



Figure 15a. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, folios 29v–30r. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Women and political power

The inclusion and exclusion of noblewomen in Aztec pictorial histories

LORI BOORNAZIAN DIEL

Both before and after the conquest of Mexico, Nahuatl painted histories recorded the history and autonomy of specific communities; thus, they functioned as political documents, and the inclusion and/or exclusion of women in such histories must have served a political function. By the time of the Spanish conquest, Tenochtitlan, home of the Mexica people, was clearly the reigning force in the Aztec empire (fig. 1).¹ The second most powerful city was Texcoco, capital of the Acolhua domain, and the third was Tlacopan. Together the three headed what is called the Triple Alliance, a confederacy under which a number of secondary city-states were subjected (Carrasco 1999; cf. Gillespie 1998). Because the painted histories associated with Tenochtitlan virtually exclude women from imperial history, some argue that it is difficult to reconstruct the exact political role of Aztec noblewomen. Furthermore, because the existing pictorial histories were created after the conquest, we must question whether the absence of women is due to their diminishing status in colonial society or to their prior subordination under Aztec imperial rule.

Here, I examine representations, and lack thereof, of women in Aztec pictorial histories. I reveal that although women were generally absent from the pictorial annals histories associated with Tenochtitlan, they did play an important role in the histories of secondary communities. With a focus on the *Tira de Tepechpan*, I discuss the four primary roles played by women in Aztec politics—founding queen, Toltec ennobler, marriage alliance facilitator, and regent. A comparison of this history with

the pictorials from Texcoco and Tenochtitlan reveals that women became excluded from these latter histories once these cities gained imperial power. Because the extant pictorial histories are all postconquest works, I place them in their colonial contexts; in so doing, I show that the colonial nature of these works is not an adequate explanation for the exclusion of women from some pictorial histories.² Instead, I argue that women were important political assets for up-start and secondary communities and, as such, were included in these communities' histories. However, once a polity achieved political supremacy, women became potential threats to this supremacy and accordingly faded from these imperial histories.

Tira de Tepechpan

A number of prominent, named women are recorded in the *Tira de Tepechpan*, a sixteenth-century pictorial annals history created in Tepechpan, a rather small town located east of Lake Texcoco (figs. 2–10).³ A band of Aztec year-signs runs the length of the *Tira*, and the history of Tepechpan is recorded on the upper register, while the history of Tenochtitlan is located on the lower register. A number of artists and annotators contributed to the *Tira*, but here I focus on the first and primary artist of the *Tira*, henceforth called Tepechpan Artist A. Working fully within the Aztec tradition, Tepechpan Artist A painted the entire preconquest portion of the *Tira* as well as its colonial segment up to 1553, and it is

I wish to thank William Barnes, Elizabeth Boone, Emily Umberger, and an anonymous reviewer for generously taking the time to read and comment upon earlier drafts of this article. Also, a Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Grant supported my examination of the *Tira de Tepechpan* at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

1. Throughout this article, I use the term Aztec to refer to those polities subsumed within the Triple Alliance or Aztec empire, and to further distinguish the peoples of central Mexico, I use ethnic qualifiers (such as Mexica and Acolhua) when referring to specific polities.

2. I focus on pictorial histories rather than alphabetic chronicles because as visual records created in the traditional format, the pictorials convey different information than their textual counterparts and are closer to the indigenous mindset. For more on the potentials of pictorial language and the problems of its conversion into alphabetic text, see Klor de Alva (1989). Also, I focus on histories rather than genealogies; by emphasizing the city-state over the family, histories reveal more about the political roles of noblewomen.

3. For clarity, the illustrations of the *Tira* included here are based on a nineteenth-century lithograph (Aubin 1849–1851). Today, the *Tira* is held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, where I was generously permitted to examine the original. For a color reproduction of the entire *Tira*, see Noguez (1978:vol. 2).

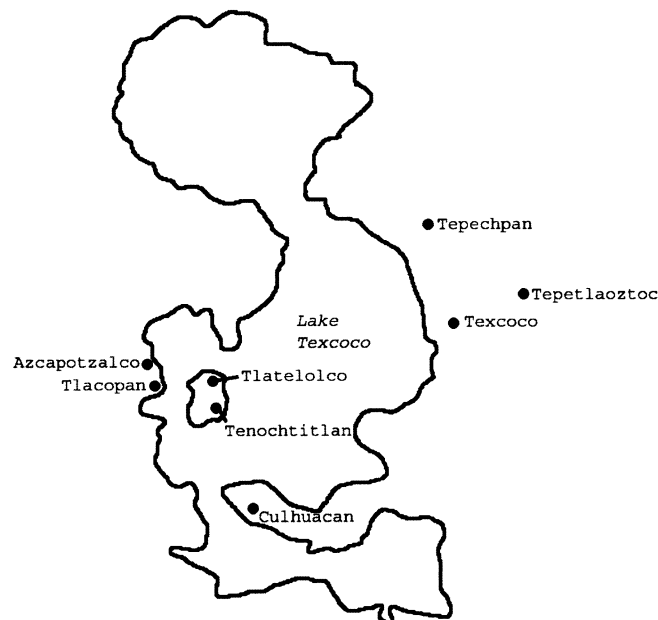


Figure 1. Map of cities surrounding Lake Texcoco, Valley of Mexico.

likely that he worked at or before this date (Diel 2002:81–82). Tepechpan was a relatively minor *altepetl* or city-state, and was one of fourteen towns subject to Texcoco, capital of the Acolhua domain; however, Artist A never directly mentions Texcoco in his history. Instead, this artist places Tepechpan in Texcoco's traditional role as principal ally of Tenochtitlan; he does so to glorify the status of the Tepechpan *altepetl* (Diel 2002). Artist A further glorifies the prestige of Tepechpan by including certain noblewomen in Tepechpan's history.

Tozquentzin, founding queen and Toltec ennobler

Artist A shows the people of Tepechpan as migrants to the Valley of Mexico. The first historical figure to appear on the upper, Tepechpan register is a man identified by an Eagle-Leg name glyph and an alphabetic gloss as Ixcicuauhtli (Eagle Leg; fig. 2). Standing above the year 1 Flint (1324), he carries a bow and arrows, which signal that he is a nomadic Chichimec, yet his status as a leader is revealed by the fact that he wears a turquoise diadem, called a *xihuitzollī*. Beside Ixcicuauhtli is a curved hill place glyph for Teoculhuacan (Sacred Place of Ancestors), a place typically associated with the Aztec migration. With this first appearance of the Tepechpan leader, the year disks change in color from blue to red. Artist A uses this device throughout the Tira to signal

changes in Tepechpan rule; with every shift in Tepechpan's leadership, the years themselves change color.

Ten years later at 11 Rabbit (1334), the color of the year disks change from red to green, signaling an important transition in Tepechpan's history, which is communicated by the accompanying representation (fig. 2). Identified by his familiar name glyph, Ixcicuauhtli is seated with knees drawn up in front, the typical pose of Aztec men in the pictographic system. He sits on a woven reed throne, called a *tepotzicpalli*, and he continues to wear the turquoise diadem. Throughout the Tira, the throne and diadem signify rule; thus, the representation is an accession statement and informs us that Ixcicuauhtli was officially seated in rule in this year.

In addition, Artist A includes details that mark this occasion also as the foundation of Tepechpan (Noguez 1978:1:46–51). For example, Ixcicuauhtli's throne rests on a bed of stone, which functions as the place glyph for Tepechpan (On the Stone Foundation); thus, it is clear that this event takes place in Tepechpan. Furthermore, the ruler, or *tlatonani*, sits within a personification of the earth, which is often associated with foundations in Acolhua manuscripts. Moreover, an Acolhua foundation is not complete without the presence of both a husband and wife, for the couple creates the lordly bloodline with their progeny (Boone 2000:194). Accordingly, Artist A includes Ixcicuauhtli's wife at the foundation, where she is shown above her husband. Seated in the kneeling pose typically associated with women in the Aztec pictorials, she wears a *huipil* and skirt, and her hair is braided and wrapped in the typical Aztec female coiffure, signaling her status as a married woman. Artist A records the name of this founding queen with a hieroglyph, and an alphabetic annotation specifically identifies her as a noblewoman named Tozquentzin (Yellow Feather Garment).⁴ Together, husband and wife initiate Tepechpan's ruling lineage, but more important, the founding queen secures the nobility of this lineage.⁵

Tozquentzin faces a representation of a decapitated bird and snake next to small pyramid; this composition signifies a ritual animal sacrifice associated with the act

4. The full gloss reads, "Y tepechpan altepetl tlatohuanin yxiquauhtli ycihuauh tozquetzin cihuapilin" (The Tepechpan *altepetl*, the *tlatonani* Ixcicuauhtli, his wife Tozquentzin, a noblewoman), translations by author. It should be noted that this scribe uses a variant nasal; he inserts some n's where they are not necessary and omits others that are necessary.

5. I use the term queen in its most general sense to mean wife of the ruler.

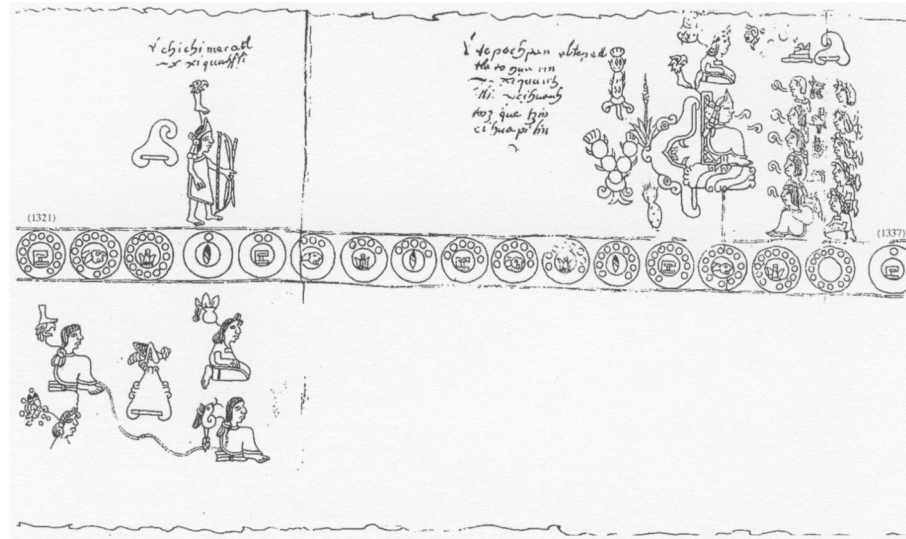


Figure 2. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 11 House (1321)—1 House (1337). After Aubin (1849–1851).

