

LAW AND POLITICS  
IN AZTEC TEXCOCO

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# Contents

List of tables, figures, and maps	<i>page</i> x
Preface	xiii
List of abbreviations and symbols	xvii
<b>1 The setting and early history of Texcocan imperial development</b>	<b>1</b>
The setting of the Texcocan empire	1
Early Texcocan history	18
<b>2 The legal history of Texcoco</b>	<b>47</b>
The legal concerns of Xolotl	47
The cultural antecedents of Texcocan law	49
The legal rules of Nopaltzin, Tlotzin, and Quinatzin	51
The legal policies of Techotlalatzin	52
The legal policies of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and Tezozomoc	53
The legal reforms of Nezahualcoyotl	55
Nezahualcoyotl the “legalist”	66
Texcocan legalism in cross-cultural perspective	79
Concluding comments	85
<b>3 The structure of the Texcocan empire</b>	<b>87</b>
The construction of the empire	87
The organization of the heartlands and hinterlands of the empire	97

<b>4</b>	<b>The political and legal dynamics of Texcoco</b>	<b>121</b>
	Introduction	121
	The class system of Texcoco	124
	The higher legal levels of Texcoco	147
	Other high legal levels in the Texcocan empire	158
	Concluding comments	160
<b>5</b>	<b>Local-level organization in the Texcocan empire: the lower legal levels of Texcoco</b>	<b>163</b>
	Introduction	163
	Early theoretical formulations concerning the <i>calpulli</i>	164
	Later approaches to the <i>calpulli</i> question	166
	The internal organization of the <i>calpulli</i>	168
	<i>Calpulli</i> membership criteria	171
	Aztec kinship terminology and behavior	175
	Ideals of kinship behavior	201
	Residence patterns in the Acolhuacan heartland: the <i>Codex Vergara</i>	213
	Concluding comments: the lower legal levels of the Texcocan empire	221
<b>6</b>	<b>The development and maturation of the Texcocan legal system: principles of Texcocan jurisprudence</b>	<b>227</b>
	Introduction	227
	The later political history of Texcoco	228
	The Texcocan conception of law, and further details of Texcocan procedural law	242
	Aspects of the substantive law of Texcoco: principles of Texcocan jurisprudence	255
	Concluding comments	281
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>283</b>

*Contents*

ix

Appendix 1	An analysis of the structure of the Motolinía document	289
Appendix 2	Household organization in the <i>Codex Vergara</i>	291
Appendix 3	Additional documents on household organization and population in Tepetlaoztoc	299
Notes		302
Bibliography		314
Index		325

## Tables, figures, and maps

### Tables

1.1.1.	Archaeological estimates of the area and population of major Texcocan cities and towns in the Valley of Mexico	7
1.1.2.	Population figures for the Teotihuacan Valley	11
1.1.3.	Population figures for the Texcoco Region	11
1.1.4.	The population, elevation, and rainfall of major towns in the Texcocan hinterlands	12
3.1.1.	Schematic representation of the <i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 2 (rulers)	99
3.1.2.	Schematic representation of the <i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 2 (towns)	99
3.1.3.	Ixtlilxochitl's report of towns serving the palaces of the Texcocan ruler	102
3.1.4.	Torquemada's report of towns serving the palace of the Texcocan ruler	103
3.1.5.	The <i>Anales de Cuauhtitlan</i> information	105
4.1.1.	Legal specifications of Texcocan land tenure	136
4.1.2.	Important aspects of the class structure of Texcoco	143
4.1.3.	The legal levels of Texcoco	162
5.1.1.	Primary and extended ranges of classical Nahuatl kinship terms	178
5.1.2.	Componential definitions and components of consanguineal terms	183
5.1.3.	Componential definitions and components of affinal terms	184
5.1.4.	Test of extension rules	195
5.1.5.	Kinship terms in the <i>tlacamecayotl</i> document	198

