black;

Also one thousand two hundred loads of small white henequen cloaks, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers of the styles and colors drawn;

Also twenty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers, of the styles and colors drawn;

Also six large wooden bins like those before, full of beans, maize, chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. Only twelve towns are drawn.

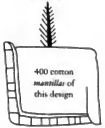
2. Two shades of green are shown, and also one of blue. Blue and green merge in Nahuatl color categories, and this may have influenced the description in this entry.

1. While *enequen* is written, maguety fiber is probably meant.
2. *Mayz* was written erroneously here, then crossed out.

Toluca - pueblo



400 loads



loads of benequen' mantillas of this design



400 loads



400 loads



400 loads



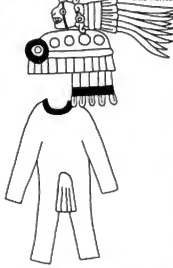
Calixtlahuacan. pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



20 warrior costumes of ordinary feathers, of this style



Xcaltepec. pueblo



Tepetl huacan. pueblo



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



20 shields of ordinary feathers, of this style



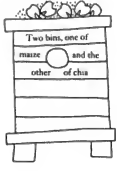
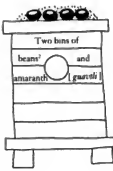
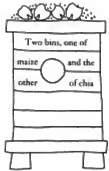
Mitepec. pueblo



Capuliteopan. pueblo



Metepec. pueblo



Cacalomaca. pueblo



Calimayan. pueblo



Teotenanco. pueblo



Tepemaxalco. pueblo



Coquitmanco. pueblo



numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente que son seys pueblos ES.

primeramente tributavan ochoçientas cargas de mantillas Ricas de enequen de la labor que estan figuradas

mas quatroçientas ^{cargas} de mantillas Ricas de algodón de la labor que estan figuradas

mas dos myll panes de sal muy blanca Refinada a manera de formas / la qual se gastaua solamente para los señores de mexico / todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas vna pieça de armas con su Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de las colores y diuysas que estan figuradas

mas beynte pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas valadis de la color y diuysa que estan figuradas

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras / llenos el vno de mayz y y [sic] el otro de frisoles y chian y quavtli /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is six, etc.

First, they gave in tribute eight hundred loads of small rich henequen cloaks, worked as drawn;

Also four hundred loads of small rich cotton cloaks, worked as drawn;

Also two thousand loaves of very white refined salt, like molds, for the sole consumption of the lords of Mexico—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

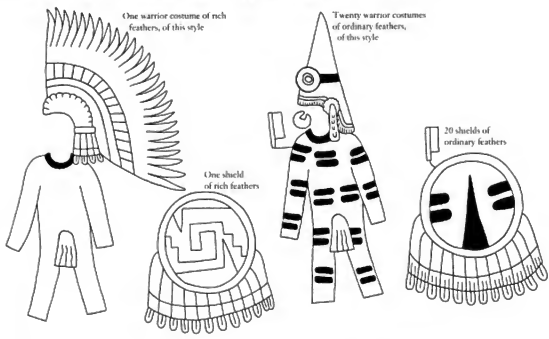
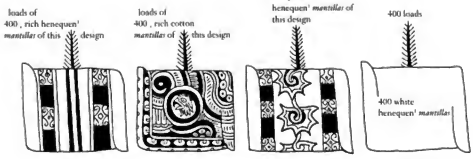
And also one warrior costume with its shield, trimmed with rich feathers of the colors and styles drawn;

Also twenty warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with ordinary feathers of the color and style drawn;

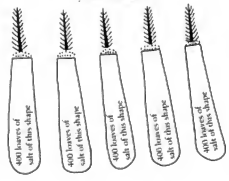
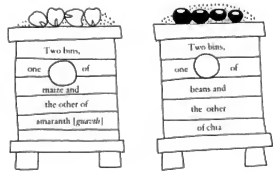
Also four large wooden bins of the same size as those before, full, one of maize, another of beans, and chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 34r

1. The annotator wrote *enequen* here, although these are most likely *mantas* of maguery fiber.



These leaves of salt, for the sole use of the lords of Mexico, were very white and fine.



numero de los pueblos en la plana siguiente figurados e yntitulados que son tres pueblos ES.

primeramente myll y dozientas cargas de mantas grandes de Enequen blando /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de enequen labrado /, todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan vna vez en el año ocho troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras / llenos los dos de mayz / y dos de frisoles / y dos de chian / y dos de guavtli /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is three, etc.

First, one thousand two hundred loads of large cloaks of soft henequen;

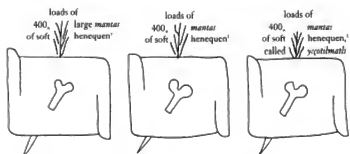
Also four hundred loads of small designed henequen cloaks—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute once a year eight large wooden bins of the same size as those before, full, two of maize, and two of beans, and two of chia, and two of amaranth.

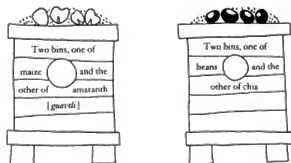
OPPOSITE: FOLIO 35r

1. The annotator wrote *enequen* here, although these are most likely *mantas* of yucca fiber.

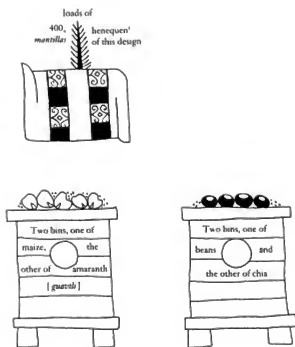
Malinalco pueblo



Compahuacan pueblo



Xocotitlan pueblo



numero de los pueblos contenydos e yntitulados en la plana siguiente / que son diez pueblos de tyerra caliente ES.

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantillas de algodón Ricas de la labor que estan figuradas

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guytiles /

mas myll y dozientas cargas de mantillas de enequen blando /, lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas dozientos cantarillos de myel de avejas

mas myll y dozientas xicaras barnizadas de amarillo /.

mas quatroçientas canastillas de copale blanco para sahumeros /.

mas ocho mill pellas de copale por Refinar enbueltras las pellas con hojas de palma / todo lo qual tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias yten mas dos pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la deuyza y color que estan figuradas

mas dos troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras signyficados / llenos el vno de mayz y el otro de chian / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot lands contained and named on the following page is ten, etc.

First, four hundred loads of small cotton cloaks, worked as drawn;

Also four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics;

Also one thousand two hundred loads of small cloaks of soft henequen, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two hundred little pitchers of bees' honey;

Also one thousand two hundred yellow varnished gourd bowls;

Also four hundred little baskets of white copal for incense;

Also eight thousand balls of unrefined copal, wrapped in palm leaves—all of which they gave in tribute every eighty days;

And also two warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers, of the style and color drawn;

Also two large wooden bins of the same size as those indicated before, full, the one of maize and the other of chia—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 36r

1. While *enequen* (henequen) is written here, the glyph (cloth square with puncturing bone) clearly symbolizes *icotilmath*, or yucca fiber cloaks.

2. *Eic* is written here, although "yellow" was surely meant. The annotator may be quite rushed.



Tlachea pueblo



Acamiyxtahuacon pueblo



Chontalcoatl pueblo



Tetepac pueblo



Tcod itzacan pueblo



Tlamacazapan pueblo



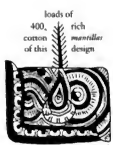
Tepexahuaco pueblo



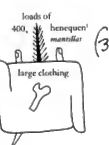
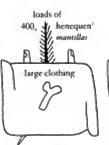
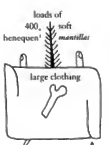
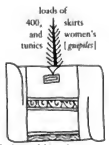
Tzacapuacalco pueblo



Teteanaco pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



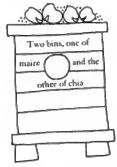
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



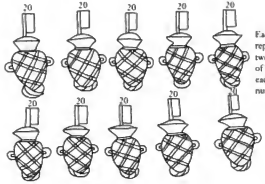
One shield of rich feathers, of this style



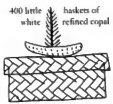
One shield of rich feathers, of this style



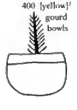
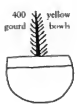
Two bins, one of maize and the other of chia



Each little jar represents twenty little jars of bees' honey, as each little jar is numbered.



Eight thousand balls of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves



numero de los pueblos de tyerra caliente figurados e nonbrados en la plana siguiente que son catorze pueblos ES.

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas colchadas
mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas betadadas [sic] de negro y blanco /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas Ricas
mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles
mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas blancas
mas myll y seysçientas cargas de mantas grandes todo lo qual tributavan de seis en seys meses

yten mas tributavan çien hachuelas de cobre
mas myll y dozientas xicaras de barniz amarillo /.

mas dozientos cantarillos de myel de avejas
mas quatroçientas çestillas de copale blanco para sahumeros
mas ocho myll pellas de copale por Refinar que ansi mysmo se gasta para sahumeros todo lo qual tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias

yten mas dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la deysa que estan figuradas
mas veynte pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas valadis /.

mas çinco sartas de piedras Ricas que llaman chalchihuitl /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras llenos de mayz y de frisoles y de çhian y de guavtli /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn and named on the following page is fourteen, etc.

First, four hundred loads of quilted cloaks;
Also four hundred loads of black and white striped cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of rich cloaks;
Also four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics;
Also four hundred loads of small white cloaks;

Also one thousand six hundred loads of large cloaks—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute one hundred little copper axes;
Also one thousand two hundred yellow varnished gourd bowls;

Also two hundred little pitchers of bees' honey;
Also four hundred little baskets of white copal for incense;

Also eight thousand balls of unrefined copal, which likewise was used for incense—all of which they paid in tribute every eighty days;

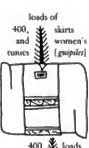
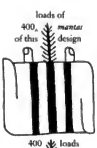
And also two warrior costumes with their shields trimmed with rich feathers, of the style drawn;

Also twenty warrior costumes with their shields, trimmed with ordinary feathers;

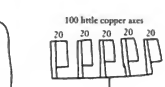
Also five strings of rich stones called *chalchibuitl*;

Also four large wooden bins of the same size as those before, full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

Tepequaculco. pueblo



Chilapan. pueblo



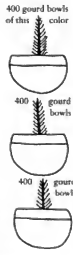
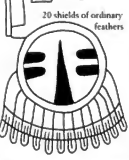
Ohuapan. pueblo



Huitzoan. pueblo



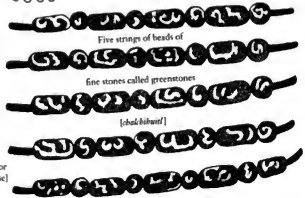
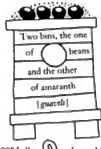
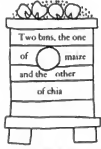
Tlachmalac. pueblo



Yoslan. pueblo



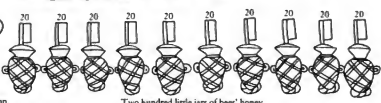
Coclan. pueblo



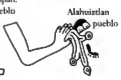
Atenanco. pueblo



Chilacachapan. pueblo



Teloloapan. pueblo



FOLIO 37v

numero de los pueblos de tyerras calientes figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente¹ ES.

primeramente myll y seysçientas cargas de mantas grandes listadas de color naranjado /

mas dos myll y quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes de tela torçida /.

mas ochenta cargas de cacao bermejo

mas quatroçientos fardos de algodón

mas ochoçientas conchas de la mar coloradas a manera de veneras / todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses /.

The number of towns in the hot country drawn and named on the following page [is twelve],¹ etc.

First, one thousand six hundred loads of large, orange-striped cloaks;

Also two thousand four hundred loads of large cloaks of twisted cloth;

Also eighty loads of red cacao;

Also four hundred loads of cotton;

Also eight hundred seashells, colored like scallop shells—all of which they gave in tribute every six months.

1. The commentator, perhaps in his haste, failed to list the number of TOWNS.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 38r

1. The gloss says "leonado," which is tawny in color.



Colima pueblo



Panotlan pueblo



Nochicun pueblo



Yzapan pueblo



Petlatlan / pueblo



Xibaucan pueblo



Apamcalecan pueblo



Cacahuipilecan pueblo



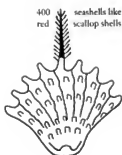
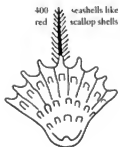
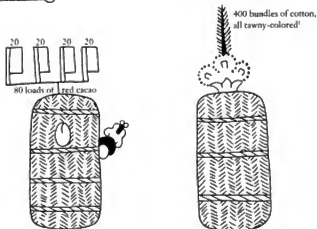
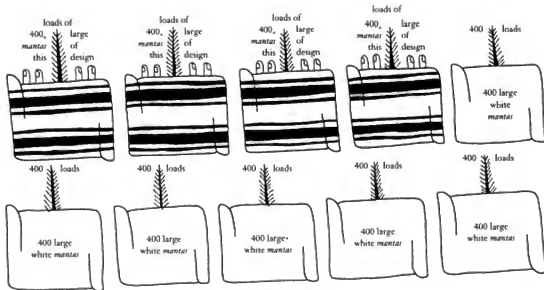
Coyucac pueblo



Cacatlan pueblo



Xolochuhyan pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tyerras calientes figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente¹ ES.

primeramente / quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas vetadas de colorado /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes

mas ochoçientas xicaras que llaman tecomates² de las buenas con que beuen cacao /. todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la deuysa e colores que estan figuradas

mas veynte xicaras de oro en poluo / cada vna xicara tenya de gucco como dos almoçadas³

mas diez tabletas de oro de quatro dedos en ancho / y de largor tres quartas de vara⁴ / y el grosor como de pergamyno /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn and named on the following page [is fourteen],¹ etc.

First, four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics;

Also four hundred loads of small red-striped cloaks;

Also eight hundred loads of large cloaks;

Also eight hundred gourd bowls, called *tecomates*,² good ones in which they drink cacao—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two warrior costumes with their shields trimmed with rich feathers, of the style and colors drawn;

Also twenty gourd bowls of gold dust, each bowl having the capacity of two *almoçadas*;³

Also ten gold tablets, four fingers wide, three-fourths of a *vara*⁴ long, and of the thickness of parchment—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. As in the previous entry, the commentator failed to list the number of towns.

2. While Molina (1970:93) defines *tecomatl* as "vaso de barro" (clay vessel), this term was also used in the southeast of Mexico for a small gourd bowl; these *tecomates* were used especially for the cacao drink (Santamaria 1974: 1019).

3. An *almoçada* is a measure equivalent to the amount that can be "contained in the hollow of both hands placed together" (Clark 1938 1:74).

