RETHINKING TARASCAN POLITICAL AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

By

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Rethinking Tarascan Political and Spatial Organization

Thesis directed by Professor Payson Sheets and Assistant Professor Gerardo Gutierrez

The *Relación de Michoacán* was the product of collaboration between Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá and elite informants from the former Tarascan Empire. The informants gave testimony that Alcalá transcribed into a document, the *Relación de Michoacán*, which discussed Tarascan religion, worldview (lost), government, warfare, marriage, and the Spanish conquest. Of particular interest is a narrative history describing their ancestors, the *Uacúsecha*, who migrated into Michoacán and became the preeminent political authority. This narrative has been used to interpret ethnohistorical and archaeological data and draw conclusions about Tarascan culture and organizational structure, yet scholars rely on Western models of ethnohistorical and archaeological interpretation such that native Tarascan perspectives are secondary.

This dissertation uses the *Relación de Michoacán* to study Tarascan sociopolitical organization as a work grounded in the cultural knowledge of Tarascan elites. The RM contains two versions of one story, the first being the Spanish translation using colonial nomenclature and the second is the native oral tradition justifying *Uacúsecha* rule. Moreover, we have forty-four illustrations that contain a symbolic framework to recall details in the oral tradition. This research analyzes the narrative to understand how Tarascans viewed their empire, and tests these perceptions against ethnohistorical sources, archaeological data, and current Mesoamerican organizational models (e.g., *altepetl*).

My research findings are significant to understanding the RM, Tarascan organization, and for locating new Tarascan sites. First, events in the narrative, though embellished, can be corroborated with colonial documents. Second, RM data and colonial religious, political, and economic documents show that Tarascan political and socioeconomic links are similar to Aztec *altepetl* units. *Altepetl* were ruled by central leaders (pl. *Tlatoque*) and supported by subordinate leaders who controlled subunits that mirrored

altepetl organization and provided the unit's political and tributary power. The Tarascans had similar networks. Third, the Tarascan Empire had 44 *altepetl*-like units consisting of a head town (*cabecera*), subordinate head towns (*subcabeceras*), and subject towns that served superordinate centers. Finally, using ethnohistorical and archaeological data I created a fuzzy set predictive model to locate archaeological features. These data indicate that Tarascan sociopolitical structure was more intricate and less centralized than previous studies indicate.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The *Relación de Michoacán* was the product of collaboration between Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá and a group of elite informants from the former Tarascan Empire. Alcalá was a member of the Franciscan Order who lived in Michoacán for seven years before the 1538 collaboration and during that time he gained remarkable fluency in the Purépecha (Tarascan) language (Warren 1971:316). The principal Tarascan informants included Don Pedro Cuiniarangari, the adopted brother and former advisor to the last Tarascan ruler, and the Tarascan high priest (*Petámuti)*. Other informants included several of the *Petámuti's* subordinate priests and several *Carari* (scribes) (Alcalá 2000:339). The informants gave testimony that Alcalá transcribed into a three-part document. One part discussed the Tarascan religion and worldview, but sadly it is believed lost. A second part discusses Tarascan government, warfare, marriage customs, and provides a first-hand account from Don Pedro Cuiniarangari about the final days before the Spanish Conquest of A.D. 1522 (Alcalá 2000:648). Of particular interest is a narrative history describing the migration of the Tarascan elites' ancestors, known as the *Uacúsecha,* who migrated into Michoacán and over eight generations established themselves as the preeminent political authority in west Mexico. This narrative history and the parts relating information on religion, government, warfare, marriage, and conquest have been used extensively to interpret ethnohistorical and archaeological data from Michoacán and to draw conclusions about Tarascan culture and organizational structures. And yet, our studies of the *Relación de Michoacán* rely heavily on Western models of ethnohistorical and archaeological interpretation such that the native Tarascan perspective on sociopolitical structure becomes secondary.

The purpose of this dissertation is to use the *Relación de Michoacán* (henceforth RM) to study Tarascan sociopolitical organization because it is a work grounded in the cultural knowledge of the Tarascan elites. The RM is essentially two versions of the same story, the first being the Spanish-language version that Alcalá transcribed using the sociopolitical and economic nomenclature of the period. The second, underlying format is the oral tradition passed down by the Tarascans over the generations to justify the right of the *Uacúsecha* to rule over Michoacán. There is no indication that the

Tarascans developed a phonetic or alphabetic writing system and the narrative is the best piece of history we have. In addition, we have forty-four surviving illustrations that were drawn by the *Carari* to accompany the written testimony. These illustrations contain an underlying symbolic framework that the *Petámuti* used as a pictographic mnemonic device to recall pertinent details during his performance (Roskamp 2000a:238–239). This research works to analyze the oral narrative given by the elites to understand how they viewed their empire and to test these perceptions against ethnohistorical sources, archaeological data, and current theoretical models of Mesoamerican sociopolitical organization (e.g., *altepetl* [Gibson 1964; Lockhart 1992]).

My research findings are significant to our analysis and understanding of the RM, Tarascan sociopolitical organization, and the methods used to locate and analyze archaeological sites within the Tarascan domain. First, my findings suggest that events depicted in the narrative can be corroborated with information from sixteenth-century documents on the economy and politics of the region, albeit with some embellishment by the elites. Second, the data from the RM, when corroborated with colonial religious, political, and economic documents show that the political and socioeconomic links that held the Tarascan polity together are similar to the links that have been found in the Aztec Triple Alliance in the *altepetl* political units (Gibson 1964; Lockhart 1992). *Altepetl* were political units ruled by central leaders (pl. *Tlatoque*) who were supported by an intricate network of subordinate leaders that controlled political units that mirrored the *altepetl*'s organizational structure (Gutierrez 2009:320). These units provided the political and tributary power within the unit. The Tarascans had similar networks of rulers known by their Spanish titles as *Señores* and *Caciques*, bound together by tributary and political ties. The third finding is that Tarascan Empire was made up of over 40 constituent *altepetl*-like units consisting of a head town, or *cabecera*, where the designated leader lived; subcabeceras where subordinate leaders lived, and groups of *barrios*, *estancias*, and *sujetos* that paid tribute to their superordinate centers. Finally, using the information gleaned from the ethnohistorical and archaeological data, I created a model using fuzzy set theory capable of predicting the likely locations of sites that are not as well-analyzed in the scholarly record.

While my research contributes new perspectives on the analysis of the RM and the organizational structure of the Tarascan polity, the underlying concepts and supporting archaeological and ethnohistorical research are the work of many other scholars. Scholars focusing on ethnohistorical reconstruction of the Tarascan Empire (Beltrán 1982) and archaeological reconstruction (Pollard 1993) contributed concepts and data for testing. The *altepetl* model has been discussed for fifty years (Gibson 1964; Gutierrez 2009, 2012; Lockhart 1992) and some Tarascan scholars have either acknowledged possible Tarascan versions of it (e.g., Van Zantwijk 1967) or have even gone so far as to apply the label to Tarascan units (e.g., Silverstein 2000:281). They have contributed considerably to our understanding of colonial political organization (Gerhard 1972; López Sarrelangue 1965) and pinpointed the locations of a large number of archaeological and ethnohistorical sites (Espejel Carbajal 2000, 2007, 2008; Gorenstein 1985a, 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; López Sarrelangue 1965). My work, therefore, is a continuation or next step in our understanding of the Tarascan polity.

The Tarascan Empire ruled nearly all of Michoacán and parts of Guanajuato, Guerrero, and Jalisco during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (A.D. 1440–1522), but the processes of social change that contributed to imperial formation began nearly a millennium before. During the Late Formative period (A.D. 1–300), societies in Michoacán broke from the Formative tradition of small, egalitarian villages to create socially stratified village societies capable of coordinating labor for the construction of monumental architecture and participating in interregional interactions to obtain exotics from across Mexico and Central America (Pollard and Cahue 1999:266). During the Middle and Late Classic periods, these changes became more pronounced with the introduction of the ceremonial center into Michoacán, which resulted in the construction of pyramids with talud-tablero features and sunken plazas at places like Tingambato in southwest Michoacán and Huandacareo in the Lake Cuitzeo basin (Macias Goytia 1990:31; Pollard 1993:7), and also the introduction of metallurgical production technology. Michoacán became a confluence of cultural innovation because the ceremonial center indicates influences from Teotihuacan in central Mexico and the metallurgy came from Ecuador via sea traders (Hosler 1988:832, 1994:105, 1995:100, 1999:12, 2009:199). At the end of the Classic period, the isolated village societies

began to adopt a common red-on-cream ceramic style, indicating cultural interactions despite increasing political tensions (Pollard 1993:12). Figure 1.1 shows the distribution of Tarascan sites in Michoacán.

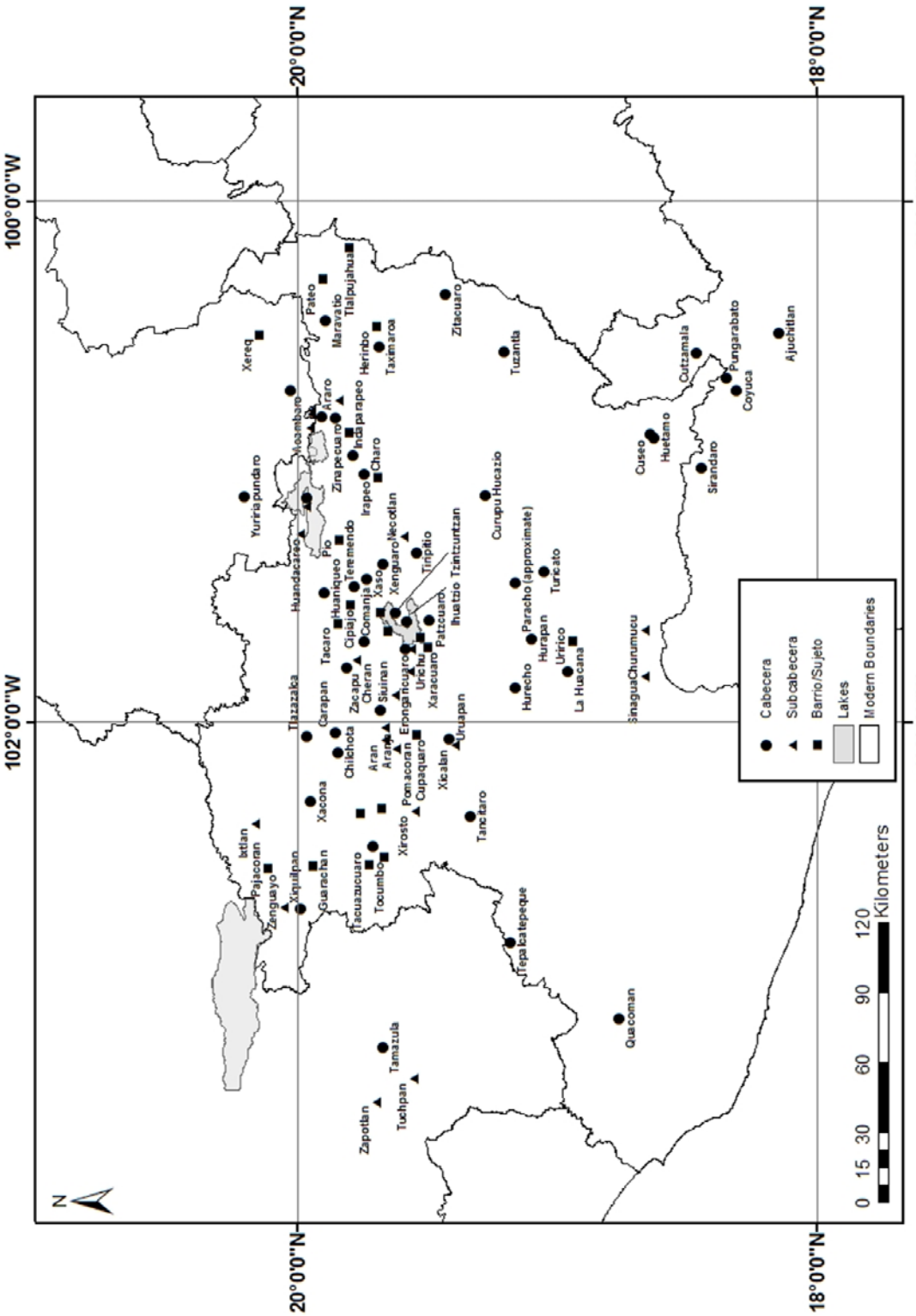


Figure 1.1. Map highlighting the settlements identifiable from ethnohistorical and archaeological site reports that will be used in the text.

During the Early Postclassic (A.D. 900–1100), the change in settlement pattern from open, isolated settlements to aggregated settlements located in defensible areas signified increased militarism and fear of attack (Darras 2009; Pulido Mendez et al. 1996; Pollard 1993). Archaeological surveys indicate a preference for higher-elevation sites during the Late Postclassic as opposed to lower elevations during succeeding years. In the midst of these tensions groups of hunter-gatherers from the north entered west Mexico via the Zacapu lake basin around A.D. 1000 and began adopting elements of local languages and customs (Pollard 1993:13). It is here that the historical narrative in the RM begins (Alcalá 2000:340) by describing the settlement of one particular group known to scholars as the *Uacúsecha*, who were ancestors of the Tarascan ruling elite and who worshiped a hunting deity known as Curícaueri. Around A.D. 1200, the *Uacúsecha* settled in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, a lake basin located on the central Michoacán plateau, and began to insinuate themselves into its political realm.

Gradually, the *Uacúsecha* gained power and influence in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, but environmental changes in the form of rising lake levels threatened their food supplies (Pollard 2008:223). The *Uacúsecha* began raiding nearby settlements for needed supplies but over time this shifted to a pattern of military conquest. The *Uacúsecha* formed a coalition of the three most powerful settlements in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Ihuatzio, Tzintzuntzan, and Pátzcuaro) and led a series of military conquests that secured control of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, the central Michoacán plateau region, and the Lake Cuitzeo basin. They started to institutionalize leadership systems by directly appointing subordinate leaders and presenting them with Tarascan status symbols like gold clamshell tweezers and lip plugs, which had the effect of integrating leaders into the Tarascan political system while simultaneously diminishing their local political ties (Pollard 1994). The *Uacúsecha* also instituted a system of marriage alliances involving endogamous marriages among pure-blood *Uacúsecha* so their offspring would continue to inherit the most prominent centers. At the same time, *Uacúsecha* rulers supported exogamous marriages to produce offspring with ties to local lineages and established a political ideology that viewed sociopolitical power relative to an individual's degree of kinship to the *Uacúsecha* (Beltrán 1982). The *Uacúsecha* also institutionalized tributary payments by creating imperial tributary officers, the *Ocámbecha*, who were

responsible for coordinating tribute payments and taking counts of their designated units to ensure proper military and public works service requirements had been fulfilled.

Subordinate leaders embarked on their own conquests and added more levels to the tributary and sociopolitical systems. The sphere of Tarascan control extended into southern Michoacán along the Balsas River and into Jalisco, allowing the *Uacúsecha* access to rich metal deposits, foodstuffs, and material that were not available in the mineral-poor central plateau. By A.D. 1450, the Tarascan *Uacúsecha* were leaders of an empire that spanned 75,000 square kilometers of west Mexico (Michelet 2004; Pollard 1993). Sometime during the fifteenth century, the lineage from Tzintzuntzan engineered a power shift, taking control from the leaders of Ihuatzio, and maintained their position as leaders of the empire for three generations (Alcalá 2000:542).