5.6.	Criteria for succession to the office of the Texcocan <i>tlatoani</i> (ruler)	205
5.7.	Household composition in the <i>Codex Vergara</i>	215
6.1.	The tribute paid to Nezahualpilli from the vicinity of the Valley of Toluca	234
6.2.	<i>Ixpan</i> derivatives	246
6.3.	<i>Ilhuia</i> derivatives	247
6.4.	<i>Tzontequi</i> derivatives	248
6.5.	Nahuatl terms concerning judicial appeals	248
6.6.	Nahuatl idioms for punishment	248
6.7.	<i>Nonotza</i> derivatives	249
6.8.	<i>Tzacuiltia</i> derivatives	249
6.9.	Stone and wood as an idiom for punishment	250
6.10.	<i>Melahua</i> and <i>nelli</i> derivatives	251
6.11.	Terms for legal corruption	253
6.12.	Formal analysis of adultery rules in Texcoco under Nezahualcoyotl	262
6.13.	Nezahualpilli's adultery rule in the context of Nezahualcoyotl's rules	263
6.14.	Formal analysis of Texcocan rules against drunkenness	269
6.15.	Formal analysis of Texcocan rules against drunkenness: <i>telpochcalli</i> and judge rules included	270
6.16.	<i>Ichtequi</i> derivatives	273
6.17.	Formal analysis of Ixtlilxochitl's rules against theft	277
6.18.	Formal analysis of Ixtlilxochitl's rules against theft and a rule from the <i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3	278
6.19.	Formal analysis of Motolinía's rules against theft	279
A1.1.	The first list of towns in the Motolinía document	
A1.2.	The second list of towns in the Motolinía document	290
A2.1.	The composition of the households in the <i>Codex Vergara</i>	292
A3.1.	The indigenous tribute book of Tepetlaoztoc	300
A3.2.	The 1551 <i>cuenta</i> of Tepetlaoztoc	301

### Figures

1.1.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 1	32
2.1.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 2	62
2.2.	The signature of Fray Andrés de Alcobiz	69
2.3.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3	72
2.4.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3, column 2, row 2	74
2.5.	<i>Codex Mendoza</i> , folio 66r	75
2.6.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3, column 4, row 2	76
2.7.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3, column 4, row 2	77
2.8.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3, column 4, row 1	78
2.9.	<i>Mapa Quinatzin</i> , leaf 3, column 4, row 1	79
3.1.	The god Tezcatlipoca, exhibiting the foot replaced by a smoking mirror	118
5.1.	Markers for <i>namictli</i> and <i>huepulli</i>	185
5.2.	Possible semantic relations among some sibling terms	185
5.3.	Sibling Superclass	187
5.4.	Grandkin Superclass	188
5.5.	Semantic relations among $G =$ "affinals"	188
5.6.	A possible interpretation of the Grandkin Superclass	189
5.7.	Possible semantic relationships among some $G^{+1}$ terms	190
5.8.	Additional possible semantic relationships among some $G^{+1}$ terms	191
5.9.	A possible interpretation of the Parent Superclass	192

### Maps

Map 1.	Central Mexico, with the principal Texcocan conquests shown	4
Map 2.	The Valley of Mexico, its lake system, and environs in the Aztec period	5
Map 3.	Topographic map of the Texcoco Region	6



## I

# The setting and early history of Texcocan imperial development

The sudden reestablishment of the Texcocan empire in the 1430s and its subsequent expansion under its famed ruler Nezahualcoyotl are remarkable achievements in themselves. They are all the more striking when considered in the light of the empire's setting and early history. Within two hundred years, a line of Tenayucan-Texcocan rulers had gone from presiding over a hunting and gathering society to ruling a substantial empire. Geographic and ecological factors both facilitated and hindered the construction of this empire, as did political and military relations with Texcoco's neighbors. Consequently, before we examine the best-documented portion of Texcocan history, it will be useful to explore those aspects of Texcoco's geography and early history which will illuminate the nature of Texcoco during its period of greatest political power and cultural stature.

### The setting of the Texcocan empire

#### *The geography and natural zones of the Texcoco Region*

The heartland of the Texcocan empire was located in the eastern portion of the Valley of Mexico and was called Acolhuacan. The Valley of Mexico is actually a large internal drainage basin, since it lacks a natural outlet. Its dimensions are approximately 130 km north-south and 60 km east-west. At the time of the Conquest, approximately 1,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the basin's surface were taken up by a system of lakes (Gibson 1964:1; Parsons 1971:3-5). The salinity of these lakes varied markedly: Those in the south were considerably less salty than those in the north. Acolhuacan was bordered by Lake Texcoco, which, although the most saline lake, was still capable of supporting an abundant and varied assortment of aquatic life.