4. The *vara*, a disputed measurement of length, is most often calculated at 1.67 or 1.68 meters.

Tlapan. pueblo



Xocoila. pueblo



Ychcateopan. pueblo



Amasac. pueblo



Ahuacatla. pueblo



Acocozapan. pueblo



Yzulan. pueblo



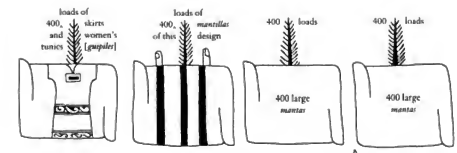
Ocozapan. pueblo



Huiztamola. pueblo



Acuatlan. pueblo



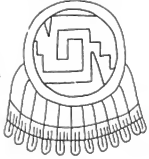
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



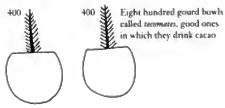
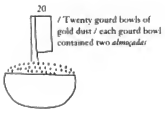
One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



- One gold tablet, four fingers wide and of the thickness of parchment
- The same as above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above
- See above



Malinaltepec. pueblo



Totomistlahucan. pueblo



Tetenanco. pueblo



Chupetlan. pueblo



El pueblo nonbrado e yntitulado en la plana siguyente que se dize / tlalcoçauhtitlan pueblo caliente dava de tributo lo siguyente /. el pueblo de tlalcoçauhtitlan con otros siete pueblos en la partida primera

quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes

çien cantarillos de myel de avejas

veynte çauçelas de teçoçahuid quies vn barnyz amarillo con que se embixavan todo lo qual davan de tributo de seys en seys meses

yten mas vna pieça de armas con su Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas / que daban de tributo vna vez en el año /.

los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente en la partida segunda / tributavan lo siguyente /.

quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes

mas çarenta cascaueles grandes de cobre

mas ochenta hachuelas de cobre

mas çient cantarillos de myel de avejas todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas vna pieça de armas con su Rodela de plumas Ricas

mas vna çauçelica de piedras turquesas menudas todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año / son seys pueblos de tyerras calientes los que en la segunda partida estan figurados e nonbrados

los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente en la partida terçera que son seys pueblos tyerras calientes / tributavan lo siguyente /.

quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes

mas çient cantaricos de myel de avejas que tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas vna pieça de armas con su Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de las diuysas y colores que estan figuradas

mas çarenta texuelos de oro del tamaño de vna ostia¹ y de grosor vn dedo

mas diez Rostros medianos de piedras Ricas de azul turquesadas mas vn emboltorio grande de la [sic] dichas piedras turquesadas / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The hot-country town named on the first part of the following page, called Tlalcoçauhtitlan, with seven other towns, gave the following in tribute:

Four hundred loads of large cloaks;

One hundred little pitchers of bees' honey;

Twenty pans of *teçoçabuitl*, which is a yellow varnish with which they painted themselves—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also one warrior costume with its shield trimmed with rich feathers, which they gave in tribute once a year.

The towns drawn and named in the second part of the following page gave the following in tribute:

Four hundred loads of large cloaks;

Also forty large copper bells;

Also eighty little copper axes;

Also one hundred little pitchers of bees' honey—all of which they paid in tribute every six months;

And also one warrior costume with its shield of rich feathers;

Also one little pan of small turquoise stones—all of which they gave in tribute once a year. There are six towns of the hot lands drawn and named in the second part.

The towns drawn and named in the third part of the following page are six towns of the hot lands. They gave the following in tribute:

Four hundred loads of large cloaks;

Also one hundred little pitchers of bees' honey, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also one warrior costume with its shield, trimmed with rich feathers of the styles and colors drawn;

Also forty gold tiles the size of a host,¹ and one finger thick;

Also ten medium-sized masks of rich turquoise-blue stones;

Also one large packet of the said turquoise stones—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. Probably about three inches in diameter (see Clark 1938 1:75).

One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



400 loads



20



Twenty earthen pans of *azapansul*, which is a yellow varnish with which they painted themselves

20 20 20 20 20



One hundred little jars of bees' honey

Tlacoahuatlan, pueblo



Tolimani pueblo



/Quauhtecomaquico pueblo



Ychcatlan, pueblo



Tepeuztan, pueblo



Ahuaciquico, pueblo



Mitazco, pueblo



Cacatla, pueblo



40 large bells of brass or copper



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



loads of 400 large mantas



100 little jars of bees' honey



One little earthen pan of small turquoise stones



80 little copper axes



Quauhtecopan, pueblo



Otinan, pueblo



/Quauhtecomaquico pueblo



/Quilac, pueblo



/Ychcatlan, pueblo



/Xala, pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One hundred little jars of bees' honey



400 loads



20



20



Ten marks of rich blue stones



One large packet of the said blue stones



40 tiles of gold, the size of a Host and a finger thick

Yualtepec, pueblo



/Ehuaculo, pueblo



/Tlalacoapan, pueblo



/Pastalanan, pueblo



/Yaicayan, pueblo



/Ychca atoyac, pueblo



numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente¹ ES.

primeramente tributavan ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de las colores que estan figuradas /.

mas quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras llenos de mayz y de frisoles y de çhian y de guavtli /.

mas otros quatro troxes grandes de madera del dicho tamaño / de las mysmas cosas

mas quatro troxes de madera grandes del dicho tamaño llenos de mayz / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page [is six],¹ etc.

First, they gave in tribute eight hundred loads of large cloaks, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they paid in tribute two warrior costumes and as many shields trimmed with rich feathers of the colors drawn;

Also four large wooden bins of the same size as those before, full of maize, beans, chia, and amaranth;

Also another four large wooden bins of the said size, with the same things;

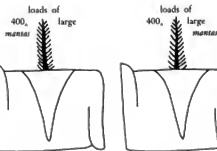
Also four large wooden bins of the said size, full of maize—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. As in the two prior entries, the commentator omitted the number of towns.

Chalco, pueblo



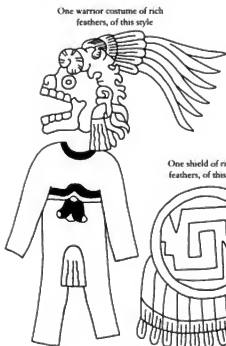
(41



Tecmico, pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style

One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



Tepuztlan, pueblo



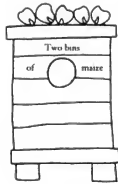
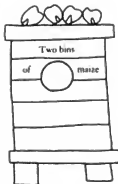
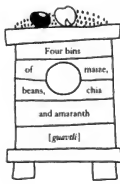
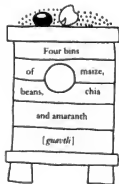
Xocoyotztec / pueblo



Malmaltepec, pueblo



Quavumulco, pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tierras calidas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente /. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen¹ / en cada vn pueblo avia calpixques mexicanos y la mysama orden y Regimiyento y govyrno que en los demas pueblos y prouynçias de atras contenydos / y ansi en lo de adelante por abreuair solamente / yran numerados ansi los pueblos como los tributos que tributavan / en lo tocante al govyrno dellos por sus calpixques se entedera² de los de adelante contenydos que tenyan la mysama orden y govyrno /. son veynte y dos pueblos los contenydos en la plana siguiente. /

primeramente tributavan quatro mill cargas de cal

mas quatro myll cargas de varas de cañas maçiqas que nonbran otlatl /.

mas ocho myll cargas de cañas con que hazian los mexicanos flechas para las guerras

mas ochoçientos cueros de venados

mas ocho mill cargas de acayitl que son perfumes que vsan los yndios³ por la boca

mas dozientos caxactles / que son aparejos con que los yndios¹ llevan cargas a cucstas / a manera de albardas /. todo lo qual tributavan de ochenta en ochenta dias /.

yten mas quatro troxes grandes de madera de las medidas y tamaño de los de atras contenydos llenos los dos de mayz y los otros dos de frisoles /. los quales tributavan vna vez en el año /

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn and named on the following page is twenty-two; the things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico follow.¹ In each town they had Mexican *calpixques* with the same order, ruling, and government as in the other towns and provinces before mentioned, and likewise in those named hereafter, although, for brevity, only the towns and their tributes are listed. Concerning their governing by their *calpixques*, it will be understood² as the before-mentioned [entries]; they had the same order and government.

First, they gave in tribute four thousand loads of lime;

Also four thousand loads of rods, of solid canes, which they call *otlatl*;

Also eight thousand loads of canes with which the Mexicans made arrows for warfare;

Also eight hundred deerskins;

Also eight thousand loads of smoking canes, which are perfumes which the Indians³ use for the mouth;

Also two hundred carrying frames, which are crates on which the Indians¹ carry loads on the back, like pack saddles—all of which they gave in tribute every eighty days;

And also four large wooden bins of the measure and size of those before mentioned, two full of maize and the other two of beans, which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. The commentator failed to discuss the tribute in war captives pictured on the page.

2. This was probably intended to read *entendera* (entenderá).

3. This is a rare use of the term "yndios." See also folio 42v.

1. The Nahuatl, *chuhuitca*, is actually the plural, "people."

2. Glyphic symbols expressing "200" are absent here, as they are in the related *Matricula de Tributos*. The *Matricula* glosses this as *matlactepantli* (200) in Nahuatl, and *diez* (10) in Spanish.

Tepexac pueblo



Quechualac pueblo



Tecamachalco pueblo



Acatrincio pueblo



Tecaleo pueblo



Yecochimanco pueblo



Quauhincan pueblo



Chuctlan pueblo



Quatlatahcan / pueblo



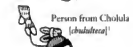
Tepexac pueblo



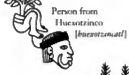
Viznucan pueblo



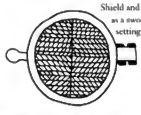
Person from Tlaxcala [tlaxcaltecatl]



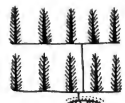
Person from Chichala [chichaltecatl]



Person from Huecortirico [hucortiricatl]



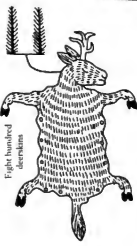
Shield and stick used as a sword, with its setting of knives



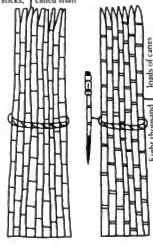
Four thousand loads of lime



Four thousand loads of stout cane sticks, called *atlatl*



Eight hundred arrows



Eight thousand loads of canes with which they make arrows



Atzacubacan pueblo



Uztotlapecho pueblo



Chaltecpimlan pueblo



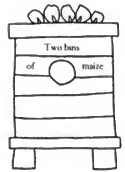
Nacoctlan pueblo



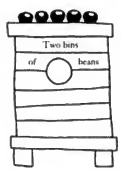
Epatlan pueblo



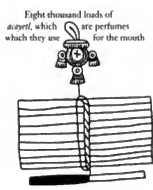
Coatzincan pueblo



Two bins of maize

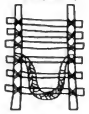


Two bins of beans



Eight thousand loads of *axayotl*, which are perfumes for the mouth

Two hundred carrying frames (*saxatli*)



Quauhquecholan pueblo



Teonochitlan pueblo



Teopanlan pueblo



Huehuatlan pueblo



Teteanco pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas y tenpladas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son onze pueblos ES. lo que tributavan es lo que se sigue

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas colchadas de Rica labor

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas vetadas de colorado / y blanco
mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas vetadas de blanco y negro /
mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl / que seruyan de pañetes a los yndios²

mas quatroçientas cargas de guypiles y naguas /. todo lo qual tributavan a los señores de mexico de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas y otras tantas Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de las colores e deuisas que estan figuradas

mas dos sargas de cuentas de chalchiguitl³ piedras Ricas

mas ochoçientos manojos de plumas verdes largas y Ricas que llaman queçali⁴

mas vna pieça de tlalpiloni de plumas Ricas que seruia de ynsignya Real de la hechura que esta figurado /.

mas quatroenta talegas de grana que llaman grana de cochinylla

mas veynte xicaras de oro en poluo de lo fino /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot and temperate lands drawn and named on the following page is eleven, etc. They paid the following in tribute:

First, four hundred loads of richly worked quilted cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of cloaks striped in red and white;

Also four hundred loads of cloaks striped in white and black;

Also four hundred loads of *maxtlatl*, which served as loincloths for the Indians;²

Also four hundred loads of women's tunics and skirts—all of which they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico every six months;

And also they paid in tribute two warrior costumes and as many shields, trimmed with rich feathers of the colors and styles drawn;

Also two strings of greenstones, rich stones;

Also eight hundred bundles of long, rich, green feathers called *quetzalli*;⁴

Also one *tlalpiloni* (headpiece) of rich feathers, which served as a royal badge, of the kind drawn;

Also forty bags of cochineal, called *cocinilla*;

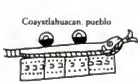
Also twenty gourd bowls of the finest gold dust—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. "f- 43." is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

2. This is a rare use of the term "yndios" (see also folio 41v). Use of this term is unusual in Nahuatl documents of this period.

3. This is the only place where the commentator gives an unconventional spelling of *chalchibuitl*.

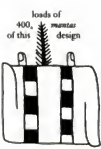
4. *Quetzalli*.



Coaxtlahuacan pueblo



loads of 400, quited of this rich mantar design



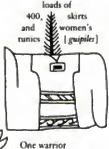
loads of 400, of this mantar design



loads of 400, of this mantar design



loads of 400, cloths (maxtla)



loads of 400, skirts and women's (gopale)



Texapan pueblo



Tamaçulapan pueblo



Yancuiclan pueblo



Tepuscululan pueblo



Nochretlan pueblo



Xaltepec pueblo



Tamaçolan pueblo



Mictlan pueblo



Coaxomulco pueblo



Cuicatlan pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style

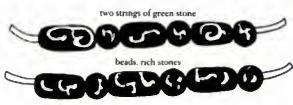


One shield of rich feathers, of this style



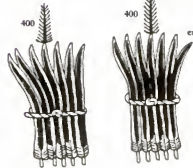
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style

One shield of rich feathers, of this style



two strings of green stone

beads, rich stones

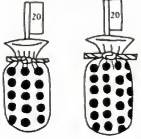


400

400

handfuls of eight hundred, rich long green feathers called quetzale

forty bags of grana, called ochmalla



twenty gourd bowls of fine gold dust



One headpiece (tlapilum) of rich feathers of this form, which served as a royal badge

numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas y tenpladas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son onze pueblos ES. lo que tributavan es lo que se sigue

primeramente tributavan quatrocientas cargas de mantas colchadas de Rica labor

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes / lo qual tributavan a los señores de mexico de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan quatro troxes grandes de madera del tamaño de los de atras llenos los dos de mayz y vno de frisoles y otro de chian

mas veynte texuelos de oro fino del tamaño de vn plato mediano y de grosor como el dedo pulgar

mas veynte talegas de grana de cochinylla todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot and temperate lands drawn and named on the following page is eleven, etc. They paid the following tribute:

First, they gave in tribute four hundred loads of richly worked quilted cloaks;

Also eight hundred loads of large cloaks, which they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico every six months;

And also they gave in tribute four large wooden bins of the same size as those before, two full of maize, one of beans, and another of chia;

Also twenty tiles of fine gold of the size of a medium plate, and of the thickness of a thumb;

Also twenty bags of cochineal dye—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. "f. 44" is written in the upper-left-hand corner of this page.

Coyolapan. pueblo



Eftan. pueblo



Quaxvotitlan. pueblo



Gussacac. pueblo



Carnotlan. pueblo



Teocuitlan / pueblo



aatzontepec pueblo



Octlan. pueblo



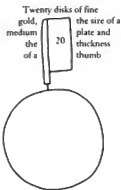
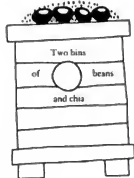
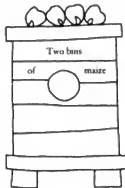
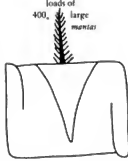
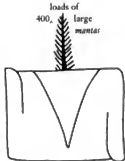
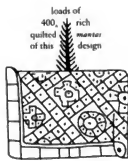
Tenepac. pueblo



Tlalcuechahuayan. pueblo



Maculsochuc. pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas figurados en la plana siguiente que son tres pueblos ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes que tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan vna pieça de armas con su Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de las colores que estan figuradas

mas veynte xicaras llenas de oro en poluo fino /.

mas çinco talegas de grana de cochinylla

mas quatroçientos manojos de plumas verdes Ricas que llaman quetzali¹ / todo lo qual tributauan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn on the following page is three, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of large cloaks that they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they paid in tribute one warrior costume with its shield, trimmed with rich feathers of the colors drawn;

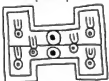
Also twenty gourd bowls full of fine gold dust;

Also five bags of cochineal dye;

Also four hundred bundles of rich green feathers called *quetzalli*¹—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. Conventionally spelled *quetzalli*.

