

THE NOBLEWOMEN OF CHALCO

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Some years ago Kent Flannery speculated about the development of the "early Mesoamerican village", proposing that young noblewomen were the only commodity anywhere equal in value that could be traded for precious jade.¹ I remember wondering if that might have been the very thing seventeenth-century Nahuatl historian Chimalpahin (writing ca. 1600-1631) was referring to in his accounts about dynastic lineages and royal marriages in his home region of Amaquemecan (Amecameca) Chalco.² After all, Chalco means "place of jade or precious green stone".³

Now, much later, after sorting through Chimalpahin's references to noblewomen in what are known as his "Relaciones" and "Diario",⁴ it appears the motive for marriage among indigenous aristocracy was primarily political, not economic. This essay will examine elite marriages and other aspects of noblewomen's roles in preconquest and early colonial times, as revealed in Chimalpahin's accounts.⁵

¹ Quoting Flannery, "In that case, says the Motagua Indian, 'if you don't mind, I'll head on up to the Kaminaljuyú area, where the chief is offering 10, maybe 12 girls from elite lineages for every hundredweight of jade'. And that, O Best Beloved, is how the Great Jade Boulder got to Kaminaljuyú." Kent V. Flannery (ed.), *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, New York, 1976, 286.

² Today's Amecameca de Juárez, located on the southeastern edge of the Valley of Mexico.

³ Rémi Siméon, *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana*, México City, 1977. See p. 46-47 for an abbreviated glossary of Nahuatl-English terms.

⁴ Original manuscripts located in Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Fonds Mexicain 74 and 220, respectively. Two other manuscripts recently discovered, one in London, the other in Yuma, Arizona, have not been included in this study. Because a good number of researchers do not bother to refer to Chimalpahin's original Nahuatl text (but instead make use of an inexact presentation and poor translation in Spanish), they are unaware that Chimalpahin's annals were sorted, arbitrarily collected into separate texts, and given the name "Relación" by someone else (probably don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora in the late seventeenth century). The Nahuatl annals themselves are many times Chimalpahin's notes, and since he made use of a wide range of sources, they reflect a range of information, which, as we would expect, duplicates and reflects different opinions.

⁵ Chimalpahin says nothing about roles assigned strictly on the basis of sex; in fact, he seldom speaks of ordinary routines or even ordinary people. Fortunately,

Chimalpahin's is an extraordinary treatise about early Mexico. Bringing together what he could of extant indigenous pictorial and written manuscripts, his interviews with oldtimers in Indian towns, and his study of numerous published and unpublished works by Spaniards, he wrote a history in his native Nahuatl for Indians, so the generations to come would know of the grandness of the people and places in central Mexico.⁶ His purpose was to exalt his town, Amecameca Chalco, but in so doing he included a history of Indian Mexico, covering the period 670-1631.

Chimalpahin was a compiler and copyist as well as a historian. His accounts most often are in the form of annals; that is, reports of miscellaneous events organized only by year, the indigenous method for record keeping. His annals are the product of his transcriptions, translations, and interpretations of a wide variety of sources.⁷ Thus, information about a particular topic occurs as bits and fragments, scattered over nearly one thousand pages (see Figure 1 for an example of Chimalpahin's annals record). The corpus of his records constitutes the most comprehensive Nahuatl account by a known author, affording insight into the authentic thought and personal perspective of someone of the Nahua world.

Another key aspect is that Chimalpahin focused much of his research on one particular region, Chalco, providing a wealth of information about the social and political organization of a middle-level entity in central Mexico —not the large, much-studied empire of the Mexica Tenochca (popularly but erroneously called the "Aztecs") nor

such information can be found in the "Huehuetlatolli"; see particularly Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart (eds.), *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*, Los Angeles, 1987, and Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book 10 - The People*, Santa Fe, 1961. Recent ethnological studies reveal little change in the training of girls and young women, at least among some groups like the Isthmus Zapotec. Beverly Chiñas reports, "during these years girls spend most of their time learning the more intricate household arts such as cooking and making tortillas and totopos, sewing, and embroidery". Chiñas, *The Isthmus Zapotecs, Women's Roles in Cultural Context*, Prospect Heights, IL, 1983, 54.

⁶ I-173-15. Unless stated otherwise, all references from Chimalpahin's text are from Günter Zimmermann, *Die Relationen Chimalpahin's zur Geschichte Mexico's*, Teil 1: Die Zeit bis zur Conquista, 1521 (Hamburg, 1963) and Teil 2: Das Jahrhundert nach der Conquista, 1522-1615 (Hamburg, 1965). Roman numerals I and II correspond to Zimmermann's Teil 1 (1963) and Teil 2 (1965) respectively; the first of two Arabic numbers refers to the page number in the appropriate volume; and the second Arabic number indicates the line on that page.

⁷ For discussion of Chimalpahin's annals style, see "In Search of the 'Annal X': Annals as Authentic Thought in the Nahuatl Writings by Chimalpahin". Paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Conference on Mesoamerican Archaeology and Ethnohistory, North Central College, Illinois, March 16, 1991.

the small, parochial, much puzzled-over unit, the *calpulli*, but a full-fledged confederation of Indian kingdoms in operation for nearly four centuries. From his sources Chimalpahin was able to construct a dynastic history of the kingdoms of Amecameca Chalco, tracing the origins of the royal houses back to 1261, when Chalco was permanently settled.⁸ Intending to glorify Chalco's *tlatocatlacamecayotl* "kingly lineages" to show what a great place his home was, he occasionally would include information about other places as well. He demonstrates continuity of several royal lineages through the sixteenth century.

Elsewhere I have made an exhaustive study of the Chalca kings and their kingdoms.⁹ The lists of kings are many and long; only twice over a period of nearly four hundred years did women have actual authority in Chalco, and then, Chimalpahin says, it was only because there were no suitable men at the time.¹⁰ To distinguish these two women, Chimalpahin uses the Nahuatl *cihuatlatoani* (pl. *cihuatlatoque*) and *cihuapillatoani* "woman-ruler", "noblewoman-ruler", or, perhaps, "queen". The significance of the two *cihuatlatoque* to the study of Mesoamerican dynastic histories cannot be overstated, for there is little other direct, detailed evidence about women with executive authority.¹¹

In general, Chimalpahin tends to say little that is explicit about the importance of females in political and interdynastic machinations. His interest, definitely, is in promoting the leadership of men.¹² At one point he goes so far as to state that shortly after the Spanish conquest a young, sole-surviving nobleman was judged ineligible to succeed as ruler in his kingdom because his only claim was through his mother's line.¹³ On the other hand, Susan D. Gillespie, in *The Aztec*

⁸ 1-31-30.

⁹ Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*, Tucson, 1991.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 183-185.

¹¹ It may be that Spanish histories and patriarchal rulership influenced Chimalpahin. Certainly he was familiar with Spain's background and even translated large sections pertaining to the subject into Nahuatl from Spanish, incorporating all of it right into his annals (cf. Fig. 1, fifth line up from the bottom). But he lauds Spain's and Portugal's female rulers as well, 1-175-178.

¹² This is my perception which comes from, among other things, Chimalpahin's facility in listing the names of kings and other important male figures. This is not to say he does not name women as well, but if one were to quantify them, it would be immediately apparent that his sources and his own records come up short. It is common for him to say "her (or their) name(s) is/are not known", where the men's names, for some reason, are more readily available; see the tables in this article for numerous examples.

¹³ 1-172-18.

Kings, portrays "queens" as intrinsic to [Mexico] Tenochtitlan dynasties.¹⁴ This may indeed be the case, but close examination reveals that most of the Mexica Tenochca women were queens by divine attribution and/or their marriage relationships with kings. As such, they were ennoblers for their consorts and offspring. Evidence as to whether they were actual *cihuatlatoque* is slim. Consideration of related specific Nahuatl terminology about the "queens" that would corroborate the office and elaborate upon their status would be most useful; for example, if the Mexica Tenochca women were formally installed as rulers (*tlatocatlatia*), if they occupied thrones (*petlatl icpalli*) and wore crowns (*copilli*), and if they were entitled (*teuhctocaitl*) and passed that title to their heirs.¹⁵

To be certain, in spite of Chimalpahin's omission, for reasons as yet undetermined,¹⁶ women were crucial to establishing dynasties and maintaining political alliances in Chalco and elsewhere. But in Chalco, because of Chimalpahin's extensive Nahuatl record, we know the basis for female authority and power, and we see how it came to endure. Because no other comparably detailed Nahuatl history about any region exists, what can be gleaned about women from Chimalpahin's accounts warrants as complete an exposition as possible.¹⁷

As noted, I have already carried out a thorough analysis of the sociopolitical structure and organization of the kingdoms of Chalco as Chimalpahin portrayed them. Since there are few sources as rich in information,¹⁸ it is likely that Chimalpahin's Chalco example may well serve as the model for studies about other areas in central Mexico. To summarize as briefly as possible: Using Chimalpahin's preferred Nahuatl term *altepetl* "kingdom", the *altepetl* of Chalco represented a federation of four smaller, ranked *altepetl* (Tlalmanalco, Ameca-

¹⁴ Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexica History*, Tucson, 1989.

¹⁵ Nor was it Gillespie's intention to do so. Unfortunately, the term "queen", as interpreted in pre-Spanish as well as modern usage, most often does not connote authority but "wife of a king", as did *cacica* in eighteenth-century Mexico (see below, p. 42). See Gillespie, *Aztecs*, 1989, 18.

¹⁶ Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*, 185.

¹⁷ Of all, the Nahuatl writings by Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc are the closest in genre to Chimalpahin, but only copies exist. In 1983, what has long been considered Tezozomoc's "Crónica mexicayotl" was located in London, but it too is in Chimalpahin's handwriting; British and Foreign Bible Society Collection, Ms. 374, vol. 3. Also, the history of the Tlaxcalan Zapata is perhaps comparable to that by Chimalpahin, though it is later, much shorter, and not as rich on information on the preconquest period.

¹⁸ Ronald Spores's publications on the Mixtecs are the closest and most complete. See especially Ronald Spores, *The Mixtec Kings and their People*, Norman, 1967, and *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times*, Norman, 1984.

meca, Tenanco, and Chimalhuacan, in order), each of which was further subdivided into ranked *altepetl tlayacatl* "large subdivision within a complex altepetl", as seen on Table 1. Each altepetl tlayacatl was ruled by a titled *tlatoani* (pl. *tlatoque*) "king", living in a palace who was assisted by *teuhctlatoque* "lord-kings", who had authority over probably ranked *calpultlaxilacalli* "subdivisions within an altepetl tlayacatl". The data are richest for the altepetl of Tlalmanalco and Amecameca, though there is enough information to construct a fairly complete portrait of greater Chalco.

The altepetl, over time and in its various forms, was fundamental to indigenous sociopolitical organization. Yet somewhat confusingly, Chimalpahin revealed the altepetl as malleable, even destructible, but always viable, as long as the *tlatocayotl* "kingship", "rulership", was intact. Thus the altepetl could be compromised or relocated or conquered, and the entity continued as long as the kingship, meaning the traditional, dynastic-based lineage and polity-specific royal office and title, was operative. A house can burn, but the home is not necessarily destroyed.

Chimalpahin conceived Chalca society as composed of two basic groups—the *pipiltin* "nobles" and the *macehualtin* "commoners", with lineal-descended rulers or kings (the *tlatoque*) the most important segment of the nobility. He was almost singly preoccupied with the *tlatoque*. Women, of course, were part of both social spectra.¹⁹

What factors contributed to the durability of the Chalca kingdoms? Chimalpahin's history, essentially, is that of kings, i. e., male rulers, and centuries of their rule. He says little, if anything, about ordinary life, and he constantly overlooks the role of women, even noblewomen. But careful study of his writings reveals numerous exceptions to official procedures.²⁰ In spite of what he would like us to believe, women were critical to the integrity of the altepetl, and they were key agents in the preservation of the rulerships. Thus while Chimalpahin consciously champions Chalca kings, he subtly reveals

¹⁹ June Nash describes the early Aztec *calpulli* as kinship based and egalitarian regarding gender activities. In the Nahuatl record by Chimalpahin there is no evidence about such kinship organization. Instead, the royal lineages (*tlatocatlacamecayotl*) of the altepetl are the basis for all social and political relations. June Nash, "Aztec Women: The Transition from State to Class in Empire and Colony", in *Women and Colonization*, edited by Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, New York, 1980, 134-148.

²⁰ Chimalpahin idealizes adherence to tradition while subtly revealing practices of accommodation which allowed continuity of the rulerships and altepetl for centuries and even well through the sixteenth century.