In A.D. 1519, the Spanish conquistadores led by Hernán Cortes were making their way toward Tenochtitlan, the capital of the neighboring Aztec Triple Alliance, accompanied by thousands of indigenous warriors who wished to bring about the end of Aztec rule. The Aztec *Huey Tlatoani* Moctezuma Xocoyotzin sent emissaries to the Tarascan *Irecha*, Zuangua, asking for an alliance to destroy the invaders, but Zuangua refused on the grounds that the Spanish might rid him of a mortal enemy (Warren 1985:28). He sent Tarascan emissaries to observe the situation and gather intelligence. Through these interactions Zuangua contracted smallpox and died, leaving the Tarascan Empire without an experienced military leader and statesman (Warren 1985:28). His son, Zinzicha Tangáxoan, was designated Zuangua's successor, but the combined factors of his inexperience, a series of court intrigues that undermined his authority and the completely unknown quantity of the Spanish invaders caused him to surrender to Spanish rule in 1522 with minimal conflict.

After the conquest, the conquistadores set about finding ways to extract wealth from their newly conquered territories and found that the native sociopolitical systems were already efficiently organized for tribute extraction. Cortes, recognizing the advantages of using existing sociopolitical and economic systems to extract wealth, defied the edict of his sovereign, Charles V, by issuing encomienda grants to himself and his followers (Medrano 2010:20; Warren 1985:75). Cortes sent men around west Mexico to

survey the lands and people and determine the potential wealth for exploitation. Cortes ordered scribes to reproduce pictographic tributary accounts that we now know today as the *Matricula de Tributos* (Gibson 1964:34). In Michoacán, Antonio de Carvajal spent two years surveying the populations of Michoacán and presented Cortes with the *Visita de Carvajal* (Carvajal Visit) (Warren 1963:404, 1977:392), which described native and Spanish household figures for village populations and the sociopolitical hierarchy within each unit. Carvajal also described the landscape near each settlement and the distances from the subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias* to their superordinate centers, thereby providing Cortes with the information he need to apportion lands to his followers without severing too many existing tributary links (Warren 1977:386, 1985:248). Cortes sought forgiveness rather than permission by presenting Charles V and the nearly-bankrupt Spanish government numerous gifts of gold and silver (Warren 1985:69).

Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of New Spain commissioned the creation of a document known today as the *Codex Mendoza*, a comprehensive written and pictographic history of pre-Hispanic Aztec life and tributary obligations in central Mexico (Berdan 1996:115; Berdan and Anawalt 1992). Other economic documents include the *Suma de Visitas*, a survey of population figures, site locations, and tributary obligations following a virulent plague in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905), and the *Libro de Tasaciones*, a compilation of all tribute paid by *cabeceras* and their subject towns from approximately 1530–1580 (Cossío 1952). Finally, the *Relaciones Geográficas* are responses to a 50-question survey of the lands, people, history, resources, hospitals, and pre-Hispanic cultures of Mexico (Acuña 1984, 1987, 1988).

Documents were produced by members of the European religious orders to gather information about pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and cultural practices because early attempts to prevent idolatry by destroying village idols and paper codices had failed (Medrano 2010:16). Sahagún's *History of the Things of the People of New Spain,* Pomar and Zorita's volume on Mesoamerican history, and Motolinia's *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España* described pre-Hispanic culture in considerable detail. Beaumont (1932a, 1932b, 1932c) wrote the *Cronica de Michoacán* in the late seventeenth century as a comprehensive religious and political history. Although Beaumont's work postdates the conquest by over

two centuries, he draws on the documentation produced by earlier generations of Spanish authors, sometimes verbatim, to describe events that shaped the history of the region (Beaumont 1932a, 1932b, 1932c). Thus, his account collects information that has been lost from the works of other scholars (e.g., *Relación de los Tributos de Tzintzuntzan y Tlapuhajua* [Gorenstein 1985a:13]), and provides a means to fill in some of the gaps.

The final class of documents was created during political and legal struggles between Spanish authorities, *encomenderos*, indigenous nobles, and indigenous commoners (Medrano 2010:42). The first thirty years following the conquest was time of great change as the Spanish government initially dismantled the lower levels of the indigenous sociopolitical hierarchy, which resulted in many nobles losing lands and titles that had been in their lineage for generations. Even the highest-ranking families were not immune: the immediate family of the Tarascan ruler fought in the courts and made deals in the government to win back lands they had lost (López Sarrelangue 1965:187). Spanish *encomenderos* fought for control of lands against individuals and even entire villages in Michoacán, as well as for recognition of their status by people who continued to pay tribute to their native lords despite Spanish edicts to the contrary.

It was not until 1554 that the Spanish realized the importance of the indigenous nobility in coordinating tributary obligations and gradually they created a new indigenous aristocracy based on descent from the pre-Hispanic nobility (López Sarrelangue 1965:98; Medrano 2010:42). Nobles were required to submit documentation certifying their parentage to be eligible members of the aristocracy, and some of the only documents available came from pre-Hispanic contexts. In this regard, indigenous documents represented an integral class of ethnohistory because it told the story from the indigenous point of view. Indigenous authors produced works of a wide range, including creation myths like the *Popol Vuh* (Tedlock 1985) and annals histories of pre-Conquest Mesoamerican lifeways like those produced by Tezozomoc (2003) and Ixtlilchochitl (2000). In addition, there were oral history accounts of life before the conquest, like the history told by Don Melchor Caltzin about the sacking of Tzintzuntzan by lord Zizispandaquare (Monzón et al. 2009; Roskamp 2012:122), as well as documents which were

produced by people in the villages to provide a record of ownership and events that occurred in the past (Medrano 2010:103).

These documents provide valuable information about colonial tributary and political structures, but since they were largely based on indigenous sociopolitical structure they can yield insights into how indigenous societies were organized before the conquest. The challenge in using these documents lies in the fact that the Spanish instituted a hybrid sociopolitical system that combined Spanish indigenous political ranks and titles (Gibson 1964:35). The prevalent ranks were the *ciudad*, *pueblo*, *barrio*, and *estancia*, while the political titles included *Señores Universales*, *Señores Principales*, *Caciques*, *gobernadores*, and *principales* (Gibson 1964:35; López Sarrelangue 1965:37). Understanding the indigenous sociopolitical system requires understanding how these titles corresponded to native ranks, and how the ranks changed as a result of interactions with the Spanish. Fortunately, there are current ethnohistorical studies that provide insight into the political structures and how they relate to Spanish descriptions. Using techniques of "upstreaming" (i.e., using ethnohistorical sources to work backward through time) and "downstreaming" (i.e. studying the results of events in the past through documentary evidence) (Axtell 1979:5), it is possible to assess the changes brought about by colonial authorities and extrapolate back to the pre-Hispanic era.

The members of the indigenous elite, particularly those in the highest ranks, became members of a new indigenous aristocracy that assisted in governing the indigenous populations in New Spain, ultimately answering to a viceroy designated by Charles V, and a ruling body of officials known as the First and Second *Audiencias* (López Sarrelangue 1965:54; Medrano 2010:21). The indigenous elites adopted the Christian religion and changed their names, often adopting a Christian first name and their indigenous name became the surname (López Sarrelangue 1965:162). For example, Zinzicha Tangáxoan was baptized and became Don Francisco Tangáxoan, the first indigenous governor of Tzintzuntzan. As before, these positions became largely hereditary titles that were passed from father to eldest son, although there were some exceptions, such as Don Pedro Cuiniarangari's temporary ascension to the governorship when Don Francisco Tangáxoan was tried and executed by the courts for idolatry and

defiance of Spanish law, and his sons Don Francisco Taríacuri and Don Antonio Huitzimengari were not of age to take over (López Sarrelangue 1965; Warren 1985).

Tzintzuntzan, the former capital of the Tarascan Empire, retained its status as *cabecera* (according to Spanish terminology) from A.D. 1522–1538, when the Bishop of Michoacán, Don Vasco de Quiroga, petitioned to move the capital from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro, citing a lack of adequate water sources and too much shade offered by the mountains known today as Cerro Tariacuri and Cerro Yaguarato to be a proper seat for the church (Enfield and O'Hara 1999:588; Stanislawski 1947a:140). In addition, Quiroga argued that Pátzcuaro, not Tzintzuntzan, was the ancient capital of the Tarascan polity (Warren 1985:5). The nobles of Tzintzuntzan vigorously defended their rights due to them because of their ancestors' status as leaders of the empire, but Quiroga stated that he had evidence proving that Pátzcuaro had been the original capital; thus, the Tzintzuntzan nobility's claims were invalid (Warren 1985:5). While Quiroga pushed for a move to Pátzcuaro, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, pushed for the capital to be moved east to the Guayangareo Valley where the new city of Valladolid was being constructed (Stanislawski 1947a:120). Thus, there were three factions competing for the ruling seat of power, but ultimately the *cabecera* was transferred from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro in 1540 (López Sarrelangue 1965:61).

It was around 1538 that the RM was produced (López Sarrelangue 1965; Warren 1971). As a collaborative work, the written testimony was filtered through the cultural knowledge, perceptions, and experiences of the indigenous elites as well the Spanish religious and secular authorities. The elites had a vested interest in maintaining their social status because the loss of the *cabecera* meant a significant social demotion, as well as the loss of significant revenue from tributaries. The ethnohistory indicates that Tzintzuntzan controlled tribute from over 80 different settlements in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin alone (Paredes Martinez 1984:53). Although the majority of tribute went to either the government or the encomendero of Tzintzuntzan, the elites still received some form of tribute. Thus, their testimony can be seen as a rebuttal of the criticisms waged about the legitimacy of Tzintzuntzan as the capital city. For the secular authorities, the *Relación de Michoacán* represented information that could be used to determine

the status of the capital and learn more about the economic structure of the region. It has been suggested that the RM served as the prototype for subsequent documents like the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Acuña 1984, 1987, 1988). The religious authorities wanted to find ways to facilitate conversion to Christianity, and the testimony provided information on the pre-Conquest worldview. However, for the elites, religious and secular authorities to achieve their objectives required translating the original Purépecha oral tradition into a Spanish-language document and despite Alcalá's command of the Tarascan language this was no easy task.

Translation is a complex process with great potential for misinterpretation, especially if the languages do not have analogous terminology. In this case, the Purépecha (Tarascan) language and colonial Spanish are completely unrelated languages, which can increase the potential for misinterpretation. Though the RM is a rich source of information on Tarascan history, the Spanish may not have been able to discriminate between the different levels of sociopolitical organization, or the descriptors they used compressed the various levels of indigenous organization together. For instance, Nahuatl-language documents from central Mexico show that the Aztecs used a system of organization known as the *altepetl* ("water hill") (Lockhart 1992:15), which was made up of several constituent levels of subunits, but Spanish observers imposed completely different settlement terminology (e.g., *cabecera, sujeto*) that obscured these levels. Moreover, studies in central and southern Mexico have shown that the Spanish did not always apply the sociopolitical structure consistently to what they witnessed (Borah and Cook 1960; Warren 1977). Thus, where one observer might see a *barrio* another would see an *estancia*, leading to an increased potential for misinterpretation. For example, in the *Suma de Visitas* (SV), nearly every subordinate town is considered a *barrio*, despite testimony from other sources describing them as *pueblos* or *estancias* (Paso y Troncoso 1905).

Scholarly interpretations are based on the reading of the document as a product of the collaboration between the two cultures, but not necessarily as a product of the Tarascan elite worldview. As a result, there has been a general acceptance of the application of anachronistic concepts like European "divine kingship" to the socially stratified societies of Mesoamerica, when the concept did not even manifest in

Europe until 1648 after the Peace of Westphalia (Daneels and Gutierrez 2012:2; Hansen 2000:7). The political landscape of Mesoamerica was different, but we subscribe to the idea that the Aztecs and Tarascans had divine "kings" in the same sense of the word because their roles in the religious and political realms overlapped considerably. The members of the highest Tarascan lineage, the *Vanácaze* (subset of the *Uacúsecha*), were also part of the *Axámencha* priestly caste charged with sacrificial duties during religious festivals, and according to the RM the rulers were the corporeal avatars of their gods (Alcalá 2000:469). Spanish chroniclers did not help the situation by translating native terms into Spanish equivalents, or by borrowing terms used by other cultures. For instance, the term most commonly used to describe the Tarascan leader is *Cazonci*, but we now know that the term was used derisively by the Aztecs to mean "old sandal," or "old shoe." Yet *Cazonci* is the title used in the RM, and it because of its wide use in the ethnohistory it has become embedded in scholarly studies, with a few exceptions (e.g., Maldonado 2008). The term *Irecha* is a Purépecha word, but it has been most closely translated as "king" (Gilberti 1962:438), which further reinforces the idea of divine kingship (Daneels and Gutierrez 2012:2). Our understanding is clouded by misperceptions of the Spanish and our own assumptions.

Recent research into ethnohistorical analysis and interpretation has led to new insights into understanding the underlying principles at work within societies that use non-alphabetic writing systems (e.g., Boone 2012). As stated above, studies of the imagery show that there is an underlying symbolic framework that may have been used to transmit information to a performer, who can in turn convert the visual information into the spoken narrative. Oral traditions require certain rules of memorization to retain the core elements of the narrative over the course of generations and the images would support such performances (Vansina 1985:51). However, since these types of writing systems require specific knowledge to decode information from objects and images, which means that scholars studying an object without that knowledge are at a distinct disadvantage (Boone 2012:212). However, scholars have made progress toward understanding the underlying principles of these systems even if they cannot read them by focusing on the ways in which the documents are produced, or by comparing available oral traditions and local knowledge with the documents (Boone 1998, 2000, 2011, 2012). This progress dovetails with

the recent insights into indigenous sociopolitical systems, such that our understanding of the social structure of central and southern Mexico is much greater because scholars have found ways to understand Spanish terminology as it pertains to indigenous units.

Moreover, new insights into the structure of ancient political units have led to greater understanding from an archaeological perspective. Archaeologists have made progress in understanding the "city-state," a small, geographically circumscribed territory with political subordinates, control of a surrounding hinterland, basic self-sufficiency (i.e. basic subsistence needs met), and a perceived ethnic distinctiveness (Hansen 2000; Hodge 1984, 1997; Weber 1968; Yoffee 1997:258). This model has led to new insights into political organization, but the Aztec *altepetl* is form of sociopolitical organization that is the most applicable to the current study (Gibson 1964; Gutierrez 2012; Lockhart 1992). The concept of the *altepetl* and the archaeological investigations into its structure will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

The significance of these advancements is considerable for the understanding of Tarascan organizational structure based on ethnohistorical, archaeological, and remote sensing research. This understanding is particularly important within the larger contexts of understanding Mesoamerican sociopolitical organization. The most comprehensive models available about Tarascan sociopolitical organization suggest that there were 26 organizational units (Beltrán 1982, Pollard 1993:126), but their proposed models only cover the central and southern parts of Michoacán and central Tarascan geopolitical core; thus, there is not a clear picture of organization throughout the territory. Furthermore, there is little available discussion on Tarascan political organization at levels below the *cabecera*, to see how these integrate into the discussion.