Tlachquavco. pueblo



Achoatan. pueblo



Capotlan / pueblo



400 loads of large mantas



Twenty gourd bowls of fine gold dust



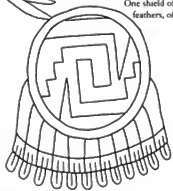
Five bags of cochineal



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



Four hundred handfuls of quetzal feathers/ rich feathers



numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas y tenpladas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente que son veynte y dos pueblos ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen primeramente tributavan myll y seysçientas cargas de mantas Ricas / Ropa que vestian los señores y caciques

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas listadas de colorado y blanco y verde

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles /. todo lo qual tributauan de seys en seys meses /.

yten mas tributavan vna pieça de armas con su Rodela guarneçidas con plumas Ricas con su deuysa de paxaro / y colores segun que estan figuradas /.

mas vna Rodela de oro

mas vna deuysa para armas a manera de ala / de plumas amarillas Ricas

mas vna diadema de oro de la hechura que esta figurado /.

mas vn Apretador de oro para la cabeça de ancho vna mano y de grosor como de pergamyno /.

mas dos sartas de cuentas y collar de oro /.

mas tres pieças grandes de chalchihuitl piedras Ricas /.

mas tres sartas de cuentas todas Redonditas de chalchihuitl piedras Ricas

mas quatro sartas de cuentas de chalchihuitl piedras Ricas /.

mas veynte beçotes de ambar claro guarneçidos con oro /.

mas otros veynte beçotes de biriles¹ con su esmalte de azul y guarneçidos con oro /.

mas ochenta manojos de plumas Ricas verdes que llaman queçali² /.

mas quatro pieças de plumas Ricas verdes como manojos guarneçidas con plumas amarillas Ricas

mas ocho mill manojuelos de plumas turquesadas Ricas /.

mas ocho myll manojuelos de plumas coloradas Ricas

mas ocho myll manojuelos de plumas verdes Ricas

mas çien ollas o cantaros de liquidambar fino /.

mas dozientas cargas de cacao /.

mas diez y seys myll pellas Redondas como pelotas de oli / ques goma de arboles / y dando con las pelotas en el suelo / saltan mucho en alto /. todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot and temperate lands drawn and named on the following page is twenty-two, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, they paid in tribute one thousand six hundred loads of rich cloaks, clothing the lords and *caciques* wore;

Also eight hundred loads of cloaks striped in red, white, and green;

Also four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute one warrior costume with its shield trimmed with rich feathers, with its [back] device of a bird, and in the colors drawn;

Also one gold shield;

Also one [back] device for warrior costumes, like a bird's wing, of rich yellow feathers;

Also a gold diadem of the form drawn;

Also one gold headband, one hand wide and of the thickness of parchment;

Also two strings of beads and a collar, of gold;

Also three large pieces of greenstones, rich stones;

Also three strings of round stones of greenstone beads, rich stones;

Also four strings of greenstone beads, rich stones;

Also twenty lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold;

Also another twenty lip plugs of crystal¹ with their blue smalt and gold setting;

Also eighty bundles of rich green feathers called *quetzalli*;²

Also four pieces, like bundles, of rich green feathers trimmed with rich yellow feathers.

Also eight thousand little bundles of rich turquoise-blue feathers;

Also eight thousand little bundles of rich red feathers;

Also eight thousand little bundles of rich green feathers;

Also one hundred pots or jars of fine liquidambar;

Also two hundred loads of cacao;

Also sixteen thousand round balls of rubber, which is the gum of trees, and when the balls are thrown on the ground they bounce very high—all of which they paid in tribute once a year.

1. Stevens (1726) defines "beril" as "a greenish precious stone, call'd a beryl," and "beriles" or "biriles" as "fine glasses to preserve the sight or to call before relics, or pictures in miniature." The annotation for this item describes it as crystal.

2. Most usually, *quetzalli*.

1. The gloss says *diassa de granas de plumas Ricas*, the *granas* perhaps referring to the red color of the standard.

2. The customary *pueblo* is absent here, probably due to lack of space.

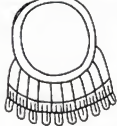
Tochtepec / pueblo



Xayaco pueblo



One gold shield of this fashioning



Oltatlan / pueblo



One shield of rich feathers



Device of rich feathers



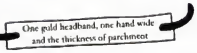
One gold studen of this fashioning



Cozumaloapan pueblo



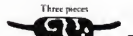
One gold headband, one hand wile and the thickness of parchment



Mistlan / pueblo



One string of gold beads

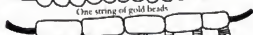


Three pieces of chahobahul



Three strings of chahobahul, rich stones

Michapan / pueblo



One string of gold beads



rich stones



Three strings of chahobahul, rich stones

Ayetzantepec / pueblo



Four strings of chahobahul, rich stones



Twenty lip plugs of clear amber, with the setting of gold at the end



Three strings of chahobahul, rich stones

Mictlan pueblo



Four pieces of rich feathers, made like handfils into this form

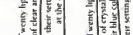
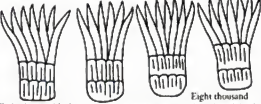


Twenty lip plugs of crystal, with their blue coloring, and their setting of gold



Eighty handfils of rich feathers

Toedtlan pueblo



One hundred pots or jars of liquid-amber



Two hundred loads of cacao

Xaltepec pueblo



Eight thousand little handfils of rich turquoise feathers

Eight thousand little handfils of rich red feathers

Eight thousand little handfils of rich green feathers



One hundred loads of cacao



Yaotlan / pueblo

Ostlan / pueblo



Yamatlan pueblo



Tortlan pueblo

Tinacantan pueblo



Totontepec pueblo

Chinatlan pueblo

Ayoztepec pueblo

Cuacocmitlan pueblo



Puctan pueblo

Teteatlan pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tierras calidas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente ES. son los pueblos siete¹ / las cosas que tributauan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente dos sargas grandes de chalchihuitl piedras Ricas mas myll y quatrocientos² manojos de plumas Ricas azules / y coloradas / y verdes / y turquesadas / y coloradas / y verdes / que estan figurados en seys manojos /.

mas ochenta pieles enteros de pajaros de plumas Ricas turquesados y en los pechos morados de las colores que estan figurados /.

mas otros ochenta pieles enteros de los dichos pajaros

mas ochocientos manojos de plumas Ricas amarillas

mas ochocientos manojos de plumas Ricas verdes y largas que llaman queçale³ /.

mas dos beçotes de ambar claro guarneçidos con oro /.

mas dozientas cargas de cacao /.

mas quarenta⁴ pieles de tigres XL. pieles

mas ochocientos tecomates⁵ Ricos con que beuen cacao /.

mas dos pieças grandes de ambar claro del tamaño de vn ladrillo /. todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses /.

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn and named on the following page is seven,¹ etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, two large strings of greenstones, rich stones;

Also one thousand four hundred² bundles of rich feathers of blue, red, green, turquoise-blue, red, and green, which are drawn in six bundles;

Also eighty complete bird skins, of rich turquoise-blue feathers and purple breasts, of the colors drawn;

Also another eighty complete skins of the said birds;

Also eight hundred bundles of rich yellow feathers;

Also eight hundred bundles of rich, long green feathers, called *queçalli*;³

Also two lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold;

Also two hundred loads of cacao;

Also forty⁴ jaguar skins, 40 skins;

Also eight hundred rich bowls⁵ for drinking cacao;

Also two large pieces of clear amber of the size of a brick—all of which they gave in tribute every six months.

1. Glyphs for eight towns are pictured.

2. The commentator erred here, certainly meaning to write "dos myll y quatrocientos."

3. Conventionally, *queçalli*.

4. It appears that "dozientas" was crossed out; then "XL pieles" was added for clarification.

5. See note 2 on the translation of folio 38v for a discussion of *tecomates*.

1. The annotator uses *tigre* to describe these pelts; jaguar skins are most likely.

Xocochocho, pueblo



/ Ochpanitli /



In eribute

Tlacaupehualitztl



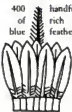
47



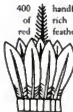
Two strings of green stone / rich stones



Ayotlan, pueblo



400 handfuls of blue rich feathers



400 handfuls of red rich feathers



400 handfuls of green rich feathers



400 handfuls of turquoise rich feathers



400 handfuls of red rich feathers



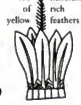
400 handfuls of green rich feathers

Coyacan, pueblo

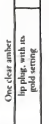
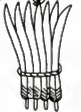


400 handfuls of green rich feathers

Mapachtepec, pueblo



400 handfuls of yellow rich feathers



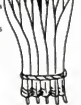
One clear amber lip plug with its gold setting



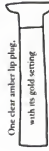
80 bird skins of this color



400 handfuls of yellow rich feathers



400 handfuls of green rich feathers



One clear amber lip plug with its gold setting

Maatlan, pueblo



One hundred loads of cacao

Twenty jaguar skins



One hundred loads of cacao

Twenty jaguar skins



Huitlan, pueblo



400 gourd bowls of this shape, for drinking cacao



400 gourd bowls of this shape, for drinking cacao



Acapetlan / pueblo



Huachuatlan, pueblo



One large piece of clear amber, the size of a brick



One large piece of clear amber, the size of a brick



FOLIO 47v

numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas y tenpladas que son siete pueblos los figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las siguyentes primeramente / quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes que tributavan de seys en seys meses
mas veynte cargas de cacao /.
mas myll y seysçientos fardos de algodón todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot and temperate lands drawn and named on the following page is seven, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of large cloaks that they gave in tribute every six months;

Also twenty loads of cacao;

Also one thousand six hundred bales of cotton—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 48r

Quauhtochco, pueblo



Tehuiclotzapotlan, pueblo



Totonlan / pueblo



Tuchonco, pueblo



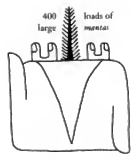
Ahuilizapan, pueblo



Quauhteteco, pueblo



Yetzeyocan / pueblo



numero de los pueblos de tyerras calidas y tenpladas que son seys pueblos contenydos y figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen /.

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de guypiles y naguas / que es Ropa de mugeres

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas medio colchadas /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantillas con sus çanefas de blanco y negro /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas de a quatro braças cada vna manta la mytad listadas de negro y blanco y la mytad a manera de Reja de prieto y blanco /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes blancas de a quatro braças cada vna manta

mas çiento y sesenta cargas de mantas Ricas muy labradas Ropa de señores y caçiques /.

mas myll y dozientas cargas de mantas / listadas mas de blanco que de prieto / todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yt en mas dos pieças Ricas de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas segun que estan figuradas

mas vna sarta de chalchihuitl piedras Ricas

mas quatroçientos manojos de plumas Ricas verdes largas que llaman queçali¹ /.

mas veynte beçotes de bariles² esmaltados de azul y engastados en oro /.

mas veynte beçotes de ambar claro guarneçidos con oro /.

mas dozientas cargas de cacao /.

mas vn queçaltalpiloni³ / de plumas Ricas verdes de queçali / que seruia a los señores de ynsignya Real de la hechura que esta figurado todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot and temperate lands contained, drawn and named on the following page is six, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of tunics and skirts, which is women's clothing;

Also four hundred loads of half-quilted cloaks;

Also four hundred loads of small cloaks with their white and black borders;

Also four hundred loads of cloaks, each cloak four *brazas* [long], one-half striped in black and white and one-half like a grating of black and white;

Also four hundred loads of large white cloaks, each cloak four *brazas* [long];

Also one hundred sixty loads of very richly worked cloaks, clothing of lords and *caciques*;

Also one thousand two hundred loads of cloaks, striped more white than black—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also two rich warrior costumes with their shields trimmed with rich feathers as drawn;

Also one string of greenstones, rich stones;

Also four hundred bundles of rich, long green feathers called *quetzalli*;³

Also twenty lip plugs of crystal,¹ with blue smalt and set in gold;

Also twenty lip plugs of clear amber, decorated with gold;

Also two hundred loads of cacao;

Also one *quetzaltalpiloni*³ of rich green quetzal feathers, which served the lords as a royal badge, of the form drawn—all of which they gave in tribute once a year.

1. Conventionally, *quetzalli*.

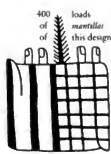
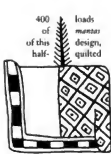
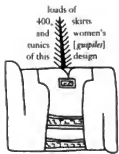
2. See note 1, folio 45v. Here the pictorial annotation does not indicate crystal.

3. The *quetzaltalpiloni* was worn on the head.

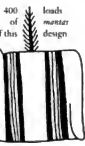
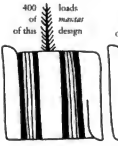
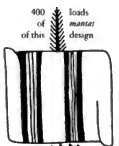
1. Here and elsewhere the annotator wrote *brazas*, omitting the requisite *cedilla* to yield the more usual *brazas* or *brazas*.

2. The annotator, perhaps rushed, wrote *pierras* for *piedras* (stones).

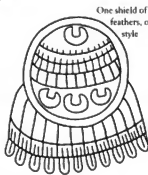
Cuetlaxtlan pueblo



Mexlan quauhla pueblo



Tapancuytlan pueblo



Orzchan pueblo



Two hundred loads of cacao



Acorpan pueblo



One string of chahuhauht, rich stones'



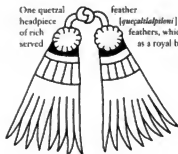
400 handfuls of rich green feathers



Teococan pueblo



One quetzal feather headpiece of rich feathers, which served as a royal badge



numero de los pueblos contenidos e figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente que son siete pueblos ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas listadas de prieto y blanco /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes y blancas lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan vna vez en el año dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la suerte que estan figuradas /.

The number of towns contained, drawn, and named on the following page is seven, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of black and white striped cloaks;

Also, eight hundred loads of large white cloaks, which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also once a year they gave in tribute two warrior costumes with their shields, trimmed with rich feathers of the kind drawn.

Tlapacoyan pueblo



Xitoxochitlan / pueblo



Xochiquahuatlan pueblo



Tuchtan / pueblo



Coapan / pueblo



Atta span. pueblo



Acazacatlan pueblo



400 loads of mantas this



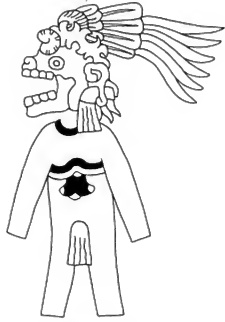
loads of design



400 loads of large white mantas



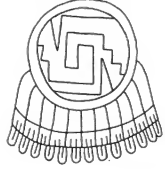
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



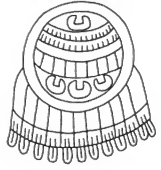
One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



FOLIO 50v¹

numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguyente² ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente myll y seysçientas³ cargas de mantas listadas de prieto y blanco /.

mas ocho mill panes o pellas de liquidambar para sahumerios / que llaman xochiocoçotl / todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarmeçidas con plumas Ricas de la suerte que estan figuradas / las quales tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page [is eleven],² etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, one thousand six hundred loads of black and white striped cloaks;

Also, eight thousand loaves, or lumps, of liquidambar for incense, which they call *xochiocoçotl*—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute two warrior costumes with their shields trimmed with rich feathers of the kind that are drawn, which they gave in tribute once a year.