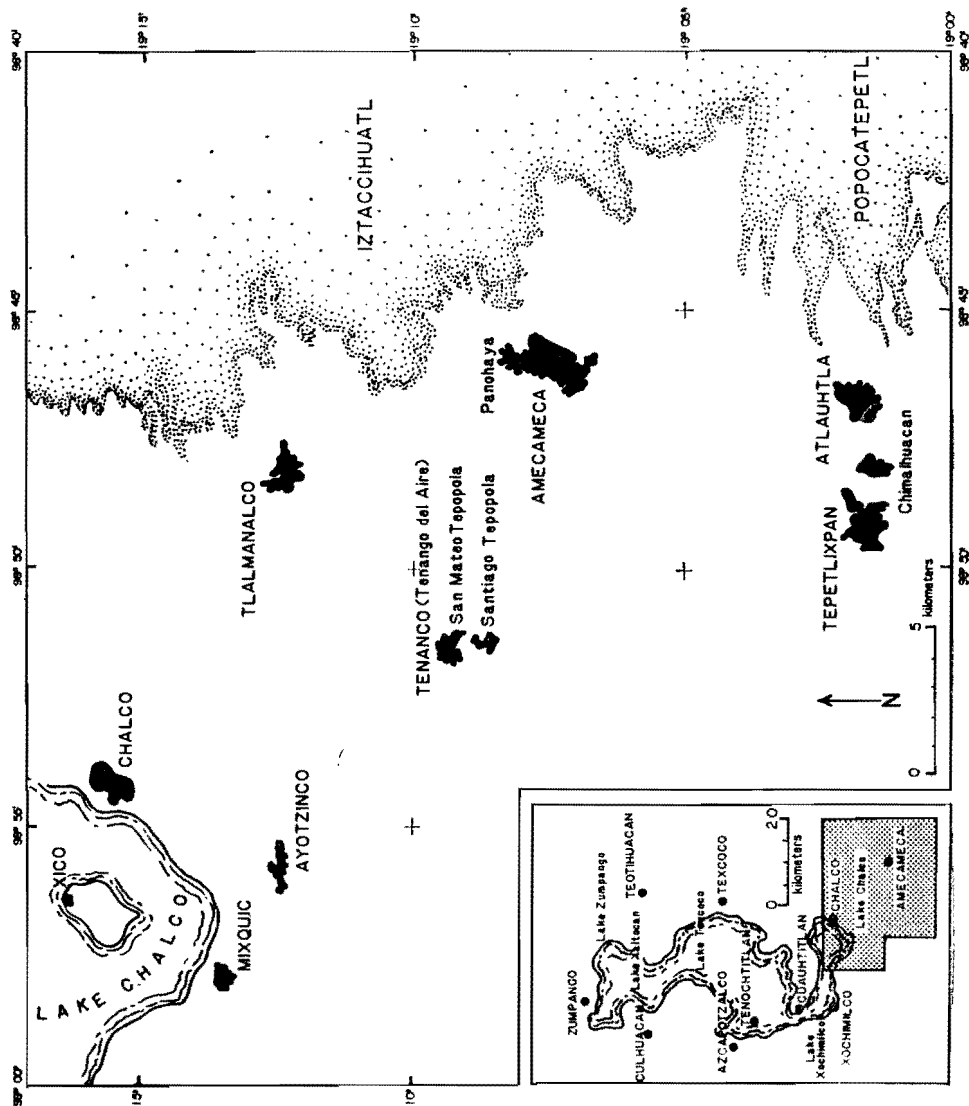


TABLE I
 CHALCO ORGANIZATION CA. 15TH-EARLY 16TH CENTURY

<i>altepetl</i>	<i>altepetl tlayacatl and royal title</i>	<i>calpulli, calpultlaxilacalli, chinamitl, etc. and associated titles</i>
<i>Tlalmamalco Tlacoachcalco</i>	<i>Opochuacan</i> (teohua teuhctli)	<i>Colilico</i> <i>Quacuico</i> (tetzauhquacuilli) <i>Itzcotlan</i> ?(xochpoyan, tlacoachcalcatl, teuhctli)
	<i>Itzahuacan</i> (tlatquic teuhctli)	<i>Xicocalco</i> <i>Caimimilolco</i> ?(teuhexolotl) <i>Tzaqualco</i> ?(tlacateuhctli, cacçole) ?(aquetzqui), ?(xocotecatl)
	<i>Acoxolan</i> (tecuachcauhctli)	? <i>Chalchiuhtepec</i> ? <i>Xicco</i> ? <i>Calnahuac Cochtocan</i> ? <i>Cihuateopan</i>
<i>Amaquemecan</i>	<i>Itziloçauhcan</i> (Chichimeca teuhctli)	?
	<i>Tlailotlacan</i> (teohua teuhctli)	?
	<i>Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco</i> (tlailotlac teuhctli) (atlahuhtecatl teuhctli, of dubious status)	<i>Tecpan Tlailotlacan</i> <i>Atlahuhtlan</i> <i>Amilco</i> (amilcatl teuhctli) <i>Tlacatecpan</i> (tlacateuhctli) <i>Teuhctipan</i> <i>Tepaman</i>
	<i>Tequanipan</i> (Chichimeca teuhctli) (tzompahuacan teuhctli) ?teohua teuhctli	<i>Huixtoco</i> <i>Tzompahuacan</i> ?same <i>Pochilan</i>
	<i>Panohuayan</i> (tlamaocatl teuhctli)	
<i>Tenanco Tepopolla Texocpalco</i>	<i>Tenanco Tepopolla</i> (tlailotlac teuhctli)	<i>Amilco</i> (amilcatl teuhctli) <i>Coamilco</i> (coamilcatl teuhctli) <i>Tlacatecpan</i> (tlacateuhctli) <i>Tlailotlacan</i> (tlailotlac teuhctli) ?(tepaltochtli tequihua) <i>Tepaman</i> (tepamecatl)
	? <i>Tenanco Atenco Ayotzinco</i> (?)	
	? <i>Xochitepec</i> (?)	
<i>Chimalhuacan</i>	<i>Xochimilco</i> (teohua teuhctli)	? (xochpoyon)
	<i>Tepelixpan</i> tecpanecatl teuhctli)	

that noblewomen, through their various roles, are the matrices of the local and extended altepetl.

Concepts of power, authority, and prestige were built into Chimalpahin's reporting, but they were not the exclusive province of the kings.²¹ Chalca women, especially, had authority—once they assumed the title of office and a given rulership. And, due to their birthrights, noblewomen definitely had prestige—as daughters, with the potential for royal marriages, creating new political alliances and wealth in land and subjects; as wives, with primary wives accorded high status and privileged succession for their children, and secondary wives capable of maximizing their particular situations; and as mothers, with their positions capitalized to ensure rulerships for themselves and their offspring.

Increasingly, there is new scholarship about indigenous women of both the past and the present.²² Until fairly recent times, too often women were stereotyped, fixed in theories about universal subordination and the like.²³ There is considerable archaeological and historical evidence to the contrary, however, that reveals women as independent, as authoritative, and as having initiative in political, social, and private spheres. This paper, although focused on noblewomen because of the source, by no means necessarily excludes other women.

Women's Roles

In the course of his history of Chalco, Chimalpahin refers to women in several ways, giving specific Nahuatl terms to identify their roles. In the earliest accounts of the preconquest period he notes that women accompanied their husbands as they migrated from place to place.²⁴ Women also figure among the elders or *huehuetque* as *ila-*

²¹ For more on the concept of power, see Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams (eds.), *The Anthropology of Power*, New York, 1977.

²² For example, Mona Etienne and Leonor Leacock (eds.), *Women and Colonization*, New York, 1980; Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, Princeton, 1987; Frank Salomon, "Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as seen through their Testaments", *Americas*, 1988, 46(3): 325-341; and Susan C. Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren (eds.), *Women of the Andes*, Ann Arbor, 1981.

²³ For the development of some theoretical attitudes, see Judith K. Brown, "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex", *American Anthropologist*, 1970, 72:1073-1078.

²⁴ 1-13-39; 1-21-28; 1-62-58. From the ceramic record, in particular, Linda Schele and Mary Ellen Miller, in *The Blood of Kings - Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*, Fort Worth, 1986, observe that elite women as portrayed on Maya vessels show "emotional and intimate relations with men", p. 143. Among some

matque "old women",²⁵ *tonanhuan*, and *tocihuan* "mothers", "grandmothers", "ancestors",²⁶ surely among the keepers of the *huehuetlatolli* "ancient histories", "oral traditions" of their people.²⁷ And women were given as prizes in conquest (between the Chalca and Mexica in 1465²⁸ and the Chalca and Spanish in 1519).²⁹ But most often, as we would expect in the writings of Chimalpahin, we see women first of all as mothers, wives, consorts, sisters, and daughters of kings. Then, regardless of what Chimalpahin intended, we find mothers and daughters as *cihuatlatoque*, establishing or maintaining their own royal lineages and becoming respected rulers. We find daughters and sisters as *ilatocacihuapiltin* "princesses", and *cihuapiltin* (sing. *cihuapilli*) "ladies" or "noblewomen", marrying rulers within and beyond their kingdoms and securing political alliances with other dominions. These unions produced royal offspring who confirmed the political association and consolidated the dynasties. As well, there is information on polygamy, succession, a possible dowry, and even love and sensuality between royal couples. We will first examine the all important role that daughters and sisters enjoyed as brides. Because of the annals' style and Chimalpahin's purpose, often there is nowhere near the information and explanation that we would prefer; nevertheless, in most cases, it is more than we have had before.

Royal Marriages

In 1984 Pedro Carrasco published his important analysis of royal marriages in Mexico Tenochtitlan and Texcoco.³⁰ This study of Chalco was initiated, in part, to complement that by Carrasco. The Chalco

Maya, royal togetherness included bloodletting rituals. Bishop de Landa wrote, "The ruler and his wife would emerge from within a building high above the court, and in full public view, he would lacerate his penis, she her tongue, with ropes drawn through the wounds carried the flowing blood to paper strips." Quoted from Schele and Miller, 178. And from the Spanish chronicles, Francisco López de Gómara wrote that Indians refused to accompany the Spaniard's campaigns unless their wives and mistresses were taken along, Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Cortés, The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary, Francisco López de Gómara*, Berkeley, 1966, 313.

²⁵ II-47-2.

²⁶ I-32-6; I-146-19; I-153-22; II-65-50.

²⁷ Karttunen and Lockhart, *The Art of Nahuatl Speech*, 7.

²⁸ I-106-27.

²⁹ Chimalpahin says two Chalca kings gave Hernando Cortés forty fine, well-dressed, and well-adorned women, I-164-3.

³⁰ Pedro Carrasco, "Royal Marriages in Ancient Mexico", in *Explorations in Ethnohistory*, Herbert R. Harvey (ed.), Albuquerque, 1984, 41-81.

example, however, is not only very different in nature, but the sample is considerably smaller. That does not invalidate its significance. In fact, in many cases we have a more complete social history about the Chalca women, their status, their marriages, and their progeny than we have for the other areas.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 illustrate what can be gleaned about royal marriages in central Mexico and Chalco. The record begins in 987 and continues through the sixteenth century. Chimalpahin does not report all weddings (nor was it his intention to do so), not even for Chalco. But of the near eighty royal marriages in his history, we see the trend is definitely within the nobility.³¹ There are only four instances of female nobles marrying commoners; here, two were males in groups with an inchoate stage of political development, seeking alliances with elite women of superior polities—their offspring, in the fathers' towns, becoming founding tlatoque of noble lineal dynasties traced from the mothers' side.

These noblewomen were crucial to the establishment of the rulerships. For example, the first Mexica royal lineage began with the marriage of a royal lady from Tzompanco and a Mexica commoner and the birth of their son, the first tlatoani, Huehue Huitzilihuitl (see Table 2a). Unfortunately, the line died out because Huitzilihuitl and his sisters were killed in a conflict at Chapultepec (ca. 1272-1298).³² The surviving Mexica moved on and later founded another royal lineage with female descendants of the prestigious kingdom of Culhuacan. Here, again, Chimalpahin demonstrates the importance of noblewomen in the political development of the altepetl of central Mexico. There is, however, a discrepancy in Chimalpahin's sources: one shows the genealogy starting with, as before, the union of a Mexica commoner and a Culhua princess;³³ the other reveals at least two generations of interdynastic marriages between Mexica men and Culhua noblewomen, with the heir apparent the product of the marriage of a Culhua king and his aunt, a Mexica "cihuapilli" (though

³¹ Research by Pedro Carrasco, "Royal Marriages", 1984, and Ronald Spores, *Mixtec Kings*, 1967 and *The Mixtecs*, 1984, and "Marital Alliances in the Political Integration of Mixtec Kingdoms", *American Anthropologist*, 1974, 76:297-316, details marriages among the elite only. Chimalpahin's information, while not contradicting their studies specifically, shows some exceptions to traditional practices which were employed in Chalco and probably other places as well.

³² 11-21-39. See Gillespie, *Aztec Kings*, for a thorough analysis of the unions and relationships of certain women and the Mexica Tenochca kings. Here, Gillespie misinterprets Chimalpahin's annals as Spanish "relaciones", thus misunderstanding the nature of these important sources.

³³ 1-60-28; 1-76-40; 1-79-17. And see Gillespie, *Aztecs*, 1989, 14-18, 22, 25-56.