The lowest altitude in the basin is "somewhat below 2,240 meters above sea level," and the basin is "rimmed on the west, south, and east by high rugged mountains of volcanic origin, whose highest peaks approach 4,300 meters above sea level" (Parsons 1971:3-5). This altitude produces a remarkably cool climate. Rain in the valley is plentiful during the months May through October, but is scarce for the remainder of the year, and less than plentiful overall. Although the relationship between the present-day climate of the Valley of Mexico and the climate of that area half a millennium ago is problematic, it is still worth noting some temperature and rainfall measurements reported by Parsons (1971:6-7) and Kovar (1970:62). Parsons supplies an average annual rainfall at the Chapingo Agricultural College near Texcoco of 603.3 mm for the years 1962-66; Kovar gives the annual average rainfall at Chapingo as 581.7 mm and also provides rainfall information for Teotihuacan (547.5 mm) and Texcoco itself (768.8 mm). In addition, he lists the average annual temperatures for these three locations: Chapingo, 14.9°C; Teotihuacan, 14.4°C; and Texcoco, 15.7°C. An older source (Vivó and Gómez 1946:35) supplies very similar data.

The Valley of Mexico is divided by volcanic peaks and ranges into a number of regions, one of which was intensively surveyed by Parsons and is called by him the Texcoco Region. Parsons defined the region as

that area extending from the eastern edge of Lake Texcoco eastward to the foothills of the Sierra Madre Oriental (a distance of about 25 km). Its northern and southern borders are respectively fixed by the Patlachique Range (a rugged westward-trending spur of the Sierra Madre Oriental), and a line of hills including Cerro Chimalhuacan and Cerro Texotl. This region comprises about 700 km, and forms a well-defined natural topographic unit situated immediately south of the Teotihuacan Valley in the eastern Valley of Mexico. [Parsons 1971:3]

Parsons (1971:8), following Wolf and Palerm (1955:266-68), points out that even this relatively small region is divided into four substantially different but economically interdependent natural zones that form roughly parallel north-south bands between the lakeshore and the sierra.

The *sierra zone* (2,750-4,000 m) is a steeply sloping, presently uninhabited forested region with some farming of maize at its lower reaches; its timber, grazing, and hunting resources are also utilized to some degree by inhabitants of lower elevations.

The *upper piedmont zone* (2,750–2,500 m, 100 km<sup>2</sup>) is presently occupied by six dispersed villages that raise maize and wheat for subsistence, and flowers and maguery (for *pulque*) as cash crops. Parsons (1971:221–27) notes that this area was heavily populated for the first time in the Late Aztec period and hypothesizes that this population might have helped support itself through processing of lumber, charcoal, nopal, and maguery products. There are extensive remains of terraces in this badly eroded area, but their chronological placement is uncertain and Parsons (personal communication) does not think that the scope of irrigation in the area was particularly significant.

The *lower piedmont zone* (2,500–2,275 m, 197 km<sup>2</sup>) is a less steeply sloping area with deeper soils and less erosion. Two small rivers with year-round waterflow – the Rios Papalotla and Jalopango – which run between Texcoco and Tepetlaoztoc in the north-central part of the zone, have as the floodplain of their drainage system the largest expanse of low-lying gentle sloping ground found in this zone; nevertheless, the lower piedmont is more extensive in the southern than in the northern part of the Texcoco Region.

The modern population practices some small-scale irrigation as well as intensive rainfall agriculture. The Aztec towns of Tepetlaoztoc, Coatepec, Coatlinchan, and Huexotla (see Maps 1, 2, and 3) were located in this zone, as was the town Iztapalucan in Blanton's (1972:133–38) Iztapalapa regional survey. These five towns all appear to have been sizable urban agglomerations (see Table 1.1).

