

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY STRUCTURE IN EARLY COLONIAL TEPETLAOZTOC:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CÓDICE SANTA MARÍA ASUNCIÓN

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The *Códice de Santa María Asunción*, together with the closely related *Codex Vergara*, constitute the most detailed and extensive house record of náhuatl speaking communities in the Valley of Mexico in early post-conquest times. Although organized somewhat differently, both códices contain three distinct registers of information: a census by household (*tlacatlacuiloli*); a description of each household's landholdings, which includes perimeter measurement, general shape, and soil type (*milcocoli*); a second register of the same lands which records the quantity of land in each parcel depicted (*tlahuelmantli*). Both documents have been known to scholars for more than a century, but only recently has systematic analysis been undertaken on the economic and social implication of their contents. This paper is concerned with an analysis of household composition in the *Códice de Santa María Asunción*, the more ample of the two census-cadastral documents.

As had long been thought, both codices pertain to Tepetlaoztoc, a few kilometers northeast of Texcoco, but now definitively established by ethnographic fieldwork and research in local archives (Williams and Harvey n. d.). The name Tepetlaoztoc was written on two folios of the *Codex Vergara* (f. 21r, f. 22r), thus providing the most direct evidence suggesting its relationship to that jurisdiction. There is no comparable notation in the *Códice de Santa María Asunción*, but the later, like the *Codex Vergara*, also contains the signatures of Pedro Vázquez de Vergara, the colonial official involved in the Oztoticpac land litigation (Cline, 1966) and who, as Gibson noted (1964:543), had been ordered to go to Tepetlaoztoc in 1543. The Indians of that jurisdiction were restive under their avaricious and oppressive encomendero Gonzalo de Salazar. By Indian account, it was Vergara's responsibility to adjust their heavy burden of tribute. His picture and name glyphs appear in the Codex Kingsborough

(Paso y Troncoso 1912: f. 229r), recalling his earlier appearance in another native pictorial manuscript from the Acolhua area, Humboldt Fragment vi (Seler 1904: Plate xi; Cline 1966: 107).

Pictorial records of lands and their proprietors appear to have been routine components of the paperwork of preconquest Mexico that continued well into the colonial period. Their maintenance was the responsibility of the *calpulli* (ward) head. According to Zorita, "This principal... has pictures on which are shown all the parcels, and the boundaries, and where and with whose fields the lots meet, and who cultivates what field, and what land each one has. ...The Indians continually alter these pictures according to the changes worked by time..." (Zorita 1963:110).

Both codices are drawn on European paper, which measures approximately thirty-one by twenty-two centimeters, and record their census and cadastral information in native hieroglyphs. Both were updated by the addition of Spanish and Nahuatl glosses. These notations sometimes contain dates for the modifications noted, thus providing some empirical information as to how long the documents continued to be used as originally intended. The latest date recorded is 1575 on the *Asunción Codex* in association with notations in Nahuatl of the barrio of Asunción Cuauhtepoztla's boundaries. At this point in time, the codex appears to have served as or in conjunction with a title document. The earliest date reported, also in the *Asunción Codex* is 1521 (f. 1v and 35v). However, the *Asunción Codex* was probably drafted circa 1545 (Harvey and Williams 1980:499).

The *Códice de Santa María Asunción* was once part of the Olaúbel collection and cited by Peñafiel as a source for place glyphs (Glass 1975:88). The document is presently in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico and consists of 80 leaves. The *Codex Vergara*, once part of the Boturini collection, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The first leaf of the *Asunción Codex* is missing, but it is preserved on microfilm. It contains the interesting directive that the document is to be kept in Chimalpan. The barrio of San Jerónimo Chimalpa was once very prominent in Tepetlaoztoc, but seems to have disappeared as an operational entity by the latter 19th century.

The *Asunción Codex* contains census and cadastral information on eleven localities: Cuauhtepoztla, Tlancomulco, Tecontla, Tlanchiuhca, Tlancozac, Chiauhtenco, Chiauhtlan, Cuitlahuac, Tlattecahuacan, Concotlan, and Zapotlan. A twelfth locality, Huiznahuac, was included in the scope of the codex, but is missing a census and

milcocoli section. The milcocoli and one page of the tlahueltmantli sections are also missing from Tlancomulco. It is perhaps not fortuitous that two complete milcocoli cadastral sections dominate the list of missing pages, since it is in those sections that individual properties are described in detail. The *Codex Vergara*, by contrast, appears more complete with its 55 leaves of census and cadastral coverage of five localities, but it, too, is missing some pages.

The format of these códices is consistent with the vigesimal system which dominated arithmetical thinking in ancient Mexico. That is, five households are enumerated on each leaf, so that four leaves constitute an administrative unit of twenty households. (Figure 1) The functionally significant economic unit among the commoners was invariably the household, rather than the individual or family. The household head was responsible for payment of tribute assessed his/her domestic unit. Usually, it is only the household head whose personal name glyphs are noted. His or her name glyph(s) appears beside the household's property in the milcocoli and tlahueltmantli sections. Thus, the household head is the common link between the separate registers of information.