Interdynastic Marriages in and around Central Mexico according to Chimalpahin¹, ca. 987-1615

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rule/ship	Their Children	Reference
Mario (?sic)	Tototepc Metztiltan daughter of Teton	Ruehuac, became tlatoani	Tullam (ca. 993-1029)		I-3-13
Atotztlil, ² cihuapilli	Culhuacan, daughter of Achitometli, tlatoacapilli, later tlatoani (1151-1171)	Huetzin, tlatoani, originally from Coatlichan	Culhuacan (1130-1150)		I-13-16; I-15-27
Chalchiuhcihuatzin	Tlailotlacan Amecameca ³ daughter of Huehue Cacamatzin tlatoani, and Cihuaxochtzin	Quiyuahutzin, tlatoacapilli	Huexotla (ca. 1204)		I-18-30, 41
Tlaquilxochtzin, cihuapilli	Tzompanco, daughter of Tlahuizcalpotonqui teubctli, tlatoani	name not known, macehualli	Mexica, still travelling (ca. 1227)	Huehue Huitzilhuilit first tlatoani of the Mexica (1272-1298)	I-20-45 II-21-36
Cuahcihuatzin, cihuapilli	?Texcoco	Quihnatzin Pochotl tlatoacani	Texcoco Acolhuacan (1272-1331)	Techotlallatzin Coxcoxtzin, became tlatoani of Texcoco (ca. 1331)	I-36-5, 54 I-68-16
Name not known, cihuapilli	Culhuacan, daughter of Huehue Texcozomctli, tlatoacapilli of Culhuacan	Hilarcuweitl atlah-tecatl teubctli, tlatoani (1273-1290)	Atlautlan Tzacuiltilian Tenanco Amecameca (at Atenco)	Coxcoxtli, ⁴ grandson, tlatoani of Culhuacan (1281-1307) Itzquahutzin xocoyotl, son of Hilarcuweitl, tlatoani of Atlautlan (1290-1341)	I-38-1; I-44-49; I-46-16
Xicomoyahuatlzin, cihuapilli	Texcatepec Malinalco, daughter of Copil, tlacuahuqui	Cuauhtlequetzque, teyanqui	Mexica, still travelling (ca. 1281-1285)	Cohuatzontli	I-44-25; I-45-35
(M)atotoztlil, ² tlatoacihuapilli	Culhuacan ⁴ daughter of Coxcoxtli ⁵ tlatoani (1281-1307)	Opoctli Iztahuatzin, Mexica macehualli	Mexica	Acampichtli the second, ⁵ tlatoani Mexico Tenochtitlan (1367-1389)	I-60-28; I-76-40; I-79-17

1. Whatever information Chimalpahin has provided as to date (or approximation), title, rank, political affiliation, and succession has been included. Marriages with incomplete information have not been listed.
2. Note repetition of female names in Culhuacan.
3. There is a discrepancy, because Tlailotlacan (Texhuacan) was not formally established as an altepetl tlayacatl until 1336, and, according to Chimalpahin, Huehue Cacamatzin did not officiate until 1352-1367, cf. I-74-31; I-76-33.
4. Coxcoxtli had three children: Huehue Texcozomctli, tlatoacapilli and later tlatoani of Azcapotzalco, Huehue Acampichtli, who became tlatoani of Culhuacan, and Matotzli, mother of the first tlatoani of Mexico Tenochtitlan.
5. Acampichtli the second established the rulership and royal lineage that endured in Mexico Tenochtitlan. Note the discrepancy in the sources (3, 5, and 7 Relaciones) regarding his parentage, and see p.12.

Interdynastic Marriages in and around Central Mexico according to Chimalpahin, ca. 1567-1615 (continued)

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rulership	Their Children	Reference
Tozqueztzin	Coatlilchen, daughter of Acolmiztli, tlatoani	Techollalatzin Coxco- tli. tlatoani (1351-?)	Texcoco	Huehue Ixtlilxochitli	I-74-7
Azacoxtzin, cihuatl	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Huiztilatl	Acozcuauhtli, tlatoani son of Achitometli, tlatoani of Culhuacan	Culhuacan	Coxcostli and Xihuilli Temoc, both became tlatoque of Culhuacan	I-77-28
Itoxochitl, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Teuhtlehuac, granddaughter of Huiztilatl	Huehue Acamapichtli, tlatoani of Culhuacan, son of Achitometli	Culhuacas	Acamapichtli the second, tlatoani of Mexico Tenochtitlan	I-77-30
Name not known, cihuapilli	Azcapotzalco Cuauhecaltilan	Acamapichtli the second, tlatoani	Mexico Tenoch- titlan (1367-1389)	Itzcohuatzin, ¹ tlatoani of Mexico Tenochtitlan (1427-1440)	I-96-39
Illancueitl	Culhuacan, daughter of Xihuilli Temoc, tlatoani	Acamapichtli the second, tlatoani	Mexico Tenoch- (see above)		I-77-42
Xilloxochtzin, cihuapilli	Tulllan, daughter of Cuatlachihuitl, tlatoani	Cuatlachtzin (one of several sons of Acama- pichtli), originally from Mexico Tenochtitlan	Tulllan, esta- blished first tlatoqueyotl (ca. 1389)	Mizquixahuatlzin	I-79-17; I-118-7
Matalxochtzin	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Acamapichtli the second, tlatoani	Cuateotzin tlatoque, tlatoani	Itzahuacan (in Tlahuanalco Chalco)	Tlahuancaxochitl, Teoquitzqui, and Huetzin	I-99-7
Miyahuaxiuhutzin, cihuapilli	Cuauhnahuac (Cuernavaca)	Huitzilhuilitl the second, tlatoani	Mexico Tenochtitlan (1391-1415)	Huehue Meteuhc- yona Ilhuicamina (b. 1398), tlatoani	I-79-58
Cacamauhutzin, cihuapilli	Teocalhuityacan	Huitzilhuilitl (see immediately above)	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Tlacaeleltzin (b. 1398)	I-80-3
Ayauhcihuatl	Azcapotzalco, daughter of Huehue Teoquemoctli, tlatoani	Huitzilhuilitl (see above)	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Chimalpoccatzin, tlatoani, Mexico Tenochtitlan (1417-1426)	I-88-7, 28 I 90 4
Matalcihuatzin	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Huiztilhuilitl the second, Nopalteuhtli, tlatoani tlatoani	Huehue Ixtlilxochitzin	Texcoco	Mecchualcoyotli Acol- miztli Xoyotzin, tla- toani Texcoco (1431-?)	I-94-36

I. Chimalpahin identifies Itzcohuatzin as "bastardo," but adds that Acamapichtli the second left 23 legitimate children. See I-79-17.

Table 2c

Interdynastic Marriages in and around Central Mexico according to Chimalpahin, ca. 987-1615 (continued)

Royal Woman as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rule/ship	Their Children	Reference
Maquitzzin	Itztlacoahuacan, in Amecameca, daughter of Huehue Quetzal- gatzin, tlatoani	Tlacoaeleztzin, Tlacoapilli, son of Huitzilhuhtli (see above)	Mexico Tenochtitlan		I-84-50
Yaocihuatl	?Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Huitzilhuhtli (above)	Toyaotlancatzin, tlatoca- pilli, son of Huehue Cuixtcatl, tlatoani	Coatlilchan	Huehue Tepollo- mitzin, went to live near his uncle, Moteuhscoma Ilhuicamina	I-88-36
Huitzilxochitzin, cihuapilli	Tlacopan, daughter of Huehue Cuilhahuatzin, tlatoani of Tiliuhcan	Itzcohuatzin, tlatoani	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Huehue Teogomoc- tzin, tlatocapilli Huehue Cuilhahuatzin, tlatoani, Itztlapallapan	I-97-10
Not known	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Itzcohuatzin, tlatoani	Name not known, mace- hualli, ("tlatoque")	Atotonilco, esta- blished rulership ?joint rule	Itzcohuatzin, became tlatoani of Atotonilco	I-97-5
Huitzilxochitzin	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter Temiatzin, tlatocapilli, (nephew of Neqahualcoyotl)	Neqahualcoyotl Acolmiztli, tlatoani	Texcoco	Neqahualpilli Acamapichtli (b. 1464)	I-106-38 I-108-26
Xiuhcoztzin, cihuapilli	Huixtoco Tequanipan (in Amecameca), daughter of Yaopaintzin, tlatocapilli, quauhtlatoani	Tlilpotoncatzin, tlatocapilli, cihuacoatl	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Micacalcatl Tlateteucintzin Chichimeca teuhctli tlatoani, Huixtoco (1492-1519)	I-119-25 I-128-44 I-161-10
Misquixahuatzin, cihuapilli	Tullan, daughter of Cueltlach- tzin, first tlatoani, (son of Acamapichtli the second)	Axayacatzin, ² tlatoani	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Ixtlilcuehahuac, tlatoani of Tullan Huehue Tlacahuapantzin	I-117-25, 55
Not known, cihuapilli	Cuithahuac	Axayacatzin, ² tlatoani (1469-1481)	(above)	Teogomocilli Acolnahuatl	I-118-9
Not known, cihuapilli	Itztlapallapan	Axayacatzin, ² tlatoani	(above)	Moteuhscoma xocoyotl Cueltahuatzin	I-118-12
Not known, cihuapilli	Acallan	Axayacatzin, ² tlatoani	(above)	Matlatzincatzin	I-118-14
Not known, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Axayacatzin, tlatoani	Not stated, tlatoani	Ocuillan		I-118-21

1. Does not rule, but three sons, Axayacatzin, Ticoac, and Ahuitzotl (grandsons of Itzcohuatzin) all rule Mexico Tenochtitlan.

2. Numerous children are listed by Chimalpahin. I have included only those whose marriages are noted.

Interdynastic Marriages in and around Central Mexico according to Chimalpahin, ca. 987-1615 (continued)

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rulership	Their Children	Reference
Name unknown, tlatocacihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Axayacatzin, older sister of Moteuhcōma Xocoyotl	Aquanzin the second Chichimeca teuhctli, tlatoani (1499-1511)	Iztlacocauhcan (in Amecameca)	Cihuailacatzin Chichimeca teuhctli, tlatoani, installed while still an infant	I-170-1
Atototzin ¹	Panohuayan (in Amecameca), daughter of Quauhcecuil- tzin, tlatoani (1486-1519)	Itzquiyahtzin tlatocoh- calcatl, tlatoani	Caltecoyan	Acacitzin, Bonifacio Quauhcecuilzin, Martín Anunciación	II-35-49
Name unknown, cihuapilli (put to death by Neqahualpilli)	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Axayacatzin, tlatoani	Neqahualpilli Acamapichtli	Texcoco	No children	I-118-22
Name unknown	Ecatepec, daughter of Matlacocatzin, tlatoani (1477-1498)	Moteuhcōma Xocoyotl tlatocecatli, later tlatoani (1502-1520)	Mexico Tenochtitlan		I-133-35
Name unknown	Ecatepec (see immediately above)	Teçoqomoclli Acolnahuacatl, tlatocapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan don Diego de Alvarado Huauitzin, tlatoani of Ecatepec, and first governor of Mexico Tenochtitlan (ca. 1538)		I-133-39; II-12-10
Tomiyauhtzin	Iztlacocauhcan (in Ameca- meca), daughter of Huehue Aquanzin, tlatoani (1411-1465)	Chiauhcoatzin, tlatoani (ca. 1495)	Chiauhzincō (in Huextzincō)	Aquanzin the second, tlatoani of Iztlacocauhcan, Totoitecatli, and Huehuetzin	I-133-55 I-134-1
Name unknown, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Moteuhcōma Xocoyotl, tlatoani	Necnametzin teohua teuhctli, tlatoani (1504-1520)	Opochhuacan (in Tlalmanalco Chalco)		I-137-49
Name not known	Ecatepec	Ahuitzotzin, tlatoani (1486-1502)	Mexico Tenochtitlan	Chimalpilli the second, tlatoani of Ecatepec (1498-1520)	I-133-20; I-142-40
Quetzalpetlatzin, ² cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Tlilpoton- catsin, cihuacoatl	Quetzalmaqatzin Chichi- teuhctli, tlatoani (1522-1547)	Iztlacocauhcan (in don Juan de Santo Amecameca)	Domingo de Mendoza Tlacaeleltzin, tlatoani of Iztlacocauhcan (1548-1563)	II-4-49

1. See Table 6 for a more complete listing of Quauhcecuilzin's progeny.

2. See Table 7 for additional information about Quetzalmaqatzin's wives.

Table 2c

Interdynastic Marriages in and around Central Mexico according to Chimalpahin, ca. 987-1615 (continued)