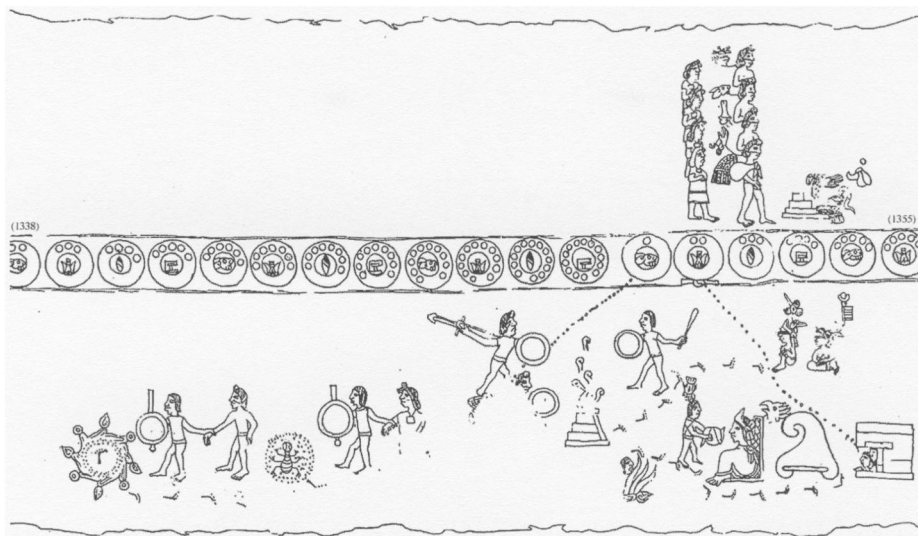


Figure 3. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 2 Rabbit (1338)—6 Reed (1355). After Aubin (1849–1851).

of foundation (Noguez 1978:1:50). Behind the temple is the place glyph for Culhuacan (Place of Ancestors), whose curved hill points toward the left, directing attention back to Tozquentzin. Placed on the same level as Tozquentzin, the Culhuacan place glyph must refer to her homeland. Chichimec tribal leaders often took founding wives from Culhuacan because of its associations with the ancient, noble Toltecs. Because the

male founders were migrant Chichimecs, they needed to marry noblewomen with Toltec blood in order to establish new noble lineages. In central Mexican political ideology, the legitimacy of a polity was dependent upon the Toltec blood of its ruling dynasty (Calnek 1982:52–53; Rounds 1982:66; Gillespie 1989). As a Culhua princess, Tozquentzin infuses the blood of the Tepechpan lineage with her nobility, thereby

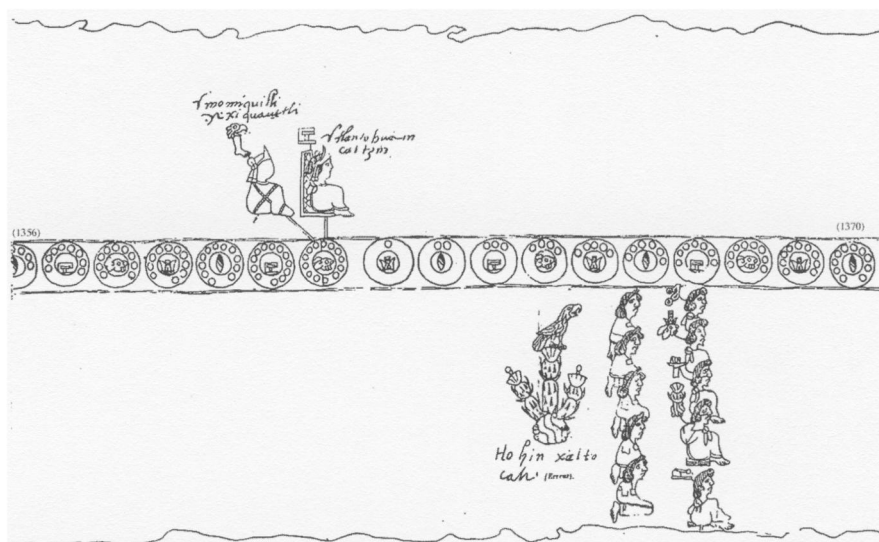


Figure 4. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 7 Flint (1356)—10 Flint (1370). After Aubin (1849–1851).

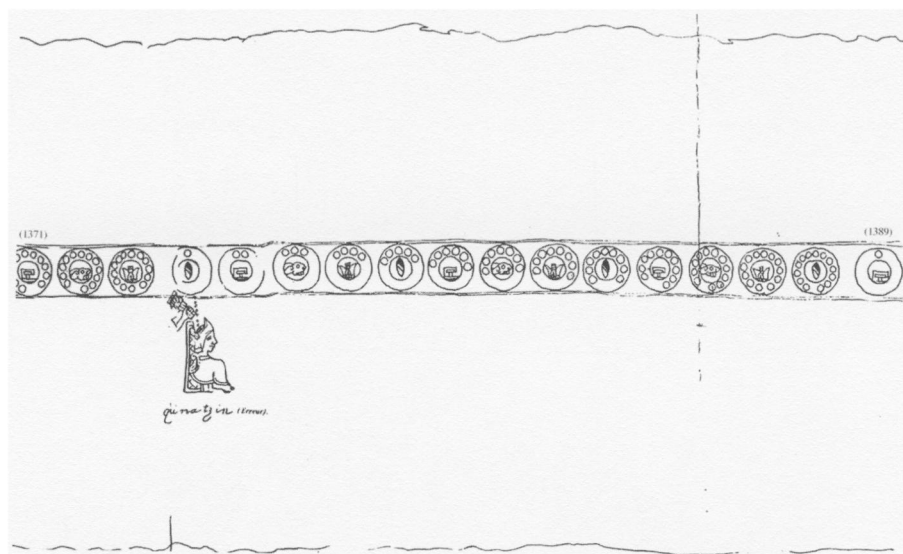


Figure 5. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 11 House (1371)—1 House (1389). After Aubin (1849–1851).

legitimizing the rule of her Chichimec husband. The success of the Tepechpan lineage rests on her shoulders, for she ensures that their descendants, the future leaders of Tepechpan, will have noble blood.

Tozquentzin, therefore, serves two important functions in Tepechpan’s history. First, she is the founding queen, without whom an Acolhua foundation is incomplete. Second, she acts as a Toltec ennobler. Tozquentzin’s association with Culhuacan is vital to the

establishment of a noble bloodline at Tepechpan, which is brought to fruition with the birth and succession of a male heir, as we soon see.

Huitzilxochtzin, marriage alliance facilitator

Typically, Artist A shows death in a conventionalized manner; the male ruler is seated with knees drawn up in front and is wrapped in a funerary bundle that is then

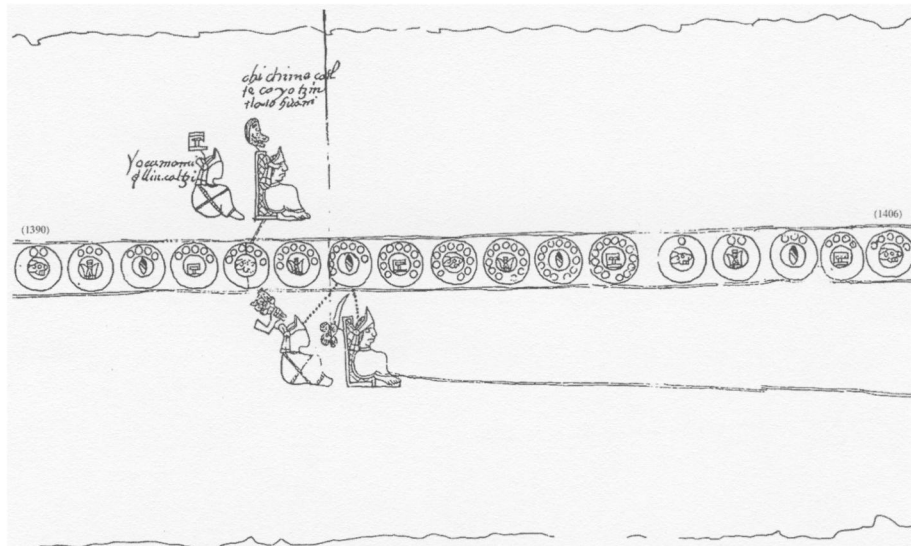


Figure 6. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 2 Rabbit (1390)—5 Rabbit (1406). After Aubin (1849–1851).

topped with the turquoise diadem. Thus, in figure 4, an Eagle-Leg name glyph identifies the funerary bundle of Ixcicuauhtli, whose death is linked to the year 13 Rabbit (1362). Immediately beside this representation is the seating of the next ruler, who is identified with a name glyph as Caltzin (House).⁶ The attached year disk changes from green to yellow, marking a new reign. According to testimony in a sixteenth-century lawsuit, rule typically passed from father to son in Tepechpan (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Justicia 164:f7r). Thus, the birth and subsequent accession of Caltzin—whose mother must be the Toltec Tozquentzin and father the Chichimec Ixcicuauhtli—establish a royal bloodline for Tepechpan. However, unlike his representation of the accession of Tepechpan's founder, Artist A fails to include the wife of Caltzin in his accession statement, nor does he include the wife of the next Tepechpan leader, Tencoyotzin (Coyote Lips), at his accession in 6 Rabbit (1394; fig. 6). Artist A, therefore, must include royal women in Tepechpan's history only when they serve a political function.

The noble bloodline established by the founders may have been ruptured almost one hundred years later with the assassination of Tencoyotzin by Tepanec mercenaries from Azcapotzalco (fig. 8). In his history, Artist A links this event to the subsequent outbreak of war between

Tenochtitlan and Azcapotzalco, which is known as the Tepanec War. The leader of Azcapotzalco (Ant Heap), Maxtla (Loincloth) is seated in rule below the year 4 Reed (1431). Footprints lead from him to a group of mercenaries on the upper register; they actively club the Tepechpan leader to death. The successor to the Tepechpan throne, Cuacuauhtzin (Wooden Stick), immediately flees after the death of Tencoyotzin, who presumably was his father. Cuacuauhtzin is shown seated above the year 3 Rabbit (1430), but he does not sit on a full-size throne nor does he wear a turquoise diadem, thus he is not yet an official ruler. Footprints lead from this representation into the timeline, indicating his exile. In fact, Cuacuauhtzin will not be officially inaugurated as Tepechpan's *tlatoani* until after the Mexica defeat of Azcapotzalco, which Artist A places at 12 Reed (1439) and shows on the lower register with a conventionalized burning temple, the ideogram for conquest, painted below the Azcapotzalco place glyph (fig. 9).⁷ In the following year on the top register, Cuacuauhtzin's accession is shown, but with the additional inclusion of his wife. She is seated above her husband, and the red dotted line that links them signifies their union.

6. The associated alphabetic glosses read, "*Y momiquilli yxcicuauhtli*" Ixcicuauhtli died (honorific) and "*Y tlantohuani Caltzin*" (The *tlatoani* Caltzin).

7. In other sources, the defeat of Azcapotzalco is more commonly placed in 1 Flint (1428). I believe Artist A's late date represents an attempt to associate Cuacuauhtzin and his inauguration, which happens in the very next year, with the final victory (Diel 2002:149–150).

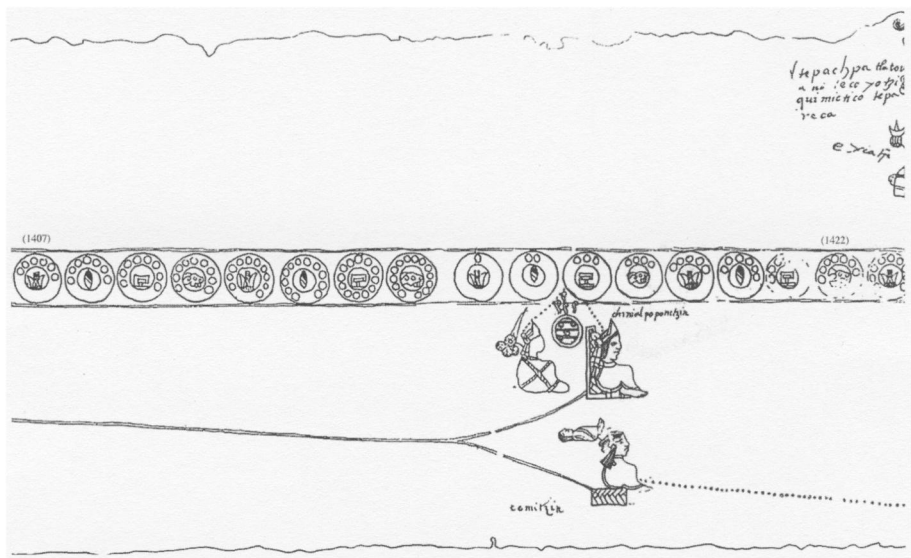


Figure 7. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 6 Reed (1407)—8 Rabbit (1422). After Aubin (1849–1851).