In the census register, much information is effectively communicated with a minimum of hieroglyphs. In the left margin are the name glyph(s) of the head connected by a line to a house (*calli*) glyph. Glyphs for persons include adult or tribute-paying males, married women (shown with braids), boys (short hair), girls (with *huipil* or upper section of torso), infants (with the cradle board). Sex is distinguished among infants by adding a *huipil* glyph to the cradle board glyph. Affinity and consanguinity are indicated by red or black lines connecting various individuals. Spouses are indicated by the conjugal pair facing each other. Elderly persons are shown with wrinkled faces; deceased, by blackened faces. Dots indicate sick, and occasionally, widows/ers are indicated by a tear. A difference in roof type may convey ethnicity, and a footprint can indicate migration (Williams 1984; Offner 1984).

The system's primary efficiency is in simply and effectively denoting the household head and his/her nuclear family of procreation. The system is weakest in its inability to indicate the precise relationship of persons other than the nuclear family members to the household head or his/her spouse. The fact that some of these were later glossed in Náhuatl points to the inadequacy of glyphic writing in this respect. In the *Asunción Codex*, forty consanguinal or affinal relatives of the household head were glossed, 4.1% of the total

population included in the Codex. The most frequent relative glossed (thirteen) was brother (*teicauh*), followed by mother, *nantzin* (nine), and nephew/niece, *machtli* (seven). Proportionately more individuals, forty-seven or 8.4%, were glossed in the *Codex Vergara*. In this codex, the most frequent were nephew/niece (eight) and mother-in-law, *ymona* (eight), closely followed by brother (seven) and mother (six). Clearly, the age group, sex, civil status and number of persons that constituted the household was of primary interest to the census taker.

Two other types of information were also added at a later time. The most extensive class of information consists of Spanish glosses of Christian names, indicating that virtually everyone censused in the two códices had been baptised. Perhaps this sacrament had not been performed when the códices were initially compiled or the scribe was illiterate in cursive writing. Secondly, deceased persons, as previously noted, were indicated by blackened faces. Over half of the persons depicted in the two documents were blackened, a dramatic statement of Tepetlaoztoc's high mortality after the documents were drawn. Fray Domingo de Betanzos' letter of September, 1545 stating 14,000 had died suggests that the epidemic that began in that year hit Tepetlaoztoc particularly hard (García Icazbalceta 1971:200). There is no direct evidence as to when the mortality factor was added to the códices, but some time depth in the updating is evident from the glossed individuals. Many have blackened faces, which strongly suggests that they died after they were glossed. Thus, three general time horizons based on the analysis of the glyphs and glosses can be discerned: 1) survey of the sixteen communities resulting in the preparation of at least the census sections (tlacatlacuiloli); 2) glossing of Christian names following or at the time of baptism. Analysis of the handwriting suggests the glosses of relatives and various remarks in Náhuatl, e.g. "ypalnemi"—"he lives with him" (Vergara, f. 3v; Offner 1984:135) were added at the same time; 3) blackening the faces of individuals in the sample, but possibly on a continuous or routine basis as they died. There appears to be variation in the intensity of the pigment suggesting that faces were not all blackened at the same time. Occasional dates from 1550 to 1575, when specific properties were reassigned, indicate that the *Asunción Codex* continued in use on a somewhat regular basis for three decades after it was drawn. There are no such helpful indicators of continuing land transfers in the *Codex Vergara*, although a notation beside the house lot (*callalli*) of Pedro Teçihuauh de Cas-

tila, 12r:1, "terra del litigio de Chavería" (land of Chavería's litigation) demonstrates that the *Codex Vergara* had some use long after it was drawn. A notation on a 1607 map of a portion of Tepetlaoztoc states Chavería's claim to Cala Tlaxoxiuhco, not just Pedro Teçihuaauh de Castila's parcel(s) (AGN Tierras 2739; Williams, 1983). The differential use of the two códices may explain why mortality is significantly greater in the *Asunción* document (69.4%) than in the *Vergara* (46.2%). Judging by the physical condition of the two pictorial manuscripts, the *Codex Vergara* does not appear to have been consulted as frequently as the *Asunción Codex*, whose pages, for example, show wear in the lower right hand corner of the recto side from repeated turning of pages.

Pictorial documents similar to the Tepetlaoztoc cadastrals quite possibly preceded the Tepoztlan materials translated from the Náhuatl and analyzed by Pedro Carrasco (Carrasco 1964, 1966, 1972, 1976). These documents contain a community by community, house by house listing of all the occupants and state their relationship to the household head. They also give the quantity of land possessed by each in *quauitl*, the most frequent native land measure in Acolhuacan cadastrals. They occasionally include miscellaneous information on "deaths, new births, marriages, additions to or departures from the household, and breakups of the family into separate households" (Carrasco 1964:186). The foregoing recalls the information contained in the census and tlahueltmantli registers of the *Asunción* and *Vergara* códices, including the later addition of miscellaneous notes. But, the Morelos documents are significantly different in that they give the precise kinship connection with the household head for a very broad range of consanguinal and affinal relatives, the status of unrelated dependents, the age of the eldest child of each couple, and the tribute paid by the households. Although the Tepetlaoztoc cadastrals contain many of the critical facts for the estimation of tribute assessed (males and females of tribute age with the amount of land held and their marital status), the actual tribute paid in product and service is not included.