A small irrigation system was operative in this region and in the upper piedmont (Parsons 1971:146–51), and Wolf and Palerm (1955:273–75) have attempted to use this irrigation system to argue for “hydraulic” policies and characteristics in the government of Texcoco. However, Parsons (1971:221–23) has pointed out a number of major defects in their position, and I have shown elsewhere (Offner 1981a, 1981b) that neither this irrigation system nor the more sizable irrigation system in the Teotihuacan Valley had a significant influence on the development or character of the Texcocan government.

The fourth natural zone of the Texcoco Region is the *lakeshore plain* (2,275–2,240 m, 127 km<sup>2</sup>), a broad, flat, and fertile region that is and was the most intensively utilized zone in Acolhuacan. Agriculture is widespread, and salt making, more common in Aztec



Map 1. Central Mexico, with the principal Texcocan conquests shown (adapted from Gerhard 1972b: 70-71, with selected *alcaldía mayor* boundaries)



Map 2. The Valley of Mexico, its lake system, and environs in the Aztec period



Map 3. Topographic map of the Texcoco Region (adapted from Parsons 1971: 92, including elevations and site numbers assigned to archaeological remains by Parsons)

times, persists in the region to this day. Craft specialization (e.g., spinning and weaving) was also common here and in the lower piedmont in Aztec times.

Parsons was able to identify the sites of Aztec Texcoco and Chimalhuacan in this zone. Texcoco's remains featured six principal civic-ceremonial areas, and Parsons (1971:117–20) estimates the

Table 1.1. *Archaeological estimates of the area and population of major Texcocan cities and towns in the Valley of Mexico*

City or town	Area (hectares)	Population
Acolman		
Urban core	7-20	700-2,000
Dispersed zone	80-90	2,800-2,900
Chiconautla		
Urban core	9	500-1,000
Dispersed area	225	2,600-4,000
Chimalhuacan	260*	6,000-12,000*
Coatepec	85*	1,250-2,500*
Coatlinchan	210	5,500-11,000
Huexotla		
Urban core	300	7,500-15,000
Dispersed area	540	4,000-8,000
Iztapalucan	100	862-1,141
Otompan		
Urban core	30	1,500-3,000
Dispersed area	170	1,700-3,400
Teotihuacan	Unknown†	Unknown†
Tepetlaoztoc	450	6,750-13,500
Tepexpan	42	900-1,200
Texcoco	450*	12,500-25,000*

\*Extent of site obscured by modern settlement; area and population may have been larger.

†Sanders (1965:83-84) theorizes that this site and its environs, which are obscured by modern settlement, might have constituted "the largest Aztec population cluster in the [Teotihuacan] Valley."

Source: Sanders 1965; Parsons 1971; Blanton 1972.

size and population of Texcoco at 450 hectares and 12,500 to 25,000 people. Nevertheless, the modern town of Texcoco and post-Conquest alluviation have served to obscure the true extent of the site. In addition, several nearby sites may well have been "detached barrios" of Texcoco (Parsons 1971:120).

*Population processes and settlement patterns in the  
Aztec period Texcoco Region*

The Aztec period was remarkable for its rapid rise in population and its extensive urbanization (Parsons 1971:155, 218). During Early

Aztec times, major urban centers developed at Huexotla and Coatlinchan; Tepetlaoztoc, Texcoco, and Chimalhuacan became prominent urban centers during the later Aztec period; and Coatepec also developed into an important, though lesser, population concentration (Parsons 1971:156, 218-19). This urbanization process was so extensive that by the time of the Conquest approximately two-thirds of the Texcoco Region's population was concentrated at these six sites. Parsons (1971:155, 229) notes that there was by Late Aztec times "a general filling in of available ecological niches," and also speaks of "high population pressure" during this period. On the basis of archaeological evidence, he estimates the region's population at 55,585 to 116,395 (its 1960 population was 73,476 [Parsons 1971:163]). Given the continuous settlement of the Texcoco-Huexotla-Coatlinchan area and the dense population everywhere in the Texcoco Region at the juncture of the Lakeshore Plain and Lower Piedmont, Motolinía's (1903:145, 1970:297) description of Texcoco as between one and two leagues in width and six leagues in length, with many parishes and innumerable residents, may be seen as an essentially accurate description.