NOTES

1. "51" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.
2. The commentator, perhaps in his haste, omitted the number of towns.
3. This was a correction. It seems that "dozientas" was written previously, then crossed out.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 51r

Tlatlahquitepec pueblo



Arenco pueblo



Tequitlan pueblo



Ayatuchco pueblo



Yayavquitalpa pueblo



Xonocclá pueblo



Teotlalpan pueblo



Yutepec pueblo



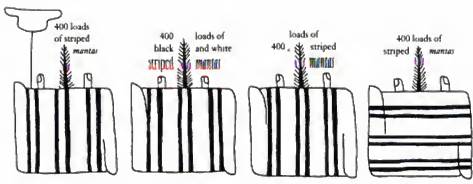
Yucoyamec pueblo



Yaonahuac pueblo



Cakzepec pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



Eight thousand cakes of xochuqueotl, which is liquidambar



numero de los pueblos de tyrras calidas figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son syete pueblos ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas a manera de Rejas de negro y blanco /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas Ricas labradas de colorado y blanco / Ropa de señores /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlal / que seruyan de pañetes / que por otro nonbre llaman paños menores /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes blancas de a quatro braças cada vna manta

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas de a ocho² braças / listadas de color naranjado y blanco /. eran de a ocho braças cada vna manta

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas blancas grandes de a ocho braças cada vna manta

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas listadas de verde y amarillo y colorado /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles /.

mas dozientas y quarenta cargas de mantas Ricas labradas de colorado y blanco y negro muy labradas que bestian los señores y caçiques toda la qual Ropa tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarneçidas con plumas Ricas de la suerte que estan figuradas

mas ochoçientas cargas de axi seco

mas veynte talegas de plumas blancas menudas con que guarneçian mantas /.

mas dos sartas de chalcihuitl piedras Ricas

mas vna sarta de cuentas de piedras Ricas turquesadas /.

mas dos pieças a manera de platos guarneçidas o engastadas con piedras turquesadas Ricas todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

The number of towns of the hot lands drawn and named on the following page is seven, etc. The things they paid in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of cloaks in the style of a black and white grating;

Also four hundred loads of rich cloaks worked in red and white, clothing of lords;

Also four hundred loads of *maxtlal*, which served as loincloths, otherwise called underclothing;

Also eight hundred loads of large white cloaks, each cloak four *braças* [long];

Also eight hundred loads of cloaks eight¹ *braças* [long], striped in orange and white; each cloak was eight *braças* [long];

Also four hundred loads of large white cloaks, each cloak eight *braças* [long];

Also four hundred loads of cloaks striped in green, yellow, and red;

Also four hundred loads of women's skirts and tunics;

Also two hundred forty loads of cloaks, richly worked in red, white, and black, which the lords and *caciques* wore—all of this clothing they paid in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute two warrior costumes with their shields, trimmed with rich feathers of the kind drawn;

Also eight hundred loads of dry chiles;

Also twenty bags of small white feathers, with which they trim cloaks;

Also two strings of greenstones, rich stones;

Also one string of rich turquoise-stone beads;

Also two pieces, like plates, decorated or set with turquoise stones—all of which they paid in tribute once a year.

1. "52" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

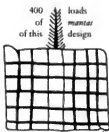
2. The commentator had previously written "quatro," then crossed it out.

1. Here and elsewhere the annotator wrote *braças*, omitting the requisite *cedilla* to yield the more usual *braças* or *bravas*.

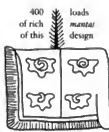
2. Instead of the Nahuatl word *chilli* (Hispanicized to *chile*), the annotator used a Caribbean-derived word, *axi*.



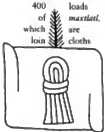
Tuchpa pueblo



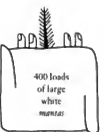
400 loads of rich manta of this design



400 loads of rich manta of this design



400 loads of which loam manta, are cloths



400 loads of large white manta



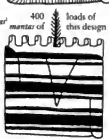
400 loads of large white manta



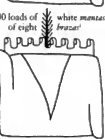
Tlalcoapan pueblo



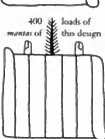
400 loads of manta of this design, of eight brazas



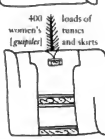
400 loads of manta of this design



400 loads of white manta, of eight brazas



400 loads of manta of this design



400 loads of women's trunks and skirts [pajales]



Cahuatcopan pueblo



80 loads of rich manta of this design



80 loads of rich manta



80 loads of rich manta



400 loads of dry chile



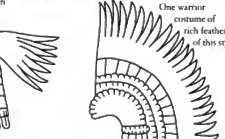
400 loads



Papatla pueblo



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



One warrior costume of rich feathers, of this style



20 bags of small white feathers



20 bags of small white feathers



Ocozotepec pueblo



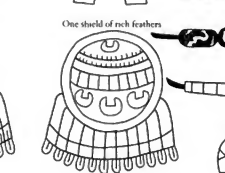
Miahuaapan pueblo



Micatlan pueblo



One shield of rich feathers, of this style



One shield of rich feathers



Two strings of chalcabunt, rich beads and stones



One string of turquoise stones

Two plates of small turquoise stones



numero de los pueblos figurados en la plana siguyente que son dos pueblos ES las cosas que trybutauan a los señores de mexico / son las que siguen

primeramente ochoçientas cargas de mantas Ricas labradas de colorado y blanco con sus çañefas de verde y amarillo y colorado y azul /

mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl /

mas otras quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl /

mas quatroçientas cargas de mantas grandes y blancas / de a quatro braças cada vna manta /. todo lo qual tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan vna vez en el año myll y dozientos fardos de algodón

The number of towns drawn on the following page is two, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, eight hundred loads of cloaks, richly worked in red and white, with their green, yellow, red, and blue borders;

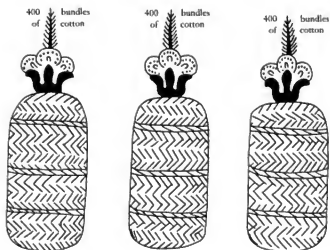
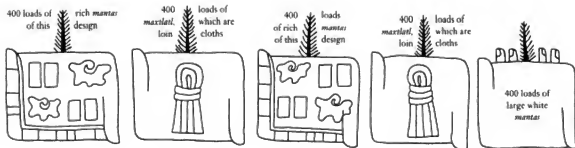
Also four hundred loads of loincloths;

Also another four hundred loads of loincloths;

Also four hundred loads of large white cloaks, each cloak four *braças* [in length]—all of which they gave in tribute every six months;

And also they paid in tribute one thousand two hundred bales of cotton, once a year.

1. "53" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.



numero de los pueblos figurados e yntitulados en la plana siguiente que son cinco pueblos ES. las cosas que tributavan a los señores de mexico son las que se siguen

primeramente quatroçientas cargas de mantas blancas con sus çañefas de colorado y azul y verde y amarillo /

mas quatroçientas cargas de maxtlatl que son paños menores /.

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes blancas de a quatro braças cada vna manta /.

mas quatroçientas cargas de naguas y guypiles ques Ropa de mugeres / toda la qual Ropa tributavan de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributavan dos pieças de armas con sus Rodelas guarnecidas con plumas Ricas de la suerte que estan figuradas

mas ochoçientos² fardos de algodón / todo lo qual tributavan vna vez en el año /.

cccc cargas de axi seco³ /.

The number of towns drawn and named on the following page is five, etc. The things they gave in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the following:

First, four hundred loads of white cloaks with their borders of red, blue, green, and yellow;

Also four hundred loads of *maxtlatl*, which is underclothing;

Also eight hundred loads of large white cloaks, each cloak four *braças* [in length];

Also four hundred loads of skirts and tunics, which is women's clothing—all of this clothing they paid in tribute every six months;

And also they gave in tribute two warrior costumes with their shields trimmed with rich feathers of the kind drawn;

Also eight hundred² bales of cotton—all of which they gave in tribute once a year;

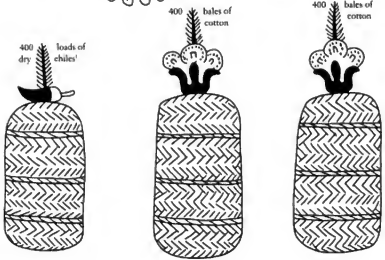
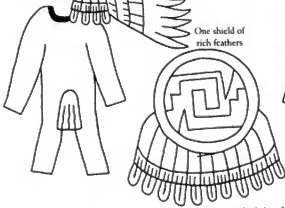
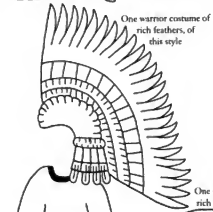
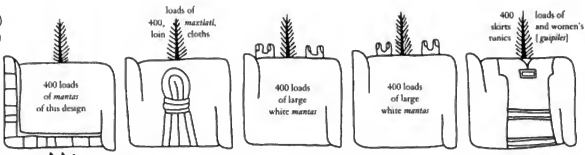
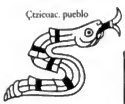
400 loads of dry chiles³

1. "54" is written in the upper-left-hand corner of this page.

2. Originally "myll y dozientos" was written, then it was replaced by "ochoçientos," perhaps in a different hand.

3. The final entry, adding the 400 loads of chiles, is executed in a different manner from the other commentary entries. To add to the small degree of confusion here, the prior entry, indicating a tribute payment interval, should have been the final entry on the page.

1. The annotator is using the term *axi* for chiles, a word the Spaniards picked up in the Caribbean islands rather than on the mainland (see Stevens 1726; Hernández 1959 I: 139).



el pueblo de oxitipan figurado e yntitulado en la plana siguiente
 ES. las cosas que tributava a los señores de mexico son las que se
 siguen

primeramente dos mill cargas de mantas grandes de a dos braças
 cada vna manta

mas ochoçientas cargas de mantas grandes listadas de amarillo y
 azul y colorado y verde de a quatro braças cada vna manta
 toda la qual Ropa tributava de seys en seys meses

yten mas tributava quatroçientas cargas de axi seco /.

mas vn aguyla biua / y otras vezes dos o tres segun las que hallauan
 y podian tomar / todo lo qual tributava vna vez en el año /.

fin de la parte segunda. /

The town of Oxitipan [is] drawn and named on the following page,
 etc. The things it paid in tribute to the lords of Mexico are the
 following:

First, two thousand loads of large cloaks, each cloak two *brazas*
 [long];

Also eight hundred loads of large cloaks striped in yellow, blue,
 red, and green, each cloak four *brazas* [long]; [Oxitipan] paid all of
 this clothing in tribute every six months;

And also it gave in tribute four hundred loads of dry chiles;

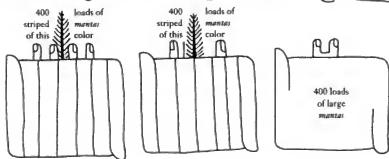
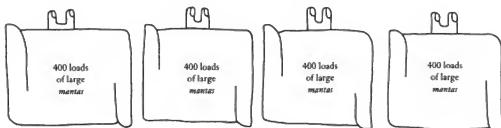
Also one live eagle, at other times two, or three, according to what
 they found and could capture—all of which they gave in tribute
 once a year.

End of the second part.

1. "55" is written in the upper-left-hand corner of this page.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 55r

1. The annotator is using the term *axi* for chiles, a word the Spaniards
 picked up in the Caribbean islands rather than on the mainland (see Stevens
 1726; Hernández 1959 1:139).



Oxipán pueblo



One live eagle at each tribute; other times they gave two, sometimes three, other times more or less, according to what they captured

FOLIO 55v: BLANK

FOLIO 56r: BLANK

Relaçion del modo y costumbre que los naturales mexicanos tenian en naçendoles algun muchacho o muchacha / el vso y gerimonias de ponerles nonbres / a las criaturas / y despues dedicallas e ofrecerlas a sus templos o al arte militar segun que por las figuras adelante en la otra hoja contenidas se significan / y ban sumariamente aclaradas / de mas de que en esta plana de todas la dichas figuras se haze mynsion segun que se sigue /.

En pariendo la muger echauan la criatura en su cuna segun que esta figurada y al cabo de quatro dias que era naçida la criatura la partera / tomava la criatura en braços desnuda / y sacauala en el patio de la casa de la parida / y en el patio tenian puesto junçia o enca que llaman tule y ençima vn librillo pequeño con agua en donde la dicha partera / bañava la dicha criatura y despues de bañada tres muchachos que estan sentados junto a la dicha junçia comiendo mayz tostado enbuelto con frisoles cozidos / que llamavan el manjar yxicae /² el qual manjar aposta ponian a los dichos muchachos en vn librillo para que lo comyessen / y despues del dicho baño o laboratorio la dicha partera avisava / a los dichos muchachos / a bozes nonbrasen ponyendole nombre nuevo a la criatura que ansi abian bañado / y el nombre que le ponian era qual la partera le queria poner / y al principio de quando la criatura sacavan a bañar si era varon le sacauan con su ynsinia puesta en la mano de la criatura / y la ynsinia era el ystrumento con que su padre de la criatura se exerçitava / ansi como del arte militar o ofiçios asi de platero como de entallador o otro qualquier ofiçio / y despues de aver hecho lo dicho la partera metia la criatura a su madre / y si la criatura era feminal / la ynsignia con que la sacaban a bañar era la Rueda con su vso y su cestilla / y vn manajo de escobas que eran las cosas con que se avia de exerçitar tenyendo edad para ello / y el onbligo de la criatura baron con vna Rodeleja y flechas ynsinia con que le avian sacado a bañar / lo ofrecian a la parte y lugar donde se ofrecia guerra con sus enemigos / en donde lo enterravan debaxo de tierra / y lo mysto de la muchacha su onbligo lo enterravan debaxo del metate piedra de moler tortillas /.

y despues de lo dicho al cabo de veynte dias / los padres de la criatura yban con la criatura al templo o mezquita que llamavan calmecac / y en presençia de sus alfaqis presentavan la criatura / con su ofrenda de mantas / y masteles y alguna comyda / y despues de criada la criatura por sus padres tenyendo edad entregavan la criatura al alfaqui mayor de la dicha mezquita / para que alli fuese enseñada para que despues fuese alfaqui /.

y si la criatura sus padres determinavan de que tenyendo edad fuese y siruyese en el arte militar desde luego ofrecian la criatura / al maeso haciendo promesa en ello / el qual maeso de muchachos y moços llamavan / teachcauh o telpuchtlato el qual ofreciymento hazian con su presente de comyda y otras cosas por celebracion / y en syendo la criatura de edad la entregavan al dicho maeso /.

[This is an] account of the manner and customs the Mexicans had in giving birth to a boy or girl, their custom and rites in giving names to the infants, and later dedicating and offering them to their temples or to the military, as shown in the drawings with their brief explanations, contained farther on, on another page, beyond the figures shown on this page.

After the mother gave birth, they placed the infant in its cradle, as drawn. And at the end of four days after the infant's birth, the midwife carried the infant, naked, and took it to the courtyard of the house of the one who has given birth. And in the courtyard they had placed a small earthen tub of water on rushes or reeds [as a mat] called *tule*, where the said midwife bathed the said infant. And after the bath three boys, who are seated next to the said rushes eating toasted maize rolled up with cooked beans, the food they called *yxicae*, purposefully put the food in the little earthen jug so they might eat it. And after the said bath, the said midwife ordered the said boys to call out loudly the new name of the infant who had been bathed. And the name they gave it was that which the midwife wished. And at the beginning, when the infant was taken to be bathed, if it was a boy, they carried him with his symbol in his hand; and the symbol was the tool used by the infant's father, whether of the military or professions like metalworker, wood-carver, or whatever other profession. And after having done this, the midwife handed the infant to its mother. And if the infant was a girl, the symbol they gave her for bathing was a distaff with its spindle and its basket, and a broom, which were the things she would use when she grew up. And they offered the male infant's umbilical cord, along with the little shield and arrows symbol used in bathing, in the place where they warred with their enemies, where they buried it under the ground. And likewise for the girl, they buried her umbilical cord under the *metate*, a stone for grinding tortillas.

And after that, at the end of twenty days, the infant's parents took the infant to the temple or *mezquita*, called *calmecac*. And, with offerings of cloaks, loincloths, and some food, they presented the infant to the priests. And after the infant had been reared by its parents and had reached [a proper] age, they delivered him to the head priest of the said temple to be trained there for the priesthood.

And if the infant's parents decided that, upon coming of age, he would serve in the military, then they offered the infant to the master, promising him [to service]. The master of boys and youths was called *teachcauh* or *telpuchtlato*. They made the offering with presents of food and other things for the dedication. And when the infant was of age, they delivered him to the said master.