Household Organization in the Asunción Codex:

There are 186 households in the census sections of the *Asunción Codex*. In analyzing these, I have used the same typology employed by Offner in his careful analysis of household composition in the *Codex Vergara*. This not only facilitates comparison between seg-

ments of Tepetlaoztoc's population, but also with other localities where early quantitative data on household composition are available (Table 1).

The basic unit in the household was the household head's nuclear family of procreation. To this might be added "adopted and/or stepchildren, or the remnants of such families" (Offner 1984:136). It should be recalled that mortality was high in Tepetlaoztoc even before the onset of the 1545 epidemic. Remarriages of people whose spouses had died were probably commonplace. These remarriages, and hence the status of any children shown, are not specifically stated in native glyphs but can sometimes be inferred from the connecting line indicating probable parenthood. For example, in Toribio Tecolotl's household, the child Ana would appear to be the daughter of María, Toribio's wife, and hence Toribio's stepchild, while the boy Antonio is the issue of the conjugal pair (47r:4). We can call this household assemblage Type 1. There are a total of 87 Type 1 households, nearly half (47%) of the sample.

Type 2 households consist of the head's nuclear family plus nephews and/or nieces with one of their surviving parents. It appears from other data that it was not uncommon for persons to join the household of a sibling or sibling-in-law when their spouse died and their children with them. But, there are only 5 Type 2 households in the sample. There is only one instance of Type 2a, a variant which contains married nephews/nieces with or without offspring. The evidence necessary to distinguish Type 2 and its variant from other Types consists of Náhuatl glosses which, as noted, were added after the document was originally drawn. For example, Juan Nehualecatl, household head (4r:5), is shown having three children in his nuclear family. The first child Pedro, who would be the eldest of three because of the convention of following an older to younger sequence in such a context, is glossed as nephew (*ymach*). In another instance, Damian Techahua's household (55r:1) contains three single tribute age consanguinal relatives. One, Diego is glossed as a nephew and, except for the footprint indicating that he had recently joined the household or else had left the household, is otherwise indistinguishable in kinship status relative to the head than is Juana and Juan, who precede him in the sequence. Type 2 households are only 3% of the total.

Type 3 households are made up of the head's nuclear family plus single (unmarried or widowed) consanguinal or affinal relatives and/or non-relatives not included in Type 2. For example, Luís Oce-

Table 1: TYPES OF HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION IN THE ASUNCIÓN CODEX

| <i>Type 1</i> | <i>Type 2</i> | <i>Type 3</i> | <i>Type 4</i> | <i>Type 5</i> | <i>Type 6</i> | <i>Type 7</i> | <i>Type 8</i> |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1r:1 | 34r:1 | 4r:5 | 1r:2 | 4r:4 | 2r:5 | 1r:4 | 48v:3 |
| 1r:5 | 34r:4 | 40v:4 | 1v:4 | 4v:3 | 47v:1 | 3r:1 | 5v:3 |
| 1v:1 | 34v:1 | 47r:1 | 2r:2 | 5v:4 | 47v:2 | 3r:3 | 6r:5 |
| 1v:2 | 34v:2 | 55r:1 | 2r:4 | 6r:3 | 48r:3 | 3v:3 | 7r:3 |
| 1v:4 | 34v:3 | 55r:3 | 2v:1 | 42r:4 | 49r:1 | 4v:2 | 32v:4 |
| 2r:1 | 34v:4 | | 2v:2 | 49r:4 | | 5r:4 | 34r:2 |
| 2r:3 | 34v:5 | Type 2a | 3v:5 | 51v:2 | | 5v:2 | 40v:5 |
| 2v:3 | 35r:1 | | 4r:2 | | | 7r:4 | 41r:3 |
| 2v:4 | 35r:4 | 33v:4 | 4r:3 | | | 32v:1 | 48r:1 |
| 2v:5 | 40v:1 | | 4v:4 | | | 33r:3 | 48r:2 |
| 3r:2 | 40v:2 | | 4v:5 | | | 33r:5 | 48r:5 |
| 3r:4 | 41r:1 | | 5v:1 | | | 33v:1 | 48v:2 |
| 3r:5 | 41r:2 | | 6r:1 | | | 33v:2 | 48v:5 |
| 3v:1 | 41r:4 | | 6v:2 | | | 34r:3 | 49r:3 |
| 3v:2 | 41r:5 | | 7v:5 | | | 34r:5 | 51r:5 |
| 3v:4 | 41v:1 | | 8r:2 | | | 35r:2 | 52r:1 |
| 4r:1 | 41v:2 | | 8r:3 | | | 35r:3 | 52r:5 |
| 4v:1 | 41v:4 | | 33r:2 | | | 47r:2 | 53r:5 |
| 5r:1 | 41v:5 | | 40v:3 | | | 47v:4 | |
| 5r:2 | 42r:2 | | 41v:3 | | | 50r:2 | |
| 5r:3 | 42r:3 | | 42r:1 | | | 51r:1 | |
| 5r:5 | 42v:2 | | 42v:1 | | | 51r:3 | |
| 5v:5 | 42v:3 | | 47r:5 | | | 51v:3 | |
| 6r:2 | 47r:3 | | 50r:1 | | | 52r:2 | |
| 6r:4 | 47r:4 | | 50r:3 | | | 53r:1 | |
| 6v:1 | 47v:3 | | 50v:2 | | | 53r:4 | |
| 6v:3 | 47v:5 | | 50v:3 | | | 54r:2 | |
| 6v:4 | 48r:4 | | 51r:2 | | | 54r:4 | |
| 6v:5 | 48v:1 | | 54r:3 | | | 54r:5 | |
| 7r:1 | 48v:4 | | | | | | |
| 7r:2 | 49r:2 | | | | | | |
| 7r:5 | 49r:5 | | | | | | |
| 7v:1 | 49v:1 | | | | Type 6a | | |
| 7v:2 | 50r:4 | | | | 1r:3 | | |
| 7v:3 | 50r:5 | | | | | | |
| 7v:4 | 50v:1 | | | | | | |
| 8r:1 | 51r:4 | | | | | | |
| 32v:2 | 51v:1 | | | | | | |
| 32v:3 | 52r:3 | | | | | | |
| 32v:5 | 52r:4 | | | | | | |
| 33r:1 | 53r:2 | | | | | | |
| 33r:4 | 53r:3 | | | | | | |
| 33v:3 | 54r:1 | | | | | | |
| 33v:5 | 54v:2 | | | | | | |
| Total | 88 | 6 | 30 | 7 | 5 | 31 | 1 |
| Total | 47.4% | 3.3% | 16.2% | 3.8% | 2.7% | 16.7% | .6% |