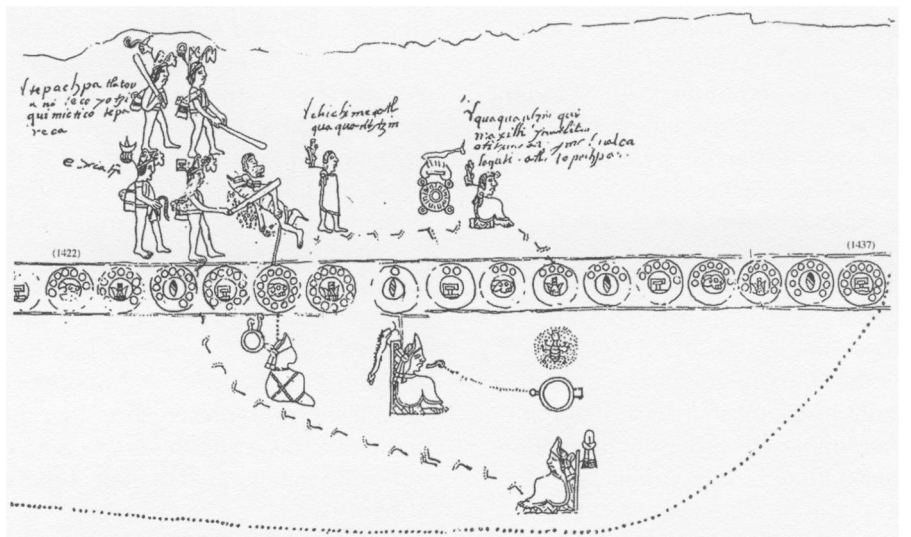


Figure 8. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 8 Rabbit (1422)—10 House (1437). After Aubin (1849–1851).

Susan Gillespie (1989) has argued that women often appear in Aztec histories at important junctures, usually after ruptures in rule, when they materialize to reestablish royal bloodlines that may have been severed. Accordingly, the wife of Cuacuauhtzin is included here because she reestablishes the royal bloodline of Tepechpan, which was impaired with the assassination of Tencoyotzin. In fact, Artist A takes pains to establish her royal lineage by including additional genealogical information. A dotted line leads from her to the lower

register and extends backward in time, running under the representation of the Tepanec War (fig. 8) and ending at a representation of a warrior named Temictzin (Dream; fig. 7). This composition identifies the warrior as her father. A solid line from Temictzin then joins one from the Mexica *tlatoani* Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield), who is seated above. Again, reading backwards in time, this line connects the two to former *tlatoani* Huitzilihuitl (Hummingbird Feather; fig. 6), thereby communicating that Temictzin and Chimalpopoca are

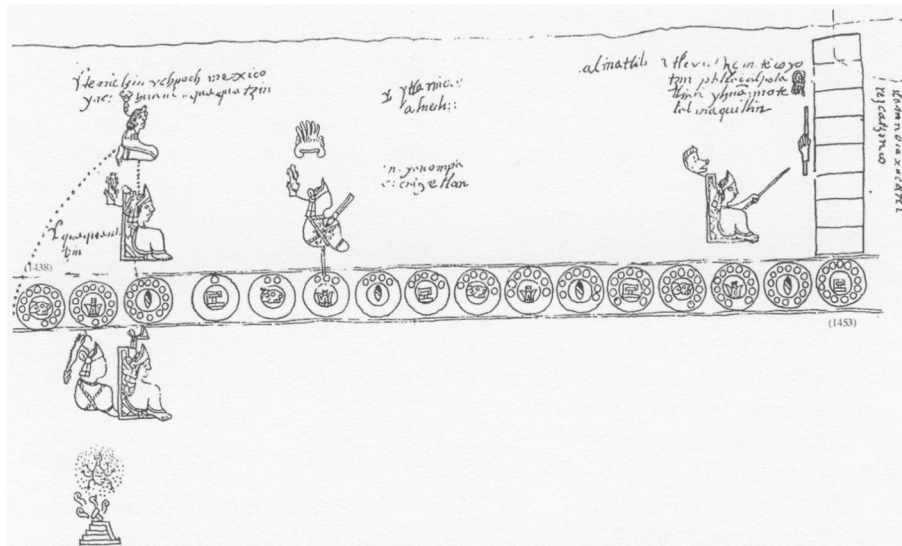


Figure 9. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 11 Rabbit (1438)—13 House (1453). After Aubin (1849–1851).

sons of Huitzilihuitl and, hence, brothers. Temictzin and his daughter are, therefore, Mexica nobles.

As lineage statements are rare in Aztec annals (Boone 2000:198), Artist A surely paints the genealogy of Cuacuauhtzin's wife to emphasize that she is a Mexica noblewoman. By tracing her lineage onto the lower Tenochtitlan register, Artist A does two things: first, he shows that the royal bloodline of Tepechpan has been reestablished, and second he highlights the relationship between Tepechpan and Tenochtitlan, perhaps a result of their alliance in the Tepanec War. Having replaced and appropriated the power of first the Toltecs and then the Tepanecs, the Mexica are the new imperial leaders in the Valley of Mexico; therefore, Artist A emphasizes Tepechpan's relationship with the victors, which is solidified through this noblewoman and enhances the prestige of Tepechpan.

Cuacuauhtzin's rule is short-lived; he dies in 3 Reed (1443), only three years after his accession (fig. 9). Artist A's addition of an arrow piercing Cuacuauhtzin's traditional funerary bundle calls forth the story of his death, a popular tale recorded in a number of alphabetic histories and also a poem.⁸ Interestingly,

Cuacuauhtzin's wife figures prominently in these accounts. To summarize, after hearing that the woman promised to him in marriage had married another man, Texcocan *tlatoani* Nezahualcoyotl took a journey in an effort, presumably, to sort his feelings. Eventually, he arrived in Tepechpan, where his subject Cuacuauhtzin received him. A woman identified by Acolhua historian Alva Ixtlilxochitl as Cuacuauhtzin's fiancé served the two leaders refreshments, and upon first sight, Nezahualcoyotl fell in love with this Mexica noblewoman. Determined to have her, he arranged the death of the Tepechpan *tlatoani*. Having surreptitiously instructed Tlaxcalan warriors to seek out Cuacuauhtzin and kill him, Nezahualcoyotl ordered the Tepechpan ruler into battle. Thus, Cuacuauhtzin's inevitable death is communicated in the *Tira*. After the battle, Nezahualcoyotl made his intentions known to the Mexica noblewoman and soon married her. According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, she became his principal wife and the mother of the future Texcocan *tlatoani*, Nezahualpilli. Although the story is a popular tale of the colonial period, there is a large amount of variation as to the name of this femme fatale.⁹ In the *Tira*, she is only identified by a "flower" (*xochitl*) name glyph. Thus, I

8. The summary that follows is compiled from these sources: Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1997:1:544, 2:118–120), Chimalpahin (1997:2:97), and Torquemada (1986:1:154–155). For fuller treatments of this event, see Garibay (1965), Martínez (1972:60–61), Noguez (1978:1:90–92), Offner (1983:228–230), and León-Portilla (1992:99–111).

9. Alva Ixtlilxochitl alternatively calls her Tenacihuatzin and Matlacihuatzin. Torquemada calls her Matlacihuatzin, but he says that she was the fiancé of a Temictzin of Tlatelolco, whose death Nezahualcoyotl arranged.

follow Noguez (1978:1:88) in using the name provided by Chimalpahin (1998:2:97); he calls her Huitzilxochtzin (Hummingbird Flower), which is closest to the name glyph provided by Artist A.

Clearly, the terse representation in the Tira serves as a mnemonic device to elicit the story. However, the story told by a Tepechpaneca surely would differ from that by Alva Ixtlilxochitl with his decidedly Texcocan bias. Perhaps to minimize Nezahualcoyotl's treachery, Alva Ixtlilxochitl identifies Huitzilxochtzin as Cuacuauhtzin's fiancé, yet Artist A presents the two in a traditional marriage statement by joining them with a dotted line. Furthermore, he shows her with her hair wrapped in the style typical of married Nahua women. Moreover, an alphabetic gloss beside Huitzilxochtzin identifies her as "*yncihuah*," meaning "his wife" or the wife of Cuacuauhtzin.¹⁰ Also, the respondents to the *Relación Geográfica* of Tepechpan mention a marriage alliance between Tepechpan and Tenochtitlan, although they place it a century earlier (Nuttall 1926:70).

A likely explanation for this romantic tale of Nezahualcoyotl's duplicity is that it in fact masked political maneuverings on the part of Tepechpan and Texcoco. Typically, Texcocan *tlatoque* gave their daughters as wives to the rulers of their subject cities; thus, as a subject of Texcoco, Cuacuauhtzin should have married a daughter of the Texcocan *tlatoani*. Perhaps in an attempt to forge ties instead with Tenochtitlan, the new imperial capital, the Tepechpan ruler took a Mexica noblewoman as a wife. Nezahualcoyotl's actions then punished Tepechpan for its political machinations.¹¹ Of course, a strict reading of the contents of the Tira only establishes the connections between Tepechpan and Tenochtitlan; here, the intended message overrides whatever the historical truth might be.

After the death of Cuacuauhtzin, the year disks revert to yellow, and no one is seated in rule until eight years later in 12 Reed (1451), when Tencoyotzin II assumes the throne (fig. 9). Because he shares the name of a previous ruler of Tepechpan, the implication is that he is the grandson of the first Tencoyotzin and the son of Cuacuauhtzin and Huitzilxochtzin. This also implies that

the Tepechpan ruling line was not severed with the death of Cuacuauhtzin, and that the interregnum was needed because Tencoyotzin II was too young to rule when his father died. Moreover, an intriguing possibility, notwithstanding Alva Ixtlilxochitl's version of events, is that Huitzilxochtzin served as ruler of Tepechpan during the interim in rule and in the place of her son. As we shall see, a woman did act as regent of Tepechpan after her husband's death, and the years associated with her reign are also yellow. Although this cannot be proven, it is an intriguing, and quite possible, interpretation of Artist A's composition.