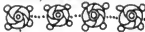
1. "57" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

2. A few characters were written and then crossed out here.

Mother recently-delivered



These four rosettes mean four days, after which the midwife takes the recently-born infant to be bathed



cradle with infant

The midwife



The symbols



The rushes with their little earthen pan of water



The three boys who call out the name of the recently-born infant

The father of the infant



The head priest



The infant in its cradle, whom the parents offer to the temple



The mother of the infant



The master of youths and boys



declaración de la plana siguiente después desta de las figuras en ella contenidas en que se platica el tiempo y modo en que los naturales² davan consejo a sus hijos de como abyvan de biuir / segun que susçesivamente estan figurados / que son quatro partidas / y ansi en esta plana por su orden / ban declaradas las quatro partidas / que son las que se siguen

primera partida / en que se figura que los padres corregian en dar buen consejo a sus hijos quando eran de edad de tres años /. y la Ración que les dauan en cada vna comida era media tortilla³

segunda partida / en que estan figurados / los padres que ansi mys-mo / dotrinaban a sus hijos quando eran de edad de quatro años / y los enpeçavan a exerçitar en mandalles seruir en cosas pocas e libyanas la Ración que en cada vna comida les davan era vna tortilla

terçera partida en la qual estan figurados los padres que a sus hijos de edad de çinco años los ocupavan y exerçitavan a seruçios personales / como cargalles leña cargas de poco peso / y llevar en-boltorios de poco peso al tiangues / lugar de mercados / y a las muchachas desta edad / las enponian en ensañallas [sic] como avian de tomar el vso y Rueca para hilar /. Ración vna tortilla /.

quarta partida en la qual estan figurados los padres que a sus hijos de edad de seys años / los exerçitavan y ocupauan en seruçios personales de que en algo aprouechasen a sus padres / ansi como en los tiangues lugares de mercado para que cogiesen del suelo / los granos de mayz que por el estuyesen deRamados / y frixoles y otras myserias y cosas que los tratantes dexavan deRamados / esto a los muchachos / y a las muchachas las enponian en hilar y a otras cosas de seruçios de prouecho / para que en lo de adelante medyante los dichos seruçios y ocupaçiones ocupasen el tyempo en no estar oçiosos / por les evitar / viçios malos que la oçiosidad suele acarrear /. Ración que a los muchachos davan en cada vna comyda era vna tortilla y media

The explanation of the drawings contained on the following page: it deals with the time and means the *naturales*² used in instructing their children in how they should live, as it is drawn in four successive parts. And so on this page, in order, are explained the four parts, which are the following:

The first part shows that the parents corrected their children when they were three years old, by giving good advice. And the ration they gave them at each meal was a half a tortilla.³

The second part shows the parents who likewise instructed their children when they were four years old. And they began to teach them to serve in minor and light tasks. The ration they gave them at each meal was one tortilla.

The third part shows the parents of five-year-old children. They engaged them in personal services, like toting light loads of firewood and carrying light bundles to the *tiangues*, or marketplace. And they taught the girls of this age how they had to hold the spindle and distaff in order to spin. Ration: one tortilla.

The fourth part shows the parents of six-year-old children. They instructed and engaged them in personal services, from which the parents benefited, like, for the boys, [collecting] maize that has been spilled in the marketplace, and beans and other miserable things that the traders left scattered. And they taught the girls to spin and [to do] other advantageous services. This was so that, by way of the said services and activities, they did not spend their time in idleness, and to avoid the bad vices that idleness tends to bring. The ration they gave the children at each meal was one and a half tortillas.

1. "58" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

2. "Naturales" was a term commonly used by the Spaniards to refer, in an undistinguishable manner, to the native peoples.

3. The statement concerning the children's ration appears to be added on, perhaps in a different hand, in the discussion of all four parts.

Three years of age



Father of the boy

First part



Boy



Half a tortilla



Mother of the girl

Girl, three years of age

Half a tortilla



Four years of age

Father of the boy

Second part



Four year-old boy



One tortilla



Mother of the girl

Four year-old girl

One tortilla



Five years of age

Father of the boys

Third part



One tortilla



One tortilla



Mother of the girl

Five year-old girl

One tortilla



Six years of age

Father of the two boys

Fourth part



One and a half tortillas



Mother of the girl

One and a half tortillas

Six year-old girl



declaración de la plana siguiente de las figuras en ella contenidas en que se platica el tyempo y modo En que los naturales² de Mexico dotrinavan e corregian a sus hijos para evitalles toda ociosidad y que sienpre anduvyesen aplicados y se exercitasen en cosas de prouecho / segun que suscesiuamente estan figurados que son quatro partidas. y ansi en esta plana por su orden ban declaradas las quatro partidas que son las que se siguen

primera partida en que se declara que los padres a sus hijos de Edad de siete años / a los varones los aplicavan en dalles sus Redes con que pescavan /. y las madres exercitavan a sus hijas en hilar y en darles buenos consejos para que sienpre se aplicasen y ocupasen el tyempo en algo / para escusar toda ociosidad /. la Raçion que les davan a sus hijos en cada vna comyda era vn tortilla y media

segunda partida en que se declara que los padres a sus hijos de edad de ocho años los castigavan poniendoles por delante temores y atterros de puas de magueys / para que siendo negligentes y desobedientes a sus padres serian castigados con las dichas puas y ansi los muchachos de temor lloravan segun que en las figuras desta partida estan figuradas e significadas la Raçion de comyda que les davan por tasa era vna tortilla y media

terçera partida en que se declara que los padres a sus hijos de edad de nueve años syendo yncorregibles y Rebeldes a sus padres / castigavan a sus hijos con las dichas puas de maguey / atando al muchacho de pies y manos desnudo en carnes / y le hincavan las dichas puas por las espaldas y cuerpo / y a las muchachas les punçavan las manos con las puas / segun que en la terçera partida estan figuradas /. la Raçion de comyda que les davan era vna tortilla y media

quarta partida en que se declara que los padres a sus hijos de edad de diez años / ansi mysmo los castigavan syendoles Rebeldes / dandoles de palos y haziendoles otras amenazas segun que en la quarta partida estan figurados la tasa y Raçion de la comyda que les davan era vna tortilla y media /.

The explanation of the drawings contained on the following page: it deals with the time and means the Mexican *naturales*² used in instructing and correcting their children, to avoid all idleness, and ensure that they pursue and engage in advantageous activities, as is successively drawn in four parts, which also are explained on this page in their order. The four parts are the following:

The first part shows the parents of seven-year-old children: They gave the boys nets for fishing, and the mothers taught their daughters to spin; and they gave them good advice so they would always apply themselves and spend their time in something to avoid all idleness. The ration they gave their children at each meal was one and a half tortillas.

The second part shows the parents of eight-year-old children: They punished them by putting before them the fear and terror of maguey thorns, so that being negligent and disobedient to their parents they would be punished with the said thorns. And also the children wept from fear, as shown and explained in the drawings in this part. The ration per meal that they gave them was set at one and a half tortillas.

The third part shows the parents of nine-year-old children: For being incorrigible and rebellious toward them, the parents punished their children with the said maguey thorns, tying the stark-naked boy hand and foot and sticking the said thorns in his shoulders and body. And they pricked the girls' hands with the thorns, as shown in the third part. The ration per meal that they gave them was one and a half tortillas.

The fourth part shows the parents of ten-year-old children: Likewise they punished them for being rebellious, beating them with sticks and offering other threats, as shown in the fourth part. The set rate and ration per meal that they gave them was one and a half tortillas.

1. "59" is written in the upper-left-hand corner.

2. "Naturales" was a term commonly used by the Spaniards to refer, in an undistinguishable manner, to the native peoples.

1. The annotator failed to gloss "one and a half *tortillas*," as has been his custom.

These seven blue dots signify seven years.



Father of the children shown in this row



1st part



One and a half torrillas

A 7-year old boy is being taught by his father how to fish with the net he holds in his hands.



Mother of the children shown in this row



One and a half torrillas

A 7-year old girl is being taught how to spin by her mother



These eight dots signify eight years.



Father of the children shown in this row



2nd part



One and a half torrillas

An 8-year old boy is being warned by his father not to be deceitful, or he will be punished by being pierced in the body with maguery spikes.



Maguery spikes

Mother of the children shown in this row



One and a half torrillas

An 8-year old girl is threatened by her mother with maguery spikes, not to be deceitful.



These nine dots signify nine years.



Father of the children shown in this row



3rd part



One and a half torrillas

A 9-year old boy is pierced in his body with maguery spikes by his father, for being incorrigible.



Mother of the children shown in this row



A 9-year old girl is punished for negligence and idleness by her mother, by piercing her hand with a maguery spike.

These ten dots signify ten years.



Father of the children shown in this row



4th part



One and a half torrillas

A 10-year old boy is being punished by his father with a stick.



Mother of the children shown in this row



One and a half torrillas

A 10-year old girl is being punished with a beating by her mother.



declaracion de la partida primera de la plana siguiente de lo figurado / El muchacho o muchacha de onze años que no Reçebia correccion de palabra sus padres los castigauan dandoles humo a las narizes de axi que era vn tormento graue y avn cruel / para que hostigasen y no andayesen vicijsos e bagamundos sino que se aplicasen en ocupar el tyempo en cosas prouechosas /. a los muchachos de tal edad davanles el pan que son tortillas por tasa / solamente vna tortilla y media a cada comyda porque no se enseñasen a ser tragones o glotones /.

declaracion de lo figurado en la partida segunda / el muchacho o muchacha de edad de doze años que no Reçebia de sus padres correccion ny consejo / al muchacho tomava su padre y le atava de pies y manos / y desnudo en carnes lo tendia en el suelo en parte humeda e mojada donde todo vn dia lo tenya así / para que con la tal pena castigase y temyese y a la muchacha de la dicha edad su madre la hazia seruir en que de noche antes que fuese de dia la ocupava en barrer la casa y la calle / y que sienpre se ocupase en seruyçios personales / ansi mysmo sus padres les davan a comer por tasa / vna tortilla y media en cada vna comyda

declaracion de lo figurado en la terçera partida de la plana siguiente / el muchacho o muchacha de edad de treze años / sus padres los aplicavan en traer leña del monte y con canoa traer caRizos y otras yeruas para seruyçio de casa / y a las muchachas que moliesen e hiziesen tortillas y otros guysados para sus padres /. davanles de comer por tasa a los muchachos dos tortillas a cada vno en cada vna comyda. ES.

declaracion de lo figurado en la quarta partida de la plana siguiente / el muchacho o muchacha de edad de catorze años / sus padres les ocupavan e aplicavan de que el muchacho / fuese con canoa a pescar en las lagunas / y a la muchacha les enponyan a que texese qualquier tela de Ropa /. dauanles a comer por tasa dos tortillas ES.¹

Explanation of the drawings on the first part of the following page: They punished the eleven-year-old boy or girl who disregarded verbal correction by making them inhale chile smoke, which was a serious and even cruel torment; and they would chastise them so they not go about in vice and idleness but that they employ their time in gainful activities. They gave the children of that age the bread that is tortillas at the rate of only one and a half tortillas at each meal, to teach them not to be gluttons.

Explanation of the drawings in the second part: If a twelve-year-old boy or girl ignored their parents' correction and advice, his father took the boy and tied him hand and foot, and laid him stark naked on damp ground, where he stayed an entire day, so that with this punishment he would be chastised and fearful. And for the girl of the same age, her mother made her [rise] before dawn to sweep the house and street, and always be occupied in personal services. Likewise the parents gave them to eat a set amount of one and a half tortillas at every meal.

Explanation of the drawings on the third part of the following page: For the thirteen-year-old boy or girl, the parents engaged [the boys] in carrying firewood from the hills and in transporting sedges and other grasses for household services. And the girls would grind [maize] and make *tortillas* and other cooked foods for their parents. They gave the children a set rate of two tortillas to eat at each meal, etc.

Explanation of the drawings on the fourth part of the following page: For the fourteen-year-old boy or girl, the parents occupied and engaged the boy in fishing with a canoe in the lakes, and they instructed the girl in weaving cloth. They gave them a set rate of two tortillas to eat, etc.¹

1. The commentator appears rushed at this point.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 60r

1. The annotator is using the term *axi* for chiles, a word the Spaniards picked up in the Caribbean Islands rather than on the mainland (see Stevens 1726; Hernández 1959 I: 139).

2. In Spanish, the word "muchacha" is missing here, and the usual gloss "Mother of the children in this row" has also been omitted. The annotator may have been rushed, or simply careless.

These eleven blue dots mean eleven years



One and a half tortillas



Father of the children in this row



An 11-year-old boy is being punished by his father, with dry chile' smoke in his nostrils

Fumes of smoke of chiles'

Mother of the children in this row



One and a half tortillas



An 11-year-old girl is being threatened by her mother, with dry chile' smoke in her nostrils

Chile' fumes

12 years



One and a half tortillas



Father of the children in this row



A 12-year-old boy tied hand and foot, stretched out all day on damp ground



This picture represents the night



Mother of the children in this row



One and a half tortillas



A 12-year-old girl goes weeping at night



13 years



Two tortillas



Father of the children in this row



A 13-year-old boy goes loaded with balushes



A 13-year-old boy carries balushes in his canoe



Canoe with reeds or tule

His bundles

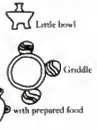
Mother of the children in this row



Two tortillas



A 13-year-old girl who is grinding [maize for] tortillas and preparing food



Little bowl

Griddle

Pot with prepared food

14 years



Two tortillas



Father of the children in this row



A 14-year-old boy goes fishing in his canoe



Two tortillas



A 14-year-old [girl] weaving



Loom for weaving

declaración de lo figurado en la plana siguiente. En la primera partida lo figurado signyfica que el padre tenyendo hijos de edad que fuesen moços / los llevaua a las dos casas figuradas / o a casa del maeso que enseñava y dotrinava a los moços / o a la mezquyta segun que el moço se ynclinava / y entregaualo al alfaqui mayor o al maeso de muchachos / para que fuese enseñado los quales mançebos abyán de ser de edad de quynze años /.

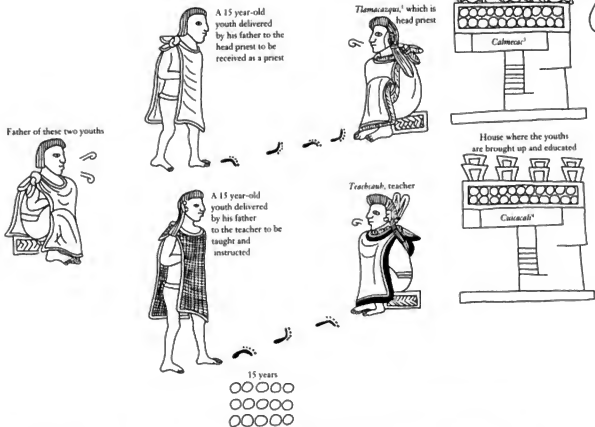
declaración de lo figurado en la plana siguiente en la partida segunda / lo figurado signyfica el modo y ley que tenyan y guardavan en sus casamyentos que ligitimamente hazian / la çelebración era / que la desposada la lleuaba a cuestas a prima noche vna amanteça [sic] / que es medica / e yban con ellas quatro mugeres con sus hachas de pino Resinado ençendidas con que la yban alumbrando y llegada a casa del desposado los padres del desposado la salian al patio de la casa a Reçebir y la metian en vna sala o casa donde el desposado la estaua aguardando / y en vna estera con sus asyentos junto a vn fogon de fuego sentavan a los desposados y les prendaban e atavan el vno al otro con sus Ropas y hazian sahumerio de copal a sus dioses / y luego dos viejos y dos viejas que se hallavan presentes como testigos daban de comer a los desposados y despues comyan los viejos y acabada la comyda los viejos y viejas hazian vn parlamento cada vno por si a los desposados dandoles buenos consejos de como se abyán de tratar y byuyr y la carga y estado que tomavan como la abyán de conseruar / para que byuyesen avn descanso /.