lotl and his wife María (?) have a son, Domingo, plus Luís' younger unmarried adult brother (teicauh) and the unrelated boy, Juan, living in the household with them (4r:3). Type 3 households total 31 and are 17% of the sample.

Type 4 households consist of an unmarried or widowed household head plus one or more related and/or unrelated nuclear families. Many of the dependent nuclear family heads, five, are single also. The seven Type 4 households are 3% of the total.

Households in which married siblings and their spouses reside together total only five (2.7%) and are proportionally even rarer than the three in the Vergara communities (3.2%). These are the Type 5 households.

The Type 6 households contain two or more consanguinally related families. Most appear to be extended families, composed of the married child or children of the household head who sometimes have their own children. A variant, which can be considered Type 6a consists of a dependent couple plus a single adult male who is shown as related to the wife of the household head, perhaps her siblings, but maybe parents. A few in the group classified as Type 6 may actually be Type 5 households, but not definitely discernable without the clarification of Náhuatl glosses. Type 6 includes a total of 31 households and represents 16.7% of the household sample. This is in marked contrast to the Vergara sample in which only 7% are Type 6 households.

Offner found only three households in the *Codex Vergara* that he would classify as Type 7. These are households in which another nuclear family is only apparently related to the household head. This type is even rarer in the *Asunción Codex* where only one household fits this description.

Type 8 households contain the head's nuclear family plus another nuclear family whose relationship to the household head is not indicated by either a connecting line or a Náhuatl gloss. In the absence of positive evidence of a consanguinal or affinal connection, it must be assumed that none existed. Seventeen or 9.3% households are Type 8, a significant difference in frequency from the 21.1% in the Vergara sample.

Marriage and Residence of Married Couples:

There is not one instance of polygyny recorded in either the *Asunción Codex* or the *Codex Vergara*. While rare among com-

moners (*macehualtin*), it was not unknown since Carrasco reported five cases in Tlacateopan (Carrasco 1964:188). Remarriage after the death of a spouse was not uncommon. There is unequivocal evidence in both of the Tepetlaoztoc cadastrals that widows and widowers remarried.

Neolocal residence was the predominant pattern in the communities of the *Asunción Codex*. When a couple did marry and join another household, patrilocal residence prevailed, with 77.2% having patrivirilocal preferences and 19.3% patriuxorilocal ones. The latter is stated glyphically when the wife occupies the left position in the depiction of a conjugal pair, rather than the normal sequence of husband-wife, when her links are clearly with her male consanguinal relative, who is household head.

Non-family Households:

There is only one non-family household in the sixteen communities for which we have census records in Tepetlaoztoc (Table 2). This occurs in Cala Tlaxoxiuhco, 4r:4, and is a single woman, unquestionably a widow, who is shown with facial blemishes indicating that she was sick at the time the census was taken. The low incidence of such households is not surprising in terms of Carrasco's data. In Tlacateopan, there were only four non-family households, .2% of the total. Death of a spouse or abandonment could create such a situation, but as Carrasco says, these were "clearly unstable situations" (Carrasco 1964:191).

Consanguinal Households:

There are nine households with no married couples in the *Asunción Codex*. They are 4.9% of the total, and involve 3.5% of the population, just as in the Vergara communities. Two-thirds are small, with three persons or less. They average 3.667, and three have no adult women. In two, the dependent females are glossed as mothers (*nantzin*) of the single male head of household (49r:4; 49r:5). In one (42r:3), the female household head is glossed "widow" and the two consanguinally related males, one of tributary age, are probably her sons. The head of household 6r:3 is shown with a tear, possibly indicating that his wife died recently. Two of the other six members of that household are tributary-age males, perhaps the head's two eldest children. Purely consanguinal family households

were even rarer in Tlacateopan with only 2.5% of the households and 2.2% of the total population of that community.