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rulership	Their Children	Reference
Name unknown, ¹ cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Totomochtzin	Quetzalmaqatzin (see above, Table 2d)	Itztlacogaucan (in Amecameca)	don Martin Moço- quinellohuatzin	II-4-56
Name unknown, ¹ cihuapilli	Quauhtilan	Quetzalmaqatzin (see above)	Itztlacogaucan	don Tomás Chichincallehuatzin	II-5-1
doña Juana, cihuapilli (he killed her)	Cuitlahuac	don Juan Bautista Toyao- tzin Chichimeca teuchtlil, tlatocani (1548-1555)	Tequanipan (in Amecameca)		II-16-15
Ihuicelchihuatzin xocoyotl, cihuapilli	Tlatlotlacan (in Ameca- mezin, daughter of Caca- matzin Teonhua teuchtlil, tlatocani [1486-1519])	Telpochteuchtlil, tlatocani	Yacapichtlan		I-137-3
doña Francesca de la Cueva, cihuapilli española	Spain	don Diego Luis de Moteuhc- çoma Ihuiceltemocztzin, tlatocapilli, (grandson of tlatocani Moteuhçoma xocoyotl)	Mexico Tenochtitlan	six mestizo children; four sons, two daughters	II-63-45
doña Isabel de Alvarado, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, tlatocani	Huehue don Antonio Valeriano, juez gobernador, originally from Azcapotzalco	Mexico Tenochtitlan	grandson, don Antonio Valeriano the second (see below)	II 101-44
doña Bárbara, cihuapilli (d. 1611)	Itzapallapa, daughter of don Alonso Awaysa Ihuetzcatocatzin, tlatocani	don Antonio Valeriano the second, juez gover- nador, was fiscal in Mexico Tenochtitlan (ca. 1610)	Azcapotzalco		II-91-14, 25 II-101-49
doña María Cerón, cihuapilli (d. 1608)	Xochimilco, daughter of don Martín Cerón, tlatocani	don Hernando de la Cerda, tlatocapilli	Tlalmanalco	don Alonso de la Cerda, piltzintli	II-66-3
doña Agustina de Guzmán, cihuapilli (d. 1614)	Coyoacan	don Constantino Chacalli, tlatocani (ca. 1614)	Michoacan		II-136-32,42
doña Isabel Tecuich- pocztzin de Moteuhçoma, tlatocacihuapilli	Tecamán, ?Mexico Tenoch- titlan, daughter of Moteuhc- çoma Xocoyotl, tlatocani	Gonzalo Cano, conqueror, from Spain	from Spain	doña Isabel de Moteuhçoma, cihuua- teopixqui, mestiza, (d. 1615)	II-143-20

1. See above Table 2d and Table 7 for additional information about tlatocani Quetzalmaqatzin's wives.

Table 3

Interdynamic Marriages in Chalco according to Chimalpahin¹

Royal Woman: as wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rule/ship	Their Children	Reference
Tomyauhtzin, cihuapilli	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (in Amecameca), daughter of Quahuhtzatzin tlailotlac teuch-tlatzoani	Ecakavacatzin (or) Itzomi-tenkavacatzin tlatquic, tlatzoani	Itzcahuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco (1317-1322)		I-61-50
(doña Catalina) Chimalmantzin, cihuapilli	Itzcahuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco, daughter of Itzcuahuatzin tlatquic, tlatzoani (1486-1520)	Huehneyotzintli tlailotlac teuchctli, tlatzoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (in Amecameca) (1488-1520)	don Josef del Castilli Ecaxoxouh-qui, tlatzoani of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1548-1576)	II-5-19
Not known (second daughter)	Itzcahuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco; see immediately above	Tlaco.... tlailotlac teuchctli, tlatzoani	Tenanco Koyac (7in Tenanco Texcopalco)	don Juan Itztliten-tzin, tlatzoani of "Tenanco Chalco" (?-1550)	II-6-6
Not known (third daughter)	Itzcahuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco; see above	Not known, tlatzoani	Mamalhuazcohuacan (7in Chimalhuacan)	don Carlos, tlatzoani of Mamalhuazcoacan	II 6-10
doña María Itzmiqilkoachtzin, cihuapilli	Tenanco Texcopalco Tepopolla, daughter of don Juan Itztliten-tzin tlailotlac teuchctli, tlatzoani (? - 1550)	don Josef del Castillo Ecaxoxomqui tlailotlac teuchctli, tlatzoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (in Amecameca) (1548-1576)		II-24-32
Papaloachtzin, cihuapilli	Panohuayan (in Amecameca), daughter of Quahucecutzintlamocotli teuchctli, tlatzoani (1488-1519)	don Hernando de Guzmán teohua teuchctli, tlatzoani	Opochehuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco (1521-1534)	don Juan de Ojeda Quahucecutzintzin	II-35-29
doña Catalina Chimalmantzin, cihuapilli, widowed sister-in-law	Itzcahuacan Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco; see above	don Tomás de San Martín Quetzalmapatzin Chichimeca teuchctli, tlatzoani	Itztlacoacahuacan (1522-1547)	don Gregorio de los Angeles Tepoz-tlixayacatzin, tlatzoani of Itztlacoacahuacan (1564-1580) Two other children, but neither ruled.	II-6-43
doña Marta de Santiago Amaxoch-tzin, cihuapilli (d. 1606)	Tenanco Texcopalco Tepopolla, daughter of don Juan Bhuac-votzin, filli	don Benicenzo Hernández Ayopochtzin, pilli and Chimalpahin's grandfather (d. 1577)	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (in Amecameca)		II-59-18

1. Chalco is comprised of four ranked, loosely confederated altepetli: (in order) Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanco, Amecameca, Tenanco Texcopalco Tepopolla, and Chimalhuacan.
2. See P. X. for discussion about Chimalmantzin's husbands, both of whom originated from Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco.
3. Tlacoche-calco/Tlalmanalco was also affiliated with Mexico Tenochtitlan because Itzcahuatin became a co-parent in-law with Motehuqoma xocoyotl when the latter gave one of his daughters to Necuameztin teohua teuchctli, tlatzoani of Opochehuacan Tlacoche-calco. Itzcobuatzin's son, who was also the older brother of (doña Catalina) Chimalmantzin, listed twice above.
4. This represents only the first generation offspring of Quahucecutzintzin who had interdynamic marital affiliations in Chalco. However, subsequent generations continued to marry within their own altepetl tlayacatl as well as with the Chalco altepetl of Tlalmanalco and Tenanco. See Table 6 and II-35-29 to 36-52 for additional information about the family of tlatzoani Quahucecutzintzin.

Interdynastic Marriages in Amecameca according to Chimalpahin¹

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rulership	Their Children	Reference
Tzihuactotzin	Chicomoztoc, daughter of Chihuaztli	Huehue teuhctli Chichimeca teuhctli	Formative Itztlatzincogauhcan (ca. 1174)	Tliltzecatzin, Xochitzin, Atonaltzin (founded altepetl of Itztlatzincogauhcan) ²	II-157-28
Referred to as "in-hueliuh Tequanipan tiaca" (older sister of the Tequanipan people)	traveling about, daughter of Tziuhlacauhqui Yaopol, leader of the people of Tequanipan	Tliltzecatzin Chichimeca yotequihua (second-in-rank tlatoani)	Itztlatzincogauhcan	Tziuhtecatzin, became tlatoani of Tzompahuacan	I-47-58; I-48-50
Cilcuetzin, cihuapilli	Not stated	Quahuitzatzin tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1238-1338)	Cilcuetzin Matlatzintzin, Xiuhuicuhuetzin (died), and Xhuetotzin the youngest, became cihuatlatoani of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1340-1348)	I-58-18
Xiuhotztzin, cihuatlatoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, daughter of Quahuitzatzin; see above	?Mochhuetzin tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1339) ⁴	Itztlotzin, became tlatoani of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1348-1417)	I-73-32
Cilcuetzin Matlatzintzin, cihuapilli	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, daughter of Quahuitzatzin, tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani (1238-1338)	Tziuhtecatzin tzompahuacan teuhctli, tlatoani	Tzompahuacan Tequanipan (1304-?)	Acoltzin, Tzillin-tocatzin, Xonecuiltzin, and Miztliyuahutzin	I-58-1
Tlacocihuatzin, (the first), cihuapilli	Not stated	Huehue Quetzalmaqatzin Chichimeca teuhctli, tlatoani	Itztlatzincogauhcan (1392-1410)	Tomyauhtzin, Huetzin-tzin, Maquiltzin (married Tlacaeleltzin), and Coahuacatzin, who will be designated to succeed. ⁶	I-84-46

- Original rank and order of altepetl tlaysacatl in Amecameca: Itztlatzincogauhcan, Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, Tequanipan, and Panohuayan. Tlailotlacan Teohuacan will later be established and eventually displace Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco as the second-in-rank altepetl tlaysacatl.
- These children are listed in order of their birth and with their titles: Tliltzecatzin Chichimeca yotequihua, Xochitzin cohua yotequihua, and Atonaltzin Chichimeca teuhctli. These three men and an uncle, Maphuatzin, founded the altepetl of Amecameca and the youngest son, Atonaltzin, was installed as tlatoani of the first and highest-ranked altepetl tlaysacatl Itztlatzincogauhcan.
- Chimalpahin notes that tlatoani Quahuitzatzin had children with Cilcuetzin as well as his consorts (icalpantlihuacan). He lists only these three daughters by his legitimate wife, two of which will be responsible for establishing royal genealogies.
- Since Quahuitzatzin had only daughters, Mochhuetzin probably was brought in to succeed. As tlatoani, he lived only six months, and the throne passed to xiuhotztzin.
- Royal genealogy for Tequanipan formally established with this marriage, I-58-32.
- Coahuacatzin's father (the tlatoani of Itztlatzincogauhcan) died when the boy was an infant and his mother served as regent. To ensure that the office of Chichimeca teuhctli was occupied, Coahuacatzin exchanged rulerships and titles with the branch kingdom, Tlailotlacan Teohuacan, and became tohqua teuhctli there.

Table 4b

Interdynastic Marriages in Amecameca according to Chimalpahin (continued)

Royal Women: as wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rule/ship	Their Children	Reference
Miztliyahutzin, cihuapilli	Tzompahuacan Tequaniapan, daughter of Tziuhotecatzin, tlatoani of Tzompahuacan Tequaniapan (1304 - ?)	Iztlotzin Tlailotlac teuchtli, tlatoani	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1348-1417)	Quauhclehuanitzin, became tlatoani of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1418-1465)	I-58-55
Cohuanentzin, tlatocacihuapilli	Tlailotlacan Teohuacan, daughter of Cozacatzin teohua teuchtli, tlatoani (1411-1465)	Popocatzin atlahuetcatl teuchtli, macehualli, tlatoani	Atlahuatlan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1443-1465)	Cacamatzin xocoyotli, became tlatoani of Tlailotlacan Teohuacan (1486-1519) through his mother and his marriage	I-98-30; I-150-25
Iztac Kochitzin, ¹ cihuatzintli	Tentzonpolecac Panhuacan (7near or in Amecameca), "daughter of the Panhuaque" ²	Cacamatzin xocoyotl teohua teuchtli, tlatoani	Tlailotlacan Teohuacan (originally from Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1466-1519)	Huehuetzintli (adopted), tlatoani in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1488-1521?)	I-154-17
Teoxutzin, cihuatzintli	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, daughter of Quauhclehuanitzin Tlailotlac teuchtli, tlatoani (1418-1465)	Cacamatzin xocoyotl teohua teuchtli; see immediately above	See above	don Alonso Gregorio Quauhclehuanitzin tlatocochcalcatl teuchtli	I-161-58
Tlacocihuatzin, tlatocacihuapilli	Itztlacoahuacan, daughter of Teyatzin Chichimeca teuchtli, tlatoani (1486-1499)	Cacamatzin xocoyotl teohua teuchtli; see above	See above	Quetzalmaqatzin, tlatoani of Itztlacoahuacan (1522-1547); Tequanxayacatzin, tlatoani of Tlailotlacan Teohuacan (1525-1565); and Ilhuicocihuatzin	I-113-24, 40; I-142-31; I-164-56
Jaquantlapaltzin	Panohuayan, daughter of Quauhcececutzin tlamacatl teuchtli, tlatoani (1488-1519)	Tzihuacatzin tlamacatl teuchtli	?Panohuayan	Miguel de San Mateo Mateo ticometli teuchtli	II-35-36
Chimalmentzin	Panohuayan, daughter of Quauhcececutzin; see above	Chimoitzin, tiyacaauh	?Panohuayan	don Pedro Tlahuanca-tzin tlatocatl teuchtli, tlatoani of Panohuayan (1520-1530?)	II-35-45

1. Note another woman, a cihuapilli, with the same name in Chimalpahin's ancestral line (Table 5).

2. Possibly same situation as "Inhuelituh" (noted above). Both women, while not identified as "wives," did produce sons that will assume rulerships in kingdoms in Amecameca.

3. See Table 6 for additional information about the descendants of tlatoani Quauhcececutzin

Table 4c

Interdynastic Marriages in Amecameca according to Chimalpahin (continued)

Royal Woman: as Wife or Consort Name and Status	Each Woman's Provenience and Dynastic Affiliation	Spouse: Name and Status or Title	Seat and Date of Rule	Their Children	Reference
Not known	Panohuayan, daughter of Quauhceceuitzin; see above	Topalzin tlacateuhctli, pilli, descendant of Totec Nohhuetzin, first tlatoani of Panohuayan	Panohuayan	Cornelio Ramírez	II-35-54
Chimalmantzin	Panohuayan, daughter of Quauhceceuitzin; see above	Chalchiuhcacatzin, tequihua	?Panohuayan	don Josef de Santa María Teuhctlacocauh- catzin tlamaocatl teuhctli, tlatoani of Panohuayan (1548-1564)	II-36-1
doña Magdalena de San Pedro Xihcacaltzin, cihuapilli	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, daughter of Huehuetzintli tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani, (1488-1521?) the groom's half-brother	Quetzalmacatzin Chichi- meca teuhctli, tlatoani ²	Itztlacocauhcan (1522-1547), ori- ginally from Tza- qualtitlan Tenanco	don Juan Maldonado Miqshuitzin, tlatoani (1591- ?); and a daughter	II-4-52
Not given, cihuapilli	Tequanipan	don Juan de Sandoval Tequansayacatzin teobua teuhctli, tlatoani	Tlailotlacan Teobuacan (1525-1565)	don Juan Bautista de Sandoval Toyacatzin teobua teuhctli, tlatoani of Tequanipan (1548-1555) and Tlailotlacan Teobuacan (1565-1576)	II-14-22
Not given	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, grandaughter of don Sancho Toteceotzin, tlatocapilli	don Esteban de la Cruz de Mendoza Chichimeca teuhctli, tlatoani	Fochtilan Tequanipan (1575-1588)		II-26-1

1. See Table 6 for additional information about the descendants of tlatoani Quauhceceuitzin.

2. It is not clear who the mother of doña Magdalena is, but she is probably not the daughter of Huehuetzintli and Chimalmantzin (see Table 3), the woman Quetzalmacatzin married when his brother died. If that was the case, he married both mother and daughter.

the latter is puzzling, since the Mexica supposedly did not, as yet, have a noble lineage established).³⁴ In both cases (Tables 2a and b), the child is named Acamapichtli the second, and is recognized as the founding tlatoani (1367-1387) of the great kingdom of Mexico Tenochtitlan.