Ome Tochtzin, regent of Tepechpan

The wife of Tencoyotzin II is not pictured at the representation of his accession (fig. 9), but she is included at the record of his death over fifty years later (fig. 10). Identified by a name glyph of two dots and a rabbit's head for Ome Tochtzin or 2 Rabbit, she sits above the year 2 Reed (1507) in the Aztec kneeling woman's pose and has her hair braided and wrapped in the distinctive female hairstyle. A line from Ome Tochtzin joins a line from the funerary bundle of her deceased husband below and ends at the seating three years later of Cuacuauhtzin II, surely identifying him as their son. The associated alphabetic gloss informs us that Ome Tochtzin was a daughter of Nezahualcoyotl.¹² As the daughter of the Texcocan *tlatoani*, Ome Tochtzin is clearly of an elite status, and her nobility may have legitimized her son's right to rule; during the reign of Motecuhzoma II in the early sixteenth century, it was decreed that noble status in Mexico had to be secured through both the maternal and paternal bloodlines (Durán 1994:395; Berdan 1982:46–47). However, Ome Tochtzin was more than just a noble mother. After her husband's death, she must have served as regent, or ruler stand-in, perhaps because their son was too young to assume rule (Boone 2000:231, 264–265).

That she was considered a ruler is shown at her death. Above the year 2 Flint (1520), Artist A paints a funerary bundle identified with Ome Tochtzin's "2 Rabbit" name glyph (figs. 10, 11). The bundle is linked to a smallpox victim, which suggests that Ome Tochtzin died of smallpox in this year. Furthermore, Artist A adds some features that distinguish her funerary bundle (see

10. The full gloss reads, "*Y temictzin ychpoch mexico yncihuauh quaquatzin*" (Temictzin's daughter (from) Mexico, Cuacuauhtzin's wife).

11. According to map 6 of the *Codex Xolotl* (1996), a similar situation ignited the Tepanec War. Rather than marry the daughter of Tezozomoc, *tlatoani* of Azcapotzalco, the Texcocan leader Ixtlilxochitl took a Mexica noblewoman as his wife. To punish Ixtlilxochitl, Tezozomoc ordered his assassination.

12. The gloss reads, "*Y onmeto_tzin cihuapillin netzahualcoyotzin ychpoch tezcocan*" (Ome Tochtzin, noblewoman, Nezahualcoyotl's daughter (from) Texcoco).

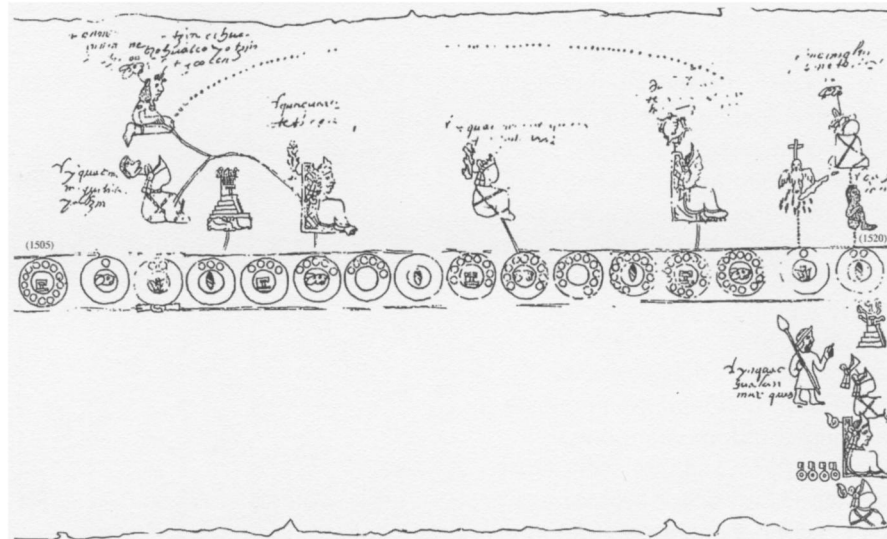


Figure 10. *Tira de Tepechpan*, 13 House (1505)—2 Flint (1520). After Aubin (1849–1851).

figure 11 for a detail from the original manuscript). First, superimposed on the bundle is a turquoise diadem seen previously in the *Tira* associated with rulers. Second, when examined in the original, it is clear that the mass under the diadem is a representation of hair in the typical Aztec female coiffure. Finally, the shape of the bundle is not in the typical shape of a seated male with knees drawn up in front but instead in the shape of a kneeling woman; the bundle is wrapped with a rope once at the neck, crossed twice at the torso, and finally is wrapped around the feet, which are now in the back. Taken together, these details mark this as the funerary bundle of a *female ruler*.

Ome Tochtzin must have acted as regent after the death of her husband and before the installation of her son, and the years associated with her rule—2 Reed (1507) through 5 Rabbit (1510)—are painted yellow. Ome Tochtzin even oversaw a temple dedication in 3 Flint (1508), which shows the important political role she played for the *altepetl* (fig. 10). Nevertheless, the extraordinary and likely unofficial nature of her rule is communicated by the fact that she does not sit on the woven reed throne when first shown. Moreover, she only wears the turquoise diadem in death. Ultimately, Artist A's unique composition here suggests an incompatibility between representations of women and representations of rule in the Aztec pictorial system.

With the accession of Cuacuauhtzin II in 5 Rabbit (1510), the year disks change from yellow to blue until

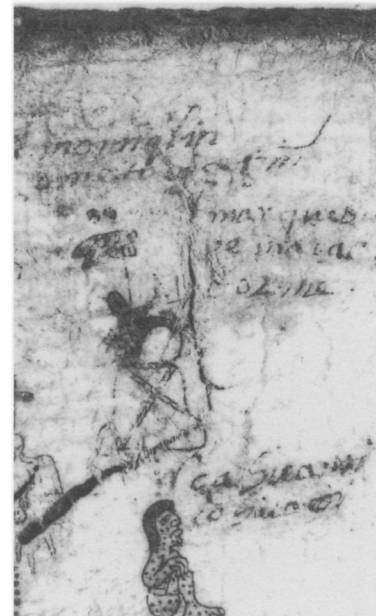


Figure 11. *Tira de Tepechpan*, detail of Ome Tochtzin's funerary bundle. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

his death four years later in 9 Rabbit (1514; fig. 10). At this time, the color of the year disks revert to yellow, and the next Tepechpan ruler is not inaugurated until 12 House (1517), suggesting that Ome Tochtzin again

assumed the role of regent upon the death of her son, for the previous years associated with her rule are also yellow. Because the date and circumstances of her death are recorded in the *Tira*, Ome Tochtzin must have remained an important player in Tepechpan politics, even when not in rule. Her important role is also suggested by the inclusion of a dotted line, which though slightly effaced must have linked the living Ome Tochtzin to her funerary bundle, symbolically drawing her presence over these intervening years.

The *Tira de Tepechpan*, then, shows the major roles played by women in Aztec history. Perhaps, of most importance here is the inclusion of a female ruler, for this reveals that noblewomen could maintain power in their own right. Though clearly this was a rare occurrence, some other sources also record instances of women acting as rulers over other secondary communities.

Female rulers in other secondary towns

Created in the mid-sixteenth century, the *Codex en Cruz* (Dibble 1981:vol. 2) provides the only other known Aztec representation of a preconquest female ruler.¹³ Reading from bottom to top in the column for the year 10 House (1489), the place glyph of Tepetlaoztoc (In the Lava Cave) is followed by a funerary bundle identified with the name glyph of Cocopin (Jar Arrow); thus, in this year, Cocopin of Tepetlaoztoc died (fig. 12a). A woman is placed above and linked to Cocopin's funerary bundle. She is named with a glyph of an *azcaxochitl*, a type of flowering plant. The "fasting coyote" name glyph above her head must associate Azcaxochitl with Nezahualcoyotl (Fasting Coyote) of Texcoco. An alphabetic text in the *Codex Kingsborough* (1994:f2v) clarifies this scene; it tells us that after the death of Cocopin, his widow "Azcasuch" succeeded him and that she was a daughter of Nezahualcoyotl. The text in the *Codex Kingsborough* goes on to state that Azcaxochitl's grandson Tlilpotonqui (Black Dust) assumed rule upon her death; his accession is shown in

13. My description is based on Charles Dibble's (1981:1:30, 33–34) interpretations of the manuscript. Another prominent woman may also be included in the *Codex en Cruz*. Above a glyph for Texcoco, a funerary bundle identified with a female head is recorded in the year 1 Rabbit (1507). Attached to the bundle is the name glyph for a ruler of Chiautla, Quauhtlatzacuilotzin (Eagle Gate). Dibble (1981:1:39) provisionally interpreted this scene as the death of the mother of Quauhtlatzacuilotzin, who either was from Texcoco or died in Texcoco.

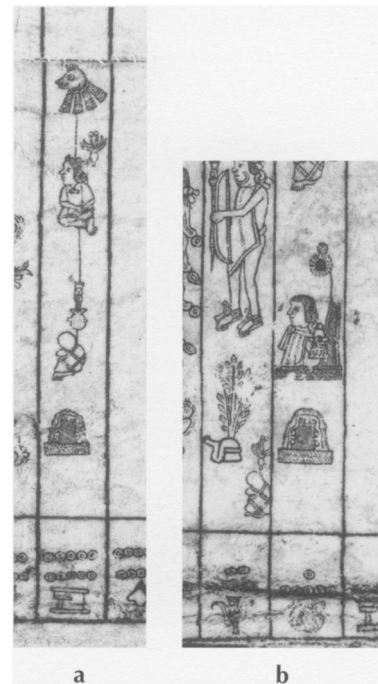


Figure 12. *Codex en Cruz*. a. 10 House (1489). b. 6 Rabbit (1498)—7 Reed (1499). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

the *Codex en Cruz* above the year 6 Rabbit (1498; fig. 12b).¹⁴ Again, the Tepetlaoztoc glyph appears at the bottom of the column, and above, its new *tlatoani* Tlilpotonqui sits on the woven reed throne of rule. Azcaxochitl's death is shown squeezed into the 7 Reed (1499) column to the left, where a funerary bundle (though seated in the male fashion with knees drawn up in front) is identified with Azcaxochitl's name glyph.

In the *Codex en Cruz*, the rule of Tlilpotonqui is distinguished from that of Azcaxochitl because he sits on the *tepotzicpalli*, but she does not. This distinction is not adequately explained by the fact that Azcaxochitl is a woman, for in the *Codex en Cruz*, Cocopin, her late husband and former ruler of Tepetlaoztoc, did not sit on the *tepotzicpalli* either. Instead, the artist of the *Codex en Cruz* may communicate that the ruling line of Tepetlaoztoc was not officially sanctioned until its noble status could take hold with the inauguration of

14. Another woman appearing at the top of this same year column refers to a wife of Nezahualpilli who committed adultery and was put to death along with her lovers (Dibble 1981:1:34).

Tlilpotonqui, who as a descendant of Azcaxochitl had official noble blood. Thus, Azcaxochitl was an important political figure in Tepetlaoztoc as both a ruler and a giver of nobility to the *altepetl*'s ruling line.

A representation of Tepetlaoztoc's ruling dynasty is also found in the *Codex Kingsborough* (1994:f2v). Here, the *tlacuilo* (artist/scribe) does show Cocopin on the woven reed throne and, in so doing, contrasts his rule with that of the earlier Chichimec leaders of Tepetlaoztoc. However, although her rule is mentioned in the alphabetic text accompanying the illustration, Azcaxochitl is not pictured as a ruler in this codex. Thus, the respective inclusion and exclusion of Azcaxochitl in these two pictorials indicate that female rule was an extraordinary occurrence in central Mexico and suggest that some female rulers may have been excluded purposefully from their community's histories.