Nuclear family households:

Although household organization included a broad range of basic types, it is obvious that nuclear family households prevailed in Tepetlaoztoc in the 1540's. They accounted for 62% of the total domestic units and 51.2% of the population. These figures are very close to Carrasco's findings among the Ward people in Tlacateopan, 63.8% and 52.6% respectively, and they contrast sharply with the preference in household composition expressed by the Cacique's subjects in that community, as well as in neighboring Molotla (Carrasco 1964:191; 1976:47). Considering the relatively small sample size in Tepetlaoztoc, the differences with Tlacateopan and Molotla are negligible, but the similarity in organization is even more striking when only the *Asunción Codex* communities, with 66.2% of their households and 54.2% of their population, are compared with Tlacateopan's Ward people. The common denominator between the two populations is the calpulli. The Cacique's subjects were renters (mayeques), perhaps the status shared by the land holders of some or most of the households in the Vergara.

There is a notation on the tlahueltmantli section of Topotitla (f. 21r) that the lands and houses of that community belonged to one Agustín de Rosas. Perhaps the same ownership status of lands and houses prevailed in other communities of the Vergara group. In 1551, the Indians of Tepetlaoztoc showed Doctor Quesada a tribute document which listed 1667 people, 26% of Tepetlaoztoc's population, as renters of the governor and principal men (AGI: Justicia, leg. 151, f. 68r-75r; leg. 159, f. 41v-45v). This also helps to explain why there are no land reassignments in the Vergara, as previously noted, and why genealogical relationships are in red ink in the Vergara, while the vast majority in the *Asunción Codex* are drawn in black ink. Red lines, in other words, may be the scribe's way of glyphically stating the tenant (mayeque) status of the household.

Not only did nuclear family households prevail in the communities of the *Asunción Codex*, but they were small. Eleven households (6%) consisted of a conjugal pair only. The other 112 nuclear family households averaged only 4.429 persons per unit. This is significantly smaller than the average, 5.447, in the Vergara group

Table 2: HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY TYPES

| <i>Family Types</i> | Combined Total | | | | <i>Asunción Codex</i> | | | | <i>Codex Vergara</i> | | | |
|--|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | number of households | percentage | population | percentage | number of households | percentage | population | percentage | number of households | percentage | population | percentage |
| I. Non-family households | 1 | .35 | | | 1 | 1.1 | 1 | 1.1 | 1 | | | |
| II. Purely consanguinal families | 14 | 5.0 | 53 | 3.5 | 9 | 4.9 | 33 | 3.5 | 5 | 5.3 | 20 | 3.5 |
| III. Nuclear families-Total | 174 | 62.0 | 782 | 51.2 | 123 | 66.2 | 518 | 54.2 | 51 | 53.7 | 264 | 46.2 |
| a. purely conjugal | 15 | 5.9 | 30 | 2.0 | 11 | 6.0 | 22 | 2.3 | 4 | 4.3 | 8 | 1.4 |
| b. couple with children and/or other relatives | 159 | 56.6 | 752 | 49.3 | 112 | 60.3 | 496 | 51.9 | 47 | 49.5 | 256 | 44.8 |
| IV. Joint families-Total | 92 | 32.8 | 692 | 45.3 | 54 | 29.1 | 405 | 42.4 | 38 | 40.0 | 287 | 50.2 |
| a. with 2 couples | 81 | 28.9 | 582 | 38.1 | 47 | 25.3 | 331 | 34.7 | 34 | 35.8 | 251 | 43.9 |
| b. with 3 couples | 11 | 4.0 | 110 | 7.2 | 7 | 3.8 | 74 | 7.8 | 4 | 4.3 | 36 | 6.3 |
| TOTAL | 281 | | 1528 | | 186 | | 956 | | 95 | | 572 | |

of communities, but it does compare closely with Tlacateopan's 4.386 persons per nuclear family household.

Joint family households:

Half of the population (50.2%) in the communities of the *Codex Vergara* lived in joint family households, but only 42.4% of those in the *Asunción Codex* lived in joint family units. This recalls the situation among the Ward people of Tlacateopan, where 44.7% of the population lived in joint family households (Carrasco 1964:191). It is in marked contrast to the predominance of multi-family units among the cacique's subjects in Tlacateopan which accounted for 71.8% of the population in that community and the strong preference for such household organization in Molotla where 81% of the population lived in joint family units (Carrasco 1976:62).

In the *Asunción Codex*, fifty-four households had two or more nuclear families, but even these joint family units were small, averaging 7.5 persons per unit. There is no appreciable difference in the Vergara communities in this regard with 7.553 persons per unit, nor with Tlacateopan with an average of 7.349 (Carrasco 1964:191). Molotla's joint families, however, were appreciably larger with an average of 9.326 persons per unit (Carrasco 1976:62). For Tenochtitlan, Calnek feels that households contained even more persons per unit, perhaps averaging 10 to 15 individuals of all ages (Calnek 1972:111).