A third male commoner (Table 2c) shared joint rule with his wife from Mexico Tenochtitlan in his home region, Atotonilco.³⁵ Their son became tlatoani (probably the first) in his father's town. In Amecameca, another macehualli (Table 4b), an affluent one named Popocatzin, married a cihuapilli because her father, a tlatoani, had his eye on Popocatzin's wealth. The time was right for Popocatzin, for he received the title and office of king in Atlauhtlan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, which was without a legitimate heir to its throne. The couple's son, however, succeeded to the title and office of tlatoani in his mother's altepetl tlayacatl, Tlailotlacan Teohuacan, which was higher in rank.³⁶ It is significant that the practice of male macehuallin marrying high-status women usually occurred during the formative years of altepetl development, or in times of crisis. While not common, the existence of such unions challenges traditional notions regarding marriage exclusivity among royalty.³⁷

Without exception, the marriages listed on Tables 2a-c represent unions of individuals from differing altepetl (interdynastic), some quite beyond the immediate Mexico Tenochtitlan realm.³⁸ Most often

³⁴ I-77-28. We are reminded that Chimalpahin's annals are annals per se and often reflect noncritical data.

³⁵ I-97-5. There is another although somewhat confusing reference to joint rule of some sort in Amecameca. Apparently, a widowed mother, serving as regent for her young son, went to live with her *xochipixqui* (flower gardener), and they, as "tlatoque", held sway until her son was installed as king. Chimalpahin assures us that the mother served as full-fledged queen and the royal lineage and title passed through her side. He does not elaborate on her relationship with the flower gardener, I-84-15; I-85-47.

³⁶ I-150-9 to 38.

³⁷ For example, among the Mixtec cacicazgos, Spores reports *no* marriages with commoners, *Mixtec Kings*, 1967, and *The Mixtecs*, 1984, nor does Carrasco, "Royal Marriages", 1984, note any in his study of Mexico Tenochtitlan and Texcoco.

³⁸ Among the Mixtecs and Zapotecs, studies by Joyce Marcus, Kent Flannery, and Ronald Spores reveal the importance of marriage arrangements to optimize political affiliations and consolidate royal hegemony, Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus (eds.), *The Cloud People, Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, New York, 1983, 191-197, 301-308; Ronald Spores and Kent V. Flannery, "Sixteenth-Century Kingship and Social Organization", in *The Cloud People*, 339-342; and Ronald Spores, "Marital Alliances", 302, 306-307. For the Maya, Joyce Marcus has identified 36 monuments which were carved to commemorate women. Usually the women are paired with men and are believed to be

the marriage was politically advantageous for one partner or the other—the royal offspring (usually only sons are noted) inheriting the office of tlatoani in either the mother's or the father's kingdom.

For the altepetl of the Triple Alliance, Carrasco's (1984) study is excellent, with detailed schema on hyper-, iso-, and hypogamous marriages. He gives numerous examples for this region and period of recurring marriage alliances based on dynastic rank. Chimalpahin is much broader, both in time and space, but less detailed. The weddings that he noted range over the centuries and the Valley of Mexico. Hence, precise correlation with Carrasco's model is not possible, considering that the rank and status of many polities fluctuated over the extensive period of time that he covered.³⁹ Certainly, Tables 2a-e corroborate Carrasco's general findings; however, Chimalpahin does not elaborate about the rank and order of the Mexico polities that he lists, the kings' wives, or their children, or give specifics about existing conditions that would determine why at given times an heir would succeed in his mother's altepetl and not his father's, and vice versa. There are numerous examples of both. Considering Chimalpahin's preoccupation with rank and prestige in the kingdoms of Chalco, about which he furnished a wealth of information, it may be that parallel data from other regions are not available.

In the altepetl of Chalco (Table 3), which was made up of four separate kingdoms, there were interdynastic marriages within the federation as well as beyond (as already noted on Tables 2a-e). The sample is limited to eight marriages, but, nevertheless, there is a definite tendency toward interdynastic hypogamy (royal daughter of a higher-in-rank king and kingdom marrying a ruler from a lower-ranked dynasty),⁴⁰ revealing what was likely a typical pattern of royal daughters of highest-ranked Tlalmanalco marrying tlatoque in other Chalco altepetl with an affinity toward connections between the two leading kingdoms, Tlalmanalco and Amecameca.

either mothers or wives. Inscriptions show that most women were nonlocal, Joyce Marcus, *Emblem and State in the Classic Maya Lowlands, An Epigraphic Approach to Territorial Organization*, Washington, D. C., 1976, 157, 166, and 192; Schele and Miller, *Blood of Kings*, 3, 128, report similar findings for numerous Maya groups.

³⁹ An altepetl could "be established", "move", "be abandoned", "disappear", and "be conquered". See Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*, for discussion about Nahuatl terminology relating to altepetl organization and location.

⁴⁰ According to Carrasco, interdynastic hypogamy "relates two dynasties of unequal rank: the superordinate ruler gives a daughter in marriage to a subordinate king or other ruler of lower status", "Royal Marriages", 1984, 45.

Operating at an even higher level, and to underscore the complexity of rank, royal marriages, and the political alliances, prestigious Tlalmanalco was linked to more prestigious Mexico Tenochtitlan, and both kings became what Chimalpahin refers to as *huexiuhtli* "co-parents-in-law". Moteuhcōma Xocoyotl had given one of his daughters to Necuametzin teohua teuhctli, tlatoani of Opochohuacan Tlacochoalco/Tlalmanalco, and son of Itzcahuatzin, the tlatoani of the other Tlacochoalco kingdom. Necuametzin was older brother to Chimalmantzin,⁴¹ a young woman especially prized as a bride who would eventually bear kingly sons for two different Amecameca husbands. Her two sisters would marry tlatoque in each of the remaining Chalco altepetl, fanning the confederation while maintaining the downward trend of a superordinate tlatoani sending daughters off to designated subordinate kings and lords, a pattern already observed by Carrasco as brides went from Mexico Tenochtitlan to Texcoco to Teotihuacan.⁴²

There is also an interesting repeating affiliation with women of the higher-ranked altepetl Tenanco Texcopalco and men from the altepetl tlayacatl in Amecameca's Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco. It is likely that both Tenanca groups were of one original Tenanco, the schism occurring way back in 1267, with the splinter group maintaining a traditional ligature well into the sixteenth century.⁴³

As noted on Tables 2 and 3, there were interdynastic marriages outside the altepetl of Amecameca and interdynastic marriages among the altepetl tlayacatl (Tables 4a-c). The original rank and order of altepetl tlayacatl in Amecameca were as follows: Itztlacoçauhcan, Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, Tequanipan, and Panohuayan. A split in the genealogy of highest-ranked Itztlacoçauhcan in 1336 and the formation of Tlailotlacan Teohuacan, a new tlayacatl which took second place, resulted in a change in the sociopolitical hierarchy that Chimalpahin never quite addressed, for his home kingdom of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco was definitely displaced.

While Chimalpahin repeatedly stressed the purity and separateness of the kingly lineages, his own genealogy (Table 5) shows repeating unions between two of Amecameca's five altepetl tlayacatl over the

⁴¹ Women named Chimalmantzin occur in two altepetl, Tlalmanalco and Amecameca; within the latter, they appear twice in the same family, as seen on Table 6. The repetition of names may be coincidental. Chimalpahin does not provide enough information to determine a pattern.

⁴² Carrasco, "Royal Marriages", 1984, 45-56.

⁴³ See Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*, Pt. 2, for specifics about the formation of the altepetl of Tenanco.

course of eight generations, first cousins marrying on four occasions.⁴⁴ Compounding an already complicated situation, one of these kingdoms, Tequanipan, became official as the product of a "marital" affiliation with Itztlacoçauhcan (the highest-ranked unit), which at almost the same time was in the process of forming the above-mentioned dynastic branch (as another altepetl tlayacatl), Tlailotlacan Teohuacan. The data are most complete for Chimalpahin's town Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, but intermarriage among other Amecameca altepetl tlayacatl occurred and was probably preferred for the integrity of the altepetl. Indeed, marrying outside the kingdom may have been a special political or economic circumstance. The fifth and last tlayacatl in Amecameca, Panohuayan, seems to be an exception,⁴⁵ with most of the reported marriages contracted within the polity, probably among the subunits, or calpultlaxilacalli (Tables 4b and c).

In addition, Chimalpahin provided a detailed genealogy⁴⁶ of the royal lineage of Panohuayan (Table 6), which is unusual, for otherwise he has the least to say about this of all Amecameca's altepetl tlayacatl.⁴⁷ The genealogy is noteworthy because the king's lineage continues well into the colonial period, and, especially, it shows the regal title and authority of the polity being passed through royal daughters.

This is the genealogy of tlatoani Quauhcececuizin, who was ruling Panohuayan when Hernando Cortés arrived in Mexico. The king had at least nine children, seven of whom were daughters, two of which

⁴⁴ Barbro Dahlgren de Jordan, *La mixteca: su cultura e historia prehispánica*, Mexico City, 1954, 149-151, has observed a long series of close-cousin marriages among some Mixtec kingdoms, and Rebecca Horn, "Postconquest Coyoacan: Aspects of Indigenous Sociopolitical and Economic Organization in Central Mexico, 1550-1650", Los Angeles, 1989, 90, reports at least one first cousin union in Coyoacan.

⁴⁵ According to Chimalpahin, the people of Panohuayan were the last to arrive in Amecameca. Unlike the other groups, they did not have a "Chichimeca" background, but instead had an earlier affiliation (though not explained) in Tula, with a market and the like. See Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*, 65-71, for information about the altepetl tlayacatl of Panohuayan.

⁴⁶ Once thought unique to Chimalpahin's writings, Arthur J. O. Anderson has identified additional genealogies by Chimalpahin in the British and Foreign Bible Society Ms. 374, vol. 3, but they have nothing to do with Chalco. It is unfortunate that we do not have genealogies for other Chalco polities; they would enrich the marriage data about Amecameca considerably.

⁴⁷ Of all the Amecameca altepetl tlayacatl discussed by Chimalpahin, Panohuayan is the only place that exists today. Long a working hacienda, as noted in the testament of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's mother, it is also today one of six districts (Panohaya) in the municipality of Amecameca. A translation of Sor Juana's mother's will (11 January, 1687) can be found in Doris M. Ladd, *Mexican Women in Anahuac and New Spain*, Austin, 1979, 62-64.

were named Chimalmantzin.⁴⁸ Two sons are noted, one by a concubine "*icalpanpiltzin*", but neither is distinguished. Most of the girls made good marriages, the eldest wedding the king of highest-ranked Tlalmanalco. But since her son did not succeed to the rulership there,⁴⁹ it is likely she was not the primary wife. The other daughters seemed to have married men of some distinction in their own polity, maintaining the title by various means through the early years after the conquest, until all royal lines in Amecameca were formally re-established in 1548.⁵⁰ At that time the Panohuayan title and office were concentrated in one daughter's line, the second Chimalmantzin. Due to the deaths of many rulers after the conquest, rightful heirs were scarce; for that reason, the rulership of Panohuayan was officially awarded to her son, maintaining the dynastic lineage via the mother's line, a judgment causing considerable consternation at the time. (Chimalmantzin married a man not equal to her station.)⁵¹ Subsequently, good marriages were made, for the official family (Páez de Mendoza) at least, and authority remained in the same royal hands for over two hundred and fifty years.⁵² However, further on in the sixteenth century, Chimalmantzin's siblings' children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren eventually married non-nobles and non-Spaniards, as noted by the absence of indigenous royal titles and the Spanish *don* or *doña*. Even so, most unions were still among Amecameca altepetl tlayacatl, Chimalpahin himself having a sister-in-law from Panohuayan.

⁴⁸ Neither of the two Chimalmantzins of Panohuayan seem to have any relationship to the Chimalmantzin of Tlalmanalco, who married tlatoque in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco and Itztlacoauhcan; see p. 32. Gillespie, in *Aztecs*, 1989, in identifying the recurrence of kings' or "queens'" names, posits direct ties to dynastic rulership cycles.