One of the more striking features of the Late Aztec settlement patterns in the Texcoco Region is their lacustrine orientation, a novel feature in this region's history, first noted in the Late Toltec period (Parsons 1971:155). Texcoco, Chimalhuacan, Huexotla, and Coatlinchan were all located on the lakeshore plain or at its juncture with the lower piedmont. Besides the agricultural attractiveness of these lacustrine locations, the possibilities for salt extraction and for the utilization of the considerable food resources of the lake system (Parsons 1971:225) must have been powerful incentives for settlement. In addition, the lake system served as the major transportation artery of the Valley of Mexico. This is not surprising: The Aztecs possessed no beasts of burden, and transportation by canoe over water is considerably more efficient than overland methods employing human porters; indeed, Sanders (1971:12) mentions a study made at the beginning of this century which showed that canoe transport could be some twenty-five times more efficient than human overland transportation.

In summary, Parsons's painstaking archaeological survey has provided an indispensable supplement to archival researches. In particular, his views on the degree of urbanization and the identity of the most densely settled sites in the Texcoco Region are most informa-



tive, especially in view of the scant information in the sources or archives on these matters. The overall picture of the Texcoco Region that Parsons has produced lends considerable credibility to the grand and detailed portrayal of the Texcocan empire presented in the sources. Nezahualcoyotl, and certainly Nezahualpilli, commanded men in the tens of thousands and ruled an area with a complex and sophisticated economy. And this was only in the Texcoco Region; the Teotihuacan Valley, which I will consider next, was also a part of the heartland of their empire and, indeed, was approximately as large and populous as the Texcoco Region.

*Major Texcocan subjects in the Teotihuacan Valley*

The Teotihuacan Valley lies along the northern border of the Texcoco Region and is a subregion of the Valley of Mexico. Sanders (1970:74–75) has defined the region for the purposes of his archaeological survey as the drainage basin of the Rio San Juan. It is 600 km<sup>2</sup> in area, and the valley's floor ranges between 2,240 and 2,300 m as it slopes gently from northeast to southwest. Sanders's archaeological survey was able to locate the remains of Aztec Chiconautla, Acolman, Tepexpan, Otompan, and Teotihuacan, all sizable cities or towns (Table 1.1). However, Sanders (1965:85–86) also demonstrates the existence of an extensive rural population, which indicates that the degree of urbanization in the Teotihuacan Valley was considerably less than in the Texcoco Region.

The valley's settlement pattern seems to have been primarily shaped by the availability of good agricultural land, but the locations of the sites of Chiconautla, Tepexpan, and Tezoyucan indicate that the lake system of the Valley of Mexico was also important in the economy of the Teotihuacan Valley. Teotihuacan did have an irrigation system that covered some 50 to 100 km<sup>2</sup> and that was primarily oriented toward agricultural production in Aztec times. However, neither the government of Teotihuacan nor that of Texcoco was influenced in any significant "hydraulic" manner by this system (Offner 1981a).

*Documentary reports on the population of the  
Texcocan heartland and its diversity*

Interpretations of post-Conquest archival population records have long stimulated controversy. As I have mentioned elsewhere (Offner

1980a), Sanders's astute criticisms of the excessive nature of the Conquest-era population estimates of the Borah, Cook, and Simpson "Berkeley school" are essentially correct. Sanders (1970:385-457), through a combined archaeological, ethnological, and documentary study of the demography of the Teotihuacan Valley, has estimated that the 1519 population of that valley and of Central Mexico as a whole was 2.7 to 3.0 times greater than the 1568 population (reported in Sanders 1970:414-16, using 1568 population figures compiled by Cook and Borah 1960), and this ratio will be used in what follows to estimate the Conquest-era population in the Texcocan empire. For example, when it is applied to data from both the Teotihuacan Valley and the Texcoco Region, Conquest-era populations of 137,000 to 152,000 for the Teotihuacan Valley (Table 1.2) and 146,000 to 162,000 for the Texcoco Region (Table 1.3) are the result. Even allowing for Sanders's stated preference for a population of 135,000 in the Teotihuacan Valley (1970:442), it seems clear that the area traditionally under the control of the ruler of Texcoco had approximately one-quarter million subjects at the time of the Conquest. This was a considerable base for extravalley expansion.