The original manuscript of the RM was taken to Spain in the 1540s, and the original manuscript is kept in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de Escorial (C.IV.5) (Stone 2004: xi). The document consisted of three parts bound together into a single volume but at some point it was unbound and stitched back together into a different order. Moreover, it appears that some of the illustrations that accompanied certain passages were removed and are now believed to be lost (Escobar Olmedo 2001). Despite the loss

of information, multiple facsimile editions of the RM have been produced over the last 140 years, most notably the editions of Paul Kirchhoff (1956), the 1980 Morelia edition, the 2000 edition produced by the Colegio de Michoacán, and the 2001 edition produced by Real Biblioteca in Spain (Escobar Olmedo 2001). In addition, there have been several non-Spanish editions published in Japanese, French, and English (Craine and Reindorp 1970). Each edition has its own organizational structure according to the interpretations of the editors as to how it should be presented. For example, the Craine and Reindorp (1970) edition presents Tarascan government, warfare, marriage, and culture as Part One, while the Colegio de Michoacán edition present it as Part Three (Alcalá 2000). Likewise, the surviving illustrations are numbered differently among editions.

In this project, I use the 2000 edition of the RM produced by the Colegio de Michoacán (Alcalá 2000), which is a comprehensive edition with in-depth scholarly studies of the symbolism, structure, linguistic meanings, and archaeological correlatives. In the 2000 edition, Part One is the discussion of Tarascan religious beliefs; Part Two is the narrative history of the *Uacúsecha* lineage; and Part Three is the discussion of Tarascan culture. I refer to the parts of the text and illustrations according the Colegio de Michoacán's numbering conventions which use Roman, rather than Arabic, numerals. In writing the document, Alcalá split up the testimony into smaller segments on the assumption that anyone reading the document would become bored with an endless stream of text and illustrations (Alcalá 2000:340). Each segment of the story is headed by a brief title describing the main events in the segment, and it appears that for the most part Alcalá understood how the different parts of the narrative fit together. Most scholars refer to these segments as "chapters" of the story.

However, I substitute the term "episode" for chapter because the latter term reinforces the primacy of the written text over the oral tradition. Instead, it is more useful to conceptualize the narrative in a visual and auditory format similar to a television show, which has long-term story arcs that carry on throughout the length of the show and medium-term arcs that run for a particular series of episodes. There are also standalone episodes that may not have impact on the overall story, but contribute to character development. The long-term story in the RM is the gradual growth of *Uacúsecha* power and authority in

Michoacán, culminating in the wars of conquest in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:519). Within these episodes, there are smaller story arcs that focus on the lives of successive generations of *Uacúsecha* ancestors, as well as isolated episodes that give greater insight into major characters in the story.

As a result of adopting the 2000 edition, I also use spelling conventions common to the text. The spelling of Purépecha words and toponyms varies by author and time period; for example, some use "U" instead of "V" (e.g., "*Uacúsecha*" vs. "*Vacúsecha*"), or "Z" instead of "Ch" ("Zizispandaquare" vs. "Chichispandaquare") (Acuña 1987; Alcalá 2000). This uncertainty stems from the original Spanish orthography of Purépecha, which often changed within text, and sometimes even within a single sentence. Where possible, I use place names that are listed in the text unless there are multiple places with the same name. There are three different places named "Hetúquaro" in the text and Alcalá did not attempt to distinguish between them. Scholars like Espejel Carbajal (2000, 2007, 2008) have spent considerable time linking ethnohistorical places to real-world sites, and I use their terms where applicable to make distinctions. Furthermore, I use names that are more distinctive in the ethnohistory. For example, while the RM uses the name "Cumachen" to refer to a large political unit in the north, I use the more common name "Comanja" because it distinguishes it from similar place-names like "Comachuen," which is located west of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

I hypothesize that the Tarascan sociopolitical system was far more complex and intricately arranged than previous studies have suggested. The polity was composed of subordinate political units controlled by designated rulers who derived their wealth and status from the political, economic, and religious institutions established by elites of Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro. Below these rulers were groups of subordinate officials who controlled smaller settlements units like subordinate *cabeceras* (*subcabeceras*), and smaller units like *barrios, estancias,* or sujetos. My interpretation of a multi-tiered system addresses a topic that has only received limited discussion in scholarly works (e.g., Pollard 1993:86). When viewed in conjunction with the *altepetl* model and available archaeological data, ethnohistorical sources like the RM and *Suma de Visitas* (Paso y Troncoso 1905), and remote sensing

imagery we begin to see levels of complexity similar to those found in the neighboring Aztec Triple Alliance.

In the chapters that follow, I study Tarascan sociopolitical organization using ethnohistorical, archaeological, and remote sensing techniques. Chapter Two covers the theoretical bases of the research and how this project contributes to our understanding of Mesoamerican sociopolitical organization. In Chapter Three, I begin with the analysis of the RM narrative in Episodes II–IX, which comprises the first story arc about the earliest known ancestors of the *Uacúsecha*, and their migration from the north into the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. Their story sets the stage for later events, and it is here that we view elements important to later Tarascan culture, such as the behavior expected of *Uacúsecha* leaders.

Chapter Four covers Episodes X–XIX, which focuses on the exploits of Taríacuri, the son of one of the *Uacúsecha* lords who founded the city of Pátzcuaro. Taríacuri is considered a great culture-hero of the Tarascan people, and the architect of the geopolitical expansion described in Episode XXXI. We learn of the challenges faced by the *Uacúsecha* and how he overcomes these challenges with a combination of statecraft, marriage alliances, and military skill.

Chapter Five consists of Episodes XX–XXXV in which an aging Taríacuri begins teaching his son Hiquíngaje and his nephews Hiripan and Tangáxoan about the art of statecraft, with the intention that they will become the only *Señores* in Michoacán. The culmination of the story is Episode XXXI, in which Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje begin their campaigns of conquest. In Episode XXXII, the *Petámuti* concludes his recitation by castigating the assembled audience of elites for their failure to live up to the standards of their ancestors (Alcalá 2000:526). Chronologically, Episodes XXXIII and XXXIV take place during earlier points in the narrative. For example, Episode XXXIII takes place at some point between Episodes X–XXVIII and describes the capture of Taríacuri's son Tamápucheca by warriors from Yzíparámucu. Likewise, Episode XXXIV, which describes the assassination of the Corínguaro elite Cando by Taríacuri's daughter, is set sometime between Episode XXII and XXXI. It is not clear why these two stories are placed at the end. Episode XXXV is an epilogue briefly chronicling the intervening period between the creation of the empire and the Spanish conquest.

In Chapter Six, I use the ethnohistorical information from the RM and information from a variety of other sources to rebuild the sociopolitical units within Michoacán. From these data, I have determined that there were approximately forty-four sociopolitical units that answered to the Tarascan elite in Tzintzuntzan. Each unit was unique in its composition, with most developing systems with two or three "tiers," consisting of one or two regional centers (*cabeceras*), subordinate centers that answered to the capital (*subcabeceras*) and subject towns that had no subordinates (*barrios, estancias, sujetos*). Three tiers were typical, although there were some that had only two discernible tiers and others with as many as four (e.g., Turicato). I compare the ethnohistorical data for these different political units with the available archaeological data on surveys, excavations, and analyses from published sources as a means of assessing the strength of the ethnohistorical conclusions. I also use remote sensing analysis techniques to study the archaeological sites for further insights.

Chapter Seven describes the development of a settlement pattern model that utilizes "fuzzy set theory" (Zadeh 1965:338) to predict the suitable places for ancient human settlements using slope, aspect and elevation data derived from the ethnohistorical and archaeological research. Fuzzy set theory is a branch of mathematical theory that classifies objects according to their degree of membership within a particular category instead of placing the object in one confined category (Klir et al. 1999:6; Zadeh 1965:338). These types of analyses are more flexible because they can be calibrated to show different degrees of membership and thus analyze vaguely defined concepts like settlement suitability, which can be affected by different environmental and social factors. The resulting models provide a flexible tool for the analysis and identification of potential areas for future investigations into settlement patterns in the region.

In Chapter Eight, I discuss the results of the previous chapters, using the available data to discuss the structure of Tarascan sociopolitical organization as it pertains to the descriptions in the RM and provide a terminological framework for analyzing Tarascan sociopolitical structure using indigenous Purépecha-language words. I also provide a potential model of Tarascan historical development that is based on the data from previous chapters. Finally, I discuss the research project as a whole and provide potential directions for future research. This project shows that the Tarascan Empire had a sociopolitical system

composed of multiple political subunits and each unit was connected to superordinate or subordinate units via a complex system of political and tributary obligations. It also shows that Tarascan organizational structure has more similarities to other Mesoamerican societies than previously realized.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Frameworks

This chapter presents the rationale for researching Tarascan sociopolitical organization using the RM as an extension of indigenous Tarascan cultural knowledge. In this chapter, I discuss the contexts for creation of ethnohistorical documents in pre-Colonial and Colonial Spain and the development of ethnohistorical analytical techniques that contribute to a better understanding of native documents, as well as how they compensate for the "filters" or biases introduced by Spanish religious and secular officials and indigenous elites through their own experiences and perceptions. In addition, I discuss the use of the "city-state" and *altepetl* models of sociopolitical organization and how they apply to this research, as well as archaeological research in west Mexico and how it contributes to the understanding of Mesoamerican sociopolitical organization. I continue with the use of remote sensing to study Tarascan settlement in archaeological and ethnohistorical contexts, conclude with how fuzzy set theory can be used to build settlement pattern models, and how all of these elements contribute to the study of Tarascan sociopolitical organization.

Ethnohistorical Development

Ethnohistory has developed into a field of inquiry that has a greater awareness of the aims and desires of document creators and a better facility for evaluating documents to understand the contexts in which they were created (Boone 1998, 2000, 2011, 2012; Carmack 1972:230; Harkin 2010:125; Trigger 1983, 1986, 1989). In turn, this has resulted in a greater engagement with non-Western modes of data collection, recording and transmission that give new insights into the information as well as the people who encoded it. In this section, I discuss techniques for analyzing ethnohistorical documents to illustrate how they will be useful to the analysis of the RM and related sources like the *Visita de Carvajal* (Warren 1977, 1985), the *Suma de Visitas* (Paso y Troncoso 1905), the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Acuña 1984, 1987,1988), and the *Libro de Tasaciones* (Cossío 1952).

From the first contact between New World natives and Europeans to the present day, there has been uncertainty on the part of Westerners regarding the use of native texts. The existence of indigenous books

was well-known to the Spanish conquistadores, colonists, and officials, but despite this knowledge there was still a great potential for misunderstandings because codices produced by cultures of Mesoamerica and South America differed both physically and conceptually from European books (León-Portilla 1992:313). Physically, codices were made from bark paper painted and folded into a compressed from, in contrast to the bound books found in European libraries (León-Portilla 1992:316). Conceptually, the documents covered a range of different topics from lineages to historical narratives, but the methods of data encoding made use of pictographs and phonetic symbols that were not read like the linear alphabetic characters in European books (Boone 1998). Furthermore, the methods of data retrieval were different because a native specialist familiar with the document in question had to be present to "read" the data to audiences (Boone 2012; Medrano 2010).

What emerged in the New World during the sixteenth century was a hybrid system of record keeping that included the use of both Spanish and native texts because the Spanish had to report tribute payments, land ownership, town histories, and indigenous elite genealogies, but to do that required the use of native texts as evidence to substantiate claims (López Sarrelangue 1965; Medrano 2010). Thus, native texts became valuable sources of information that were considered admissible in legal cases and for political matters (e.g., establishment of a new indigenous aristocracy) despite the inability of Spanish officials to read them (Medrano 2010).

However, one of the (perhaps unanticipated) side effects of this hybrid colonial documentary system was the introduction of forged documents (Medrano 2010). The early destruction of native codices as part of Spanish *conquistadores'* attempts to eliminate idolatry and the massive depopulation of Mexico caused by the introduction of smallpox, malaria, yellow fever, mumps and measles left holes in the documentary record that enterprising individuals could use to their advantage to gain political power or access to tribute (Medrano 2010). "Primordial land titles" submitted to Spanish authorities often made claims of sovereignty or political dominance that were not true accounts of the past but were accepted anyway. Another form of manipulation was the creative reinterpretation of surviving documents to align with the political situation in the colonial present. For example, the assignation of leadership to a specific

individual or family by Spanish officials during the early colonial period despite the more corporate leadership structure of the pre-conquest political units led to reinterpretation in which these families were *always* in power. These types of manipulations, as well as the tendency of individuals in power to skew historical narratives in their favor, led to accusations of these texts as being overly biased and therefore without merit in scholarly analyses (Chase et al. 2009:175). However, as I illustrate below ethnohistorical texts can be useful for analyses even with inherent biases from their creators.

Nor was bias restricted to colonial period New Spain. One of the inherent problems in ethnohistory is that has only recently gained attention is an implicit bias against cultures without conventional alphabetic or pictographic writing systems, resulting in a dichotomy separating "historic" and "prehistoric" cultures (Boone 2012:212). Societies with conventional writing systems are classified as historic because scholars can decipher written texts and draw conclusions about what the author(s) are saying since the words are at least somewhat mutually intelligible (Boone 2012). Prehistoric cultures relied on alternative methods of data encoding and transmission by relying on oral histories, purely semasiographic (i.e., relating an idea visually without detouring through language) texts, or even the use of objects. Because these writing systems are not mutually intelligible with conventional writing and interpretive systems, prehistoric cultures are often classified as people lacking true history, while scholars are prevented from engaging in productive investigations. Under this strict dichotomy, cultures like the Inca, Sioux, and Tarascans would fall into the "prehistoric" category despite evidence that each had a coherent system of data collection in the respective forms of the Inca *quipu* (Boone 2012:223), the Sioux Winter Count (Boone 2012:218), and the Tarascan oral histories supplemented with illustrations (Roskamp 2000a:237–238). However, we know that these are coherent systems of record keeping because of the intricacies that went into the production of the physical objects as well as the conceptual frameworks that frame the relation of information (Boone 2012).

Even though we know that these are coherent systems, there is still the problem of getting at the encoded data, which is not always possible if there are no longer any individuals capable of "reading" these documents (Boone 2012). This is not an insurmountable problem, however, as there are still

methods available for analyzing the underlying cultural knowledge and principles that governed the document's creation (Boone 2000:10, 2012), which can lead to new insights even without the ability to fully read the encoded information.

The techniques used in this project include analyzing the *type* of history presented in a document as well as its overall *structure*, an approach developed gradually over course of the twentieth century as scholars sought ways to better understand native codices and texts (Boone 2000, 2012; Calnek 1977; Radin 1920). The type refers to subject matter presented in the document and there are three general categories: *res gestae*, cartographic, and annals (Boone 2000:10). *Res gestae* literally means "deeds done" (Boone 2000:10) and describes narrative histories to illustrate important events pertaining to a particular group or lineage and to establish the group in antiquity (Boone 2000:10). *Cartographic* histories depict notable events in a spatial context to show a group's movements, alliances, and conquests over time (Boone 2000:10). *Annals* histories describe all events that occurred in a political unit or town during a specific year (Boone 2000:10).

Each type relates information in a particular format with its own unique sets of advantages and disadvantages. For example, annals-type histories are excellent documents for understanding change in a chronological framework but the narrowness of its geographic perspective tends to weed out information on migrations and conquests at other locations unless explicitly noted by the author (Boone 2000:65). In contrast, *res gestae* and cartographic histories give a wide variety of information on events that happened to a lineage or society, but they lack the chronological resolution to date events to a specific year without explicit mention or corroboration with other documents (Boone 2000:71).

It should also be noted that it is common within documents to shift between types if it becomes necessary to relate specific information to the reader (Boone 2000:82). For example, a narrative might shift from *res gestae* to cartographic history if the protagonists were involved at a pivotal event at another location. This situates events in geographic space while still emphasizing the importance of the lineage to the audience. These data give greater insight into the motivations of the narrator and the protagonists in relating these elements of the story.