⁴⁹ Even so, when called upon to return to Panohuayan to assume the office of tlatoani in 1548, he refused to do so.

⁵⁰ All the kingships in Amecameca were taken over by two ambitious brothers who held sway until Viceroy Mendoza called for an investigation and restoration of all rulerships to rightful kings in Amecameca.

⁵¹ The husband's title was "tequi quauhpilli", indicating status distinguished by merit rather than hereditary nobility; later he is identified as "macehualli quauhpilli", 1-172-3, 14, 20; 1-173-33. The Indian judge in charge of the case went to great lengths to find an heir with noble affiliations on both the mother's and father's sides. But Spanish policy was directed toward compromising these traditional practices, the church intending to end restrictions against nobles and commoners marrying, see Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, "Marriage and Legitimacy in Mexican Culture: Mexico and California", *California Law Review*, 1966, 54:946-1008.

⁵² The arch over the main highway passing through Amecameca was dedicated in 1781 and bears the inscription, "siendo gobernando de este pueblo de Amecameca d[on]. Luis Beltrán Páez de Mendoza Zitlalpopoca, cazique principal, agosto de 1781".

Table 6

Descendants of Quauhceceuitzin, tlatoani of Panohuayan, 1488-1519
(II-35-29 to 36-28)

Order and Gender	Name	Spouse, Rank, and Provenience	Their Children	Their Grandchildren	Their Great Grandchildren and Great Great Grandchildren
1st Daughter	Papaloxochtzin	don Hernando de Guzmán Omacatzin teohua teuhctli, tlatoani (1534-?) Tlalmanalco	don Juan de Ojeda Quauhceceuitzin don Luis de Ojeda telpochtli, i.e., the younger, Quauhceceuitzin	don Alejo de Ojeda Quauhceceuitzin	Antonia, married Juan from Mihuacan, macehualli
2nd Daughter	Caquantla-paltzin	Tzihuacatzin tla-maacatl teuhctli, ?Panohuayan	Miguel de San Mateo ticomecatli teuhctli, married María, daughter of Cristóbal Tlal-pitzatzin, great warrior from Tlal-tecahuacan Tlalmanalco of Tequanipán	Petronila María, married Miguel de San Juan of Itztlacoauhcan	Dominga María, married Lucas de Castañeda, a "nobleman" of Tenanco (Chilapahin's brother)
3rd Daughter	Chimalmantzin	Chimoltzin, warrior, ?Panohuayan	don Pedro Tlahuacatzin tlamaocatli teuhctli, succeeded his grandfather, Quauhceceuitzin, ruled 10 years	Name unknown, married Juan Crisóstomo Castro	
4th Daughter	Atototzin	Itzquiyauhtzin tlacochealcatl, tlatoani of Caltecoyan	Acacitzin, Bonifacio Quauhceceuitzin, and Martín Anunciación		
5th Daughter	Unknown	Topaltzin tlacochealcatl, nobleman of Panohuayan, descendant of Totec Nochuuetzin, who was the first (tlatoani) to come to Panohuayan	Cornelio Ramirez	Sebastián Anunciación telpochtli, i.e., the younger	Diego Ramirez Mateo Ramirez

Table 6

Descendants of Quauhcececutzin, tlatoani of Panohuayan, 1488-1519 (continued)
(II-35-29 to 36-28)

Order and Gender	Name	Spouse, Rank, and Provenience	Their Children	Their Grandchildren	Their Great Grandchildren and Great Great Grandchildren
6th Daughter	Chimalmuntzin (second of this name)	Chalchahuacatzin tequihua quauhpilli, macehualli	don Josef de Santa Maria Teuhctilacoçauh-catzin tlamaocatl teuhctli, tlatoani of Panohuayan (1548-1564), married doña Maria de Castilla Tzonatzin, daughter of Icnioixtzin granddaughter of Quauhcececutzin	don Felipe Páez de Mendoza tlamaocatl teuhctli, tlatoani (1564-1604) and governor married doña Petronila de Torcia	don Francisco Páez de Mendoza don Pedro Páez de Mendoza don Diego Páez de Mendoza don Felipe Páez de Mendoza
7th Daughter	Not known	Quahelotzin tlacochquencatl teuhctli	Bonifacio de San Benito	Beatriz, married Francisco de San Juan, nizquitecatl; both residents of Tlaltecahuacan ?Tlamanalco	Diego Quahelotl, ("he is living")
8th Son	Papayohuatzin tlacochcalcatl teuhctli	Not stated	Marcos Miguel Maldonado	Maria Maldonado, married Juan, both from Panohuayan	Petronila Juana Bautista, concubine of Juan Sánchez, a Spaniard. Their children: Anica and Dieguillo, from Puebla
9th Son by a concubine, (icalpanpiltzin)	Juan .. açanotl	Not stated	Servador (?Salvador) de San Fabián	Miguel de San Fabián (d. 1613)	

Table 7

The Wives of don Tomás de San Martín Quetzalmaqatzin, ca. 1529
(II-4-44)

Order	Name and Rank	Provenience and Royal Affiliation	Children
1st	Quetzalpetlatzin, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Tlilpotoncatzin, cihuacoatl (second in rank to tlatoani)	don Juan de Santo Domingo de Mendoza Tlacaeleltzin, tlatoani of Itztlacoauhcan (1548-1563), will succeed Quetzalmaqatzin
2nd	doña Magdalena de de San Pedro Xiuh- cacaltzin, cihuapilli, his niece	Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, daughter of Huehuyotzintli tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani (1488-1520)	don Juan Maldonado Miiçahuitzin, tlatoani of Itztlacoauhcan (1591-?) Also a daughter, name unknown
3rd	Name unknown, cihuapilli	Mexico Tenochtitlan, daughter of Totomochtzin	don Martín Moçoquinellohuatzin
4th	Name unknown, cihuapilli	Quauhctitlan	don Tomás Chichincalahuatzin
5th	doña Catalina, Chimalmantzin cihuapilli, his sister-in-law	Itzcahuacan Tlacochealco (Tlalmanalco), daughter of Itzcahuatzin tlatquic tlatoani (1486-1520), widow of Huehuyotzintli tlailotlac teuhctli, tlatoani in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1488-1520)	don Josef del Castillo Ecaxoxouhqui, tlatoani of Tecpan Tlailotlacan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1548-1576), a stepson don Gregorio de los Angeles Tepoztlilxayacatzin (born to Chimalmantzin and Quetzalmaqatzin before their marriage was formalized by the church), tlatoani of Itztlacoauhcan (1564-1580)

Others, names unknown

don Luis Cohuaxayaca
doña Agata María xocoyotl (i.e., the
youngest), married a Spaniard

Thus, the hypogamous pattern that Carrasco has so ably shown for Mexico Tenochtitlan and Texcoco exists but is contained within the Chalco confederation, there being no need, apparently, to go beyond the greater altepetl for marriage alliances with any regularity. Rather, we see marriages among local noble women and men for the integration and reintegration of dynasties at various levels of Chalco altepetl organization over the centuries.

In review, Tables 2-6 demonstrate that elite Indian women in central Mexico were regarded with much prestige, some actually sought after by men wishing to improve their lot. It is certain, by means of their distinguished affiliations, whether serving as brides and vehicles to thrones for husbands, assuming rulerships themselves, or bearing royal children to found new altepetl or invigorate old ones, that noblewomen played key roles in establishing and perpetuating official alliances both within and beyond each royal polity. Whether the initiative for marriage came from the would-be groom, the noblewoman herself, or her kingly father can be determined by examining the Nahuatl terminology used to secure a spouse.

Marriage Terminology

The Nahuatl term that Chimalpahin used to describe wives is the possessed form of the noun *cihuatl* "woman", *icihuauh* "his woman", "his wife". The marriage arrangement terminology is usually limited to just three verbs: *ana* "to take", *itlania* "to ask for", and *maca* "to give". The first two refer to a nobleman's method for getting a wife; the third, *maca*, describes the act of fathers giving daughters to nobles in marriage. A typical entry might be:

In this year [1508] cihuapilli Ilhuiçolcihuatzin xocoyotl "the youngest" was born. She is the daughter of Cacamatzin teohua teuhctli, the tlatoani of Tlailotlacan Teohuacan Amaquemecan Chalco. Later, this cihuapilli was asked for by tlatoani Telpochteuhctli of Yacapichtlan. She went there to have children.⁵³

Chimalpahin says nothing about the wedding ceremonies per se,⁵⁴ and we know little of what a bride might bring to the marriage,

⁵³ 1-137-3. Among more recent Tzeltal groups in Chiapas, June Nash reports that regarding the selection of a mate, the interest and intent of males predominate. She says, "...although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman. June Nash, *In the Eyes of the Ancestors, Belief and Behavior in a Maya Community*, New Haven, 1970, 272.

⁵⁴ That there were formalities and ceremonies, see Karttunen and Lockhart, *Art of Nahuatl Speech*, and the Anonymous Conqueror in Patricia de Fuentes

except for one passage in which the Mexicatl tlatoani Moteuhçoma Xocoyotl had just taken over much of the land of Tlalmanalco. Either as a dowry or in recompense to the local ruler, Necuametzin teohua teuhctli, Moteuhçoma gave him a daughter and two *Tlaxilacaltin* "wards", "groups" of Otomi to serve her.⁵⁵

For the colonial period the terminology begins to change and *namictli* "spouse" soon predominates. This probably can be attributed in part to the presence of the leader of the first twelve Franciscans to come to Mexico, fray Martín de Valencia, who went to live in Amecameca in 1529. While there fray Martín was able to convince the tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan, don Tomás de San Martín Quetzalmaçatzin, to give up his many wives and enter into the Christian state of holy matrimony with just one of them. Chimalpahin states:

In this year [1529] *nenamictiliztli* "marriage" began. Don Tomás de San Martín Quetzalmaçatzin Chichimeca teuhctli, who became eleventh tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan Amaquemecan Chalco, had many noble ladies [cihuapipiltin] who became his wives. He kept them in his palace.⁵⁶

Chimalpahin then names five of them (Table 7) and concludes:

There were other cihuapipiltin that Quetzalmaçatzin had, but their names are not known.⁵⁷

(ed.), *The Conquistadores*, New York, 1963, 181, who reported "at the wedding of this head wife they have certain ceremonies that are not observed at the weddings of others".

⁵⁵ 1-137-49, and see above, pp. 23-24. Plots of land were given as dowry (*cihuatlal*, "woman's" or "wife's-land") in Texcoco, see Jerome A. Offner, *Law and Politics in Aztec Texcoco*, Cambridge, 1983, 126. At Bonampak, Tatiana Proskouriakoff notes that a bundle carried by a young girl in a subordinate place may indicate that she is a marriageable daughter, the bundle signifying her dowry or bride price, Proskouriakoff, "Portraits of Women in Maya Art", in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, ed. by Samuel Lothrop and others, Cambridge, 1961, p. 90.

⁵⁶ 11-4-44. Similar pressures were put on Mixtec kings, according to Spores, "Marital Alliances", 1974, 303, which confounded succession practices and resulted in extensive litigation. We know little of the culture of a Nahuatl king's court, except for the presence of many wives and the occasional singing of war songs in celebration of the great deeds of the ruler. See 1-115-22 for Chimalpahin's account of the court of the Mexica tlatoani Axayacatl.

⁵⁷ 11-5-7. The Anonymous Conqueror wrote, "they have many wives, as many as they can support..., but as I have said, one is the principal wife and her children inherit whereas the others do not, since they cannot since they are considered as bastards", in Fuentes, *The Conquistadores*, 1963, 181. Polygamy was practiced among the Maya as well, and numerous inscriptions bear the names of the kings' most important wives. In Yaxchilan, title passed to the son of a

Of all his women Quetzalmaçatzin chose the widow of his half-brother, Huehueyotzintli, late king of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco. Huehueyotzintli had married Chimalmantzin, the daughter of the tlatoani of higher-ranked Tlalmanalco [Itzcahuacan Tlacochealco] when she was seven years old. The marriage was not consummated until she was mature. Of this marriage, one child was born, don Josef del Castillo Ecaxoxouhqui, who later ascended the throne at Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (1548-1576). Chimalpahin states tlatoani Quetzalmaçatzin selected Chimalmantzin because of love; it may have been the levirate, but it was most likely politically smart since Tlalmanalco was higher ranked and would be designated the colonial cabecera.⁵⁸ And Chimalpahin adds "*moch iuhque catca y ye huecauh tlatoque miecacihuahuaque catca*" "all the rulers of long ago were that way, with many wives".⁵⁹ With Quetzalmaçatzin Chimalmantzin had three more children. The eldest, don Gregorio de los Ángeles Tepoztlaxayacatzin, who was born before the official marriage, became Chichimeca teuhctli and tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan in 1564. The other two children, although baptized by Hernando Cortés, seem not to have held office. Of particular interest, showing adherence to pre-Spanish tradition, the first of all to inherit the tlatoani throne and title for Itztlacoçauhcan was Quetzalmaçatzin's son by his primary wife, the woman from Mexico Tenochtitlan. Nothing at all is said as to the fate of the rest of Quetzalmaçatzin's wives.