The population of the heartland was, however, quite heterogeneous. One indication of cultural differences in the heartland is linguistic diversity. Harvey (1972), who has studied the distribution of languages in Mesoamerica based on information in the *Relaciones Geográficas*, reports that (1) both Nahuatl and Otomi were spoken in the Chiconautla region and also in the districts of Coatepec, Tepexpan, and Acolman; (2) only Nahuatl is reported from Texcoco and Tequixtlan, and (3) Nahuatl, Otomi, and "Popoloca" were in use at San Juan Teotihuacan. Further details of linguistic diversity will be pointed out in the following sections where warranted, since linguistic and ethnic diversity posed significant problems for the creators of the Texcocan empire.

### *The hinterlands of the empire*

The Texcocan empire also exercised significant control over a number of population centers outside the Valley of Mexico to the east. These were, for the most part, located in the sixteenth-century *alcaldía mayor* (a Spanish colonial political administrative district) jurisdictions of Tulancingo (Tollantzinco), Guauchinango (Cuauhchinanco),

Table 1.2. *Population figures for the Teotihuacan Valley*

<i>Cabecera</i> (capital) district	1568 population	1519 population estimates	
		(2.7 to 1)	(3.0 to 1)
Acolman	10,085	27,229	30,255
Axapochco	3,699	9,987	11,097
Chiconautla	1,688	4,558	5,064
Otompan	16,368	44,194	49,104
Oztoticpac*	10,907	29,449	32,721
Teacalco	564	1,523	1,692
Teotihuacan	4,689	12,660	14,067
Tepexpan	1,548	4,180	4,644
Tequixitlan	1,244	3,359	3,732
Totals	50,792	137,139	152,376

\*Includes Talistaca, located in modern Hidalgo state.

Source: Sanders 1970:414-16, tab. 4 (population figures of 1568 only).

Table 1.3. *Population figures for the Texcoco Region*

<i>Cabecera</i> (capital) district	1568 population	1519 population estimates	
		(2.7 to 1)	(3.0 to 1)
Coatepec	3,947	10,657	11,841
Chicoloapan	789	2,130	2,367
Chimalhuacan Atenco	5,854	15,806	17,562
Huexotla	8,250	22,275	24,750
Tepetlaoztoc	9,867	26,641	29,601
Texcoco*	25,212	68,072	75,636
Totals	53,919	145,581	161,757

\*Includes significant subjects outside the Texcoco Region.

Source: Sanders 1970:414-16, tab. 4 (1568 population figures only).

Tepeapulco (Tepepolco), Cempoala (Cempoallan), and Pachuca, the geography and languages of which have been reported by Gerhard (1972a). The towns of Tollantzinco, Cuauhchinanco, and Xicotepec all had *tlatoque* (rulers) who were members of the council of fourteen rulers that advised the Texcocan ruler. Table 1.4 summarizes the population, elevation, and rainfall of the principal towns of the hinterlands.

Table 1.4. *The population, elevation, and rainfall of major towns in the Texcocan hinterlands*

Cabecera (capital) district*	1568 population	1519 population estimates	
		(2.7 to 1)	(3.0 to 1)
Acaxochitlan	2,540	6,858	7,620
Calpullalpan	3,666	9,898	10,998
Cempoallan (2,426 m; 418.7 mm)	3,571	9,642	10,713
Cuahchinanco (1,600 m; 2,238.8 mm)	11,312	30,542	33,936
Epazoyucan	5,481	14,799	16,443
Pahuatlan	6,346	17,134	19,038
Papalotícpac	1,247	3,367	3,741
Tepepolco	17,408	47,002	52,224
Tizayucan (2,270 m; 600.5 mm)	3,433	9,269	10,299
Tlacuiloltepec	2,696	7,279	8,088
Tlalanapan	2,115	5,711	6,345
Tlaquilpan	2,402	6,485	7,206
Tollantzinco (2,222 m; 578 mm)	15,510	41,877	46,530
Tzihuinquillocan	2,402	6,485	7,206
Xicotepec	2,822	7,619	8,466
Totals	82,951	223,967	248,853

\*Includes elevation and rainfall when available.