The second method, determining the structure, involves breaking the document down into its constituent parts or episodes to evaluate the type of information presented in each episode as well as its underlying symbology (Boone 2000:10; Calnek 1977:135). The analysis of each episode shows how they come together to form a coherent narrative and facilitates the development of analytical typologies to detect important parts of the document (Boone 2000:10). For instance, the analyst can look at the choice of words in the document or the symbolic representations given in illustrations or pictographs to see how they compare to information given in other ethnohistorical documents.

Breaking down the document into type and structure also permits the analyst to see potential biases that would affect interpretations (Boone 2000:10). For example, we are fairly certain that the RM's underlying oral history was intended to justify the *Uacúsecha* right to rule and this took on even greater significance in light of the intended transfer of the *cabecera* to Pátzcuaro (Enfield and O'Hara 1999:588; López Sarrelangue 1965:66; Stanislawski 1947a:120; Warren 1985:5). The Tzintzuntzan elites had a vested interest in maintaining their authority, which means they may have overemphasized their direct ancestors' roles in past events while simultaneously underemphasizing the roles of fellow *Uacúsecha*. Moreover, these techniques contribute to a more nuanced approach to the analysis of political structure because they encourage careful analysis of references to Spanish settlement and political terminology within each episode in relation to what is known about Mesoamerican political organization.

The approach here will enable me to break the RM narrative into its constituent episodes and analyze the various types of information to understand Tarascan sociopolitical organization. The document contains a wealth of information on the *Uacúsecha* lineage and events that shaped west Mexican history during the Middle and Late Postclassic. Analyzing the types of information will enable me to look at how the Tarascan elites described their history, as well as evaluate the degree to which Spanish translation and sociopolitical reorganization affected the written version of the document. With these data, I can analyze Tarascan sociopolitical organization from the native perspective, but I will require an analytical model of Mesoamerican political organization for comparison. This is the focus of the following section.

The City-State Model and the Altepetl

In this section, I discuss three models of sociopolitical organization that have been applied in some form to the study of Mesoamerican political systems, including their strengths, weaknesses, and the cases to which they have been applied. In order of relevance to the current research project, these are the segmentary state, the city-state, and the *altepetl*. The *altepetl* is a form of political organization that is indigenous to Mesoamerica and provides the best chance of understanding political organization from the Tarascan perspective.

Segmentary states are those polities in which the ruling lineage segments or splits off to form new ruling lineages that control autonomous or semi-autonomous units within the polity (Marcus and Feinman 1994:7; Southall 1956). Anthropologist Aidan Southall (1956) coined the term to describe the political organization he saw among Alur society in Africa. One reason for segmentation includes protest over the leader's choice of heir, such as an elder son founding a new lineage rather than being subordinate to a younger brother (Southall 1956:37). Other types of segmentation occur through the establishment of marriage alliances with neighboring lineages and economic interactions between different leaders and their family members. Soon after proposing the term however, Southall distanced himself because the term "segmentary state" implied that his model was applicable to state level societies, even though the Alur were not (Marcus and Feinman 1994:8). However, scholars quickly saw the utility of Southall's model and it was applied to other areas of the world (Marcus and Feinman 1994:8).

Ulyses Beltrán (1982) suggested a similar type of arrangement using descriptions of Tarascan marriage alliances and lineage interactions from the RM. Beltrán proposed that the *Uacúsecha* ruling lineages of the *Eneani*, *Zacapu-Hireti*, and the *Vanácaze* established two types of marriage alliances that contributed the development of the Tarascan imperial system. The first type was restricted to the ruling lineages to create new ethnic *Uacúsecha* offspring eligible to succeed as leaders of Pátzcuaro, Ihuatzio, and Tzintzuntzan. This was done by the designation of a "principal wife," or *Yreri* in Purépecha, who was herself part of the *Uacúsecha* lineage (Beltrán 1982:102). The second type of marriage alliance was done by intermarrying with the daughters of subject rulers to create offspring with the necessary pedigree

to rule subject political centers. As Tarascan territory grew through the conquests initiated by both the *Uacúsecha* and their subject rulers (Alcalá 2000:524), the lineages began splitting off to place new rulers at successively lower sociopolitical levels. In Beltrán's (1982) view, these two types of marriage alliances contributed to the centralization of Tarascan rule because only those who could claim direct lineal descent from one of the ruling lineages was eligible to rule. Lineage segmentation is a compelling model for the ethnohistorical study of Tarascan sociopolitical organization, but this project requires a model capable of evaluating organization utilizing archaeological as well as ethnohistorical data sources. Furthermore, segmentation does not fully encapsulate the need of this project, which is a model capable of describing the structure of political units within the Tarascan polity.

The city-state is a flexible conceptual model that describes polities that occur within relatively compact geographic areas (Charlton and Nichols 1997a:2). The term emerged from the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century as a way of describing the Greek *Polis* and the Roman cities of the Classical era, as well as the study of other small polities like the cities of the Italian Renaissance (Charlton and Nichols 1997a:2; Hansen 2000:10). In *Economy and Society*, Weber (1968) laid out the basic criteria for a city-state, the first being a heavily populated urban zone and a sparsely populated hinterland. The second criterion is social stratification within the urban center, with rulers, merchants, bureaucrats, and peasants. Economic domination of the hinterland by the city is the third criterion because farmers were restricted as to how far they could travel before their foodstuffs spoiled (Weber 1968). Scholars working in the latter half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century added to this by suggesting the existence of a perceived ethnic distinctiveness that separated one city-state from another (Hansen 2000:10).

Archaeologists find the inherent flexibility of the city-state model attractive because they can apply it to a large number of cultures that exhibit social complexity but lack the size and population of traditional state-level societies (Hodge 1984:8, 1997:221). The city-state also has clear archaeological indicators such as size (Hansen 2000:10; Hodge 1997:221). Scholars suggest that the area a city-state can directly control is approximately 10 kilometers away from the center, while the maximum area it can exert

influence is anywhere from 10–30 kilometers away depending on the terrain (Hansen 2000:10; Hodge 1997:221). Ethnohistorical documents like the *Visita de Carvajal* (Warren 1977, 1985) and the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Acuña 1984, 1987, 1988) give distance measurements between colonial political centers and their subordinates which allow scholars to evaluate the influence of distance on political interactions. Moreover, these data provide information to be used in conjunction with archaeological surveys to assess sociopolitical structure as well as how rulers interact with their subjects (Hodge 1984). It also allows the assessment of a center's influence on its subordinates with increasing distance. A second archaeological indicator is the presence of a core zone that hosts the main religious, political, and economic functions of the polity (Hicks 1986). This includes the temple dedicated to the unit's patron deity, the palace of the unit's ruler, and the central marketplace (Hansen 2000; Hicks 1986; Hodge 1984).

The city-state concept has been applied to a number of areas, including the *nomes* of ancient Egypt (Wenke 1997) and political systems in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Mesopotamia. In Europe, scholars have tried to apply the model to the study of cultures like the Celts and the Vikings, but their settlements are not laid out in accordance with the city-state model outlined above (Hansen 2000:22–23). In addition, scholars have applied the city-state concept to Mesoamerica with the study of Teotihuacan and the Aztec Triple Alliance (Charlton and Nichols 1997b:169). Teotihuacan is considered a city-state by some because it meets some of the general criteria, namely a large territorial area, a concentrated population density, and numerous constituents (Charlton and Nichols 1997b:169). Studies in the Valley of Mexico used the city-state model to explain the spatial extent of ruling units and their constituents (Hodge 1997:219).

Despite its usefulness, the city-state concept has been criticized because its application to so many different societies has resulted in a weakening of its explanatory power (Marcus and Feinman 1994:7). For the purposes of this research, it is not wholly applicable because the city-state is a predominately Western theoretical construct, which might exert unwanted influences on interpretations of the Tarascan polity. However, there is a form of sociopolitical organization, the *altepetl*, which shares certain broad characteristics with the city-state that has the added advantage of being indigenous to Mesoamerica.

This research project uses the *altepetl* model to analyze Tarascan sociopolitical organization because it is similar to the city-state and it is indigenous to Mexico, which will prevent the insertion of Western analytical frameworks that would undermine the goal of this dissertation. The *altepetl* was a pre-Hispanic Aztec model of sociopolitical organization that was designed as a series of interlocking, modular units with their own territorial boundaries, controlled by a central ruler known as the *Tlatoani* (Lockhart 1992:15). The *Tlatoani* was supported by a number subordinate *Teuctlatoque*, the rulers of constituent units which are named in the documentary sources as either *Tlaxillacalli* or *calpolli*, a political unit with fixed territorial boundaries (Gutierrez 2009:321–322; Lockhart 1992:16). The *Tlatoani*'s role cross-cut both levels as he was the political head of his own *calpolli* as well as the entire *altepetl* (Gutierrez 2009). The *Tlatoani* and his *Teuctlatoque* managed the political affairs of the *altepetl* from the *Tlatoani's* own *calpolli* capital, which housed his palace, or *Tecpan* (Lockhart 1992). The presence of the *Tlatoani* within a unit was the defining characteristic of an *altepetl* (Gutierrez 2009:322); although as a result of this other characteristics emerge, such as the presence of the *altepetl's* main market and the temple dedicated to the unit's patron deity (Gutierrez 2009:320; Hicks 1986:38; Lockhart 1992:16). The convergence of these different religious, political, and economic characteristics around the *Tlatoani*'s location underscores his position as the primary authority in the unit, in contrast to the Spanish system which I discuss below.

The political system at the *tlaxilacalli* level emulated the arrangements of the *altepetl* system in that each Teuctlatoque was head of a unit and supported by his own network of subordinate leaders who managed units akin to Spanish wards or *barrios* (Gutierrez 2009:320–321; Lockhart 1992:16). Each *tlaxilacalli* had a fixed territorial domain in which lands were subdivided and designated to serve different purposes, while the resident commoner population was similarly split up to undertake agricultural production, labor, or warfare as part of their tributary obligations. Tribute was paid to the *tlaxilacalli* and from there to the *Tlatoani*, and Lockhart (1992:18) suggests that the Aztecs instituted a rotating system of tributary obligations in which each tlaxilacalli paid tribute directly to the *Tlatoani* for set periods.

The intricately designed nature of the *altepetl* and the tendency to mimic *altepetl* structure at successively smaller levels suggests that the Aztecs, like many Mesoamerican societies, possessed a strong sense of territoriality (Gutierrez 2009:313). Each unit contributed in its own way to the functioning of the whole and the people, or at least the leaders, were able to conceptualize the spatial boundaries that separated different parts from one another. These parts were described in considerable detail in native documents to show the various connections between political leaders and their subject populations.

The colonial encounter between the Spanish conquistadores and the Aztecs underscores the differences between Aztec and Spanish political systems. In contrast to the Aztec system, the Spanish were products of a centuries-long, fragmented system where lands, people, and resources were split up among different religious and political institutions like the Spanish government, the Catholic Church, and the Spanish aristocracy to create networks of feudal vassalage within *encomienda* units (Gutierrez 2009:316–317; Medrano 2010). The resulting organizational structure was a mixture of different political and administrative levels that overlapped each other, and this can be seen to some extent in descriptions of New Spain's governmental structure.

By the early sixteenth century, however, European governments were attempting to reverse the trend of weak centralization by formally constituting power under a central political figure (Gutierrez 2009:316–317). In particular, King Charles V issued his formal edict outlawing the formation of *encomiendas* in the New World to prevent the development of a competing aristocracy and the exploitation of a new group of people (Medrano 2010). I mentioned in Chapter One, however, that Cortes deliberately disregarded his sovereign's edict because he saw certain advantages to the indigenous organizational structure that would prove lucrative (Medrano 2010).

Though the Spanish and Aztec systems were different, there was a certain level of complementarity between the two. The indigenous organizational structure was designed to maximize available labor for the good of the *tlaxilacalli* and *altepetl* alike, with tribute flowing upward through successive levels until it reached the *Tlatoani or Huey Tlatoani* at the apex of the sociopolitical hierarchy. Cortes recognized the

value of the indigenous system and the potential profit to be had if it could be properly modified fit into a Spanish *encomienda*. This realization led to the surveys of indigenous populations in Mexico and the creation of *encomienda* grants that broke the native units up along existing political and economic divisions (Medrano 2010). Michoacán was subject to at least one such survey, the *Visita de Carvajal* (Warren 1977, 1985) and the information was used to create a number of *encomiendas* in the region that encompassed pre-Hispanic political networks (Gerhard 1972; Paredes Martinez 1984).

Yet the Spanish could not develop *encomiendas* in Mexico without accounting for indigenous political leaders, who were the individuals who commanded rights to tributary payment and lands through his connection with the resident population. Therefore, the Spanish had to integrate indigenous leaders into the colonial political structure, which resulted in a hybrid political system that incorporated European political terminology (e.g., *corregidor*, *alcalde mayor*) with modified terms designed to highlight the authority of the native leaders (e.g., *señor natural*, *principal*, *gobernador*). In addition, the Spanish instituted new terms like *Cacique* based on their own observations of New World societies, but these were blanket generalizations that did not pertain to every society in the New World. It should be noted, however, that from A.D. 1520–1554 the Spanish only integrated the highest-ranking nobles within the new colonial political system, and even they lost authority, lands and tribute to the Spanish (López Sarrelangue 1965). Sixteenth-century lawsuits in central Mexico and Michoacán describe considerable losses sustained by the descendants of the Aztec *Huey Tlatoani* and Tarascan *Irecha* (Gibson 1964; López Sarrelangue 1965). Until the 1550s and the restoration of the indigenous aristocracy, lower-ranking indigenous nobles were stripped of their titles and tribute and left destitute (López Sarrelangue 1965).

In addition to the new political structure, the Spanish instituted settlement-oriented political ranks that were slightly modified versions of the Old World system (Gibson 1964:33). Politically prominent towns became *cabeceras*, which differentiated them from Old World *cabezas* (Gibson 1964). Subordinate towns became *sujetos*, which were further broken into the subcategories of *estancias* and *barrios* (Gutierrez 2009:322). Settlement sizes were described through the use of *ciudades* (cities), which described large settlements and moderate-sized settlements were known as *pueblos.* These ranks are

found throughout colonial records, including the RM, the *Relaciones Geográficas,* the *Visita de Carvajal*, and the *Suma de Visitas*, which I will use in the present study (Acuña 1987; Alcalá 2000; Paso y Troncoso 1905; Warren 1977, 1985).

Like the differences in the Aztec and Spanish political systems, scholarly reconstructions of the Aztec system approached the topic of reconstruction from two completely different, yet complementary, directions. The first reconstruction of the Aztec polity by Charles Gibson relied on colonial Spanish documentation on political structure, tributary payments, and religious observances. In addition, there were legal cases and correspondences in which indigenous nobles and their descendants detailed the considerable losses they suffered following the conquest (Gibson 1964). Since he utilized Spanish documents, Gibson used the extant terminology, most notably the distinction between *cabeceras* and *sujetos*, to understand what the Spanish saw when they witnessed the organizational structure of the pre-Hispanic political system.

Gibson concluded that the *Tlatoque* lived in the *cabeceras* because they were largest and most prominent political centers, an assumption borne out of the theoretical ideas of the time that assumed that political complexity was connected to the development of urban environments. *Sujetos* were subordinate settlements, although the barrio represented a subunit of the urban center while the *estancia* was geographically removed from the *cabecera* (Gibson 1964:33). The *cabecera-sujeto* model gives the appearance of an urban-rural dichotomy that did not exist during the pre-Hispanic period; however, the point that the *cabecera* was where the *Tlatoque* lived is an important component of understanding indigenous sociopolitical organization because the model identifies important nodal points where ranking officials in relation to their subordinates (Gutierrez 2009:322).