Succession

Chimalpahin idealizes descent practices and always stresses the importance of patrilineal patrilocal tradition. And, in the course of tracing the rulerships in Amecameca Chalco, it becomes apparent that sons usually do succeed fathers.⁶⁰ The term used to describe legitimate

third wife, who honored his mother upon his installation, Schele and Miller, *Blood of Kings*, 1986, 28, 143. Barbro Dahlgren reports plural wives among the Mixtecs as well, but first wives always ranked highest and their children inherited their titles, *La mixteca*, 1966, 135-136. In Quito, Frank Salomon, "Indian Women", 1988, 327, notes plural wives existing among both the nobility and commoners.

⁵⁸ Not atypical, the levirate was practiced in Yanhuitlan when the Mixtec cacique's brother died, the ruler married his sister-in-law, Dahlgren, *La mixteca*, 1966, 136-137.

⁵⁹ II-6-26. While surely restricting the alliance options for the kings, as we would expect, Chimalpahin provides no specific information other than what has been included on the tables. See, especially, the discussion about Panohuayan, p. 25-26, 28-29.

⁶⁰ Demonstrated in the dynastic lists for Chalco; Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*. For the Mixtecs, Dahlgren reports that "Mixtec caciques brought the women to

male descendants through the male line is *ilatocapipiltin oquichtlatocatlachihualtin* (derived from *chihua* "to engender"), "kingly nobles", "male kingly creations" or "descendants". In addition, these royal heirs were to officiate in the kingdoms of their fathers. However, as with so much else in Chimalpahin's accounts, there are exceptions. Actual kingships were exchanged fairly frequently, women ruled on occasion, and some men eagerly left their own kingdoms and married women of higher station. These men assumed the title and office in their wives' kingdoms, but their original affiliation with their birth-right was not forgotten.

An example of the latter is Cacamatzin, who was a nobleman of the Atlahtlan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco royal line. Cacamatzin married Tlacocihuatzin, daughter of a king and a cihuapilli from Itztlacoçauhcan, and was installed as tlatoani of Tlailotlacan Teohuacan, a higher-ranked polity than that of his own. With Tlacocihuatzin Cacamatzin had three children. Two of these were sons who would figure importantly in the political history of Amecameca in the early years after the conquest.⁶¹ They were Quetzalmaçatzin (already mentioned above) and Tequanxayacatzin, and in 1521, as Cacamatzin prepared to die, he admonished these two sons to return to *his* original kingdom, Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, and rule there when it was time. He said:

Come here my sons and listen to me. When I die you are to go to our home at Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco. You are to take care of the altepetl and to rule there. . . This [Tlailotlacan Teohuacan] is not our home; it is only our woman's home [the place of my wife, your mother]. Our home is in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco where the genealogy is traced through the male line.⁶²

Quetzalmaçatzin and Tequanxayacatzin did as their father said and went to their patrimonial home, but not for long. Through politicking with the elders of Itztlacoçauhcan, the young men capitalized on their matrilineal affiliation and returned to their mother's more influential kingdom, exchanged rulerships with the incumbent tlatoani, and usurped the rulerships of all the remaining altepetl tlayacatl, which they then held for 25 years.

their houses", *La mixteca*, 1966, 137, and in Copan, Schele and Miller note that "Yax-Pac, last king of Copan, recorded that his mother, the previous king's wife, had come from Palenque", *Blood of Kings*, 1986, 143.

⁶¹ They were allies of Hernando Cortés and benefitted greatly, the Captain even serving as compadre for one of the brothers, r-168-3.

⁶² r-165-5.

Earlier, their father, tlatoani Cacamatzin had taken as one of his wives a young woman called Iztac Xochitzin "White Flower", who unbeknownst to him was already pregnant by another man. Chimalpahin says, "*amo nel ahço qualli mahuiztic cihuatl*" "she was not really a good or honorable woman".⁶³ Obviously a woman on her own and in spite of her affair,⁶⁴ Cacamatzin was so taken with her that he married her anyway and even adopted her son, whom he named Huehueyotzintli "Outsider".⁶⁵ Later, Cacamatzin will go out of his way to petition Ahuitzotzin, great tlatoani of Mexico Tenochtitlan, to secure the office and title of the kingship of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco for Huehueyotzintli —even displacing the rightful heir.⁶⁶ When it was time for tlatoani Huehueyotzintli to choose a wife, it was rumored that his bride too secretly cohabited with another man.⁶⁷

Secondary Wives and Consorts

Characteristically, Chimalpahin stridently objects when irregularities occur in succession routines. Inevitably it appears that it is a woman of seemingly ill repute or one without official connections that he blames, even though the tlatoque also lacked discretion. An example is Itzcohuatzin, great tlatoani of Mexico Tenochtitlan (1427-1440), who Chimalpahin calls "*bastardo*", but fails to adequately explain why this particular son of Acamapichtli, who had at least 23 children, warranted such a label when others did not.⁶⁸ Although he used a Spanish term to describe *hijos naturales* "illegitimate children", Nahuatl had its counterparts, *ichtacaconetl*, *ichtacapiltontli*, *ichtacapilli*, usually associated with some form of *huehueyotl* or *huehuentzin*, the meanings of which are not completely clear. These terms distinguished certain

⁶³ 1-154-21. We cannot be certain whether Chimalpahin's comment reflects moral inculcations from his colonial Church associations or if he is taking this opportunity to cast aspersions on Huehueyotzintli. The latter is more likely, since Chimalpahin considered Huehueyotzintli a usurper, outside the traditional genealogy.

⁶⁴ A classic example of the erotic thoughts and sensuality attributed to Chalca noblewomen can be found in Miguel León-Portilla, "The Chalca Cihuacuicatl of Aquiauhztzin. Erotic Poetry of the Nahuas", *New Scholar*, 1984, 5(2), 235-262. Schele and Miller, *Blood of Kings*, 1986, 153, find Jaina figurines showing Maya women (in particular, the courtesans) with "all sorts of mates, from Underworld deities to oversized rabbits". Fray Bernardino de Sahagún discusses the courtesans or women of passion, but does not usually deal with them kindly, Anderson and Dibble (eds.), *Florentine Codex, Book 10-The People*.

⁶⁵ This is the same Huehueyotzintli mentioned above, p. 32.

⁶⁶ 1-154-1 to 42.

⁶⁷ 1-155-1.

⁶⁸ 1-79-17 and 1-96-41, and cf. Carrasco, 1984, 59-61, 63-65.

offspring of the kings' wives and consorts (other than *incalpanpilhuan*), those outside traditional class boundaries. Chimalpahin's usage indicates that these women had been impregnated by men of low rank.⁶⁹ Above-mentioned Hueyhueyotzintli would surely fit the same category. Yet in spite of their mothers' bad personal reputations and their bastardy, both men sat on thrones, contributed to their respective royal gene pools, and were succeeded by what came to be considered legitimate heirs.

Royal Mothers

Chimalpahin speaks of women who as royal mothers, even while not having full authority, played an important role in the establishment and maintenance of rulerships. The provenience of the noblewoman was crucial, and often it seems that young sons went to officiate in the townships of their mothers in order to maintain the political hegemony of their fathers. Chimalpahin offers numerous examples, but seldom furnished any explanation. In Mexico Tenochtitlan, Chimalpilli became tlatoani in Ecatepec (1498) because his mother was from there. His father, great tlatoani Ahuizotzin, installed him as ruler.⁷⁰ Ixtlilcuechahuac, son of Mexicatl ruler Axayacatzin, went to Tula (1481) to become king because it was his mother's town.⁷¹ In Amecameca, Miccacalcatl Tlatlecuintzin (though only nine years old) became tlatoani in his mother's Tequanipan in 1492. His father was Tlilpotoncatzin, the *cihuacotl* [royal office, second to the tlatoani] in Mexico Tenochtitlan. Mexica king Ahuizotzin installed Miccacalcatl on the Tequanipan throne.⁷² And to maintain the connection with the high office of Chichimeca *teuhctli* in Itztlacoçauhcan Amecameca, the infant son of the late Aoquantzin was installed as Chichimeca *teuhctli* and tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan. The child's grandmother was the daughter of Axayacatzin and the older sister of Moteuhçoma Xocoyotl. Moteuhçoma himself installed the child-king.⁷³ (In this last example, even though the child's mother was not from Itztlacoçauhcan, the Mexicatl king capitalized upon the original marital affilia-

⁶⁹ Although probably of little influence in this instance, Spanish law (*Siete Partidas*) of the colonial period as well recognized numerous categories of "illegitimacy". See Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, "Marriage and Legitimacy in Mexican Culture: Mexico and California", *California Law Review*, 1966, 54: 946-1008.

⁷⁰ 1-142-42.

⁷¹ 1-117-26.

⁷² 1-108-1; 1-119-25; 1-128-44; 1-161-15.

⁷³ 1-170-5.

tion and immediately installed the dynastic heir, who was his nephew as well.)

Later, and tragically for the wife, in 1548, don Juan Bautista de Sandoval Toyaotzin became tlatoani of Pochtlan Tequanipan because his mother was a cihuapilli from there.⁷⁴ His father, don Juan de Sandoval Tequanxayacatzin teohua teuhctli, had been ruling as supreme tlatoani of all Amaquemecan altepetl tlayacatl, and installed his son on the Tequanipan throne. Toyaotzin married a cihuapilli from Cuiclahuac, but killed her after a short while.⁷⁵ But then, upon his father's death in 1565, Toyaotzin returned to Tlailotlacan and assumed the important title and rulership held previously by his father.⁷⁶

It should be noted that a mother's political affiliation could also have devastating effects on her son's aspirations to high office. Huehue Chimalpahin, whose name Chimalpahin took as one of his own, may well have become a tlatoani had it not been that his mother was from a town [Atlauhtlan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco] where the royal genealogy was deliberately terminated. His candidacy was rendered ineligible and the tlatoani office and title passed to a brother (Quauhtlehuanitzin), whose mother presumably was from a different town.⁷⁷

Sisters and Consorts

Another term that Chimalpahin used to describe women is *hueltiuhtli* "older sister", which is found in the possessed form, *i-, inhueltiuh*, "his", "their older sister". Most often it indicates sibling relationships, i. e., Acolnauatl, son of Huehue Huitzilihuitl, had three older sisters,⁷⁸ or the tlatocacihuapilli from Mexico Tenochtitlan, who was the older sister of Moteuhcçoma Xocoyotl.⁷⁹

There is one instance, however, where *hueltiuhtli* takes an entirely different meaning; it is when Chimalpahin speaks of the establishment of a rulership during the formative years of Amecameca. In this case the people of Tequanipan have been traveling about for many years,

⁷⁴ I-171-50; II-14-22.

⁷⁵ Chimalpahin tells the exact period of the marriage, one year, six months, and twenty days, but gives no reason for the murder, II-16-15; II-19-43.

⁷⁶ Looking back, we are reminded that these men were descendants of tlatoani Cacamatzin, whose lineage was of the Atlauhtlan Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco dynasty. But it was 1565, many kings had died, and rightful rulers were hard to come by. No one seemed to challenge Toyaotzin's assuming the Tlailotlacan throne by this time, although there had been much unhappiness with his father's rule.

⁷⁷ I-98-44.

⁷⁸ I-54-36.

⁷⁹ I-170-7.

already with rulers, a deity, and a *teomama* "godcarrier". When they finally reached Amecameca, the leader and a woman let it be known they were in the area. The woman is identified only as *inhueltiuh Tequanipan tlaca* "the older sister of the people of Tequanipan".⁸⁰ Later we learn that *inhueltiuh* is the daughter of the leader and seems to serve as some sort of inducement to prompt the local tlatoque to recognize the newcomers and then perhaps grant them permission to settle in Amecameca. That is exactly what transpired. After some preliminary exchanges Tliltecatzin Chichimeca yaotequihua, the second-in-rank tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan, went to greet the Tequanipan people. He then took "their older sister" as his concubine and impregnated her. The people of Tequanipan were given permission to stay and establish their altepetl, becoming the third tlayacatl in Amecameca. The leader (and father of *inhueltiuh*) was installed as ruler, and he and his daughter raised her son, the child born of her union with Tliltecatzin. This child will later succeed his grandfather in the kingship of Tequanipan and marry the daughter of the tlatoani of the then second-in-rank altepetl tlayacatl, Tzaqualtitlan Tenance (see Chimalpahin's genealogy, Table 5).

The *-hueltiuh* of the Tequanipan people is never identified as a wife of Tliltecatzin's, only as *ymecauh* "his consort", "concubine", a term Chimalpahin seldom uses. The significance of the term "*inhueltiuh*" is not explained.

We have just looked at some of the ways in which royal wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters appear in Chimalpahin's writings. It is obvious that the roles of these and other women are far more important than Chimalpahin would have us believe. There is one more position of high responsibility that manifests when Chimalpahin speaks of his family. It is at this point that we learn that females as well as males definitely ruled in Amecameca.

The first *cihuapillatoani* (or *cihuatlatoani*) in Chalco was Xiuhtoztzin, who was installed in 1340, maintaining the royal lineage of her father, Quahuitzatzin, who supposedly had ruled for 101 years. Quahuitzatzin, the founding tlatoani of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, was succeeded by a Nochhuetzin, who died shortly after taking office. Xiuhtoztzin immediately assumed the throne — Chimalpahin explaining that there was no one else to rule.⁸¹ Nochhuetzin's background is never

⁸⁰ 1-47-36.