Though rare in the pictorials, more female rulers are documented in some alphabetic sources. For example, Nahuatl historian Chimalpahin records the names of two female rulers, who he calls *cihuatlatoque* (Schroeder 1992). In his eighth relation, Chimalpahin (1998:2:363–365) writes that the ruler of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco died soon after taking office, and because he had no male heirs, his daughter Xiuhtoztzin became *cihuatlatoani*. Susan Schroeder (1991:82) points out that Chimalpahin took great pains to emphasize the legitimacy of this woman's rule because he himself was her grandson six times removed; thus his own nobility is enhanced and legitimated by her rule. Also according to Chimalpahin (1998:2:365), a noblewoman named Tlacocihuatzin ruled Tlailotlacan Tehuacan. She was the daughter of its former *tlatoani*, and her descendants traced their nobility through her. Furthermore, two female rulers are documented for Cuauhtitlan in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1965:13, 32); however, the author of the manuscript does not indicate why they became rulers instead of men. Moreover, a letter written in Latin and addressed to Philip II from indigenous leaders of Azcapotzalco states that its pre-conquest *tlatoani*, Tezozomoc, installed women as rulers of four secondary communities within his realm (in Pérez-Rocha and Tena 2000:213–225).

This sample of women acting as rulers of secondary Aztec communities reveals that Nahuatl women could wield power in their own right. However, they are most often included in historical records because they enhance the legitimacy of their descendants and/or the patron community. The same is true for those noblewomen included in histories such as the *Tira de*

Tepechpan. As conveyors of prestige and legitimacy, women played similar roles in the early histories of Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; however, their political roles became obscured in later periods, presumably because they were no longer needed to confer status once attained.

Queens and noblewomen in Texcocan pictorial histories

After forming an alliance with Tenochtitlan to defeat Azcapotzalco in the Tepanec War, Texcoco became the second most important city-state within the newly established Aztec empire. In three pictorials associated with Texcoco—the *Codex Xolotl* and the *Mapas Tlotzin* and *Quinatzin*—women play an important early role but fade from view once Texcoco achieves imperial authority.

The *Codex Xolotl* (1996), a chronological series of cartographic histories, provides the most extensive narrative in which women, as royal wives and daughters, play a significant part. The ultimate goal of the *Codex Xolotl* is to glorify the role of Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico by showing Texcoco's alliances, both political and familial, with other ruling families (Spitler n.d.; Boone 2000:184). A focus on genealogy and the marriage relations of Acolhua rulers and their children helps to communicate this message. In the second map of the *Codex Xolotl*, Toltec noblewomen (identified by their white, woven clothing) marry Chichimec leaders (identified by their rough clothing and bows and arrows), thereby creating noble bloodlines that establish the prestige of Texcoco and its ruling line (fig. 13). The royal daughters then forge marriage alliances that are integral to Texcoco's hegemonic expansion. Thus, the artist of this codex stresses the political role of these early women—as founding queens, Toltec ennoblers, and marriage alliance facilitators—because they help to enhance the prestige of Texcoco. However, the number of women included in the later maps decreases as Texcoco's political capital increases. The *Codex Xolotl* ends with events preceding the Tepanec War.

The *Mapa Quinatzin* also includes women in early Acolhua history but excludes them from a diagram of Texcoco's imperial domain.¹⁵ The first section of the *Mapa* deals with the Chichimec migration into the

15. The third leaf of the *Mapa Quinatzin* is a pictorial depiction of the Texcocan legal code and does include some women; however, these are generic rather than historical representations.

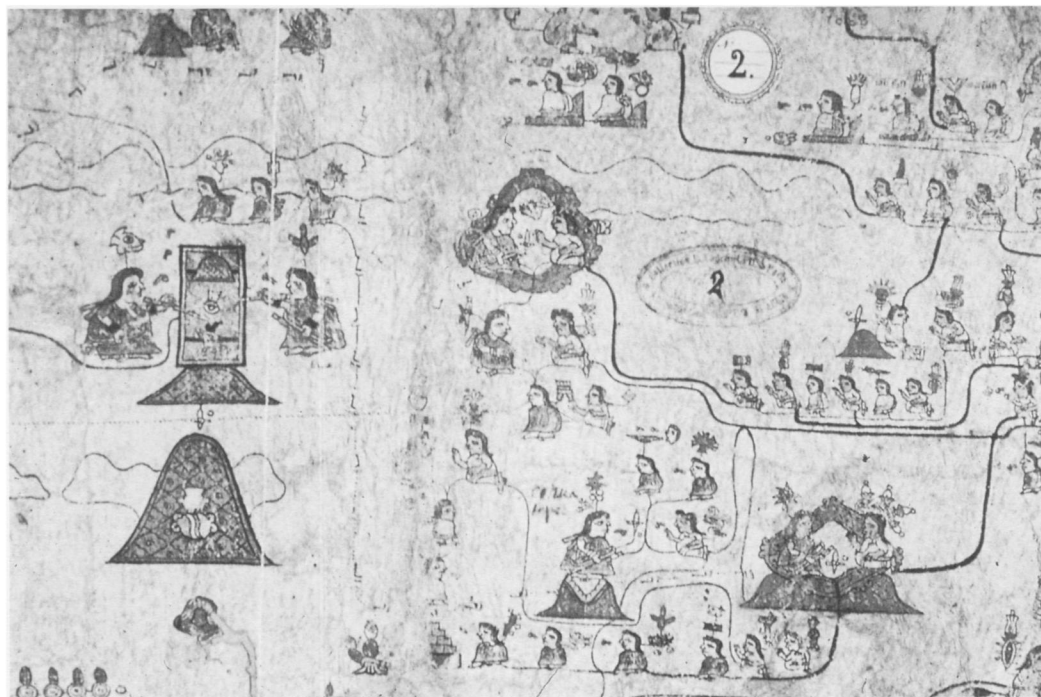


Figure 13. *Codex Xolotl*, map 2, detail. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Valley of Mexico. At the top of this section, a husband, wife, and child are shown seated in a cave/foundation icon. As Eduardo Douglas (2003:292) points out, this scene does not represent a specific historic event as none of the figures are named; instead it depicts the general idea of foundation and procreation. Two more women are included in separate vignettes on this leaf, but they are clearly outnumbered by the men, and neither of them is named unlike some of the men. Douglas (2000:190) associates name glyphs in the *Quinatzin* with elevated rank; the implication is that none of these women is of such a rank. The next page presents the royal palace of Texcoco. The *tlatoque* Nezahualcoyotl (Fasting Coyote) and Nezahualpilli (Fasting Nobleman) are seated at the top, while the rulers of the fourteen communities subject to Texcoco are seated in the courtyard, and no queens or noblewomen are shown.¹⁶

16. According to the *Codex en Cruz*, Nezahualcoyotl died in 1472 and his son Nezahualpilli was inaugurated in that same year; unfortunately, in the two Acolhua towns for which we have documented female rulers—Tepechpan and Tepetlaoztoc—neither was ruling at this time.

Like the *Mapa Quinatzin*, the *Mapa Tlotzin* also begins with a Chichimec migration; three generations of Chichimec couples are shown arriving in the Valley of Mexico, and both the men and women are named and, therefore, historically important (Douglas 2000:106). Elsewhere, the *Tlotzin* shows the dynastic sequence of Texcoco (fig. 14). Reading from top to bottom, we see the founding couple shown within the cave/foundation icon. They are both dressed as Chichimecs, and a child is placed between them. This first woman plays the role of founding queen. The next ruler still wears the rough clothing of a Chichimec, and facing him is his wife, who wears the woven clothing typical of Toltecs. Thus, this Chichimec leader has taken a Toltec woman as his wife, thereby establishing a noble bloodline for Texcoco; her role is that of Toltec ennobler. This noble lineage is brought to fruition with the next ruler, Techotlalatzin (Bird, Water, Stone), who now wears the white, woven clothing of civilized society. He is shown with his wife Tozquentzin (Yellow Feather Garment), and an alphabetic text relates that she was a noblewoman from Coatlichan. The next leader Ixtlilxochtzin (Eye, Flower) appears with his wife, Matlacihuatzin (Blue Woman), and the alphabetic text informs us that she was a

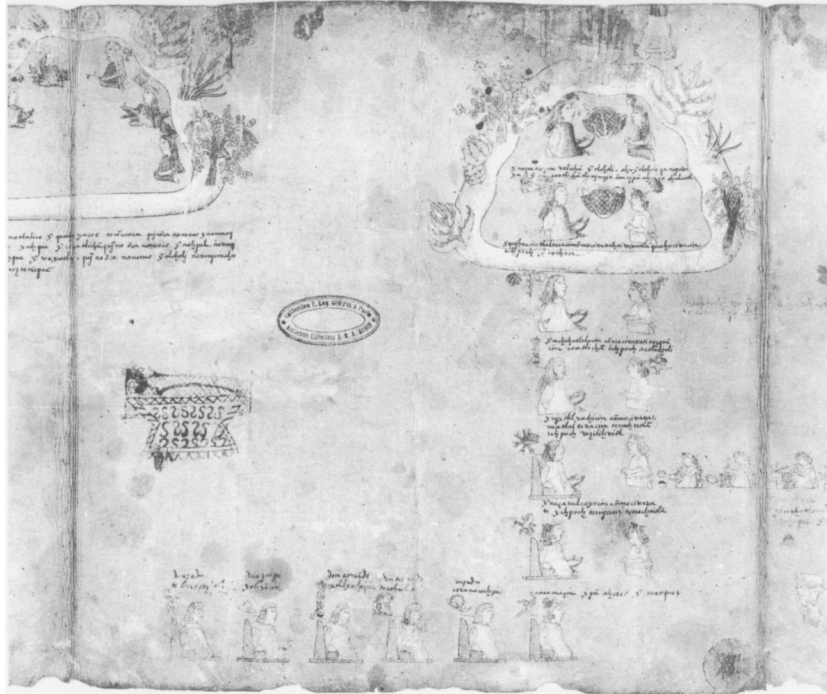


Figure 14. *Mapa Tlotzin*, detail of Texcocan dynastic list. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

daughter of the Tenochca *tlatoani* Huitzilihuitl. Thus, these last two royal wives establish important marriage alliances for Texcoco. All of these royal couples are named with both hieroglyphs and alphabetic glosses; therefore, both husband and wife were important figures in Texcoco's early history.

Continuing down the ruler list, we see Nezahualcoyotl. Because Nezahualcoyotl helped to defeat Azcapotzalco, he is the first *tlatoani* of Texcoco to be shown seated on the woven reed throne, symbol of autonomous authority. Nezahualcoyotl's wife sits across from him, but she is not named glyphically, and an associated alphabetic text only tells us that she is the daughter of Temicztin of Tenochtitlan (and therefore Cuacuauhtzin of Tepechpan's former wife, according to Tepechpan!). The successor, Nezahualpilli faces his wife. She is not named glyphically nor is there an alphabetic text to identify her. Douglas (2000:134) points out the oddity of these omissions given that descendants of these last two women may have commissioned this work. The following rulers of Texcoco are all shown alone.¹⁷

17. Elizabeth Boone (2000:187) also noted that women fade from the Texcocan ruler list, and in other sections of the manuscript, women

In short, women played an important role in Texcoco's early history, but became excluded from its imperial history. The early Texcocan women served their historical functions and successfully played their roles of founding queen, Toltec ennobler, and marriage alliance facilitator. However, once Texcoco achieved imperial authority, royal wives could do nothing to further elevate this authority, hence their exclusion.