Source: Vivó and Gómez 1946; Cook and Borah 1960.

Tollantzinco, along with Acaxochitlan and Tzihuinquillocan, was situated in a region with great variations in topography and climate (Gerhard 1972a:335), from high mountains to hot country, from areas with little rainfall to regions with extremely heavy rainfall; it thus had access to the goods and products of ecological zones significantly different from those of the Valley of Mexico. Otomi was the predominant language in the region of this *alcaldía mayor*, but Nahuatl and Tepehua were also spoken.

Cuahchinanco and Xicotepec, along with the three towns Pahuatlan, Tlacuiloltepec, and Papalotícpac, which also had lower-ranking representatives in the Texcocan court, were all located in the *alcaldía mayor* district called Cuahchinanco, which fell to the east of the Tollantzinco *alcaldía mayor*.

This was a large jurisdiction extending from the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Oriental down to a broad coastal plain and the Gulf [of Mexico] shore. Heavy precipitation much of the year in the mountains supports a dense vegetation, mostly tropical savanna behind the coast and temperate in the highlands. Elevations range from sea level to over 2,000 m. [Gerhard 1972a:116]

Thus the towns of this *alcaldía mayor* had easy access to goods from a number of ecological zones. Nahuatl, Otomi, and Totonac were spoken in the general areas of these towns; Huastec and Tepehua were also spoken in the more remote areas.

The *alcaldía mayor* of Tepepolco was located to the south of that of Tollantzinco and bordered the *alcaldías mayores* of Otumba (Otompan) and Texcoco. The district

was located in the *llanos* [plains] of Apan which occupy a high (2,350–3,000 m) basin in the range separating the Gulf drainage from the Valley of Mexico . . . It is a generally flat area with a few isolated hills and numerous hollows which become lakes in the rainy season. The sparse vegetation is dominated by maguey, and the climate is very cold and dry. [Gerhard 1972a:52]

In spite of this climate, I have elsewhere (Offner 1980a) discussed Tepepolco's fair record of maize productivity, and it is worth noting that Tepepolco was one of the *mayordomías* (tribute districts) responsible for supporting the royal court at Texcoco with large amounts of food for seventy days each year (Ixtilxochitl 1952:II, 168–69). Also located in the Tepepolco district was the *cabecera* (capital) of Tlalapan. In addition, the town of Calpullalpan was situated on the Apan *llanos* (plains), although it was contained in the Texcoco *alcaldía mayor*; in pre-Conquest times, it had cultivated one of the Texcocan ruler's especially fertile fields within its bounds (Ixtilxochitl 1952:II, 209). The *Relación Geográfica* of Tepepolco lists Nahuatl, Otomi, and "Chichimec" as the languages spoken in this area (Harvey 1972:290).

The Cempoallan *alcaldía mayor* contained several towns under Texcocan control. It was bordered by the *alcaldía mayor* of Tollantzinco to the west, by Tepepolco to the southeast, by Otompan and Tequicistlan (Tequixitlan) to the south, and by the *alcaldía mayor* of Pachuca to the north and west. Gerhard (1972a:67) describes the region as "rolling maguey-covered country of volcanic cones rising slightly above a plain at 2,180–3,000 m . . . The climate is quite cold and dry." Nahuatl, Otomi, and "Chichimec" were spoken in the area (Harvey 1972:284). Located in this *alcaldía mayor* were the towns of Cempoallan, Epazoyucan, and Tlaquilpan.

Finally, the *alcaldía mayor* of Pachuca contained the town of Tizayucan. The climate of this elevated region is rather cold and dry, and Otomi and Nahuatl were its principal languages (Gerhard 1972a:209).