Explanation of the drawings on the following page: In the first part the drawing means that the father, having boys of a youthful age, took them to the two houses drawn, either to the house of the master who taught and instructed youths or to the temple, according to how the youth was inclined. And he delivered him to the chief priest or the master of boys so the youths might be taught from the age of fifteen years.

Explanation of the drawings on the second part of the following page: The drawings depict the means and custom they had in making legitimate marriages. The ceremony began when the bride, just after dark, was carried on the back of an *amanteça*, who is a physician. They were accompanied by four other women carrying ignited pine torches, who went lighting their way. And when they arrived at the groom's house, the groom's parents led her to the patio of the house to receive her, and they put her in a room or house where the groom was waiting. And the bride and bridegroom sat on a mat with its seats, next to a burning hearth, and they tied their clothes together, and offered copal incense to their gods. And then two old men and two old women, who were present as witnesses, gave food to the bride and bridegroom, and then the elders ate. And when the old men and old women finished eating, each one individually addressed the bride and bridegroom, offering them good advice on how they ought to behave and live, and on how they ought to perform the responsibility and position they had acquired, in order to live in peace.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 61R

1. The annotator wrote this as *tlamatzqui*.
2. As throughout, the annotator used the Arabic term *mezquita* for temple. He later apologizes for his Arabic usages.
3. These were schools for noble boys, run by priests.
4. Literally, "house of song."
5. Literally, "person of Amatlan." Amatlan was a *calpulli* ("barrio") of Tlatelolco, noted for its featherworking specialization. The commentator on folio 60v translates this as "medica," or healer, and this term does carry such a meaning, as well as that of "interlocutor or speaker" (see Karttunen 1983: 10).



declaración de lo figurado en la plana siguiente de la primera partida / y porque en las figuras en cada vna dellas estan aclaradas de los alfaquys novicios / en lo que los ocupavan sus mayores / no sera necesario Referillo aqui mas de que como entravan a ser alfaquys les ocupavan luego en seruyçios personales para sus mezquitas porque en lo de adelante estuyesen amaestrados dinando fuesen alfaquys mayores / para que a los nuevos por la mysa orden que ellos ayvan seruido los ocupasen /

declaración de lo figurado en la partida segunda de la plana siguiente / en la qual partida ansi mysmo en cada vna de las figuras / esta declarado en lo que seruian y ocupavan a los mançebos / para que en lo de adelante estuyesen amaestrados tenyendo edad y cargo de mandar otros jounes como ellos porque no anduyesen hechos vagamundos en osiosidades / sino que siempre se aplicasen en casas [sic] de virtud /.

declaración de los figurado en la partida tercera de la plana siguiente / en la qual partida ansi mysmo en cada vna de las figuras esta aclarado la correçion y castigo que los alfaquys mayores a sus subditos hazian porque en el ofiçio eran descuydados y negligentes y por algunos açesos¹ que hazian / hazianles el castigo segun que las figuras hazen demostraçion.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida quarta de la plana siguiente / en la qual patida [sic] en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado / de como los valientes hombres de guerra exerçitavan en el arte myltar a los mançebos que tenyan edad para ello segun que sus padres les avian encomendado / y segun las ynclinaciones de los mançebos ansi sus padres los ponian con las personas que estavan amaestradasen las cosas y artes que sus ynclinaciones demandavan /.

Explanation of the figures on the first part of the following page: Since each of the drawings of the novice priests, in their duties to head priests, is accompanied by explanations, it will not be necessary to refer to them here, other than to add about how, on becoming priests, they then engaged them in personal services for the temples so that, in the future, as head priests they might instruct the neophytes who would become occupied in the same duties they themselves had had to perform.

Explanation of the drawings on the second part of the following page: In this part, likewise, on each of the figures is explained the services performed by the youths so that in the future, on reaching an age and level of responsibility to command other youths like themselves, they might be instructors, so they not become idle vagabonds, but always apply themselves to virtuous tasks.

Explanation of the drawings on the third part of the following page: In this part, likewise, on each of the figures is explained the correction and punishment that the head priests administered to their subordinates, for being careless and negligent in a duty, and for some excesses¹ they committed. They inflicted the punishment as shown in the drawings.

Explanation of the drawings on the fourth part of the following page: In this part, it is explained on each of the figures how the brave warriors trained the youths, if old enough, in martial arts, upon their fathers' recommendation and according to the inclinations of the youths; or their fathers placed them with persons who might teach them the skills and arts they preferred.

1. The writer surely meant to write "excessos" (excesses) here.

Novice priest who has the duty of sweeping



Novice priest who comes from the mountains carrying boughs to decorate the temple



Novice priest who goes loaded with magvey spikes for the temple; with these they offer sacrifices to the devil by drawing blood



Novice priest who goes loaded with green canes for the temple, to make fences and to decorate it



Youth who goes loaded with a large trunk of firewood to have fire lighted in the temple



Youths who go loaded with trunks of firewood to have many fires in the temple



Youth who goes loaded with branches to decorate the temple



Head priest

This head priest is punishing the novice priest because he is negligent in his duties.



Novice priest

Novice priest

Novice priest

Head priests who are punishing the novice priest, piercing him with magvey spikes all over his body, for being rebellious and incorrigible in what they order him [to do]



This little house means that, if the novice priest went to his house to sleep three days, they punished him as drawn and stated above.

Tequisma [tequisma] which is a brave man in war



Youth



Youth's father, who offers his son to the warrior so that he may be trained in martial arts and taken to war



Youth, pupil of the warrior, who goes with him to war carrying his baggage and his arms on his back



Tequisma [tequisma], warrior who went to war, with his arms



declaración de lo figurado en la partida primera de la plana siguiente en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado el exercicio y ocupacion que los alfaquys mayores tenian las noches / vnos se ocupavan en yr a la sierra a hazer sacrificio a sus dioses / otros se ocupavan en musicas otros eran Reloxeros por las estrellas del cielo / y otros en otras cosas de sus mezquytas /

declaración de lo figurado en la partida segunda de la plana siguiente / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado / lo que significan / azerca del castigo que hazian a los mançebos segun que lo Representan las figuras / lo qual executavan segun las leyes y fueros de los señores de mexico /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida tercera de la plana siguiente / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado lo que significan / y así no sera necesario Referirillo aquy /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida quarta de la plana siguiente / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta aclarado lo que significan / el castigo que hazian los mandones / *telpuchtlatos* a los mançebos que andavan hechos vagamundos y viciosos / segun sus leyes y lo demas en la partida figurado y declarado /.

1. This statement, and others throughout, indicate that this commentary section was written after the annotations were applied to the drawings.

Explanation of the drawings on the first part of the following page: In this part, the nighttime activities of the head priests are explained on each of the figures; some were occupied in going to the mountains to offer sacrifices to the gods, others were occupied with music, others were timekeepers using the stars in the sky, and others [were engaged] in other duties in their temples.

Explanation of the drawings on the second part of the following page: In this part, the explanation of each of the figures deals with the punishment they gave the youths, which they administered according to the laws and customs of the lords of Mexico, as shown in the drawings.

Explanation of the drawings on the third part of the following page: In this part, it is explained on each of the figures what is meant, and so it will not be necessary to discuss it here.¹

Explanation of the drawings on the fourth part of the following page: In this part, the explanation of each of the figures deals with the punishment the masters, *telpuchtlatos*, gave the youths who went about as vagabonds and in vice, according to the laws and other things drawn and explained in this part.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 63r

1. *Oficio* refers to an office, trade or employment, but also carried the meaning of a church office (see Stevens 1726).

2. *Telpuchtlil* is a youth or young man; *-tlatō-* refers to "speaking," and is a term associated with ruling or leading (as in *Tlatōani*: Speaker or Ruler).

3. As a plural, this should read *telpuchtlatoque*.

4. Pictorially, these spikes are identical to the maguey spikes shown on folios 59r and 62r.

5. This term refers to older brother or older male cousin.

Head priest, who goes at night with his kindled fire to a mountain to do penance, and he carries in his hand a bag of copal incense to offer as a sacrifice to the devil, and he carries on his back hembane in a vessel for the same sacrifice, and he brings his boughs to decorate

This drawing with eyes means night

This drawing with eyes means night

1

Novice priest

the place of sacrifice, and he brings behind him a novice priest who carries other things for the sacrifice

Head priest, who is playing the drum [teponaztli], which is a musical instrument, and he practices on it at night

Head priest who is looking at the stars in the night sky to ascertain the time for services and duties



Youth who goes to war loaded with provisions and arms

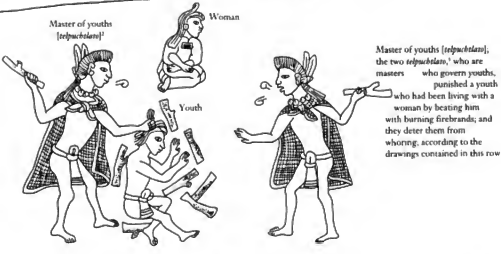
Master of youths [tepuachtlan]

Woman

Youth

Master of youths [tepuachtlan], the two tepuachtlan, who are masters who govern youths, punished a youth who had been living with a woman by beating him with burning firebrands; and they deter them from whoring, according to the drawings contained in this row

2



Head priest, who has the duty of sweeping the temples, or ordering them swept

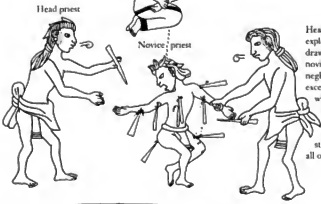
Head priest

Woman

Novice priest

Head priest / The explanation of these drawings is that if the novice priest was negligent and had excessive relations with a woman, or was whoring, the head priests punished him by sticking pine needles' all over his body.

3



Master of youths [tepuachtlan], leader

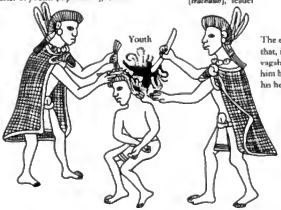
Master of youths [tepuachtlan], leader

The explanation of these drawings is that, if the youth roamed about as a vagabond, the two masters punished him by shearing him and singeing his head with fire.

Youth who is occupied in bringing sod in his canoe for the repair of the temple

Temple

4



declaracion de la partida primera de la plana siguiente en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado en lo que se ocupavan los alfaqays /. y asi aqui no se haze mas Replica de lo en ella declarado /.

declaracion de la partida segunda / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado lo figurado segun sus diuissas e ynsignias¹ / las quales ynsignias segun se señalavan los honbres en las guerras de grado en grado yban subyendo en mas avtoridad y por el numero de cavtiuos que en las guerras cavtivaban / segun que susçesivamente lo figurado con sus ynsignias de armas y traxes se demuestra las ventajas y grados en que subyan los valientes en las guerras /. primer grado /.

declaracion de la partida tercera / del segundo grado en que subian los valientes mexicanos / segun que por las deuyssas de armas e ynsignias esta figurado de que por los señores de mexico les hazian de mandar² y la color de la Ropa de su vestir que les davan / por aver cavtiuado / el numero de cavtiuos segun que en lo figurado se significa con sus titulos y aclaraciones /.

declaracion de la partida quarta del tercero grado en que subian los valientes mexicanos segun que por las deuyssas de armas esta figurado / de que los señores de mexico les hazian de mandar² por los meritos y numero de cavtiuos que en las guerras avian cavtiuado / y asi de grado en grado yban subyendo syempre con ventaja de lo de atras en mayor titulo y estado de honrrar / . . .

1. The commentator and annotator use "divisa" as the closest European analogy, sometimes varying or embellishing it with "insignia" (coat of arms, mark of honor), "divisa de armas," or "insignia de armas." Stevens (1726) defines "divisa" as "a device, a badge of knighthood, as the george or the garter. Also a mark of distinction worn in armies to be known from the enemy. Sometimes taken for a coat of arms."

2. This abbreviation is rather difficult to interpret, since the initial character strongly resembles this writer's *cedilla*, although the accompanying *e* is absent. The content clearly calls for a term referring to leadership, and "mandar" and its variants appear most likely. The annotator uses the terms "mandon" and "mandones" on pictorial folios 65r and 66r.

Explanation of the first part of the following page: In this part, there is a statement for each one of the figures, explaining what the priests are doing. Therefore, there is no need here to repeat what is stated there.

Explanation of the second part: In this part, in each one of the figures, there is a statement [embodied in the figures] of the warrior costumes¹ represented. These warrior costumes identified the warriors according to rank, [the warriors] rising in higher authority with each rank, by the number of captives they captured in warfare. According to the previous discussion, with their warrior costumes and clothing, the warriors demonstrate the perquisites and ranks that warriors achieved. First rank.

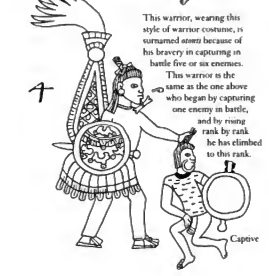
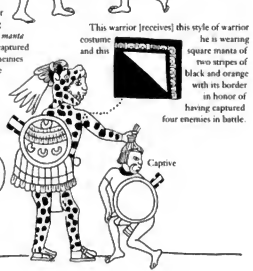
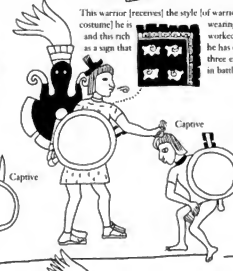
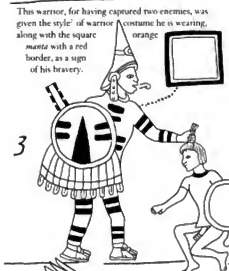
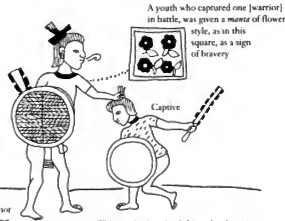
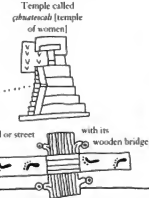
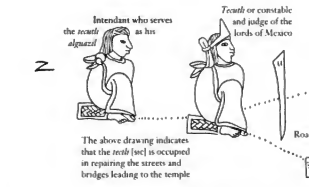
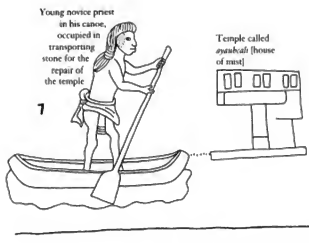
Explanation of the third part, of the second rank that brave Mexicans would achieve: The lords of Mexico made them leaders,² according to the warrior costumes represented in the figures, and the color of the clothing that was given to them for having captured the number of captives, as shown in the drawings with their titles and explanations.

Explanation of the fourth part, of the third rank of the valiant Mexicans, according to the warrior costumes represented: The lords of Mexico made them leaders² because of their merits and number of captives captured in warfare. And thus they went rising into higher ranks, always with more perquisites and greater titles and honor.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 64r

1. The exact nature, location, and timing of these ceremonies is not specified.

2. Beginning with this entry, the annotator changes the spelling of "divisa" to "devisa."



declaracion de la partida primera de la plana sieguyente [sic] / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras esta declarado / lo que signyficā / porque tanbyen los alfaquys mayores se exerçitavan en el arte mylitar / y segun que probauan en las guerras y hazañas que hazian y cautivos que cavtiaban / ansi los señores de mexico les dauan dādados honrrosos y blasones y deuyas de sus valentias / como en las armas que tyenen puestas en lo figurado hazen demostraçion /.

declaracion de la partida segunda /. en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras en sus espaçios esta declarado lo que signyficā / que son los mysmos alfaquys de suso contenydos en la partida primera antes desta los quales por los hechos hazañosos que en las guerras de sus enemygos exerçitaron y los prisioneros que cavtivaron / por donde mereçieron titulo de onor mas subydo / y mandones¹ a ellos hechos por los señores de mexico / y de las armas y blasones² / que vestian para señal / del titulo y grado en que abyā subydo por sus meritos /.

declaracion de la partida tercera de lo en ella figurado / en la qual partida en cada vna de las figuras estan yntitulados los Renonbres que avian conseguydo e alcançado en el exerçicio del arte mylitar en las guerras / por lo qual abyā subydo en mas alto grado haziendoles los señores de mexico capitanes y generales de la gente guerrera /. y los de la vna vanda / seruyan / de executores en lo que los señores de mexico / mandavan y determynavan ansi en las cosas tocantes a su Republica / como en los de mas pueblos de sus vallos / los quales luego sin Remysion alguna executavan lo que se les era mandado /.