The overwhelming majority of joint family households in the *Asunción Codex* had only two couples (87.1%), about the same frequency as in the Vergara group (89.5%). Perhaps of greater significance, however, is the fact that the remaining multifamily households were limited to three couples per unit. Contrasting with this pattern, fifty households or 21.3% of the sample in Tlacateopan contained more than two married couples, while eight households contained four couples, and one had five (Carrasco 1976: 62). In Molotla where 36.7% of all joint families contained three or more married couples, the range was even greater, with one household having six married couples (Carrasco 1976:49). For Tenochtitlan, Calnek reports the same range in married couples per unit 1972:111.

As Table 3 indicates, the overall average in the communities of the *Asunción Codex* is 1.275 couples per household and there is little range of variation in those eleven localities. The Vergara group averages 1.39 married couples per unit overall, reflecting the

Table 3

HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION STATISTICS

Código de Santa María Asunción:

| LOCALITY | Hshlds | Pop | Married Couples | Pop/ hshld | Couples/ hshld |
|----------------|--------|-----|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Cuahtepoztla | 73 | 365 | 85 | 5 | 1.165 |
| Tlancomulco | 29 | 159 | 40 | 5.48 | 1.38 |
| Tecontla | 22 | 92 | 22 | 4.18 | 1.00 |
| Tlanchiuhca | 15 | 91 | 25 | 6.06 | 1.667 |
| Tlancozac | 11 | 63 | 13 | 5.72 | 1.182 |
| Chiauhtenco | 8 | 45 | 9 | 5.625 | 1.125 |
| Chiauhtlan | 8 | 45 | 11 | 5.625 | 1.375 |
| Cuitlahuac | 5 | 33 | 9 | 6.6 | 1.8 |
| Tlaltecahuacan | 5 | 28 | 8 | 5.6 | 1.6 |
| Concotlan | 6 | 31 | 8 | 5.16 | 1.334 |
| Zapotlan | 4 | 34 | 7 | 8.5 | 1.75 |
| TOTALS | 186 | 986 | 237 | 5.273 | 1.275 |

Codex Vergara:

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----|-----|------|------|
| Callatlaxoxiuhco | 32 | 175 | 43 | 5.47 | 1.34 |
| Topotitla | 9 | 59 | 10 | 6.56 | 1.11 |
| Teocaltitla | (a) 7 | 59 | 14 | 8.43 | 2.00 |
| | (b) 7 | 49 | 11 | 7.00 | 1.57 |
| Patlachiuhca | 12 | 64 | 15 | 5.33 | 1.25 |
| Texcalticpac | 35 | 238 | 50 | 6.80 | 1.43 |
| TOTALS | (a) * | 95 | 566 | 132 | 6.26 |
| | (b) | 95 | 555 | 129 | 6.16 |

* Row (a), both for Teocaltitla and for the totals, results from an assumption that 27r:2,3,4, and 5 are all one household; row (b) is the result of excluding 27r:3,4, and 5 from the analysis altogether. (Offner 1984:144)

significantly larger mean number of persons per household, and, in turn, its relatively stronger preference for joint family domestic units.

Status of household members:

Most of the household heads in the Asunción communities were married males (93.1%). Two households, however, had married

female heads (1.1%). The remaining households had single heads, of which nine were males, and two were females. The latter were clearly widows, while most of the single males were probably also widowed.

The households with married female heads (34v:5; 52r:4) were nuclear family units. In one, Cecilia, the head and land holder, and her husband Lucas Chochol, had five children who ranged in age from an unmarried tributeage daughter to an infant daughter. On the other, while the land is held by Lucía, the household and family head, her husband Toribio is apparently landless, but is shown with a name glyph. Perhaps he does have land, but in another community. Two other households with female heads (42r:3, 4) are each glossed widows (yncocihuatl) and both contain an adult male, head's son and son-in-law (?).

Most dependent family heads in the larger joint family households were land holders. One dependent family head in this group, Luis Tecuani (48r:4), had a name gloss as if he were a land owner, but he is not listed in either the milcocoli or tlahuelmantli. He is, however, connected by a dotted line to Pedro Techama's house, suggesting that he had recently joined that household and if he did not already have his own lands in another locality, he was in line to be assigned property in Tlanchiuhca.

There is one case of a female head of a dependent nuclear family who is a land holder (32v:1). In a similar instance of patriuxorilocal residence involving a female head of a dependent nuclear family with separate lands, it is the husband that is recorded as the land holder (1r:4). In this same household, the male head of another dependent nuclear family holds land, as does an unmarried adult male. With fourteen members, this is also the largest household in the *Asunción Codex* (Table 4). Neither household nor nuclear family size appears to account for the reason some dependent family heads and, at times, even unmarried adults are land holders (1r:4; 51r:5; 53r:1; 53r:5; 54r:5), while some are not.