⁸¹ Pedro Carrasco reports from a *probanza* during the early colonial period, that "if there were no males who were close relatives and most worthy, females could succeed to the rulership". Cited from Carrasco, "Royal Marriages", 1984, 44.

revealed, for he is not listed among Quahuitzatzin's progeny, although at one point Chimalpahin identifies him as Xiuhtoztzin's husband, and it may be that he was brought in as a male successor to the throne.

Xiuhtoztzin was invested with the royal title of her office and occupied the throne for eight years.⁸² Chimalpahin commends her rulership and states that her heirs were indeed the rightful successors to the throne, even though the descent was matrilineal.⁸³ He goes to great trouble to justify the rulership of the queen; however, it should be taken into account that Xiuhtoztzin was Chimalpahin's grandmother seven times removed, and that the rulership might just have come to an end if the noblewoman had not taken office.

There are two other cihuatlatoque mentioned in Chimalpahin's records. One, in an incomplete reference, an Illancueitl, is noted as noble queen of Acolhuacan and the daughter of Huitzilihuitl, Mexica leader in 1365, but there is no more information.⁸⁴ The second cihuatlatoani was the widow Tlacocihuatzin, who, upon the death of her husband, the tlatoani of Itztlacoçauhcan, assumed the throne because their son was too young to rule. As regent she was vested with full authority, receiving the title of the rulership and the crown as well (1410-1419). When her son was grown, he ascended the throne. Chimalpahin says the line passed through the mother's side.⁸⁵

⁸² 1-173-55. Miller and Schele, *Blood of Kings*, 1986, 143, emphasize that among the Maya women also ruled and list important queens for the late Classic period: Lady Ahpo-Katun of Piedras Negras, Lady Ahpo-Hel of Palenque, and the Lady of Dos Pilas of Naranjo. Irene Silverblatt, "Andean Women under Spanish Rule", in *Women and Colonization*, ed. by Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, New York, 1980, 149-185, demonstrates good evidence for women ruling in their own towns, and that some were queens or "principal rulers" along the north coast of Peru, 153. Believing that Inca women's authority originated in religious cults, which evolved into class institutions and political offices, the Andean queen (*coya*) and her female associates contributed greatly toward consolidating the empire, 155, 157-158.

⁸³ 1-174-1-9. Ronald Spores excellent analysis of Mixtec marriage and descent practices will be discussed below. Beyond Middle America, Irene Silverblatt, "Andean Women", 1980, 152, 157, observes parallel lines of descent were the order among prehispanic Andean groups, and Frank Salomon, "Indian Women", 1988, 327, claims that parallel descent and inheritance practices are still in operation today in Quito.

⁸⁴ 11-165-54; 11-166-3; or cf. Carrasco, "Royal Marriages", 1984, 57. Carrasco notes that the names of nobility often recur in a given lineage, 69. See Gillespie for additional information on Illancueitl as a possible female ruler, *Aztecs*, 1989, 19-21, 28-56. Unfortunately, details about the content of rulership are lacking once again.

⁸⁵ 1-84-12; 1-89-21; 1-174-20. See Schroeder, *Chimalpahin*, 184-185, for additional discussion.

Colonial Noblewomen

Well after the conquest royal wives, daughters, and mothers enjoyed prestige, by then recognized by the Spanish honorific "doña", with or without the "cihuapilli" in the Nahuatl accounts. These women received Christian names upon baptism, but they retained their Indian names and clung to their political affiliations. There is evidence that Indian noblewomen had authority during the colonial period, but more work needs to be done in this area. In Tepoztlan, Robert S. Haskett notes a *cacica* "wife of a cacique" or "ruler" with considerable political influence in the early years of the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Even earlier, in distant Quito, Frank Saloman tells of [doña] Beatriz Ango, a noblewoman who married Topatauchi Atahualpa, son of Atahualpa Inca. From her widowhood to the time of her death (1583-1601), because of her own lineage, her marriage, and the wealth and prestige from both, [doña] Beatriz Ango was considered at least "symbolically a sovereign to the republic of Indians".⁸⁷ And Indian noblewomen were still coveted as brides in the colonial period. In another instance, Haskett gives the example in the sixteenth century of a mestizo (perhaps) who married a Cuernavaca Indian woman of high position and was able to secure the governorship of the polity for their two sons. Both sons married Indian women with the title doña, which may have served to secure the family's prominence in local politics. These women brought both wealth and political influence to their marriages.⁸⁸

Elite mestizas (still "cihuapiltin"), notably the descendants of Moteuhçoma Xocoyotl, distinguished themselves by entering convents. Chimalpahin refers to them as *monjastin* or *cihuateopixque* "nuns" or "women-priests".⁸⁹ I have found no pre-Spanish counterpart for these women in Chimalpahin's history. Indian women of the early colonial period, elite or otherwise, did not become nuns, and Asunción Lavrin

⁸⁶ Robert S. Haskett, "Indian Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca: Persistence, Adaptation, and Change", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67(2), 1987, 203-231.

⁸⁷ Saloman, "Indian Women", 1988, 331.

⁸⁸ See Haskett, "Living in Two Worlds: Cultural Continuity and Change among Cuernavaca's Colonial Indigenous Ruling Elite", *Ethnohistory*, 35(1), 1988, 34-59, for a careful and thorough exposition of political and material advantages accrued by means of successful marital ties with local indigenous elite females in Cuernavaca.

⁸⁹ II-19-5; II-22-32. For more information about mestiza nuns from Chimalpahin, see Susan Schroeder, "Chimalpahin's View of Spanish Ecclesiastics in Colonial Mexico", in *Indian-Religious Relations in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. by Susan Ramírez, Syracuse, 1989, 21-38.

reports there were no convents for Indian women until the eighteenth century.⁹⁰ Another mode of self-assertion and independence is seen in sixteenth-century testamentary practices by Indian women who went to great lengths to assure that their personal property went to preferred heirs.⁹¹

Comparisons and Conclusions

We have already noted the similarities between interdynastic marriages in the Triple Alliance and what Chimalpahin records for Chalco. However, of all recent scholarship on Mesoamerica, the Mixtec *cacicazgo* "kingdom", upon comparison, comes closest to the Chalco altepetl in both its social and political composition. Headed by hereditary rulers who apparently stuck to traditions much better than the Chalca kings, Ronald Spores has been able to trace lineages in numerous Mixtec *cacicazgos* that endured for centuries, even through the colonial period.⁹² He believes the success of *cacicazgo* operations can be attributed to strict adherence to marriage and succession procedures, which ensured survival for the polity.⁹³ Charles Gibson too attributes the persistence of many Indian towns in central Mexico to traditional leadership and interregional associations.⁹⁴

Most of Spores's information concern the nobility. What is unique about the Mixtecs, though, is that women seem to have equal standing with men. Kings married queens who brought their own titles and inheritance to the marriage, and then passed them intact to specific offspring, depending on the marriage arrangement.⁹⁵ Kings purposefully sought entitled women of high status (and perhaps vice versa), and were advised by *cacicazgo* nobles about an appropriate candi-

⁹⁰ Asunción Lavrin, "Female Religious", in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed by Louise Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, Albuquerque, 1986, 176.

⁹¹ See especially S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600, A Social History of an Aztec Town*, Albuquerque, 1986; Susan Kellogg, "Aztec Inheritance in Sixteenth-Century Mexico City: Colonial Patterns, Prehispanic Influences", *Ethnohistory*, 33(3), 1986, 313-330; and Frank Salomon, "Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as seen through their Testaments", *Americas*, 46(3), 1988, 325-341.

⁹² See Ronald Spores, *Mixtec Kings*, 1967, "Marital Alliances", 1974, and *The Mixtecs*, 1984.

⁹³ Spores, *Mixtec Kings*, 1967, 29.

⁹⁴ Charles Gibson, "The Aztec Aristocracy in Colonial Mexico", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2, 1960, 169-196.

⁹⁵ Spores, "Royal Marriage", 1974, 303-304, reports, "daughters were eligible and could succeed even when they had male siblings".

date for marriage.⁹⁶ These women held sway over their own cacicazgos and enjoyed being recognized as the supreme authority in their territories.

To succeed to office or inherit title one had to be a member by birth of the noble class, which, according to Spores, "was attained through direct descent from titled-royal class parents and ancestors".⁹⁷ Any deviation from the norm meant permanent loss of royalty status. One way that could happen was by marrying someone out of your class, which may carry over to the Nahuas, for that is what must have happened at some point in Chimalpahin's own family (Table 5). In spite of what he would like us to believe, neither Chimalpahin's parents, his brother, nor he himself have legitimate indigenous titles or the Spanish "don" that appeared earlier in the family line.⁹⁸ But especially for the Mixtec cacicazgo, there were no exceptions or alternatives; hence, its durability through the colonial period.

Keeping in mind always that his history reflects his mental perspective and his bias, nevertheless, Chimalpahin demonstrates not only survivals of social and political practices in the kingdoms of Chalco, but continuity at least to the end of the sixteenth century, if not longer.⁹⁹ His failures to acknowledge the significance of noblewomen to altepetl and rulership conservation need not be overstated; the possibility exists that the Nahua perspective of his time lacked the facility to reflect the feminine dimension. Surely much of the persistence can be attributed to concerted efforts by the nobility to follow established procedures for inheritance and succession, as we have seen with the Mixtecs. Distinguishing Chalco, however, and perhaps typical of

⁹⁶ Spores, *Mixtec Kings*, 1967, 115. In Chalco there is some evidence that *huehuetque*, as town elders, had a say in succession procedures — as when Quetzalmaçatzin politicked to exchange his kingdom for a more prestigious one and succeeded, I-167-4 to 50. But some kings acted independently, i. e., Camamatzin's promoting an adopted son to his rulership (see above, pp. 34-35). The Amecameca elders Chimalpahin interviewed maintained that Huehueyotzintli had no right to act as he did and that his half-brothers who usurped all Amecameca altepetl tlayacatl rulerships were never considered legitimate rulers. In 1548, a concerted effort by colonial and Indian authorities was made to restore all Amecameca rulerships to proper heirs, I-155-35 to 157; II-14-4.

⁹⁷ Spores, *The Mixtecs*, 1984, 65.

⁹⁸ Chimalpahin is very up front about this. It may have been due to a marriage to a secondary wife, or the absence of a titled royal heir somewhere along the line. Originally called just "Domingo Francisco", but eventually calling himself "don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuānitzin", he did not actually take the "don" or his many other names until late and privately, when he was writing his history (ca. 1610-1620).

⁹⁹ Chimalpahin stopped writing abruptly, leaving at least two works, his "Diario" and his "La conquista de México", in midsentence, unfinished.

Nahua central Mexico, were royal dynastic traditions coupled with an extraordinary capacity for accommodation and change that were standard long before the arrival of the Spaniards. In addition, deliberate networking by means of interdynastic marriages, whether within Amecameca to reaffirm altepetl tlayacatl bonds generation after generation, or beyond Amecameca but within Chalco to maintain the federation, or farther still, bringing in or sending off royal offspring to transfer prestige, political influence, and probably wealth, vitalized the dynasties and rulers' prerogatives in their dominions. Needless to say, none of it would have been possible without the noble women.

ABBREVIATED GLOSSARY OF NAHUATL TERMS USED
WITH SOME FREQUENCY *

<i>altepetl</i>	kingdom, city state
<i>altepetl tlayacatl</i>	kingdom, large subdivision within a complex altepetl
<i>calpulli</i>	"barrio", see calpultlaxilacalli
<i>calpultlaxilacalli</i>	barrio, district, jurisdiction; subdivision within a tlayacatl
<i>Chichimeca teuhctli</i> *	Chichimeca lord (royal title)
<i>cihuapillatoani</i>	noblewoman-ruler, queen
<i>cihuapilli</i> , pl. <i>cihuapipiltin</i>	noblewoman, lady
<i>cihuatl</i> ; poss. <i>icihuauh</i>	woman; his wife
<i>cihuatlatoani</i> , pl. <i>cihuatlatoque</i>	woman-ruler, queen
<i>huehuetlatolli</i>	ancient story, historical accounts
<i>huehuetque</i>	elders, ancestors
<i>hueltiuhtli</i>	"elder sister"
<i>huexiuhtli</i>	co-parents-in-law
<i>icalpanpilhuan</i>	children of a concubine
<i>macehualli</i> , pl. <i>macehualtin</i>	commoner
<i>mecatl</i> ; poss. <i>imecauh</i>	cord, rope; his concubine
<i>pilli</i> , pl. <i>pipiltin</i>	noble, nobleman
<i>teohua teuhctli</i> *	divinity-possessor lord (royal title)
<i>teuhctlatoani</i>	lord-king; subordinate ruler
<i>tlatoani</i> , pl. <i>tlatoque</i>	king, ruler
<i>tlatocacihuapilli</i>	kingly noblewoman, queen
<i>tlatocatlacamecayotl</i>	royal genealogy
<i>tlatocayotl</i>	kingship, rulership
<i>tlaxilacalli</i>	see calpultlaxilacalli

* Nahuatl terms following personal names of nobles often indicate a royal title or office; unfortunately, literal translations seldom convey exact meanings.