Explanation of the first part of the following page: In this part, on each of the drawings is explained its meaning, for also the head priests practiced the military arts, and accordingly they fought in the wars, and did heroic deeds and captured captives. So the lords of Mexico gave them honorable titles and heraldic arms and devices for their bravery, as seen on the arms in the drawings.

Explanation of the second part: In this part, on each of the drawings in its space, its meaning is explained. These are the same priests contained above in the first part, who, for their courageous deeds in the wars against their enemies and for the prisoners they captured, merited higher titles of honor, and were made leaders¹ by the lords of Mexico. And they wore the arms and insignia² as a sign of the title and grade they had achieved by their merits.

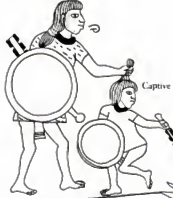
Explanation of the third part of the drawings: In this part, on each of the drawings are given the honored titles they had attained and achieved in the practice of martial arts in the wars, for which they had climbed to the highest grade, the lords of Mexico making them captains and generals of warriors. And those of the one group served as officers for whatever the lords of Mexico ordered and determined, in matters concerning their own republic as well as in the towns of their subjects; they then, without any remission, carried out their orders.

1. See note 2, folio 63v.

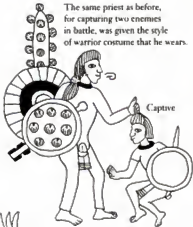
2. Surely "blasones" (insignia) was meant here.

1. The final clause of this gloss was added on with a different pen.

Priest who captured an enemy in battle



The same priest as before, for capturing two enemies in battle, was given the style of warrior costume that he wears.



The same priest as before, for having captured three enemies in battle, was given for his bravery the style of warrior costume that he wears.



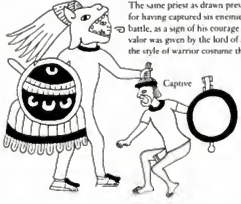
The same priest as those drawn above, for having captured four enemies in battle, was given as a sign of his bravery the costume that he wears.



The same priest as drawn previously, for having captured five enemies in battle, was given as a sign of his bravery the style of warrior costume that he wears.



The same priest as drawn previously, for having captured six enemies in battle, as a sign of his courage and valor was given by the lord of Mexico the style of warrior costume that he wears.



Quauhmochtli, officer



Tlilanahua, officer



Atoyanauatl, officer



Ezcuanaatl, officer



These four in this row served as commanders and officers for whatever the lords of Mexico ordered and decided

Tlacuacatl



Tetzacoatl



Tlacuahuatl



Tlacuicatl



These four in this row are valiant warriors and captains in the Mexican army, and persons who serve as generals in the Mexican army.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida primera de la plana siguiente / significa el cacique¹ que señor de vn pueblo que por auerse Rebelado contra el señorío de mexico los executores de atras contenidos / le tyenen echado al cacique vna sogá en la garganta con la qual por su Rebellion fue condeñado [sic] por el señor de mexico que muera por ello / y su muger e hijos sean caviuados y traydos presos a la corte de mexico / y en cumplimiento de la condenación los executores / estan executando las penas en que fueron condenados segun que por las figuras se signyficán /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida segunda / el cacique que esta sentado e yntitulado signyfica que por se aver Rebelado contra el señorío de mexico / fue condeñado / por el señor de mexico que sea destruydo y asolado juntamente con los vasallos de su pueblo / y ansi los executores por mandato del señor de mexico le estan notificando la dicha condenación en señal de lo qual le señalan con las ynsignyas que los executores le ponen sobre su cabeça y la Rodela que le presentan para que no pretenda y guarançia de su destruyçion y asolamiento /. las figuras que estan alañeando y con heridas mortales / signyficán que eran mercaderes tratantes mexicanos que aportaron a las tyerras y pueblo del dicho cacique / y sus vasallos del cacique sin liçençia de su señor / los an salteado en el camyno matandolos y Robando lo que llebaua de mercançia / por donde sea mouido ocasion / del dicho asolamiento y destruyçion de todo el pueblo /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida tercera / los quatro executores y embaxadores del señor de mexico signyficán / que ayendo enplazado al cacique contenyo en la partida segunda antes desta segun es dicho al tyempo que los dichos executores se boluyan a mexico / les salieron al camyno çiertos vasallos del dicho cacique a maltratar tirandoles flechas en señal de guerra y Ronpimyento de lo que adelante avia de susçeder y para mas ocasion de enemystad /.

Explanation of the drawings on the first part of the following page: It represents a *cacique*¹ who is lord of a town. Because he rebelled against the lordship of Mexico, the officers shown previously throw a rope around the *cacique*'s throat; for his rebellion he would be condemned to death by the lord of Mexico, and his wife and children would be captured and taken prisoner to the court of Mexico. And in fulfillment of the sentence, the executioners² are administering the punishments to which they are condemned, as shown in the drawings.

Explanation of the drawings in the second part: The [drawing of the] *cacique* who is seated and labeled [as *cacique*] means that, for having rebelled against the lordship of Mexico, he was condemned by the lord of Mexico; he would be destroyed, together with the subjects of his town. And so the executioners, on orders from the lord of Mexico, are informing him of the said condemnation; as a symbol, they indicate this with the insignias that the executioners place on his head, and the shield they present him, so that he would not resist, and as guarantee of his destruction and devastation. The figures speared and with mortal wounds represent traveling Mexican merchants who arrived at the lands and town of the said *cacique*; and the *cacique*'s subjects, without permission from their lord, have attacked them on the road, killing them and stealing their merchandise, which would be the motivation for the said leveling and destruction of the entire town.

Explanation of the drawings in the third part: The four officers and ambassadors of the lord of Mexico, having summoned the *cacique* shown in the second part above, returned to Mexico; certain subjects of the said *cacique* assaulted them on the road, shooting arrows as a sign of war and enmity of what had previously happened and as further occasion for hostilities.

1. This term, for an important indigenous chief or leader, was brought to the mainland by the Spaniards from the Caribbean islands, where it was the Aztek word for "chief."

2. This term, "executor" or "xecutor," seems to be used in a general sense to refer to a governmental officer with various duties or to indicate the specific role of executioner.

Heiznabatl, commander and officer,
like a constable (alguazil)



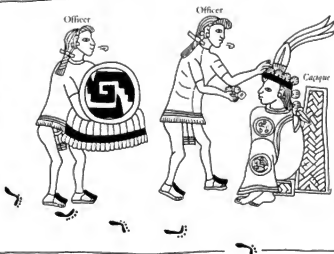
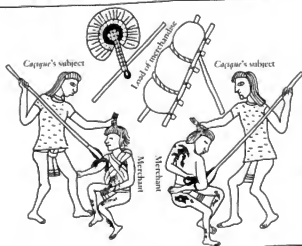
Officer



Officer



2



3

Officer and ambassador
of the lord of Mexico



Officer and ambassador
of the lord of Mexico



Cacque's subject



Cacque's subject



Officer and ambassador
of the lord of Mexico



Officer and ambassador
of the lord of Mexico



Cacque's subject



Relaçion y declaraçion de lo figurado en la partida primera de la plana siguiente /. los tequihua significan adalides¹ enbyados por el señor de mexico al pueblo del caçique para que de noche / lo anden y paseen ocultamente sin que por sus enemygos sean sentidos / para tener aviso e advertençia los guerreros por donde an de entrar con la batalla y hazer su hecho bueno sin mucha Resistençia de sus enemygos /. y ansi los tequihua / andan y Rodean todo el pueblo y caserias y mezquita y tianguex a tyenpo que los del pueblo estan dormydos y sosegados / para ver la parte por donde avn menos trabaxo y Resistençia se les podia dar conbate /.

declaraçion de lo figurado en la partida segunda /. el mexicano figurado que esta sentado y a sus espaldas vna Rodela y flechas signyfica / que estando los mexicanos mobydos a destruyr por via de guerra a çierto pueblo que se avia Reuelado contra el señorio de mexico / los tres figurados vasallos del caçique que ansi mysmo estan asentados en frente del mexicano / signyficant que estando todo el pueblo del caçique atemorizados de la guerra y destruyçion que los mexicanos les querian hazer vyenen a mexico a tratar pazes someteyndose por vasallos de mexico / y protestando de les tributar y Reconoçer el señorio / medyante lo qual los Reçiben en amys-tad y por vasallos Reponyendolo determynado en su perjuyzio /.

los quatro valientes figurados e yntitulados con sus lanças en las manos / y puestos y adornados a punto de guerra / las deuyas y armas que tyenen puestas signyficant capitanes de los exerçitos mexicanos /.

Account and explanation of the drawings on the first part of the following page: The seasoned warriors represent scouts sent by the lord of Mexico to the *cacique's* town at night, so they might go about secretly without being perceived by their enemies, to obtain information and advise the warriors where to engage in battle successfully without much enemy resistance. And so the seasoned warriors proceed and circle the entire town, settlement, temple, and marketplace while the inhabitants of the town are asleep and quiet, in order to find the place of least difficulty and resistance to engage them in combat.

Explanation of the drawings in the second part: The Mexican drawn, seated and with a shield and arrows on his shoulders, represents the Mexicans mobilized to destroy through war a certain town that had rebelled against the lordship of Mexico. The three subjects of the *cacique* who likewise are seated, in front of the Mexican, represent the entire town of the *cacique*, who, fearing war and destruction that the Mexicans threaten, come to Mexico to sue for peace, offering themselves as subjects of Mexico and declaring [that they would] pay them tribute and recognize the lordship. Accordingly, they receive them in friendship, and, reinstating them as subjects, their grievance is settled.

The four brave warriors pictured and labeled, with their lances in their hands and dressed and adorned for battle with the insignia and arms they bear, represent captains of the Mexican armies.

1. This is an Arabic word, referring to guides, scouts, or others who go ahead of the army itself (Clark 1938 1:95).

Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



House



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



Temple



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



This part is the town of the previously-mentioned *capur*, who was summoned to war for his rebellion against the lord of Mexico. The figures of the *tequihua* mean that they were sent by the lord of Mexico to this town to enter it in the dark of night so that they, without much trouble, might destroy it in battle, and be skillful attackers of the town and its area.

House



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



House



Seasoned warrior (tequihua)



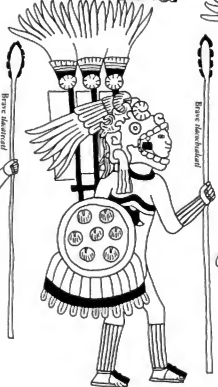
These three are subjects of the *capur*



Mexican



Shield and arrows



declaración de lo figurado en la partida primera de la plana siguiente /. significa / que el que esta sentado y a sus espaldas vna muger hilando / es su muger nuevamente casado / y por aver tomado estado de casado ayendo sido mandon / con los demas que estan figurados ante el que son cinco nonbrados *telpuchtli* que son ansi mysmo mandones / hazeles el casado vn Razonamiento sobre que se desiste del cargo y ofiço de ser mandon por Razon de su casamiento y que quiere descansar del seruyçio pasado / y para mas los complazer y que le admytan su Rogatiua hazeles banquete en dalles byen de comer / y beuer / demas del presente que les haze de vn manajo de perfumes / y vna hachueta de cobre / y dos mantas segun que por lo figurado destas cosas / estan yntituladas /. y ansi con esta solemnidad el casado queda libre y baco del dicho ofiço /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida segunda /. el que esta sentado e yntitulado signyfica el señor de Mexico / en que abyendo dado buena cuenta algunos de los mandones *telpuchtli* en la partida antes desta figurados y ayendo tomado estado de casados / de mandones que avian sido / el dicho señor los mejoraua en mas titulo y grado en que los hazia *tequihua* que signyficán las tres figuras yntituladas de *tequihua* con sus lançones y ventillos dandoles facultad de ser sus embaxadores y adalides en las guerras /. que tyenyan por ofiço onrrroso /.

declaración de lo figurado en la partida tercera signyficán los *alcaldes* / justicias puestas por mano del señor de Mexico para que oyan de negoçios asi çiuiles como crimyales / y ansi las figuras de hombres y mugeres que los tyenen de cara piden justicia que son los pleyteantes /. y las quatro figuras yntituladas de *teclli* que estan a las espaldas de los *alcaldes* / son prencipales mançebos que asysten con los *alcaldes* en sus aydyençias / para yndustriarse en las cosas de la judicatura y para despues susçeder en los ofiços de *alcaldes* /.

destos *alcaldes* abia apelaçion para ante la sala del conçejo de *motecuhma* segun que adelante esta figurado /.

Explanation of the drawings on the first part of the following page: The man seated and the woman behind him who is spinning are newly married. And having married and having been a leader with the five others drawn in front of him, called *telpuchtli*, who are likewise leaders, the married man gives them his reasons for relinquishing his duties and office of leader due to his marriage, and that he wishes to retire from past duties. And in order to please them and so they will accept his request, he provides them with a banquet offering them good food and drink, and gives them gifts: a handful of perfumes, a copper ax, and two cloaks, as drawn and labeled. And so with this formality the married man remains free and vacates the said office.

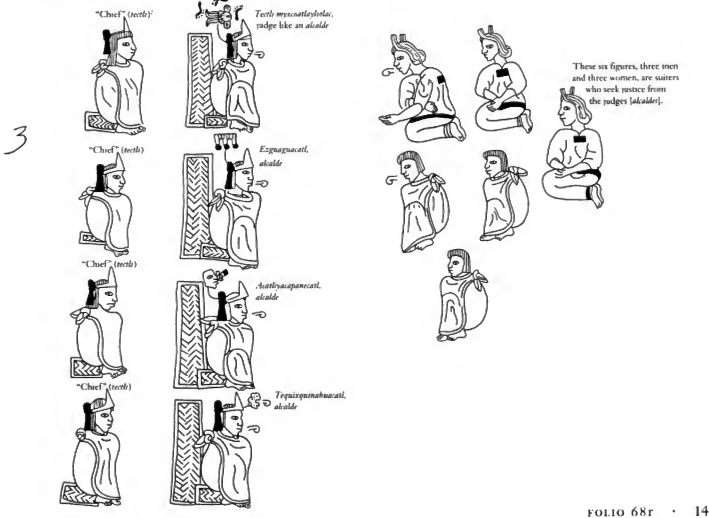
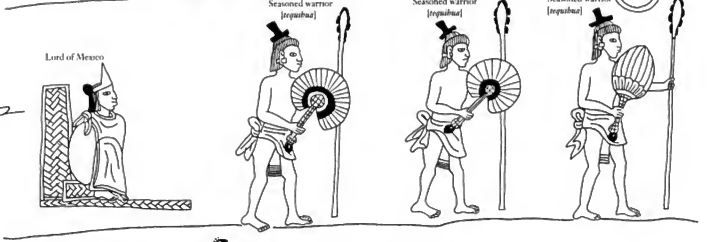
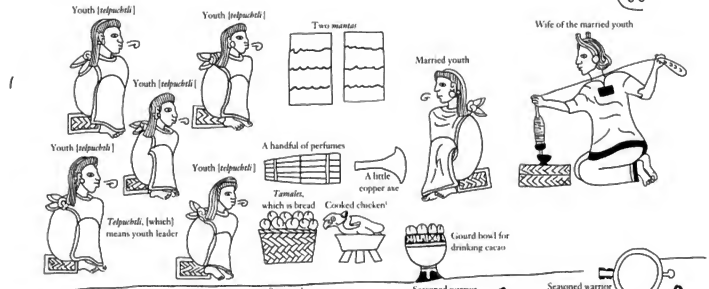
Explanation of the drawings in the second part: The man seated and identified represents the lord of Mexico. Some of the young men [leaders] drawn earlier, having rendered good service and having assumed a married state, were promoted by the said lord to a higher title and grade, making them seasoned warriors, represented by the three figures labeled as *tequihua* with their spears and fans, giving them authority to be his ambassadors and guides in the wars. They had a post of honor.