Of the sixty-two dependent nuclear families, 79.1% have male heads, and 44.9% of these male heads are land holders, with lands that are clearly separate from those of the household head. The remaining thirteen (21%) have female heads, but as previously noted, only one of them is a land holder. In those instances of patriuxorilocal residence, we do not know the land status of the husband's family of orientation or with whom he resided before marriage, but inadequate land resources at home could have been

Table 4

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

| <i>Number of Households</i> | <i>Persons per Households</i> |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 0 | 1 |
| 13 | 2 |
| 24 | 3 |
| 37 | 4 |
| 41 | 5 |
| 23 | 6 |
| 19 | 7 |
| 12 | 8 |
| 11 | 9 |
| 1 | 10 |
| 0 | 11 |
| 3 | 12 |
| 1 | 13 |
| 1 | 14 |

a factor influencing a male's decision to reside with his wife's agnatic kin.

Twenty-seven households (11.6%) contain dependent childless couples. Of these, five (18.6%) have their own lands: 1r:4; 3v:3; 32v:1; 54r:4; 55r:1. This, together with those instances of unmarried land-holding adults, suggests that land assignments were not primarily dependent on marital status or the fact of having children to support, nor on the establishment of a new independent household.

Most of the dependent land holders, married or single, a relative of the household head or not, probably gave their portion of the household's tribute assessment to the head. But, as Carrasco reported for Molotla, a few households in Tepetlaoztoc may have had two or more persons who directly paid their tribute (1976:56).

Altogether, there were 583 persons of tribute-age in the communities constituting the *Asunción Codex*. This represents 59.2% of the total population of those communities. As Table 5 indicates, the mean of tributeage persons was 3.135 per household. Most remarkable in this sample, they were equally split between the two sexes.

Four households (2.2%) have dependent families with callis (houses) and separate lands (1v:3; 48r:2; 48r:4; 52r:1). This may be a way of glyphically stating the Nahuatl term *cemithualtin* ("people

Table 5

TRIBUTE AGE PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD

| Locality | Total Males | Average per Hh | Total Females | Average per Hh | Total | Average per Hh | Percent Total |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|------------------|
| Cuauhtepoztla | 108 | 1.48 | 106 | 1.452 | 214 | 2.932 | 58.7 |
| Tlancomulco | 43 | 1.48 | 46 | 1.587 | 89 | 3.067 | 56.0 |
| Tecontla | 28 | 1.27 | 32 | 1.43 | 60 | 2.7 | 65.3 |
| Tlanchiuhca | 30 | 2.0 | 28 | 1.867 | 58 | 3.867 | 63.8 |
| Tlancozcac | 16 | 1.45 | 19 | 1.728 | 35 | 3.178 | 55.6 |
| Chiauhtenco | 12 | 1.5 | 13 | 1.625 | 25 | 3.125 | 55.6 |
| Chiauhtlan | 14 | 1.75 | 13 | 1.625 | 27 | 3.375 | 60.0 |
| Cuitlahuac | 10 | 2.0 | 9 | 1.8 | 19 | 3.8 | 57.6 |
| Tlaltecahuacan | 10 | 2.0 | 8 | 1.6 | 18 | 3.6 | 64.3 |
| Concotlan | 10 | 1.667 | 9 | 1.5 | 19 | 3.167 | 61.3 |
| Zapotlan | 11 | 2.2 | 8 | 1.6 | 19 | 3.8 | 55.9 |
| | 292 | 1.57 | 291 | 1.565 | 583 | 3.135 | 59.2 |

of one yard"), what Carrasco has called a compound (Carrasco 1976: 58). If so, the .6% incidence in the Asunción communities is in striking contrast to the 31% occurrence in Molotla.

In one of the four households with two callis (48r:2), the dependent family's house is shown with a thatched roof, whereas the household head's house is the standard flat roofed house. While it is a rare example of a multifamily household with two callis, it is a unique occurrence of the two variants appearing in the same household, and quite likely indicates families with different ethnic affinities. Twenty-two households, 11.9%, clustered in four localities of the *Asunción Codex* have such roofs: Cuauhtepoztla, Tlanchiuhca, Tlancozcac and Chiauhtenco. In Huiznahuac, the frequency of occurrence of this house type, 42.2%, is even greater. This type of house also occurs in two communities of the *Codex Vergara*: Patlachihua (58.4%) and Texcalticpac (22.9%) (Offner 1984:143). It is most significant that when thatched roofed houses occur, they are clustered together in the community. In the *Asunción Codex*, the 118 people who live in such houses average 5.13 persons per household, about the same as the overall average in the eleven communities. Offner also found that the households with thatched roofs averaged 6.9 persons, which closely approximated the overall average in the *Codex Vergara*. He felt that these distinctive houses might

huc magi magi magi magi



magi leguntur Iam magi leguntur magi



magi leguntur Iam magi leguntur magi leguntur magi leguntur magi leguntur magi leguntur



pablo magi leguntur magi leguntur magi leguntur magi leguntur



huc magi magi magi magi magi



Juan maguñami
Juan maguñami

mp. de a. de a. m.
res. car. de a. de a. m.
del. de a. de a. m.