Decades later, a second model was developed that assessed pre-Hispanic sociopolitical structure using Nahuatl-language documents to describe the sociopolitical connections between officials (Lockhart 1992). This was the first appearance of the "modular *altepetl*" model described above (Lockhart 1992:15). Using data from Nahuatl documents, Lockhart analyzed indigenous sociopolitical units and challenged the dichotomy represented in the *cabecera-sujeto* model by suggesting that the urban centers

the Spanish saw were the individual political centers controlled by the founding *tlaxilacalli/calpolli* rulers of the *altepetl* (Lockhart 1992). The *sujetos* located farther away represented additional *tlaxilacalli/calpolli* centers that were incorporated into the *altepetl* much later (Lockhart 1992). Thus, the *altepetl* was organized in a more dispersed settlement pattern than the earlier model indicated.

The *cabecera-sujeto* model and the modular *altepetl* model describe Aztec political organization from different perspectives, yet viewed together they complement each other. Gibson's model connected Spanish descriptions to Aztec political units and through this we are able to see the important political and economic nodes within the system. Thus, when a document references a *cabecera,* we understand that it is a political center where a *Tlatoani* resided (Gutierrez 2009:317), while the modular *altepetl* model breaks the *cabecera* into a closely grouped network of individual settlements that the Spanish called *barrios*. This allows for a more nuanced reconstruction of indigenous political systems.

These models are applicable to the study of the RM because of the dual nature of the Tarascan narrative. The Spanish-language document uses *cabecera-sujeto* terminology, while the second version is the original Purépecha oral history and illustrations that were used during the pre-Hispanic period. We can break the Spanish-language references to political organization and territoriality down and evaluate them against the descriptions of the *altepetl* model and use these data to investigate the archaeological reports. Furthermore, the data from the RM provide references to political organization that might be present in other ethnohistorical documents like the *Relaciones Geográficas,* the *Suma de Visitas*, and the *Visita de Carvajal* (Acuña 1987; Paso y Troncoso 1905; Warren 1977, 1985). These data will be useful for comparison with published archaeological data to determine whether Tarascan political organization is similar to the *altepetl*, as well as provide data for identifying existing sites and predicting site locations using remote sensing and fuzzy set theory (Klir et al. 1999; Zadeh 1965).

Remote Sensing

Remote sensing is an effective method for archaeological investigations because it offers researchers new vantage points for investigating known archaeological sites and features as well as identifying new

sites (Jensen 2007; Mather and Koch 2011; Parcak 2009). Furthermore, researchers use remote sensing to analyze spatial relationships within and between sites, allowing them to draw conclusions about settlement patterns and site characteristics. In this section, I briefly discuss the development of remote sensing and its role in this project.

The earliest aerial vehicles, the hot air balloon and the airplane, illustrated the utility of remote sensing for analyzing urban zones, terrain, and human activity on the landscape (Jensen 2007; Parcak 2009). In the mid-nineteenth century, photographers in Europe and the United States experimented with aerial photography by using hot air balloons to take pictures of urban centers like Paris and Boston from heights of 1,000–2,000 feet (Jensen 2007:64). These first photographs were more of a novelty than a scientific tool, but the illustrated the importance of a new vantage point for making observations. During the American Civil War (A.D. 1861–1865), officers in the Union army used balloons to observe the movements of Confederate troops (Jensen 2007:64), which allowed them to make adjustments to their own troop movements accordingly.

After the invention of the airplane in the early twentieth century, pilots experimented with the applications of aerial photography as a reconnaissance tool, showing that these photographs could facilitate the creation of accurate terrain maps and identify troop movements and the construction of fortifications (Parcak 2009). These reconnaissance flights aided archaeologists by illustrating spatial relationships or by identifying features that were otherwise invisible on the ground. For example, Lieutenant P.H. Sharpe inadvertently photographed Stonehenge in 1906 after being blown off course, and his photography gave analysts the first bird's view of site and the spatial relationships between stone monuments and the surrounding earthworks (Parcak 2009:14). Subsequent reconnaissance flights by Allied and German aircraft during World I and World War II resulted in the identification of Roman fortifications and towns (Parcak 2009:15). Thus, aerial photography became an important analytical tool in the first half of the twentieth century (Jensen 2007:74).

Archaeologists began using aerial photography shortly after the First World War to identify archaeological sites and features in the Middle East (Parcak 2009:15). Ford and Willey (1954:7) used

aerial photography to survey Peru's Viru Valley, showing that remote sensing and detailed terrain maps could be used to study settlement patterns on a regional scale. With the development of orbital satellites and sophisticated imaging technologies, archaeologists gained access to an array of tools for analyzing different parts of the electromagnetic spectrum to locate sites. The increasing availability of high-resolution (<1m) panchromatic and multispectral satellite imagery offers new methods for site identification and analysis (Jensen 2007; Mather and Koch 2011; Parcak 2009).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Central Intelligence Agency launched surveillance satellites as part of projects ARGON, LANYARD, and CORONA that took black-and-white photographs of the world's surface with varying resolutions of 1.8 to 9.1 meters (Parcak 2009:53). CORONA images do not have georeferencing; however, they can be georeferenced with high-resolution satellite imagery and ground control points. CORONA imagery has proven valuable for the identification of archaeological sites in the Middle East and west Asia (Parcak 2009:55). Moreover, they provide a means to analyze environmental and site characteristics through time. The KH-4B missions from the early 1970s took 1.8-meter resolution photos of central Michoacán, including the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin, Tarascan Sierra, and parts of the southern plateau region (USGS 2013). Landsat Enhanced Thematic Mapper Plus (ETM+) data is another important source of satellite data. In addition, commercial companies like Digital Globe offer access to high-resolution (<2.4m) panchromatic and multispectral imagery that are invaluable for the identification of archaeological sites and features. In this case, I use satellite imagery to look for archaeological features associated with *altepetl* units (e.g., temples, palaces [Hicks 1986]) and to look for likely site locations based on the results of the fuzzy predictive model (see below.)

For this project, I use remote sensing to locate sites mentioned in the RM, SV, RO, LT, and CV to determine whether the features at these sites resemble the written descriptions. Furthermore, remote sensing data provides information on the spatial relationships between different sites which allows analysis in relation to written descriptions of the political hierarchy as well as the theoretical models of political organization (e.g., the *altepetl*). Finally, it enables me to collect data for the construction of a predictive settlement pattern model using "fuzzy set theory" (Zadeh 1965).

Fuzzy Set Theory

One of the objectives of this research is to develop a predictive model for the identification of previously unidentified archaeological sites using "fuzzy set theory" (Zadeh 1965:1) to analyze the potential variability between sites and regions. Settlement pattern predictive models are common, cost-effective means of identifying archaeological sites and features for planning field investigations and archaeological site preservation (Westcott 2000:3; Warren and Asch 2000:6). Analysts compile common site and environmental variables to construct models that identify locations in a given area that may hold archaeological sites (Warren and Asch 2000:6). While this is a common method of site identification, these types of models use categorical variables that create "crisp" data sets in which variables are either included or excluded from a given category. Moreover, the identified areas usually consist of discrete data points that identify a particular *point* that meets the given criteria, instead of treating the landscape as a continuous surface. The disconnect between discrete mapping spaces and less-than-discrete physical spaces has led to the development of theories that incorporate this type of variability into their analysis.

Fuzzy set theory is a branch of mathematics that converts vaguely defined categorical variables into fuzzy variables without discrete boundaries (Burrough and McDonnell 1998:5; Klir et al. 1999:1; Zadeh 1965:1). Instead of a categorizing a data point as non-member (0) or member (1) of a set, fuzzy set theory assesses the variable's degree of membership in a category using membership functions to calculate the variable's position on a continuum of 0–1, with.5 serving as the crossover point between strong membership or strong non-membership (P. Fisher 2000:1; Klir et al. 1999; Zadeh 1965:5). Thus, it is possible to analyze how different variables contribute to an object's membership and affords the user a more discriminant form of decision-making by assessing how these variables interact. Fuzzy set theory has been applied to the study of site locations in geographic and archaeological contexts, such as the identification of moulins in Greenland (Phillips et al. 2011), and for the identification of hunter-gatherer sites in areas of Kentucky (Mink et al. 2006:1).

When analyzing multiple variables, fuzzy set operations allow the user to create new sets that include parts of each individual set or isolate variables from the parent sets. For example, the fuzzy Intersection

operator is akin to the classical AND operator, which means that the user looks for the minimum values within the parent sets on the assumption that this represents the point of intersection (Klir et al. 1999). Put another way, the intersection operator selects those elements that have membership in all of the parent sets and includes those in the new fuzzy set (Klir et al. 1999:55). In contrast, the fuzzy Union operator is analogous to the classical OR operator, which requires locating the maximum values across the parent sets and including them in the new set (Dubois et al. 2000:5; Klir et al. 1999:92; Smithson and Verkuilen 2006:123). In essence, these operators generate new fuzzy sets for analysis. When used in conjunction with alpha cuts (α), which define minimum membership thresholds to be considered part of a set, it is possible to study changes in the composition of a fuzzy set and study how different variables interact (Klir et al. 1999; Zadeh 1965). Alpha-cuts are a means of converting a fuzzy set to a "crisp" set with defined boundaries; thus it restricts membership within the set and creates crisp categorical boundaries (Klir et al. 1999:99).

Fuzzy set theory offers the opportunity to study potential variability across a continuum, which is useful for the evaluation of Tarascan sociopolitical organization as it relates to the *altepetl* model. The RM and other colonial period sources are not complete and we are forced to fill in the gaps using our best estimates, or by using modern settlements as stand-ins for the pre-Hispanic settlements (Barlow 1949:2). Furthermore, we have seen that the *altepetl* model describes a complex organizational structure with multiple interlocking units and subunits of varying sizes (Gibson 1964:33; Gutierrez 2009:316–317; Lockhart 1992:15), and our models must be capable of accounting for these types of settlement patterns rather than focusing on urban or quasi-urban centers. Fuzzy set theory is a useful tool for analyzing potential settlement patterns.

Justification for Research

The information presented above provides the rationale for studying Tarascan sociopolitical organization using the RM as an extension of indigenous Tarascan elite knowledge. The RM presents the compelling story of the formation of the Tarascan polity, but the original oral history has been subsumed

by the written version which uses terminology that suggests that the Tarascans developed a sociopolitical structure akin to European states, complete with divine kings and absolute political authority (Hansen 2000). As a result, our interpretations lead us to assume the presence of one sovereign Tarascan ruler when the narrative clearly states that there were three founding members of the Tarascan polity: Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:516). Moreover, the RM states that *Ihuatzio* was the original seat of Tarascan political authority, but documents like the *Relaciones Geográficas* mention Tzintzuntzan as the preeminent political power.

In her discussion of Aztec city-states, Hodge (1984:8) mentions that archaeological analyses of Mesoamerican societies are susceptible to the "capital-centric" approach which assumes that the capital asserts its influence over its subordinate city centers in terms of organizational structure and composition. The capital is often the focus of archaeological investigations because it contains the best-preserved examples of religious or ceremonial architecture and it is often implicitly assumed that the capital will export these styles to outlying areas. West Mexico is no exception to this approach because the Lake Pátzcuaro basin has been the subject of many archaeological surveys and analyses over the last century (Acosta 1939; Gali 1942; Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Pollard 1977. 1993). Tzintzuntzan contains some of the best-preserved examples of Tarascan culture and architecture, but the focus on the Tarascan geopolitical core has undoubtedly skewed interpretations toward assumptions that the Tarascans exerted greater control over the outer regions of their territory than they actually did.

Most research beyond the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin has focused on individual sites or attempted to generalize across the entire Tarascan region. Studies of individual sites have uncovered valuable information about the Tarascans, but most of these are compared with Tzintzuntzan. At the other end of the scale, studies by scholars like Pollard (1993) have attempted to synthesize massive amounts of archaeological and ethnohistorical data to interpret Tarascan imperial sociopolitical dynamics, but such studies trade depth of information for scale. As a result, our knowledge of the Tarascans is always evaluated against Pollard's descriptions of a highly centralized polity where authority was invested in the Tarascan *Cazonci* and the upper nobility (Pollard 1993:61).

Research on intermediate organizational levels within the Tarascan domain is relatively limited because there is a great deal of uncertainty with regard to subsidiary levels of organization. Beltrán (1982) developed a preliminary model of Tarascan sociopolitical organization using early colonial documents like the *Carvajal Visitation* and the *Tasación de Ortega*, but this resulted in analysis of political organization that focused on the geopolitical core of the empire. Pollard (1993:126) built on Beltrán's model by using ethnohistorical information from the *Relaciones Geográficas* and the *Suma de Visitas* and suggested that there were at least 26 different organizational units but acknowledged that the model itself was geographically and chronologically limited in scope and therefore could not adequately describe organization across the entire territory (Pollard 1993:88). Beyond this brief discussion, there have been few attempts to construct a model of Tarascan sociopolitical organization.

However, using the information contained within the RM and the city state and *altepetl* models of organization as guides, it is possible to analyze Spanish terminology and derive intermediate levels of sociopolitical organization. Like other Spanish ethnohistory, the RM uses the colonial ranks of *pueblo*, *estancia*, and *barrio*, but these are supplemented by additional terms that distinguish between settled and unsettled places (Dyckerhoff 1988:4). Furthermore, the Tarascan language contains terminology that suggests a more discriminating series of settlement ranks that may have been compressed to fit Spanish categories (Gilberti 1962). When used in conjunction with other ethnohistorical documents, it is possible to reconstruct the sociopolitical hierarchies of the Tarascan polity while simultaneously gaining a greater understanding of their culture. Finally, using the location descriptions, archaeological data, remote sensing data and GIS software, it is possible to construct a model of Tarascan settlement patterns that point to areas that have not been previously explored. In the following chapter, I begin the analysis of the narrative contained in Part Two of the RM (Alcalá 2000:340).

Chapter 3: The First Narrative Arc

In this chapter, I analyze the narrative recited by the *Petámuti* in Part Two of the RM (Alcalá 2000:341). The narrative is a rich documentary history of Tarascan settlement patterns, geopolitical expansion, religious expression, and cultural practices that are presented to the Tarascan nobility in a narrative that stretches across the generations.

I used the following methods in my analysis of the text and images. First, I compared the content to the titles introduced by Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá to "prevent boredom" on the part of the readers (Alcalá 2000:340). I determined that Alcalá's titles were introduced at logical break points, which suggests that he had a good narrative sense of the events described in the story. These provided a guide for looking at how different "episodes" fit together to tell the story (Boone 2000:10; Calnek 1977:252; Radin 1920:2). From the analysis, I concluded that the 35 episodes within the RM could be divided into three main story arcs consisting of Episodes I–IX, X–XIX, and XX–XXXV (Alcalá 2000). Each arc covers a specific set of characters and circumstances that move the story along while at the same time providing greater insights into Tarascan culture. For example, the first story arc focuses on the lives of the earliest ancestors of the *Uacúsecha* lineage and their migration into the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Alcalá 2000:333–372). The second story arc includes Episodes X–XIX and XXXIV, and describes the life of the *Uacúsecha* lord Taríacuri, the great culture hero of the Tarascans and the architect of Tarascan geopolitical expansion, and trials and tribulations he experiences over the course of his early life (Alcalá 2000:372–476). In the final arc, Episodes XX–XXXII, Taríacuri trains his son and nephews to be the lords of the new polity he intends to create before his death (Alcalá 2000:476–543).