Queens and noblewomen in Mexica pictorial histories

In the major Mexica pictorial histories there are clear patterns in the representations of women; in most, women figure prominently in episodes relating to the migration, but they fade away soon after.¹⁸ For example,

do not fare much better. For instance, in the representation of four generations of ruling couples at Huexotla, each man is named, but only the founding queen is named. Also, for Tenochtitlan and Culhuacan, name glyphs identify the male rulers but not their wives.

18. The major Mexica pictorials (in that they contain a significant amount of Tenochca history) that I consider here are the *Codices Aubin* (1981), *Azcatitlan* (1995), *Boturini* (1964), *Mendoza* (1992), *Mexicanus* (1952), *Telleriano-Remensis* (Quiñones Keber 1995), *Ríos*

the *Codices Aubin*, *Azcatitlan*, and *Boturini* begin with the Mexica migration from Aztlan, and each shows the same woman as a primary migrant. Despite the typical variation in names of early historic figures, each of these manuscripts identifies this woman with a “shield” name glyph for Chimalma (Shield). Moreover, all show her carrying a bundle, which communicates her historically important role as one of the priestesses in charge of the relics of the Mexica (Wood 1998:251–253).¹⁹

Another key female participant in the migration was Malinalxochitl, sister of the Mexica patron deity Huitzilopochtli. Though none of the extant pictorial histories portray this woman, a few do include her son and granddaughter, thereby also eliciting her story.²⁰ Along the migratory route, the Mexica abandoned Malinalxochitl. Vowing revenge upon them, her son Copil attacked the Mexica at their settlement in Chapultepec. However, a Mexica priest named Cuauhtlix (Eagle Leg) was prepared for the assault and killed Copil. He then married his daughter Xicomoyahual (Busy Bee). These events are shown in the annals section of the *Codex Mexicanus* (1952:pl. 38).²¹ The marriage is also recorded in the *Tira de Tepechpan* (fig. 2). Here, name glyphs identify Cuauhtlix and Xicomoyahual, and the line that joins them indicates their union. Another line connects the two to their son, who is named Cohuatzontli (Snake Hair) and whose wife sits above. According to Chimalpahin (1997:1:225, 2:83), Cohuatzontli’s wife was a Culhua princess; thus, she acts as a Toltec ennobler and brings an early infusion of noble blood to the Mexica bloodline. However, as Gillespie (1989) has argued, such infusions failed in the early years of the Mexica state, either through the death of the woman or her children.

We see this failure in subsequent events at Chapultepec, where the Mexica were attacked shortly after the incident with Copil.²² Their tribal leader,

(1964), and the *Mapa Sigüenza*. Although created in the Acolhua domain, the *Tira de Tepechpan* also contains a substantial amount of Tenochca history.

19. See Rodríguez-Shadow (1997:69–77) and Heyden (1989) for more on the role of women in the Mexica migration.

20. The account here is synthesized from the following sources: Durán (1994:31–33, 42–43), Chimalpahin (1997:1:85–89, 103; 1998:1:159–63), and Alvarado Tezozomoc (1987:26–27).

21. The marriage of Xicomoyahual and Cuauhtlix is also shown in a separate genealogy in this same manuscript (*Codex Mexicanus* 1952:pls. 16–17).

22. Gillespie (1989:68–78) and Davies (1980:182–190) have synthesized the various accounts of the battle at Chapultepec.

Huitzilihuitl (Hummingbird Feather), was taken prisoner and subsequently sacrificed in Culhuacan with one or more women, who are usually identified as his daughters but in some cases one is called his wife, sister, or niece. These deaths end the royal bloodline established earlier by Cohuatzontli and his Culhua bride (Gillespie 1989:80). The captivity and sacrifice of Huitzilihuitl and his daughter(s) is pictured in a number of pictorials—the *Codices Aubin*, *Azcatitlan*, *Boturini*, *Mexicanus*, *Ríos*, *Mapa Sigüenza*, and the *Tira de Tepechpan* (fig. 3). Thus, their sacrifice is an important component of the Mexica historic tradition; Acolhua sources (with the exception of the *Tira de Tepechpan*) do not relate the story. These examples reveal that women were important historical figures during the migration, while the Mexica were still lowly upstarts; however, with the settlement of Tenochtitlan, women quickly fade from Mexica history.

Many pictorials associated with Tenochtitlan (the *Codices Aubin*, *Azcatitlan*, *Mendoza*, *Mexicanus*, *Ríos*, and *Mapa Sigüenza*) represent the foundation, yet none except the *Tira de Tepechpan* (fig. 4) includes wives at this important event. Clearly in the Mexica historic tradition, it was not necessary that wives be included for a town foundation to be complete. In contrast, the *Tira* shows five royal couples at the foundation of Tenochtitlan; perhaps as an Acolhua historian, Tepechpan Artist A considered women an integral component of a community’s foundation.²³

Soon after the foundation of Tenochtitlan, its first *tlatoani*, Acamapichtli (Handful of Reeds), was officially seated in rule. Because the early Mexica attempts to start a noble lineage failed, success had to be achieved with the union of Acamapichtli and Ilancueitl (Old Woman Skirt), a Toltec princess. The noble blood that Ilancueitl provided to the Mexica is well-attested in the alphabetic annals, although her exact relationship to Acamapichtli as wife, mother, adoptive mother, or aunt is not clear. Perhaps this ambiguity can be explained by the fact that of the major pictorial histories associated with Tenochtitlan, Ilancueitl is only included in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (fig. 15a and b) and its

23. It should be noted that Tepechpan Artist A provides a late date for the foundation of Tenochtitlan. He places it sometime between 4 Rabbit (1366) and 8 House (1369), whereas the official date for the foundation is 2 House (1325). By showing the foundation of Tenochtitlan after that of Tepechpan, Artist A establishes the antiquity of Tepechpan. Moreover, Artist A’s dating disassociates the founding of Tenochtitlan with the cosmic implications of the date 2 House; see Umberger (1981:209–210) for the significance of this date.



Figure 15b. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, folios 29v-30r. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

cognate the *Codex Ríos* (1964:229, 231). Moreover, the representation of Ilancueitl in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* is anomalous; the year sign arrangement and narrative presentation here, which covers two pages, is not typical of the rest of the historical section of the codex. Eloise Quiñones Keber (1995:214) suspects that these pages were copied from a different source than the rest of the pictorial annals and that most likely this source was some type of genealogical manuscript. With her Toltec associations, Ilancueitl clearly is included here to establish the political legitimacy of the Tenochca dynasty; however, the anomalous composition suggests that she was not typically included in Mexica annals.²⁴

Indeed, the major pictorial annals associated with Tenochtitlan—namely, the *Codices Aubin*, *Azcatitlan*, *Mendoza*, and *Mexicanus*,²⁵ as well as the *Tira de Tepechpan*²⁶ (fig. 5)—fail to mention her, nor do they include other Mexica queens. The artist of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* does include the wife of Tenochtitlan's next *tlatoani*, Huitzilihuitl, on these same pages, but no other noblewomen are shown with their husbands on the following pages, where the codex resumes its typical annals format.

Though Ilancueitl's role in Mexica history seems to have been that of Toltec ennobler, the author of the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* (1965:57), an alphabetic history that references pictorial documents, claims that Ilancueitl actually ruled Tenochtitlan and that Acamapichtli did not become its official ruler until after her death. Furthermore, Ilancueitl is pictured in a primarily prose document known as the *Fragment de l'Histoire des anciens Mexicains* (1981:f8r). Here, Acamapichtli and Ilancueitl are shown in what Stephanie Wood (1998:259) describes as a "complementary stance"; that is, both may be shown as ruling figures. Regardless of the confusion surrounding Ilancueitl's exact political role, she must have been an important participant in early Mexica history; however, her virtual exclusion from the pictorial annals suggests that her role became deliberately obscured.²⁷

24. Although this manuscript records a substantial amount of Tenochca history, Eloise Quiñones Keber (1985:128) leans towards a provenance of Tlatelolco for the document.

25. The *Codex Mexicanus* (1952:pls. 16–17) genealogy does show two wives of Acamapichtli, which suggests that Mexica wives were included in royal genealogies. However, even here the wives of later rulers fade from the list, though daughters are included.

26. A later annotator of the *Tira* mistakenly identified Acamapichtli as the Texcocan leader Quinatzin (Diel 2002:299–300).

27. See Zantwijk (1985:18, 102–104) and Gillespie (1989:25–56) for more thorough analyses of Ilancueitl.

Such also seems to be the case with a Mexica noblewoman named Atotoztli (Water Bird). Relying on alphabetic accounts, some scholars posit that Atotoztli, daughter of Motecuhzoma I, may have inherited the throne from her father and ruled Tenochtitlan for a time (Carrasco 1984:44; Zantwijk 1985:191; Gillespie 1989:101; Marcus 2002:333). However, such a state of affairs is not attested in the pictorials, and we must be critical of the main sources for this information.²⁸ Two of these sources, the *Relación de la genealogía* (1941) and the *Origen de los Mexicanos* (1941), are histories of Tenochtitlan that were recorded by unnamed Franciscan friars at the behest of Juan Cano to legitimize the claims of his wife Doña Isabel to her rightful patrimony as the daughter of Motecuhzoma II (Gibson and Glass 1975:345–346). That women could be rulers would have enhanced the Cano family's petitions for land grants in the colonial period; essentially, if Atotoztli could inherit the throne from her father, then Isabel in turn would have been the legitimate heir to Tenochtitlan's vast land holdings after the death of her own father.

The *Anales de Tula* (1979) and Motolinía (1985:106) also state that Atotoztli once ruled Tenochtitlan. However, these sources do not adequately explain why Atotoztli became ruler and not her husband Tezozomoc. Tezozomoc was the son of the *tlatoani* Itzcoatl and would have been a legitimate choice as a *tlatoani*, much more so than his wife. In an interesting explanation for this situation, J. Rounds (1982:81) speculates that the families of Motecuhzoma I and Itzcoatl struck a deal, deciding to join in office through Atotoztli and Tezozomoc rather than be pitted as rivals. Thus, their three sons (Ahuitzotl, Tizoc, and Axayacatl) became the subsequent rulers of Tenochtitlan.

Nevertheless, if it is true that Atotoztli served as a ruler, then the fact that she was not included in the extant pictorial histories reveals that Mexica historians purposely obscured her political role. According to the *Relación de la genealogía* (1941:254), Atotoztli was not included in the annals because she was a woman. Indeed, as a woman, Atotoztli could only have assumed rule over Tenochtitlan due to some type of rupture in the normal succession pattern. Because Aztec historians

28. Atotoztli is also included in the *Codex Mexicanus* (1952:16–17) genealogy as well as a genealogy preserved at the Bibliothèque National de France, Paris (Fonds Mexicain 72). In the latter, she is identified by an alphabetic gloss simply as a *cihuapilli*, or noblewoman.



Figure 16. *Pièce d'un Procès*, detail of Hernán Cortés and Doña Marina. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

often take pains to ignore such breaks (Boone 2000:240), they may have found it best to omit her historical role; as a result of a rupture, her very rule would represent lack of control, not a fitting message for the imperial power. In the end, it is difficult to determine if either Atotoztli or Ilancueitl actually ruled because, as shown here, women—whether rulers or not—were rarely included in the history of the post-migration Mexica people.