Explanation of the drawings in the third part: The *alcaldes*, judges appointed by the lord of Mexico to hear civil and criminal cases, are shown. And also, the men and women drawn in front of them are litigants who seek justice. And the four figures behind the *alcaldes*, labeled as *tecltli*, are important young men who attend court with the *alcaldes* for instruction in matters of justice so that later they might advance to the position of *alcalde*.

These *alcaldes* made an appeal before the council chamber of *Motecuhzoma*, as is shown later on.

OPPOSITE: FOLIO 68r

1. The gloss says "gallinas," but the indigenous turkey must be meant.
2. *Teclli* is written better as *tecltli*. These were high ranking nobles, and the term was also used to refer to judges.



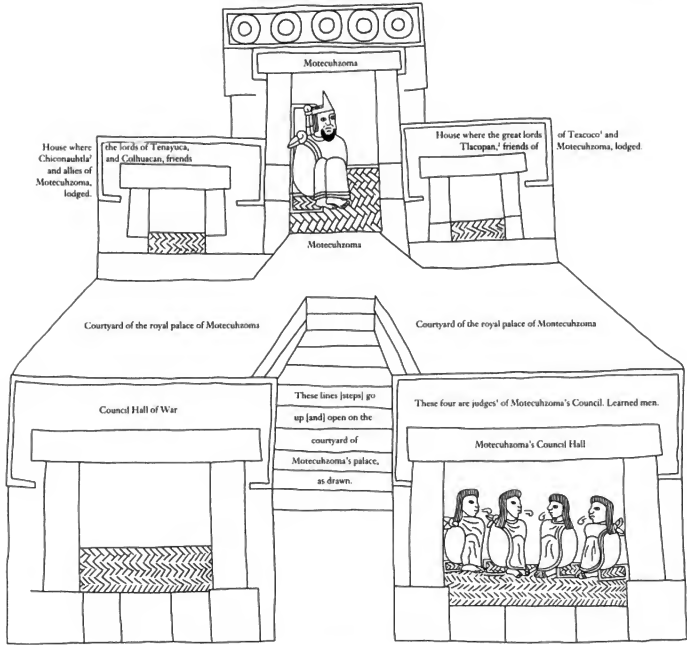
declaracion de lo figurado en la plana siguiente la traça de las salas del conçejo del señor de mexico / y sus casas Reales y patios y gradas por donde entravan / y el trono e asyento de motecçuma en los espacios de cada cosa estan yntitulados y aclarados lo que significan / y así en esta declaracion no se Refiere lo aclarado /. mas de que en la vna sala del conçejo los que en grado de apelacion de sus alcaldes ante ellos parecían por vya de agrauyo / los desagrababan avyendo causas justas y no las abyendo confirmavan lo determinado y sentenciado por los alcaldes /. y si era negocio de calidad de la sala del conçejo avia apelacion por via de agrauyo ante motecçuma / en donde avia conclusion de la causa /. la sala que esta yntitulada del conçejo de guerra en ella se tratavan y probeyan los capitanes y exercitos de guerra segun que por el motecçuma estavan probeydas / y en todas cosas avya orden y cuenta y Razon para que el señorío fiese byen gobernado /. y antes del motecçuma por sus anteçesores / no avya tanta orden en las cosas de Republica / como el motecçuma despues que susçedio en el señorío por ser de buen natural y sabyo de su alvedrio compuso orden y manera de buen Regimiyento y las mando guardar y cumplir so graues penas /. y así el que exçedia sin Remision alguna se executava la pena que por el estaua puesta en el caso que delinquyan / las quales penas fueron Rigurosas / y como en la execucion no avian Remision alguna / andauan sus vasallos syempre alerta la barna sobre el onbro / por donde con temor se aplicavan todos sus vasallos en cosas proechosas y de nyngun perjuizio / por la poca libertad que tenyan /.

Explanation of the drawings on the following page: [It shows] the plan of the council chambers of the lord of Mexico, and his royal palace, courtyards, and entryway steps, and Motecuhzoma's throne and seat. Explanations are provided in the spaces of each of these, so that in this explanation, reference is not made to that already clarified, except [to mention] that in the one council chamber, those appealing [the judgment of] the *alcaldes* appeared before them [the judges]. There being just causes, they redressed the wrong; but if not, they upheld the judgment and sentence of the *alcaldes*. And if it was an important case for the council chamber, appeal for the injury was made before Motecuhzoma, where the case ended. In the room titled "war council," they dealt with and provisioned the captains and armies, as overseen by Motecuhzoma. And they had order, account, and reason in all things, so that the lordship was well governed. And prior to the reign of Motecuhzoma, there was no such order in the government. When Motecuhzoma later succeeded to the lordship, being wise and of good disposition, of his free will he imposed order and a form of good government and ordered them to maintain and carry it out, on pain of severe punishments. And so for him who committed a wrong, the punishment was carried out without any pardon, according to his crime. These punishments were rigorous, and since in their execution they gave no pardon, his subjects went about always alert, looking over their shoulders, for it was with fear that all his subjects went about their business and without harming [others], for the small amount of freedom they had.

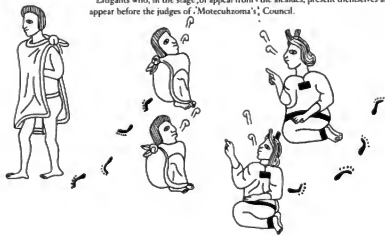
OPPOSITE: FOLIO 69r

1. This is written *motecçuma* throughout this page.
2. Written as *chicanabla*.
3. Written as *tezaco*.
4. This is written *tacuba*, a very Spanish spelling for this town.
5. The annotation says *como oydores*, "like judges." Perhaps the annotator was uncomfortable with a precise comparison.

Throne and dais of Motecuhzoma's where he sat in audience and to judge



Litigants who, in the stage of appeal from the alcaldes, present themselves and appear before the judges of Motecuhzoma's Council.



declaración de lo figurado en la plana siguiente / el padre e hijo que estan sentados de cara el vno al otro signyfica dar el padre al hijo buenos consejos para que no ande hecho viçioso ponyendole por exenplo que los que se llegan a toda virtud vyenen despues a valer con los señores y caçiques en que les dan cargos horrosos [sic] / y los ocupan por sus mensajeros / y que los musicos y cantores los admyten en sus fiestas y bodas por la priuança que tyenen /.

lo figurado en la casa donde se junta a tratar y proveer¹ para las obras publicas el mayordomo que en ella esta sentado signyfica que ante el estan dos mançebos llorando por se les aver ofrecido de que los ocupe en seruyçios personales que Representan las coas / y guacales / y el mayordomo les esta dando buenos conçeijos dizen-doles que se aparten de la oçiosidad y andar hechos vagamundos que ocasionan y es causa de venir a ser ladrones o jugadores de pelota o jugador de patol a manera de dados / de los cuales juegos se Recreçen hurtar para satisfazer y cunplir con los tales viçios que no acaRean otra cosa sino malos fines / y así en lo figurado con sus titulos signyficán lo declarado /.

los ofiços de carpintero y lapidario / y pintor y platero y guar-neçedor de plumas / segun que estan figurados e yntulados [sic] / signyficán / que los tales maesos / enseñavan los ofiços a sus hijos luego desde muchachos para que syendo onbres se aplicasen por sus ofiços / y ocupasen el tiempo en cosas de virtud / dandoles consejos que de la osiosidad / naçian y se engendrauan malos viçios así de los de malas lenguas chizmosos / y seguyan las borracheras y ladroniços y otros malos viçios / y ponyendoles otros muchos terrores que medyante ellos se sometian en todo aplicarse /.

Explanation of the drawings on the following page: The father and son are seated facing each other; they represent the father giving his son good advice so he not go about being unruly, holding up as an example that those who live in virtue later come to be valued by the lords and *caciques*, being given honorable positions and employed as messengers; and the musicians and singers perform for them at feasts and weddings, for the favor they have [acquired].

The drawing of the house [shows] where [they] assembled to deal with and provide¹ for public works. The majordomo is seated inside; before him two youths are crying because he has ordered them to perform personal services, represented by the digging sticks and baskets (*huacales*). And the majordomo is giving them good advice, telling them to give up idleness and going about as vagabonds, which lead to becoming thieves and ball players, or a player of *patolli*, which is like dice. As a result of these games, they increase their stealing to satisfy and provide for such vices, so that it will only bring them to a bad end, as the drawings show.

The drawings and glosses of the occupations of carpenter, stone-worker, painter, metalworker, and featherworker indicate that the masters of the trades taught the professions to their sons, from childhood, so that when grown to manhood they might pursue these trades and spend their time usefully. They were advised that idleness led to bad behavior, such as with slanderers, gossipers, drunkards, thieves, and other depravities, and were given many other warnings so that they would comply in being industrious.

1. The phrase "a tratar y proveer" was added above the line.

1. *Texacalli* is found along with *calpixcacalli* referring to the house where the tribute collectors and majordomos assembled and administered the tributes (Sabagún 1950–1982 8:44).

Father who counsels his son to be virtuous and not roam about as a vagabond.

Singer and musician who is invited to give them music [perform]

(70

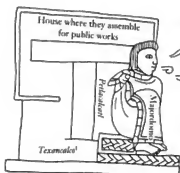
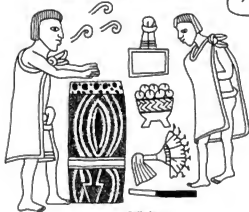
Messenger



Father



Son



Youth



Vagabond



Ball player



Player of potalli (pam), which is like dice



Youth



Thief



Carpenter



Carpenter's son



Lapidary



Lapidary's son



Person with a vicious tongue, and a gossip



Painter



Painter's son



Metalworker



Metalworker's son



Master featherworker



Son of the master



Drunken man



Drunken woman



The vice of drunkenness leads to thieving



declaracion de lo figurado en la partida primera de la plana siguiente / en la qual lo en ella figurado e yntitulados con sus aclaraciones / significan los castigos que a los tales delinquentes cometian segun las leyes y fueros de los señores de mexico lo qual se executaua sin nyngun Remysion segun que por lo figurado pareçe /.

declaracion de lo figurado en la partida segunda /. en la qual se muestra / de como se vedaua segun las leyes y fueros de los señores de de [sic] mexico que no se emborrachasen / sino fuesen de edad de setenta años ansi el varon como la muger / los quales tenyan liçençia e libertad de lo vsar / y que los tales viejos tuyesen hijos y nyetos segun que las figuras lo demuestran / y el que eçedia de lo tal / moria por ello / segun que en la patida [sic] primera antes desta esta figurado /.

A. Theuet.

Explanation of that figured in the first part of the following page, on which are drawings and titles with their explanations: They represent the punishments for certain offenses committed, according to the laws and customs of the lords of Mexico, which they executed without pardon, as the figure shows.

Explanation of that figured in the second part: It is shown how, according to the laws and customs of the lords of Mexico, they forbade drunkenness except to those of seventy years of age, man or woman, if such old persons had children and grandchildren. These had license and freedom to use it, as the figures show. And he who drank excessively died for it, as is shown in the first part above.

A. Thevet

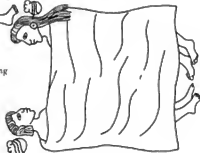
These two figures mean that youths who became intoxicated with wine died for it according to their laws and customs.



If a young woman became intoxicated with wine, they killed her according to the laws and customs of the lords of Mexico.



These two figures lying down and covered with a cloth denote that he who had carnal relations with a married woman, they killed them by stoning, according to the laws of the lords of Mexico.



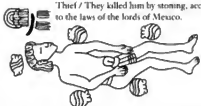
71

7

Youth who became intoxicated



Thief / They killed him by stoning, according to the laws of the lords of Mexico.

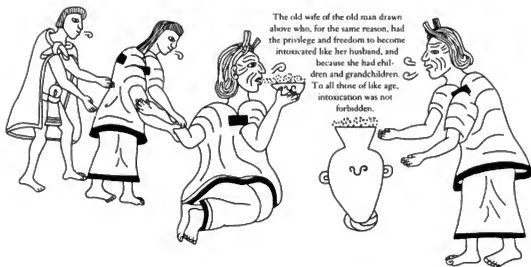


An old man seventy years old had permission, in public as well as in private, to drink wine and become intoxicated, on account of being at such an age and having children and grandchildren because of his age he was not forbidden drinking and intoxication.



2

The old wife of the old man drawn above who, for the same reason, had the privilege and freedom to become intoxicated like her husband, and because she had children and grandchildren. To all those of like age, intoxication was not forbidden.



El estilo grosero e ynterpretacion de lo figurado en esta ystoria supla el lector / porque no se dio lugar al ynterpretador de nyngun vagar / y como cosa no acordada ny pensada se ynterpreto a vso de proceso /, ansi mysmo en donde ban nonbrados alfaqui mayor / y alfaqui nouiçio fue ynadbertencia del ynterpretador poner tales nombres que son moriscos /, a se de entender por el alfaqui mayor / saçerdote mayor / y por el nobiçio / saçerdote nouiçio /, y donde ban nonbrados mezquitas a se de entender por templos /, diez dias antes de la partida de la flota se dio al ynterpretador esta ystoria para que la ynterpretase el qual descuydo fue de los yndios que acordaron tarde y como cosa de corrida no se tuvo punto en el estilo que convenia ynterpretarse / ny se dio lugar para que se sacara en linpio limando los bocables y orden que convenya /, y avnque las ynterpretaciones ban toscas no se a de tener nota sino a la sustancia de las aclaraciones lo que significan las figuras / las quales ban¹ byen declaradas por ser como es el ynterpretador dellas buena lengua mexicana ————— G²

A. Theuetus
1553¹

The reader must excuse the rough style in the interpretation of the drawings in this history, because the interpreter did not take time or work at all slowly; and because it was a matter neither agreed upon nor thought about, it was interpreted according to legal conventions. Likewise, it was a mistake for the interpreter to use the Moorish words *alfaqui mayor* and *alfaqui nouiçio*; *saçerdote mayor* should be written for *alfaqui mayor*, and *saçerdote nouiçio* for the novice. And where *mezquitas* is written, *templos* is to be understood. The interpreter was given this history ten days prior to the departure of the fleet, and he interpreted it carelessly because the Indians came to agreement late; and so it was done in haste and he did not improve the style suitable for an interpretation, nor did he take time to polish the words and grammar or make a clean copy. And although the interpretations are crude, one should only take into account the substance of the explanations that explain the drawings; these are correctly presented, because the interpreter of them is well versed in the Mexican language ————— G²

A. Thevet
1553¹

1. It appears that the interpreter originally wrote "byen" here, then hastily altered it.

2. There is some discussion over the identity of the author of this letter. While Cooper Clark interprets it as a *J.*, Gómez de Orozco (1941) identifies it as a *G.*, suggesting Juan González as the writer. Borah and Cook (1963:31) feel it resembles a sixteenth-century *Q.* See chapter 1 in volume 1 for a fuller discussion of this enigma.

3. There are five lines of scratched-out mirror-writing at the bottom of this folio. The top line appears to read "Anno domini 1571," but the remaining lines are undecipherable.

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FRANCES F. BERDAN (left) is Professor of Anthropology at California State University, San Bernardino. Photo by Dan Moseley.

PATRICIA RIEFF ANAWALT (right) is Director of the Center for the Study of Regional Dress, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles. Photo by Anne Kresl.

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