Within each episode, I looked for examples of Spanish terminology, lineage affiliations, political ranks, notable events, and parallels between the episodes and other parts of the document. Using these data, I determined the types of information presented and the structure of the document, as well as the various ways that the information could be used to reconstruct the sociopolitical organization of the Tarascan polity.

Because the RM is a mixture of European text and indigenous imagery, I analyzed the surviving images of the RM for common Mesoamerican pictorial conventions such as footprints to indicate movement or migration (Boone 2000:51) and differences in figure sizes as indicators of social status (Rosato 2001:154). I also looked for symbolic arrangements in the imagery because certain scholars argue that the *Carari* structured their images in accordance with indigenous religious views (Stone 2004). For instance, Stone (2004:90) argues that images are split along a diagonal from lower left to upper right and "male" elements associated with the god Curícaueri are in the lower right half and "female" elements are in the upper left.

The text of the RM describes a number of place-names and individuals in Michoacán, and I analyzed this descriptive information against the information on Spanish-derived sociopolitical hierarchies collected by scholars like Gibson (1964) and Lockhart (1992), as well as distance measurements given in Spanish leagues. These data describe a potential sociopolitical arrangement that can be evaluated against available archaeological data on west Mexican settlement patterns and environmental data. In the sections that follow, I discuss the first nine episodes of the RM, provide analyses of each episode, and discuss how the potential differences and potential biases were introduced by the translation from the Tarascan (Purépecha) language into Spanish.

The First Episode

Episode I of Part Two sets the stage for the performance of the narrative (Alcalá 2000:333). The episode takes place during the festival of Equataconsquaro, which translates loosely to the "festival of arrows" (Caso 1943:16). During the festival, the *Petámuti* acts in place of the Cazonci as the arbiter of justice, spending a month hearing the cases of spies, adulterers, murderers, sorcerers, and other malefactors and renders judgment (Alcalá 2000:338). At festival's end, the prisoners, commoners, and groups of elites gather on the patio of the Cazonci's house to hear the *Petámuti* speak. During the

Petámuti's recitation, no one is permitted to eat or drink, and they cannot leave until the conclusion of the performance (Alcalá 2000:340).

Lamina II in the Colegio de Michoacán edition (Alcalá 2000:334) illustrates specific elements of the festival and it is shown in Figure 3.1. Dominating the right-central part of the image is an elaborately-attired individual, who is labeled the *sacerdote mayor* or *Petámuti* in the Tarascan language. He stands before an assembled audience of elites, known as the *Angámecha* ("those who wear lip plugs") (Stone 2004:24)) who are seated in the upper right and left of the image, and along the lower border (Alcalá 2000:334). The *Petámuti* wears a long black shirt known as a *Vcata Tararenguequa*, a lip plug, sandals and a white headband. Around his neck, he wears a pair of gold tweezers in a clamshell shape with gold filigree, and on his back he wears a gourd with turquoise inlaid on the surface which is supported by the description of the *Petámuti*'s garb in the text (Alcalá 2000:339). Turquoise was a status symbol in Mesoamerica during the Classic and Postclassic periods that was often obtained from high-quality sources in the American Southwest like Cerrillos and Azure in New Mexico (Weigand 1995:131). The *Petámuti* also carries a ceremonial staff painted in blue and white and topped with what appears to be another gourd and a spear point.

Figure 3.1. Lamina II showing the assembly at the festival of Equataconsquaro (Alcalá 2000:334). The Petámuti *(center right) stands in front of the leader's chair (Uaxántsiqua). Caciques (bottom, upper left) sit smoking pipes. Prisoners (center left) sit on the ground, their nudity a sign of captivity. The capitan-general (bottom center) stands guard. One prisoner's (top center) sentence has already been carried out by the jailer (center).*

The *Angámecha* are identifiable because their dress is similar in style to the *Petámuti*'s although there appears to be some status differentiation among them. Each wears a blue-colored lip plug and a long shirt, which are elements that recur in images of elites throughout the RM, and match the textual descriptions given of elite males (Alcalá 2000). In addition, several elites wear headbands painted in green, red, black, and white; sport long hair tied back; and are smoking pipes that have long, thin stems and small bowls with conical supports (Alcalá 2000:334). One of the labels, *Caciques*, appears to apply to them. They are seated on stools which Stone (2004:323) calls *uaxántsiqua* which are often regarded as markers of elite status because they are found in elite houses in other RM images (Alcalá 2000), as well as the "family tree" shown in Lamina XXVII, in which the members of the *Uacúsecha* lineage are seated

in cups similar to the shape of the seats (Alcalá 2000:546; Stone 2004). It is possible that the colors of the headbands worn by the *Caciques* refer to the different lineages within the Tarascan elite class which the *Petámuti* calls the *Enéani*, *Zacapu-hireti*, and *Vanácaze* (Alcalá 2000:341). The fourth may refer to the priesthood, as only the *Petámuti* and two other individuals are wearing them. The individuals without headbands and pipes are probably the *principales* referred to in the text (Alcalá 2000:340).

Left of center, a group of people are seated on the ground, nude, without any status symbols or markings on their bodies, which signifies without words that they are prisoners; however, there are also textual descriptions of their crimes given above their heads (Alcalá 2000:334). Their hands are bound behind their backs, and they are crying. Nearby lays the body of a woman, labeled a "*mala mujer*" (bad woman) (Alcalá 2000:334). Her head is covered in blood, and the "*carcelero*" (jailer) stands over her with a large club, presumably having just carried out the *Petámuti's* judgment against her. Just below him stands the capitan-general, who holds a bow and arrow.

Commoners are noticeably absent from the image, despite the fact that the *Petámuti* addresses the *Caciques*, *principales*, and a "great number of people" (Alcalá 2000:340). The lack of commoners may stem from the fact that there was insufficient space to represent them, or they may simply be represented by the malefactors awaiting judgment. The text does describe the imprisonment of a number of malefactors for crimes of adultery, espionage, and murder (Alcalá 2000:340). However, since the *Petámuti,* his subordinate priests, Don Pedro Cuiniarangari, and the *Carari* are all higher-ranking members of Tarascan society they may not have thought it unusual to leave the commoners out of the illustration. Codices pass along valuable information to succeeding generations through combinations of words, pictographic symbols, or mnemonic devices (Boone 2000), and this information is usually political, religious, or historical in nature. For example, the Mixtec and Borgia codices present a rich historical narrative of the deeds of a number of eminent Mixtec ancestors (Pohl 2003). These documents are inherently political in nature and therefore they emphasize the actions and deeds of the elites and present them in association with powerful patron deities to emphasize their importance (Byland and Pohl 1994; Pohl 1994). Commoners would therefore not feature in such a document, and given the fact that

the RM is itself a historical, religious, and political document we may assume that the oral tradition and the illustrations were modeled on the same principles.

Episodes II–IX

Episodes II–IX describe a narrative arc that chronicle events in the lives of the *Uacúsecha* lineage from the earliest known *Uacúsecha* (eagle), Hireti-Ticátame, to the deaths of Vápeani II and Pauácume II six generations later (Alcalá 2000:371). I discuss Episode II in detail because it contains many symbolic elements of Tarascan elite culture that are featured throughout the narrative, and described in the episodes of Part Three (Alcalá 2000). The *Petámuti*'s recitation begins with the statement,

> *Vosotros, los del linaje de nuestro dios Curícaueri, que habéis venido, los que os llamáis Enéani y Zacapuhireti, y los reyes llamados Vanácaze, todos los que tenéis este apellido, ya nos habemos juntado aquí en uno, donde nuestros dios Tirepenie Curícaueri se quiere quejar vosotros y ha lastima de si* (Alcalá 2000:340).

> *You, of the lineage of our god Curícaueri, that have come, those that you call Enéani and Zacapuhireti, and the kings called Vanácaze, all of you that have this surname, we have come together here as one, where our god Tiripénie Curícaueri wants to complain of you and have shame of you* (Author Translation).

The *Petámuti's* opening address indicates that the *Enéani*, *Zacapuhireti*, and *Vanácaze* lineages are descended from their chief god, Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:340). Many of the settlements in Michoacán are "related" to their patron gods to the point that it is assumed that the god and the ruling elite are one and the same. Of the three, the *Vanácaze* appear to be of the highest rank within Tarascan society since the text refers to them as "kings" (Alcalá 2000:340). In Purépecha, the term commonly associated with the word "king" is *Irecha*, or *Irechequa* (Gilberti 1962:463). This is an unusual word choice because the

most common term use to describe rulers is the word *señor*, which is shorthand for *Señores Universales* or *señores principales* (Gibson 1964:35; López Sarrelangue 1965:25). There is no specific explanation for this, except that perhaps Alcalá was attempting to indicate that these individuals occupied a high social status that differentiated them from the *señores* of the lower elite ranks.

Some have suggested that the lineages described here are the descendants of the three founding lords of the Tarascan Empire, but this interpretation is untenable given that the lineage from Pátzcuaro ended with the death of the founder (Alcalá 2000:542). It is more likely that the *Enéani* and *Zacapu Hireti* lineages are close associates to the *Vanácaze*, consisting of the Tarascans' most important allies and the lineages descended from marriage alliances with lords in subordinate pueblos. For example, *Enéani* is translated as "those from the other side" in Purépecha (Caso 1943:15). According to a story told by Don Melchor Caltzin in the 1540s, a group of Nahua merchants supported Tarascan ruler Zizipandaquare's military takeover of Tzintzuntzan and Zizispandaquare rewarded them with lands, titles and status within the polity (Roskamp 2012:124). "Zacapu Hireti" may mean "lord of Zacapu" or "bearer from Zacapu," but the status of the lineage has not been determined.

The reference to Curícaueri's desire to complain and exhibit shame of the elites sets the stage for the *Petámuti* to recite the narrative. The *Petámuti* does not tell the elites what they have done to earn the deity's displeasure; indeed, he does not do this until the end of the narrative, after he has given an extensive description of the history and provided the audience with examples of the greatness of the ancestors and the struggles they had to overcome.

The *Petámuti* continues by saying that Curícaueri "began his *señorío*" where he arrived at the mountain of Viruguarapexo near the *pueblo* of Zacapu Tacanendan (Alcalá 2000:340). The *Chichimecs* are already settled at Viruguarapexo at this time, and they soon come to the attention of the *señores* of the *pueblo* of Naranjan known as the Zizanvanachan (Alcalá 2000:340). At this point Alcalá interjects, stating that the Tarascans attributed all deeds and conquests to Curícaueri, and that those *señor*es who said or did something significant will receive mention in the narrative, although their dwellings and peoples may not be. Alcalá makes the inference that the Cazonci and his ancestors viewed the Tarascan

conquests as a foregone conclusion because Curícaueri was destined to rule the world, which has the effect of encapsulating all individuals under the banner of being servants of the Tarascans. Furthermore, he mentions that 1) the Nahuas settled Michoacán long before the Chichimecs/*Uacúsecha* arrived, and 2) that each settlement had its own *Cacique*, gods, and people. Alcalá's statement clarifies the geopolitical situation to some extent. *Señorío* is the Spanish term for a political unit headed by high-ranking elite (Gibson 1964:32). During the colonial era, the term *pueblo* was a sociopolitical term that referred to a moderate-to-large population center that might also political or administrative functions (Gibson 1964:32). The text indicates that each *pueblo* was ruled by its own lineage (Alcalá 2000:341). This suggests that in the narrative Zacapu and Naranjan were political centers with their own networks of political subordinates.

The term *Chichimec* is a Nahuatl word describing the hunting-and-gathering tribes that lived in northern Mexico (Smith 1996, 2008:73) and it is found throughout the RM to describe the members of the ruling lineage. Chichimecs used the bow and arrow as their primary hunting and offensive weaponry, and dressed in the skins of the animals they killed (Smith 2008:73). The Aztecs used the term to emphasize their rough beginnings and their warrior natures and the Spanish quickly adopted the term as well (Smith 2008). Thus, we may assume that either the informants or Alcalá used the term to communicate similar ideas about the early *Uacúsecha.*

The remainder of the episode focuses on Hireti-Ticatame, the first recorded bearer of the idol of Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:341). It is Ziranzirancamaro, the *señor* of Naranjan, who remarks on the extraordinary qualities of Curícaueri and Hireti-Ticatame. "Look how highly Curícaueri has been engendered and with great power he has to conquer the land" (Alcalá 2000:341). This pronouncement foreshadows the eventual conquest of the land in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:519). Zizanban also mentions Hireti-Ticátame's activities on the mountain slopes collecting firewood, hunting deer with the bow and arrow to feed Curícaueri, and communing with the mountain deities known as the *Angacuranchan* (Alcalá 2000:342). Because he recognizes Curícaueri's potential, Zizanban decides to give his sister to Curícaueri so that she might make him blankets and provide him with food. This is the

first conflation of Curícaueri with his bearer, since the "wives of Curícaueri" are also the wives of ruler (Alcalá 2000). It is also the first instance of a marriage alliance between the Chichimecs and a local leader. Marriage alliances were a common means of consolidation and conciliation between factions in Mesoamerica (Spores 1974:303), but the move by Zizanban is also a calculated attempt to co-opt the *Uacúsecha* lineage and displace Curícaueri. Lineages in Mexico often attempted to gain advantages by establishing these types of marriage alliances to produce heirs with specific ranks and entitlements (Carrasco 1984). In a later chapter, the *señor* of Corínguaro sends his daughter to marry the *Uacúsecha* noble Taríacuri in the hopes that they will produce an heir who will take over leadership of the *Uacúsecha* and replace Curícaueri with the patron god of Corínguaro (Alcalá 2000). Since Zizanban recognizes Curícaueri's potential, he is attempting to ally himself in such a way that he can control the *Uacúsecha*.

Hireti-Ticátame accepts the woman as his wife, but warns the elites of Naranjan not to take any deer killed with one of his arrows. The arrow is a symbolic element that appears many times in the narrative as a symbol of power, warfare, and ownership (Stone 2004). The elites ignore Hireti-Ticátame's warning, however, leading to armed confrontation in which Hireti-Ticátame kills several Naranjan lords with his bow and arrows. He flees the area with his son and his wife, who makes a quick stop to take the patron god of Naranjan, Vaçiquore, from his storehouse and they go to Zicháxuquaro (Alcalá 2000:346). At Zicháxuquaro, they construct a temple and a palace and establish themselves in the area. The locations of the various settlements describe in Episodes II and III are shown in Figure 3.2.