From an imperial point of view, the towns in the *alcaldías mayores* of Pachuca, Cempoallan, and Tepepolco would have been useful only for defense, the supply of labor for various purposes, and perhaps some food. Indeed, the tribute paid by Tizayucan to the crown beginning sometime before 1547 (AGI [Archivo General de Indias – Seville]: Contraduría, legs. 670, 785B) consisted of maguey-fiber *mantas* (mantles) and maize, and the same thing is true of the pre-1543 tributes of Tzihuinquillocan, except that some articles of cotton clothing were also provided (AGI: Contaduría, legs. 670, 785A). Tepepolco by 1535 was giving tributes of maize, cotton garments, and, interestingly, gold. The *Relación Geográfica* of Cempoallan (Barlow 1949b:39, 41) mentions bee keeping in the Epazoyucan area but notes that the cotton used to manufacture mantles was imported from Pahuatlan. The maize of Cempoallan was famous for withstanding storage for long periods of time (Barlow 1949b:38; Gibson 1964:308), but there is no mention in the sources that it was imported directly into the Texcocan Region as tribute.

Thus the heartland of the Texcocan empire was bordered to the northeast by a band of territory that was more than self-sufficient agriculturally, but provided little more than food, some articles that could be manufactured in the Valley of Mexico, and labor for military service and public works. Nevertheless, given the defensive benefits of this buffer zone and its population size, it was a decided asset to the empire, and a solid base to use in controlling the areas of Cuauhchinanco, Xicotepec, and the particularly rebellious town of Tollantzinco.

In contrast to the rather mundane tributes just mentioned, archival data concerning the tributes from the towns in the *alcaldías mayores* of Tollantzinco and Cuauhchinanco demonstrate that these areas gathered and produced desirable “luxury” items. By 1531, Xicotepec was paying tributes to the crown every eighty days consisting of 300 large pieces of cloth, 100 articles of clothing, 10 jugs of honey, 20 “loaves” of liquidambar, and 100 balls of wax (along with food for local officials) (AGI: Contaduría, leg. 785B;

see also Paso y Troncoso 1939-42:VIII, no. 429, for a report of relatively heavy tributes in this area). Similarly, from the early 1530s, the *encomienda* of Cuauhchinanco provided Alonso de Villanueva with large amounts of gold, pieces of cloth and clothing, balls of wax, jars of honey, beds, chairs, liquidambar, copper articles, cotton, maize, wheat, and other food (AGI: Justicia, leg. 113, no. 1). And Torquemada (1975:I, 168) reports that the youths of Tollantzinco in pre-Conquest times paid tribute in mats, thrones, pine torches, *coas* (digging sticks), pigment, two kinds of liquidambar, aromatic plants for smoking (tobacco?), gold, gold shields, and feathers. Ixtlilxochitl (1952:II, 199) adds that Tollantzinco paid a tribute of *mantas* (mantles) and beans and had to help maintain the royal woods and gardens in pre-Conquest times. Cuauhchinanco, Xicotepec, Pahuatlan, and Cuauhnhuac (modern Cuernavaca) also had to supply the "pleasure gardens" of the Texcocan ruler with exotic vegetation imported from their areas (Ixtlilxochitl 1952:II, 210).

Thus Texcoco exercised direct control over an empire outside the Valley of Mexico that contained in the areas of its principal towns alone some 224,000 to 249,000 people in 1519 (Table 1.4). The population contributed chiefly in labor, cloth, clothing, and luxury items, although some areas reportedly contributed maize and other foodstuffs. In addition to tribute from this area, Texcoco also received goods from the tributary organization of the Triple Alliance, which covered a good portion of modern Mexico. These goods and their quantities, as depicted in the *Codex Mendoza* and the *Matrícula de Tributos*, have been studied by Barlow (1949a), Molins Fábrega (1956), and Borah and Cook (1963), among others, but it is presently impossible to determine what portion (if any) of the items depicted in these two manuscripts was received by Texcoco. In addition, Ixtlilxochitl (1952:II, 196-99) details the tributes from several provinces said to belong to the "*patrimonio del rey de Tetzcuco*" ("patrimony of the king of Tetzcuco"), which, he says, gave certain amounts of tribute directly to the Texcocan ruler. The figures he provides are more often than not comparable in scale<sup>1</sup> to the figures for the same provinces in the *Codex Mendoza*, so Texcoco no doubt received large amounts of tribute from all over Mexico. The principal items of tribute were cloth, clothing, and miscellaneous luxury goods.

Pomar (1891:7-8) admirably sums up the entire tributary appa-