The pictorials in their colonial context

Because the histories discussed here were created after the conquest of Mexico, we must question if women were neglected in some pictorial histories because of the colonial context in which the existing codices were created. Indeed, some scholars caution that we must be critical of colonial indigenous historians, who may have picked up the patriarchal attitudes of Spain and accordingly undervalued the role of women in their histories.²⁹ True, Spaniards brought

29. For more on this issue, see Schroeder (1992:48, 85), Wood (1998), Boone (2000:195), Joyce (2000:135), Brumfiel (2002:61–62), and Burkhart (2002:87).

patriarchal attitudes to Mexico; however, I do not believe the colonial context of these works is an adequate explanation for the exclusion of women in some pictorial histories, for a number of reasons.

First, as this study has shown, not all pictorial histories neglect the role of women, and there are clear patterns in those that do.³⁰ In fact, many colonial pictorials include the indigenous interpreter for Hernán Cortés, Doña Marina, who is often shown as a key participant and sometime leader of the conquest. For example, in the *Codex Azcatitlan* (1994:2:plate 23) she is placed in front of Cortés and a group of Spaniards, as she guides them towards Tenochtitlan. Furthermore, one intriguing example presents her as Cortés's equal (fig. 16). The Spanish folding chair entered the indigenous

30. The illustrations of Aztec religious activities in the *Primeros Memoriales*, compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún in the sixteenth century, also include a number of women. However, Betty Ann Brown (1983) has noted a disjunction between image and text in this book; the texts do not adequately discuss the role of women in the illustrated rituals. Brown relates this exclusion to Sahagún's cultural bias and the fact that his male informants were probably not privy to knowledge about women's ritual activities.

pictorial system as an icon of Spanish rule, just as the woven reed throne signified Aztec rule (Diel in press). In a pictorial legal document, called simply *Pièce d'un procès*, both Cortés and Doña Marina are shown seated on the Spanish icon of power; thus, Doña Marina comfortably occupies and issues orders from the seat of Spanish political authority.³¹ Clearly, these colonial historians had no trouble communicating this woman's power.

Second, if we look at the Spanish perspective, though power and high office were officially reserved for men, there are quite a few instances in which women wielded power. Queen Isabel is the most obvious example, but a number of women rose to power in the New World as well. For example, Doña María de Toledo took on the duties of governing Hispaniola when her husband Diego Colón was absent from 1515 to 1520 (McKendrick 1974:43; Maura 1997:25). Hernando de Soto named his wife Isabel de Bobadilla governor of Cuba when he went on his expedition to Florida (Maura 1997:71). When Pedro de Alvarado died in 1541, his wife Beatriz de la Cueva took charge of governing Guatemala (McKendrick 1974:43; Maura 1997:82). Moreover, two women acted as governors of the Venezuelan island of Margarita, and Doña Catalina Montejo succeeded her father as Adelantado of Yucatan (McKendrick 1974:42–43).

Furthermore, studies of women in New Spain reveal that during the sixteenth century, when the extant pictorial histories were created, the status of indigenous women had not yet appreciably declined. Susan Kellogg (1995a:87–88, 104–113; 1997) has shown that from the 1530s to the 1580s, the status of Nahuatl women actually rose somewhat, though this increased status did not last into subsequent centuries. Moreover, S. L. Cline (1986:122–123) has found that many colonial women successfully asserted their claims to wealth and property through the Spanish legal system. Also, Delia Cosentino's (2002:238–242) study of sixteenth-century genealogies associated with Tlaxcala shows the growing importance of women in lineage statements. In these genealogies, representations of

women increase during the sixteenth century, which Cosentino correlates with women assuming more legal prerogatives.

In fact, in the face of population decimation from the conquest and epidemics, descent through the female line became more common in the colonial period, and some indigenous noblewomen were able to assert claims to power in such circumstances (Schroeder 1991:178). In an intriguing entry in the *Tlaxcalan Actas* (1986:56) from 1555, the Tlaxcalan *cabildo* members complain of "how the lordly houses all around Tlaxcala are coming to ruin because of new prerogatives assumed by women." The order a few months later that the *alcaldes* learn "if any woman ever was a ruler or headed a lordly house in Tlaxcala" suggests that one or more women were trying to assert such power in Tlaxcala, perhaps through reference to preconquest precedents (*Tlaxcalan Actas* 1986:56). Finally, in the Mixteca, where before the conquest women shared rule with their husbands, noblewomen did lose official sources of power in that they were banned from serving in town government, yet they managed to retain power in unofficial capacities (Spores 1997; Terraciano 2001:158–197). Thus, recent studies focusing on the role of women in the Spanish Americas have revealed a number of ways in which women were able to gain power in an essentially patriarchal system (see also Alves 1996:213–232; Sousa 1998).

In all probability, the indigenous historians themselves were male and inserted their own biases into the historic record (McCafferty and McCafferty 1988). However, this was surely true both before and after the conquest. Thus, the male bias we witness was likely a mechanism whereby the role of women in politics was obscured for other, more pragmatic, reasons.

Conclusion: An imperial explanation

If the gradual disappearance of women in some pictorial histories is not adequately explained by the colonial context of these works, then the explanation must be found elsewhere. June Nash (1978, 1980) has argued that imperial expansion resulted in the subordination of Aztec women, yet some find this argument problematic because it does not take into account the idea of gender complementarity; although men may have controlled more power than women, men and women interacted as structural complements dialectically negotiating control over social power (McCafferty and McCafferty 1988; Kellogg 1995b,

31. I believe this woman's name glyph of a twisted cord elicits the name Marina, which to the indigenous was pronounced Malina, the Nahuatl word meaning "to twist something." An alphabetic gloss may have once identified the woman as a Doña Isabel; however, today the gloss is highly effaced, which may reveal that a colonial scribe, realizing the mistake, erased it.

1997).³² Nonetheless, my focus on the pictorial histories reveals merit in Nash's argument, although she may have oversimplified the situation in central Mexico. As I have shown, not all pictorial histories neglect the political role of noblewomen, and there are clear patterns in those histories that do ignore their role.

In a political system in which rule is based on genealogy, noblewomen have an important political function that complements that of their husbands; they ensure the nobility of the ruler and his successors. Thus, secondary city-states that still struggle for a place in the imperial hierarchy include women in their histories when they bolster the prestige of the community. For a secondary *altepetl* such as Tepechpan, women establish political alliances and strengthen the legitimacy of the local ruling line; thus, they help to establish the prestige of Tepechpan and are necessary to its history. However, in keeping with Nash's argument, once the legitimacy of the ruling bloodline and the political supremacy of a community are established, the political role of noblewomen is essentially finished, hence their subordination, at least according to the imperial histories of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco. Elizabeth Boone (2000:195) has speculated that noblewomen fade from histories when genealogies lose importance. I relate this loss of importance to the establishment of imperial power. Thus, it is more accurate to speak of an exclusion of noblewomen from Aztec *imperial* history.

Nevertheless, women do play a larger role in Acolhua pictorial histories than they do in those associated with the Tenochca. This discrepancy can be explained by a consideration of the political ranking of the two city-states, which I believe influenced the role of women in their respective histories. Typically, the *tlatoque* of Texcoco and Tenochtitlan gave their daughters in marriage to the rulers of their subject cities, and the next in line to the local throne was the son of the local ruler and the higher-ranking woman (Carrasco 1984).³³ This system secured loyalties between the secondary and primary centers, for the succeeding ruler was related to both the local ruling dynasty and the Tenochca or Texcocan ruling lineage. However, the application of this marital system to the Tenochca and Texcocan

tlatoque themselves indicates that Texcoco must have been subordinate to Tenochtitlan, for later Texcocan *tlatoque* married Mexica noblewomen, thereby revealing Texcoco's political subordination and enforced loyalty to Tenochtitlan (Carrasco 1984:48–55).

Indeed, by failing to identify the final Mexica wives in Texcoco's dynastic list, the painter of the *Mapa Tlotzin* may reveal Texcoco's increasing dissatisfaction with its subordinate status to the Mexica capital. This dissatisfaction became clear after the death of Nezahualpilli, when two of his children asserted their claims to the Texcocan throne.³⁴ Tenochtitlan favored his older son Cacama, who was the son of a Mexica noblewoman, and some Acolhua communities supported Ixtlilxochitl, the younger son (Hicks 1994). Ixtlilxochitl gained support by promising to free the Acolhua from Mexica tyranny, and his marriage to an Acolhua rather than a Mexica noblewoman may have signified his freedom from Tenochtitlan (Carrasco 1984:66). In effect, by excluding Mexica queens from later Texcocan history, Texcocan historians assert Texcoco's autonomy from Tenochtitlan.

In contrast, after the rule of Motecuzoma I, preferred wives for succeeding Mexica *tlatoque* were agnates; that is, wives came from within the Tenochca dynasty itself (Rounds 1982; Carrasco 1984:56–57). Moreover, after the Tepanec War, the Tenochca ruling dynasty established a new succession pattern; rule was no longer passed from father to son as it was in Texcoco, but instead to collateral relatives, usually from brother to brother or uncle to nephew. Carrasco (1984:63) correlates the systems of agnatic marriage and collateral succession to the establishment of the Tenochca ruling dynasty as the supreme power in central Mexico. It is no surprise, then, that the role of women in such a system was diminished. Once the legitimacy of the Mexica bloodline was established, it was unnecessary for Mexica historians to comment further on this bloodline. Furthermore, with Mexica supremacy in central Mexico, a queen from another community, such as Texcoco, could do nothing but dilute the Mexica bloodline and test its loyalties. Thus, the exclusion of noblewomen from Tenochca history sends the message that Mexica *tlatoque* are self-sufficient and always have been, hence their superior powers.

32. For more concerning the role of women in Aztec society, see Bell (1992), Schroeder (1992), Rodriguez-Shadow (1997), Wood (1998), Brumfiel (1996, 2002), and Joyce (2000:133–175).

33. Mexica *tlatoque* also sometimes established their sons as the leaders of subordinate polities; the sons would then marry local noblewomen to secure that polity's loyalties (Carrasco 1999:100).

34. Nezahualpilli's decision to have his wife, the daughter of the Mexica *tlatoani* Axayacatl, executed for adultery (see Evans 1998:177–178) may represent an even earlier attempt to free Texcoco from Tenochca authority.

Of course, Mexica dominance in central Mexico did not last. After the Spanish defeat of Tenochtitlan, the highest-ranking Mexica noblewoman, Isabel Motecuhzoma, married a Spaniard, symbolically creating a new political alliance between the Mexica and the Spanish. Isabel is pictured in the *Codex Cozcatzin* (1994:f1v); thus, only with Tenochtitlan's loss of power does a woman return to Mexica history as a political asset.³⁵ Moreover, this marriage worked two ways; not only did Isabel's marriage create a new symbolic alliance between the Mexica and the Spanish victors, but Juan Cano's marriage to Isabel mimicked Acamapichtli's earlier marriage to Ilancueitl. Just as Aztec migrants to the Valley of Mexico married Toltec noblewomen to increase their prestige and legitimize their presence in the valley, so too did the Spanish conquistadors marry Mexica noblewomen, thereby creating a new strain of noble aristocrats with roots in the Mexican past (Gillespie 1989:227; Douglas 2000:145).

For secondary city-states and upstart communities (including the early Acolhua and Mexica), women were important political assets that could be advertised by these communities to show the nobility, prestige, alliances, and legitimacy of its rulers. However, once imperial power was attained, women could do nothing to further enhance this power; hence their exclusion from the imperial histories of the ruling centers. In short, the political subordination of noblewomen correlates to the growth of empire. Ultimately, women were necessary but ambivalent components of the Aztec political system, for on the one hand, they functioned as political saviors, serving their communities in times of need, and on the other hand, they threatened the status quo in times of power.