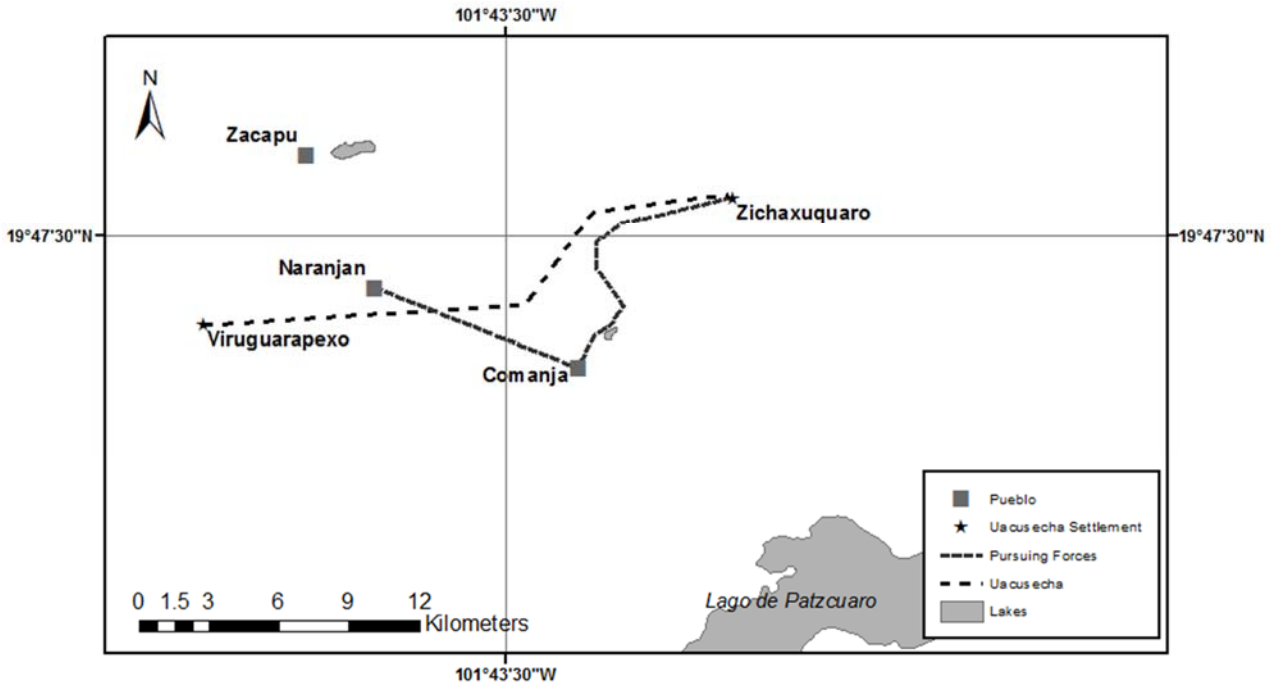


Figure 3.2.Map of possible locations for Uacúsecha sites of Viruguarapexo and Zicháxuquaro (black stars) and the possible path they took after fleeing Viruguarapexo in Episode II (Alcalá 2000). Also shown are locations for Comanja, Naranjan, and Zacapu (yellow) and the path taken by Naranjan and Comanja in pursuit.

Zicháxuquaro is believed to be near the top of Cerro Tipicato because there is a reference in the Carvajal Visitation to being located at the base of a mountain known as "Chichaxoquarohato" in the same area (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Warren 1977:388). A possible archaeological site appears on multispectral imagery at the southern peak of Cerro Tipicato, shown in Figures 3.3 and 3.4.

Figure 3.3. Multispectral image showing the southern edge of Cerro Tipicato where the Uacúsecha site of Zicháxuquaro is believed to be located (Espejel Carbajal 2008). The remains of a possible archaeological site are shown in the inset. The horizontal distance is approximately 2.7 kilometers. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

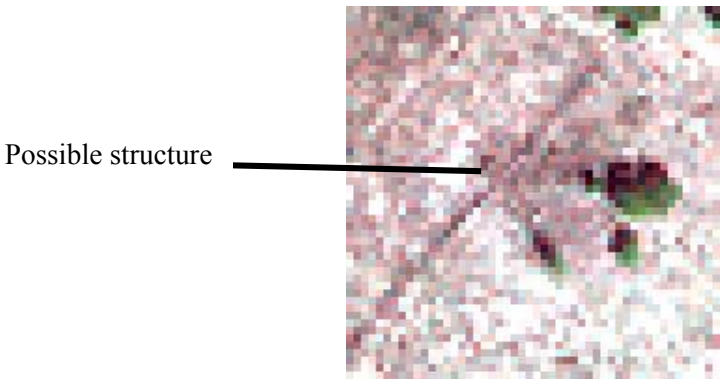


Figure 3.4. Inset image of a possible archaeological site on Cerro Tipicato that could be the Uacúsecha settlement of Zicháxuquaro (see Figure 3.1). Features include a wall and a possible structure just to the right. Horizontal distance is approximately 25 meters. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

The images were produced with 2.4-meter multispectral imagery that was processed using the Principal Components (PC) Sharpening method available in ENVI which decorrelates the pixel values in the images and can make features more apparent (Parcak 2009:97; Richards and Jia 2006:126). The features in this image include the presence of a wall that stretches from southwest to northeast for .7

kilometers, then changes direction and moves toward the southeast. This may have been a defensive wall designed to protect a compound located along the southeastern slope of Cerro Tipicato/Zicháxuquaro.

In the text, the *Petámuti* makes a distinction between settled and unsettled areas by referring to settled areas like the "*pueblo* of Zacapu Tacanendan" or the "*pueblo* of Naranjan," and to uninhabited areas like the "place called Zicháxuquaro," where the *Uacúsecha* resettle. The distinction may provide a way to distinguish between conquests and land claims. For instance, settling at Zicháxuquaro and constructing a temple are overt acts of establishing a claim on the land, whereas settling at other places may imply some type of conquest.

Episode III places Zicháxuquaro in geographic space by stating that is "three leagues from the city of Michoacán" (Alcalá 2000:346). The league is a Spanish unit of distance that varies according to the contexts of use. For example, the *legua legal*, a unit of measurement for legal cases is equivalent to 4.7 kilometers, while the *legua común* is equivalent to 5.57 kilometers (Chardon 1980:295). Distances mapped between settlements in Google Earth and ArcGIS more closely correspond to the *legua común*. Whether the Tarascans had an equivalent system of measurement is not precisely known; however, they do have a Purépecha word for "league" (*mamintziquarequa)* in their vocabulary (Gilberti 1962:383). Don Pedro Cuiniarangari or one of the other informants may have gained sufficient familiarity with Spanish measurements that they could make estimates. The reference to the designated "city of Michuacán" is a European convention which gives the audience a means of spatial reference, as well as a sense of location and settlement size. *Ciudades* are large population centers (Gibson 1964:32), and the "City of Michoacán" refers to the combined settlements of Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan (Bravo Ugarte 1962a: 59, 1962b:15).

According to the text, "some days passed" ("pasándose algunos días") and then the *señor*es of Naranjan establish a military alliance with Cumachen (Comanja) to kill Hireti-Ticátame (Alcalá 2000:347). The phrase "pasándose algunos días" signifies the passage of an indeterminate time period, and is often used as a transitional tool in Mesoamerican storytelling to move from one scene to another (Calnek 1977:261–262). The combined forces of Naranjan and Comanja track Hireti-Ticátame down and

surround his "house" (possibly the temple), and attempt to enter through the main doorway. However, Hireti-Ticátame begins shooting arrows two by two, killing a large number of the attacking force until his arrows run out, and he is killed (Alcalá 2000:348). The corpse is then burned in the doorway of the house, and the attackers take Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:348–349). According to Part Three, the priest's house represents a spiritual space in which he can contact the gods, and the doorway represents the threshold between the two worlds. The *señores* are also classified as members of the priestly caste known as the *axámencha*, or "sacrificers," which suggests that their homes are spiritual areas as well. In a symbolic sense, Hireti-Ticátame's death symbolizes his transition from the corporeal world to the world of the gods.

Hireti-Ticátame's son Sicuírancha finds the destruction, and heads off in pursuit of the attackers. However, Curícaueri intervenes and strikes the attackers from Naranjan and Cumachen down, allowing Sicuírancha to catch up and capture them. Sicuírancha finds the box containing Curícaueri's idol sitting at the base of an oak tree, which is another prevalent symbol in the RM. The oak tree is considered a metaphor for the *Uacúsecha* lineage, most visibly represented in Lamina XXX in the family tree (Stone 2004). Sicuírancha's encounter at the oak tree symbolizes the continuation of the lineage where he is the founding member (Stone 2004:113). Sicuírancha moves his people to Vayámeo, a "place near Santa Fe (de la Laguna)," in the northern part of the Pátzcuaro basin (Alcalá 2000:349). There, he builds another temple and palace and founds a lineage that rules the settlement for four generations: Sicuírancha, Pauácume, Vápeani, Curátame, Vápeani II and Pauácume II (Alcalá 2000:349). Under the guidance of Curátame, the *Uacúsecha* explore the surrounding countryside, visiting the "places" of Pumeo, Viricaran, Pechátaro, Hirámucu, Pareo, Ytziparatzicuyo, Changueyo, and Curínguaro (Alcalá 2000:349). Several of these places, including Pechátaro, Pareo, and Curínguaro, are featured in the following episode. The locations of these settlements are shown in Figure 3.5, and the locations of the settlements combined with the descriptions suggest that they explored the Lake Pátzcuaro basin moving counter-clockwise.

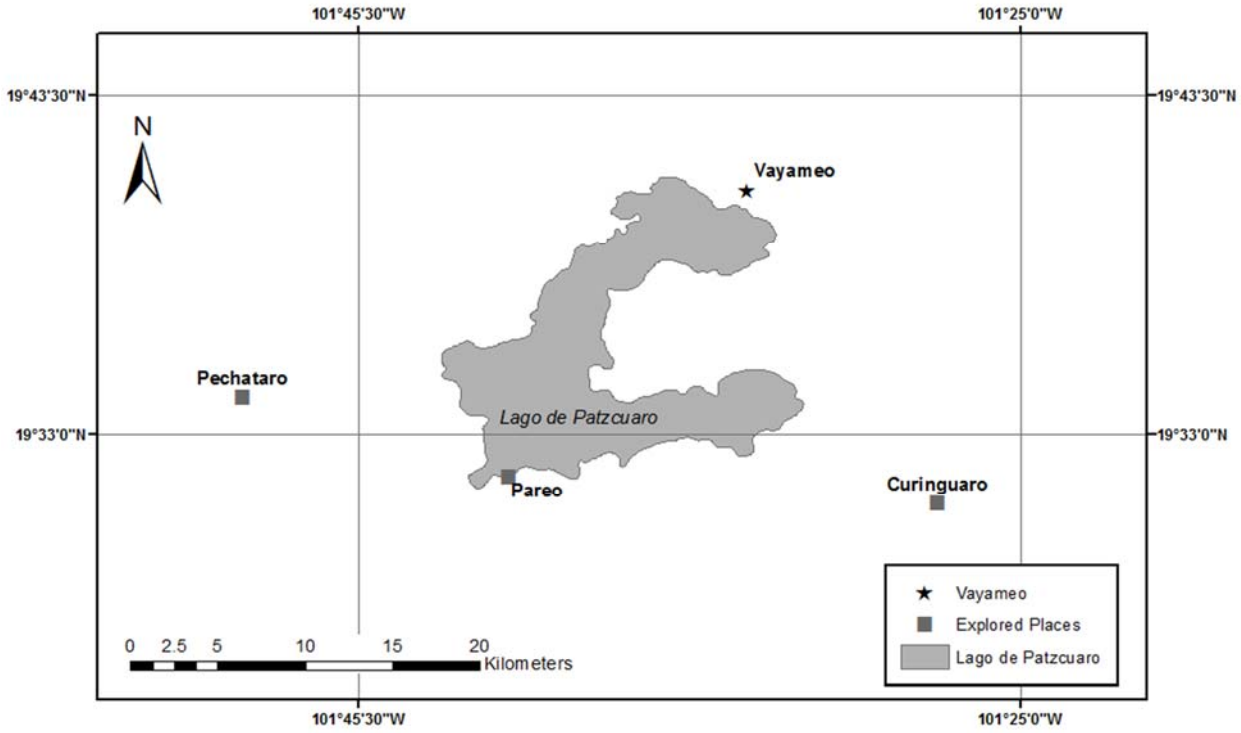


Figure 3.5. Map showing the location of the third Uacúsecha settlement of Vayámeo (black star). Also shown are place explored by the Uacúsecha as described in Episode III of the RM (Alcalá 2000:447). Not shown: Pumeo, Viricaran, Hirámucu, Ytziparatzicuyo, and Changueyo.

The fourth episode shows that the *Uacúsecha* population at Vayámeo had gradually integrated itself into the local politics and religion by taking offerings to the temple of the goddess Xarátanga located at "Yauaro," a *barrio* of Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:350). Two of Xarátanga's priests, or *Vatarecha*, become intoxicated during a festival dedicated to the goddess and adorn her with garlands of chilies and corn, causing the goddess to strike them down with intense sickness and hangovers. The two *Vatarecha* enlist the help of their sisters, Pazimbane and Zucuruae, to catch and cook fish for a midday meal to cure their ills. As they do not have a net, and the goddess Xarátanga hid all of the fish, the sisters catch and cook a snake, which they all eat as their midday meal. At midnight, the four begin turning in snakes, and by midday the following day, they jump into Lake Pátzcuaro and swim for Vayámeo, kicking up foam and screaming all the way, before returning to "Tariacaherio" and disappearing into the ground.

The "Vision of the Snakes" prompts a mass outmigration from Vayámeo to other regions and results a fracturing of the religious and political landscape (Alcalá 2000:351). The population splits into at least five factions, each led by a *señor* who acts as the bearer of a patron deity known as a "Tiripéme." A later story from Part Three describes the Tiripémes as "brothers" who are separated by the Vision of the Snakes and only after the conquests of the *Uacúsecha* are they reunited (Alcalá 2000:654–655). After the Vision of the Snakes, the deity known as Vréndequabécara is taken by the *señor* Tarepecha Chánshori to a "place called Curínguaro Achurin," while Tiripéme Xugapeti is taken by Ypinchuani to "a place called Pechataro." Meanwhile, Tiripéme Turupten relocates to Ylámucuo with *señor* Tarepupenguaran, and Tiripéme Caheri goes to Pareo with Mahicuri. The *Uacúsecha* visited these locations a generation before, and the continued reference to "place of" suggests that they were still uninhabited. The locations of Pareo, Pechataro, and Curínguaro are known, and their locations on the map are symbolic of the Tarascan quadripartite world view ("the four parts of the world"). Ylámucuo (Hirámucu) location has not been identified for comparison. However, given the pronouncement that Curícaueri will conquer the four parts in one way or another, it appears that the priest is giving geographic locations to each of the four parts.

The priests carrying Xarátanga leave Michuacán by skirting around Cerro Taríacuri and moving south to Sipixo, where they made temples and a sweat bath (Alcalá 2000:352), and were there for "some years." Next, they went to Urichu, Viramu Angaru (Huiramangaro), Vacapu, and finally to a place called Taríaran Acuezizan Harocotin that is thought to be southwest of Lake Zirahuen (Espejel Carbajal 2008). At that point, they found a *pueblo* that remains settled in this area for several generations.

The group of *Chichimecs* led by Vápeani and Pauácume leave Vayámeo and begin a peregrination of their own, carrying Curícaueri to Capacurio and Patamuangarcaraho (Alcalá 2000:352). Next, they go to Vazeo Zarauacuyo where they stay on the slope of a mountain, followed by Xenguaran (Xenguaro/Capula) and Honchequaro, where they stayed for some days (Alcalá 2000:352). During their time at Honchequaro the Chichimecs started hunting at "places" called Aranarannahcaraho and Echuen, which are "close to Pátzcuaro", followed by Charimangueo, Virizequaro, Xaramu, Thiapu, and Tupen, where they sight Xarácuaro. The paths of the various factions are shown in Figure 3.6.