EDIFICIOS DE MEXICO

marcos de a. de a. m.
Juan maguñami

del. de a. de a. m.
Juan maguñami

p. de a. de a. m.
Juan maguñami
del. de a. de a. m.
Juan maguñami

Figure 1. Ten households from the *Códice de Santa María Asunción*, ff. 1v-2r. The first two households on Folio 1v are typical nuclear family households. In the first, Luis Huiciti is shown with his wife Magdalena, their son Antonio and an unmarried adult daughter Antonia. In the second, the head Marcos Hezmali and his wife Juana have three children: Marcos, Cecilia, and Martha. Both households are Type 1. The third household, that of Antonio Oyobal, his wife Juana and their three daughters, Cecilia, Martha, and Ynes constitute one nuclear family. Also listed as part of their household is an unrelated nuclear family headed by Juan Xochitonal, with his wife and daughter who are shown with a separate *calli* (house). This is Type 8. A nuclear family household follows. It contains the head, Pablo Macuilcoatl, and his wife Magdalena, their tribute-age son Diego and two small children. What is interesting is that Diego's surname "Cocyatl" is glossed, but the younger children are not. It is a Type 1 household. The last household on Folio 1v contains a nuclear family household headed by Juan Teqsol, that includes not only his wife María and their two children, Diego and Juana, but also a single, tribute-age male of unspecified relationship to him. This is a Type 3 household. The first household on Folio 2r is a nuclear family household headed by Juan Maçiuhnemi. He and his wife Ana have an unmarried adult son, Antonio, and two small children, a girl Juana, and a boy Marcos. It is a Type 1 household. The next household contains the head Antonio Hecachoca, his wife María, their son Albino and his single adult brother Juan Tequicalla (teicauh). It is a Type 3 household. The third household consists of Marcos Chilhua's nuclear family. It is Type 1. The fourth household contains the head, Juan Acalhuiz, his wife María, their son Gabriel, and his brother Diego. As in the previous instance, 2r:2, the gloss "teicauh" reveals the fraternal relationship. Finally, in the last household, Pedro Tlacochquiauh's nuclear family forms a joint household with his brother's (Juan Pantla) nuclear family. This illustrates the relatively rare occurrence of the fraternal joint family in the *Asunción Codex* and is a Type 5 household.

have reflected the Otomí component of the Tepetlaoztoc population (Offner 1984:143).

Three households are listed without callis. The household head of one, 54v:2, is shown with the place glyph of Texcoco, thus indicating out-migration. Neither does that person, Toribio Cohuana, have land. A second household, 7v:5, consisting of a nuclear family of three persons, is shown with a calli on the milcocoli (17r:4). Its omission on the census may be due to scribal error. Finally, the third case (51v:3) may also be scribal error either in forgetting to draw the calli beside Alonso Cuicatl, the household head, or possibly a dotted line showing his connection with the preceding household. There are, in fact, some scribal errors in the *Asunción Codex*, as Offner had noted in the Vergara (Offner 1984:134). One glaring error (51r:4) happened when the scribe drew the household head in place of the calli.

Conclusions:

In his analysis of the detailed house-by-house census data from Tepoztlan, Carrasco found that relatively small households of both nuclear and joint family types prevailed in the 1530's. A reading of some chroniclers such as López de Gómara and Las Casas would have indicated otherwise, and Carrasco cautiously suggested that "perhaps Tepoztlan had a simpler family structure than other areas" (1964:209). He noted that there were no other data sets available for comparison at the time. The *Asunción* and *Vergara* códices provide that comparative opportunity for approximately the same time period.

In the two Tepetlaoztoc códices, the majority of households, both nuclear and joint family types, are small, just as in Tepoztlán.

Carrasco's data also show that free commoners (calpuleque) had a more prevalent pattern of nuclear family households while the cacique's subjects (renters or mayeques) tended to have joint families. A similar pattern may have prevailed in Tepetlaoztoc also. The *Asunción Codex* is a census of ward people, and small nuclear family households predominate. In fact, the average family size is exactly the same as Carrasco's ward people. The relative importance of joint families in the Vergara households, while not as great as among the cacique's subjects of the Tlacateopan barrio of Tepoztlan, is significantly greater than in the *Asunción Codex* and a majority of the Vergara's population lives in joint family units. This suggests

a considerable portion of the Vergara's population was of renter status. The houses and lands of Topotitla, claimed Agustín de Rosas, is a case in point.

All communities in both samples had a mix of nuclear family and joint family households, but the latter type appears to have been more stable among members of the mayeque class. Some joint family units among renters and non-renters may be, as Carrasco has suggested, a reflection of temporary residence status following marriage. That is, dependent couples in joint family domestic units would establish a new household when circumstances (such as house and land) would permit and/or bride service requirements were met. Cook and Borah (1979:130) point out that the mean ratios of Carrasco's 14 communities in Morelos, 1.59 casados and 6.03 persons per household, closely correspond to those of the 278 communities of the Suma de Visitas that they analyzed. While the mean number of married couples per household is somewhat less in the Tepetlaoztoc communities than in the Morelos ones and the Suma, the mean number of persons per unit is about the same. The Tepetlaoztoc and Morelos data combined suggest that the dominant domestic unit of the free commoner was the nuclear family household, while joint family households were the prevalent domestic unit among the renters.

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