REFERENCES

- Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Fernando de
1997 *Obras Históricas*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman. Universidad Autónoma de México, Mexico City.
- Alvarado Tezozomoc, Hernando
1987 *Crónica Mexicana*, ed. Manuel Orozco y Berra. Editorial Porrúa, Mexico City.
- Alves, Abel A.
1996 *Brutality and Benevolence: Human Ethnology, Culture, and the Birth of Mexico*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn.
- Anales de Cuauhtitlan*
1945 "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," in *Códice Chimalpopoca*, trans. Feliciano Velázquez, pp. 3–118. Imprenta Universitaria, Mexico.
- Anales de Tula*
1979 *Anales de Tula: Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City* (Cod. 35-9), ed. Rudolf A. M. van Zantwijk. Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria.
- Aubin, Joseph Marius Alexis
1849–1851 *Mappe de Tepechpan (histoire synchronique et seigneuriale de Tepechpan et de Mexico)*. J. Desportes, Paris.
- Bell, Karen Elizabeth
1992 "Kingmakers: The Royal Women of Ancient Mexico," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- Berdan, Frances
1982 *The Aztecs of Central Mexico: An Imperial Society*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., London.
- Boban, Eugene
1891 *Documents pour servir a l'histoire du Mexique. Catalogue raisonné de la collection de M. E. Eugene Goupil*. Ernest Leroux, Paris.
- Boone, Elizabeth Hill
2000 *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Brown, Betty Ann
1983 "Seen But Not Heard: Women in Aztec Ritual—The Sahagún Texts," in *Text and Image in Pre-Columbian Art: Essays on the Interrelationship of the Verbal and Visual Arts*, ed. Janet Berlo, pp. 119–154. BAR International Series 180, Oxford, England.

35. Isabel is also included in the *Codex Mexicanus* (1952:pl. 17) genealogy.

- Brumfiel, Elizabeth M.
 1996 "Figurines and the Aztec State: Testing the Effectiveness of Ideological Domination," in *Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Rita P. Wright, pp. 143–166. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
 2002 "Asking About Gender: The Historical and Archaeological Evidence," in *Gender in Prehispanic America*, ed. Cecelia Klein, pp. 57–85. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
- Burkhart, Louise M.
 2002 "Gender in Nahuatl Texts of the Early Colonial Period: Native 'Tradition' and the Dialogue with Christianity," in *Gender in Prehispanic America*, ed. Cecelia Klein, pp. 87–107. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
- Calnek, Edward E.
 1982 "Patterns of Empire Formation in the Valley of Mexico, Late Postclassic Period, 1200–1521," in *The Inca and Aztec States 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, pp. 43–62. Academic Press, New York.
- Carrasco, Pedro
 1984 "Royal Marriages in Ancient Mexico," in *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. H. R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem, pp. 41–81. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
 1999 *The Tenochca Empire of Ancient Mexico: The Triple Alliance of Tenochtitlan, Tetzaco, and Tlacopan*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, Domingo
 1997 *Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico*, ed. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
 1998 *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan*, trans. Rafael Tena. Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Mexico City.
- Cline, S. L.
 1986 *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Codex Aubin*
 1981 *Geschichte der Azteken: Codex Aubin und verwandte Dokumente*, ed. Walter Lehmann and Gerdt Kutscher. Mann, Berlin.
- Codex Azcatitlan*
 1995 *Codex Azcatitlan*, ed. Michel Graulich, vol. 2. Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Société des américanistes, Paris.
- Codex Boturini*
 1964 *Antigüedades de México basadas en la recopilación de Lord Kingsborough*, ed. José Corona Nuñez, vol. 2, pp. 8–29. Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Mexico.
- Codex Cozcatzin*
 1994 *Códice Cozcatzin*, ed. Valero de García Lascuráin, Ana Rita. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, DF.
- Codex en Cruz*
 See Dibble 1981.
- Codex Kingsborough*
 1994 *Códice de Tepetlaóztoc (Códice Kingsborough), Estado de México*, ed. Perla Valle. Colegio Mexiquense, Toluca, Mexico.
- Codex Mendoza*
 1992 *The Codex Mendoza*, ed. Frances Berdan and Patricia Anawalt, vol. 3. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Codex Mexicanus*
 1952 "Codex Mexicanus." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 41, supplement.
- Codex Ríos*
 1964 *Antigüedades de México basadas en la recopilación de Lord Kingsborough*, ed. José Corona Nuñez, vol. 3. Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Mexico.
- Codex Telleriano-Remensis*
 See Quiñones Keber 1995.
- Codex Xolotl*
 1996 *Códice Xolotl*, ed. Charles Dibble, vol. 2. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Mexico.
- Cosentino, Delia
 2002 "Landscapes of Lineage: Nahua Pictorial Genealogies of Early Colonial Tlaxcala, Mexico." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Davies, Nigel
 1980 *The Toltec Heritage: From the Fall of Tula to the Rise of Tenochtitlán*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

-
- Dibble, Charles, ed.
1981 *Codex en Cruz*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Diel, Lori Boornazian
2002 "Power, Politics, and Persuasion: The Painted Histories of the *Tira de Tepechpan*." Ph.D. diss., Tulane University.
In press "Painting Colonial Mexico: The Appropriation of European Iconography in Mexican Manuscript Painting," in *Painted Books and Indigenous Knowledge in Mesoamerica: Manuscript Studies in Honor of Mary Elizabeth Smith*, ed. Elizabeth H. Boone. Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Douglas, Eduardo de Jesús
2000 "In the Palace of Nezahualcoyotl: History and Painting in Early Colonial Tetzaco." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin.
2003 "Figures of Speech: Pictorial History in the Quinatzin Map of about 1542." *Art Bulletin* 85:282–309.
- Durán, Fray Diego
1994 *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, ed. Doris Heyden. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Fragment de l'Histoire des Anciens Mexicains*
1981 *Geschichte der Azteken: Codex Aubin und verwandte Dokumente*, ed. Walter Lehmann and Gerdt Kutscher. Mann, Berlin.
- Garibay K. Angel María
1965 "Romántico Nahuatl." *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 5:9–14.
- Gibson, Charles and John B. Glass
1975 "A Census of Middle American Prose Manuscripts in the Native Historical Tradition," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed. Howard F. Cline, vol. 15, pp. 322–400. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Gillespie, Susan
1989 *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexica History*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
1998 "The Aztec Triple Alliance: A Postconquest Tradition," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Tom Cummins, pp. 233–263. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
- Heyden, Doris
1989 *The Eagle, the Cactus, the Rock: The Roots of Mexico—Tenochtitlan's Foundation Myth and Symbol*. BAR International Series, Oxford, England.
- Hicks, Frederic
1994 "Texcoco 1515–1519: The Ixtlilxochitl Affair," in *Chipping Away on Earth: Studies in Prehispanic and Colonial Mexico in Honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble*, ed. Eloise Quiñones Keber, pp. 235–239. Labyrinthos, Lancaster, Ca.
- Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*
1965 "Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in *Teogonía e historia de los mexicanos: tres opúsculos del siglo xvi*, ed. Angel María Garibay K., pp. 23–79. Editorial Porrúa, Mexico.
- Joyce, Rosemary
2000 *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Kellogg, Susan
1995a *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500–1700*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
1995b "The Woman's Room: Some Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic Period." *Ethnohistory* 42:563–576.
1997 "From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenochca Mexico Women, 1500–1700," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, pp. 123–143. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Klor de Alva, Jorge
1989 "Language, Politics, and Translation: Colonial Discourse and Classical Nahuatl in New Spain," in *The Art of Translation: Voices from the Field*, ed. Rosanna Warren, pp. 143–162. Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- León-Portilla, Miguel
1992 *Fifteen Poets of the Aztec World*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Marcus, Joyce
2002 "Breaking the Glass Ceiling: The Strategies of Royal Women in Ancient States," in *Gender in Prehispanic America*, ed. Cecelia Klein, pp. 305–340. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
- Martínez, José Luis.
1972 *Nezahualcōyotl: vida y obra*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico.
- Maura, Juan Francisco
1997 *Women in the Conquest of the Americas*, trans. John Deredita. P. Lang, New York.

- McCafferty, Sharisse D. and Geoffrey G. McCafferty
1988 "Powerful Women and the Myth of Male Dominance in Aztec Society." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7:47–59.
- McKendrick, Melveena
1974 *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the Mujer Varonil*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Motolinía, Fray Toribio de
1985 *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Georges Baudot. Editorial Castalia, Madrid.
- Nash, June
1978 "The Aztecs and the Ideology of Male Dominance." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 4:349–362.
1980 "Aztec Women: The Transition from Status to Class in Empire and Colony," in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, pp. 134–147. Praeger Publishers, New York.
- Noguez, Xavier
1978 *Tira de Tepechpan. Códice colonial precedente del valle de México*, 2 vols. Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, Mexico.
- Nuttall, Zelia
1926 "Official Reports on the Towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan Sent by Francisco de Castaneda to His Majesty, Philip II, and the Council of the Indies, in 1580." *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, Harvard University, vol. XI(2):45–83.
- Offner, Jerome
1983 *Law and Politics in Aztec Texcoco*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Origen de los Mexicanos*
1941 "Origen de los Mexicanos," in *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquin García Icazbalceta, pp. 256–280. Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, Mexico.
- Pérez-Rocha, Emma and Rafael Tena
2000 *La Nobleza Indígena del Centro de México después de la conquista*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
- Quiñones Keber, Eloise
1995 *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Relación de la genealogía*
1941 "Relación de la genealogía y linaje de los Señores que han señoreado esta tierra de la Nueva España," in *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquin García Icazbalceta, pp. 240–256. Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, Mexico.
- Rodríguez-Shadow, María J.
1997 *La Mujer Azteca*. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, Mexico.
- Rounds, J.
1982 "Dynastic Succession and the Centralization of Power in Tenochtitlan," in *The Inca and Aztec States 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, pp. 63–89. Academic Press, New York.
- Schroeder, Susan
1991 *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
1992 "The Noblewomen of Chalco." *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 22:45–86.
- Sousa, Lisa
1998 "Women in Native Societies and Cultures of Colonial Mexico." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Spitler, Susan
N.d. *The Painted Histories of Texcoco: History as Legitimation of the Rule of Nezahualcoyotl*. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
- Spoes, Ronald
1997 "Mixteca Cacicas: Status, Wealth, and the Political Accommodation of Native Elite Women in Early Colonial Oaxaca," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, pp. 185–198. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Terraciano, Kevin
2001 *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Tira de Tepechpan*
See Noguez 1978.
- Tlaxcalan Actas*
1986 *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala (1545–1627)*, ed. James Lockhart, Frances Berdan, and Arthur J. O. Anderson. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Torquemada, Juan de

1986 *Monarquía Indiana*. Editorial Porrúa, Mexico City.

Umberger, Emily

1981 "Aztec Sculptures, Hieroglyphs, and History." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York.

Wood, Stephanie

1998 "Gender and Town Guardianship in Mesoamerica: Directions for Future Research." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 84(2):243–276.

Zantwijk, Rudolf A. M. van

1985 *The Aztec Arrangement: The Social History of Pre-Spanish Mexico*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.