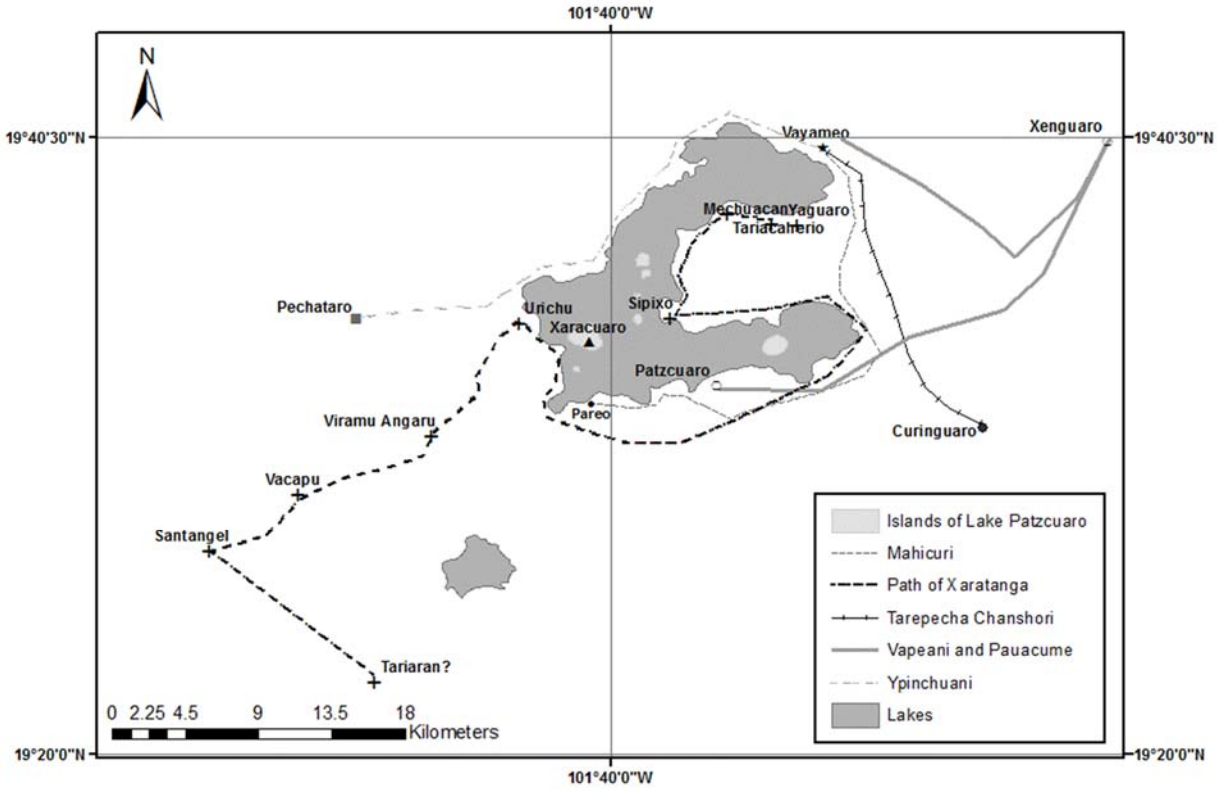


Figure 3.6. Map illustrating the diaspora of five factions after the Omen of the Snakes from Vayámeo (Alcalá 2000:350). Vápeani and Pauácume (light blue) passed through Xenguaro before settling near Pátzcuaro. Mahicuri (black) traveled south along the lakeshore to settle at Pareo. Ypinchuani (yellow) traveled along the northern shore to settle at Pechataro. Tarépecha Chánshori (red) traveled east to Curinguaro. The priests of Xarátanga (green) followed the lakeshore before exiting the Lake Pátzcuaro basin to settle at Taríaran.

In the fifth episode, Vápeani and Pauácume lead their people into the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and encounter Cúriparaxan, a fisherman from the island community of Xarácuaro. Their encounter shows that the islanders and the *Uacúsecha* have a common linguistic background, and thus are *parientes*, or relatives. Vápeani and Pauácume learn about the politics of the region from Cúriparaxan, having the fisherman name the leaders and principal deities of each island. As with the other areas the Chichimecs have visited, the islands of Xarácuaro and Pacandan are ruled by their own *señor*es (Alcalá 2000:354). In doing so, the *Uacúsecha* begin learning about the sociopolitics of the region, and combined with their shared linguistic background the *Chichimecs* decide to try and reunify. The *Uacúsecha* ask Cúriparaxan for his daughter, so that they might marry her and begin the reunification process. However, they tell him

that if prompted, he should tell anyone who asks that the *Uacúsecha* abducted his daughter when she went ashore to urinate. From this, we may interpret that the daughter getting out of the boat and entering dry land – the realm of the *Uacúsecha* – is symbolic of the reunification, and the forcible abduction shows *Uacúsecha* power. The fisherman agrees, and the *Uacúsecha* take the girl with them back to Pátzcuaro.

Taking Cúriparaxan's daughter is a move calculated to attract the attention of the *señor*es of the island and impress them with their martial strength and skill. Cúriparaxan was not a high-ranking elite from Xarácuaro because Taríacuri, the son born of the union between Cúriparaxan's daughter and Pauácume, acknowledges that his lineage is not that of a pure-blood noble (Alcalá 2000). The move succeeds because in Episode VI the *señores* of Pacandan and Xarácuaro decide that they wish their daughters to marry the *Chichimecs* (Alcalá 2000):

> *Dínoslo, si quisieres: porque cada uno de nosotros tiene una hija y trairemoslos aquí a las islas y casaríamoslos con ellas. Y el uno, de aquellos señores, seria sacrificador, aquí a la orilla en este cu; y el otro, seria sacerdote en Quacari Xangatien y sacrificaríe allí; y así estarían en cada parte, para sacrificar* (Alcalá 2000:361).

> *Tell us, if you will: because each of us has a daughter and we will bring them [the chichimecs] to the islands and we would marry them. And one, of those señores, would be sacrifice, here on the shore in this temple; and the other would be a priest in Quacari Xangatien and he would sacrifice there; and so they would be in each part, to sacrifice* (Author's Translation).

From the statement above, the *señor*es of the islanders want to marry their daughters to the *Chichimecs* to create a new alliance, and the marriage would result in Vápeani and Pauácume becoming elites within the social hierarchy of Xarácuaro. The office of *sacrificador*, known as the *Axámencha* in Part Three, is an office associated with the nobility including the Tarascan Cazonci and members of his

lineage (Alcalá 2000:568). When the *Chichimecs* agree, they share a meal with the islander lords and then cut off their long braids before receiving garlands of gold in their hair. As a result, Vápeani and Pauácume achieve their goal of attracting the notice of the Islanders and insert themselves into the sociopolitical hierarchy of Xarácuaro. At the same time, they establish a connection to the gods of the islands by becoming their priests, and thus set the stage for later generations to begin building a new pantheon with the emergence of the Tarascan polity.

The creation of a multiethnic Tarascan polity required incorporating elements of all the conquered and allied cultures (Pollard 1993:133). Because patron deities represented such important symbols, the Tarascans had to develop a means of incorporating them into a new pantheon. Through the narrative, the *Chichimecs* establish claims or connections to many deities through the mechanisms of birthright (e.g., Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:341)), abduction (e.g., Vaziquore, patron of Naranjan [Alcalá 2000:349]), co-habitation (e.g. Tiripémes [Alcalá 2000:352]), and religious office (e.g. patron gods of Pacandan and Xarácuaro [Alcalá 2000:354–355]). Though this may not reflect actual events, the narrative creates a verbal tableau in which the ruling lineage is historically and symbolically connected to them.

The union of the *Chichimecs* and Islanders lasted for a limited period of time because the elites of Curínguaro worked to destroy the alliance (Alcalá 2000:360). They send two embassies to convince the Islanders to abandon the alliance, saying that the *Chichimecs* are "vagabonds" who only hunt deer and gather firewood. If the Islanders agree to break ties with the *Chichimecs* then they can ally with Curínguaro, who will bring tributes of maize, beans and chilies to the gods of Xarácuaro (Alcalá 2000:361). The Islanders eventually agree, and Vápeani and Pauácume are stripped, literally and figuratively, of their badges of office. At the conclusion of Episode VI, they return to Tarimichúndiro (Alcalá 2000:361).

Episode VI contains the only illustration of this first story arc that depicts the initial meeting of the *Chichimecs* with the fisherman Cúriparaxan (Roskamp 2000b:358). In Lamina III below, thirteen *Chichimecs* stand on the shore looking out at the lake, full of fish and waterfowl, and the fisherman who is seated in a canoe holding a paddle (Alcalá 2000:358). The fisherman is dressed in plain garb with a

simple hairstyle. Above the fisherman is an island with what appears to be a temple and a *señor's* house. The temple has stairs which are bright red, possibly symbolizing the blood of the sacrificed (Roskamp 2000b:359). Drawing a diagonal line through the image neatly separates the island from the land, with Cúriparaxan connecting the two (Roskamp 2000b:358; Stone 2004:90).

Figure 3.7. Lamina III of the RM, showing the first meeting of the Uacúsecha/Chichimecs (lower right) and an Islander (in canoe) as described in Episode VI (Alcalá 2000:358).

The *Chichimecs* are each wearing a headband, long red braid, turquoise-colored lip plug, and a large shirt. One of the men also sports a sunburst emblem on the back of his shirt, which may symbolize Curícaueri (Roskamp 2000b:359). This gives the reader an image of what Vápeani and Pauácume looked like before marrying the islanders' daughters, and emphasizes the changes they made to create the union of the two factions. They cut their hair and presumably donned priestly garb, which took away their some of their most visible *Chichimec* characteristics. When the Islanders break off relations with the Chichimecs, Vápeani and Pauácume are stripped of all of their elite badges of office, leaving them for that moment without an ethnic identity. Thus, when they return to Pátzcuaro they are free to retake their original ethnic identities again.

In Episode VII, Vápeani and Pauácume return to Tarimichúndiro and resume their posts as the *señores* of the *Chichimecs* (Alcalá 2000:363). While exploring, they come across a place known as Caropu Hopansquaro, near the house of "Don Pedro, who is now governor" (Alcalá 2000:363). From there, they discover the sacred precinct of Petatzequa, which contains four boulders referred to as Zirita Cherengue, Vacúseecha, Tingarata, and Mivequa Ajeva (Alcalá 2000:363). It is on this spot that they clear the land and build a temple. The narrative structure changes here with the statement

> *"Y decía el Cazonci pasado, que en este lugar, y no en otro ninguno, estaba la puerta del cielo por donde descendían y subían sus dioses. Y de continuo trujeron aquí sus ofrendas. Aunque se mudó la cabecera a otras partes, aquí había tres cues y tres fogones, con tres casas de papas, en un patio que hicieron después a mano, de tierra, sacando por algunas partes las paredes de piedra para igualarle y allanarle"* (Alcalá 2000:364).

> *"And the past Cazonci said, that in this place, and in no other, was the door of the sky where the gods descended and rose. And they continue to bring offerings here. Although the cabecera moved to other parts, here it has three temples and three braziers, with three priest's houses, on a patio that they made after by hand, of earth, taking come parts of the walls of stone to smooth and level it"* (Author's Translation).

The statement above marks Patzcuaro's transition to a true religious center that is located near the door to the sky and underworld, thereby creating an *axis mundi* for the *Uacúsecha* (Alcalá 2000:364). The *Chichimecs* succeed in creating a complex ritual center that is of the same importance as other ceremonial centers in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The fact that the people still bring offerings to Pátzcuaro even though the cabecera moved to Ihuatzio and then Tzintzuntzan simultaneously acknowledges

Patzcuaro's ritual importance, while subtly emphasizing that Tzintzuntzan is the political cabecera. Quiroga reportedly had ancient testimony that showed Pátzcuaro as the political capital (Stanislawski 1947a:120; Warren 1985:5).

Some days later, the elites of Curínguaro decide to schedule a conflict with Pátzcuaro, where they will all "play on the backs of the land" (Alcalá 2000:364). Each side performs the rituals which are described in Episode IV of Part Three, in which they throw incense into a fire while reciting the names of their enemies (Alcalá 2000:573). The reference to playing on the backs of the land appears to involve a metaphor involving Cueráuaperi, the earth goddess, who is represented as a female lying face down with her head to the west and feet to the east (Stone 2004:58). The two sides meet at a place called Ataquaho and a fierce battle ensues in which Vápeani and Pauácume are seriously wounded. Finally, the two sides disengage and return to their respective pueblos (Alcalá 2000:365).

In Episode VIII, the elites of Curínguaro are unsure if Vápeani and Pauácume survived the conflict, and they send an old woman, the wife of Curu Zapi from Sinchangato, bearing gifts to find out (Alcalá 2000:365). The old woman arrives at Tarimichúndiro in the dead of night, and only Vápeani is awake to receive her. He immediately sees through her deception and wakes his brother. They refuse her gift, which is significant because gift exchange is a common practice in the narrative, even among rivals, and refusal of a gift has serious implications. Gift exchange was often used to open up dialogue between different parties, like Moctezuma Xocoyotzin's emissaries presenting gifts including emeralds, turquoise, gold, and blankets to the Tarascan leader Zuangua as an overture to form an alliance against the Spanish (Alcalá 2000:651). Vápeani and Pauácume send her away, and the Islanders who have remained with the *Chichimecs* decide to return to the islands because they believe that both sides are two-faced, and will eventually lead the islanders to their deaths (Alcalá 2000:366; Craine and Reindorp 1970:124).

Episode IX begins some indeterminate time afterward and the elites of Curínguaro set a trap Alcalá 2000:367). They send messengers to Vápeani and Pauácume claiming that they are actually from Xarácuaro asking them to meet their islander wives at Xanóato Hucazio because they cannot bear living apart. Just as Vápeani and Pauácume are about to leave, their three priestly advisors Chupitani, Nuriuan,

and Tetaco warn them that they are about to walk into a trap. The number three is a powerful symbol in Mesoamerican belief indicating the underworld, corporeal world, and the sky (Elizondo 2000:291). In this case, the priests together have the ability to access knowledge that is beyond others, and maintain a timelessness that allows them to appear throughout the narrative.

The elites of Curínguaro send a second set of messengers, this time informing Vápeani and Pauácume that their wives are about to commit suicide, and they should come quickly (Alcalá 2000:370). Again, the priests intervene and attempt to convince them it is a trap, but Vápeani and Pauácume decide to go anyway. Vápeani, the elder brother, is killed first; Pauácume is shot and killed a short time later (Alcalá 2000:372). The priests meet with the elites of Curínguaro to bargain for the lords' bodies, and the deceased leaders are interred in Pátzcuaro.

Analysis

This first story arc is a complex narrative that tells us a great deal about the early lineage of the Chichimecs/*Uacúsecha* who migrated into west Mexico. Their encounters with other groups tell us much about the geopolitics of the region and how the descriptions from the RM compare with the available archaeological information.

Episodes II–IX are a *res gestae* historical narrative (Boone 2000:10, 2012:212) focusing on the earliest known members of the *Uacúsecha* lineage. These episodes are event-driven, and they contain information consistent with *res gestae* histories, such as lineage information and important occurrences in the lives of the *Uacúsecha*, occurrences which have important implications in later episodes of the narrative (Alcalá 2000). In contrast to annals histories which often center on the history of an entire unit (Boone 2000:10), these episodes focus on the *Uacúsecha* lineage over time and across geographic space as they settle into the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. Episode IV presents us with a short "king list" that mentions the various generations of *Uacúsecha* rulers at Vayámeo, but given the very short references, the intention was probably to establish the time depth of the *Uacúsecha* presence in the region; otherwise, those intervening generations would have received greater mention.

Though the narrative has a strong spatial focus, we must be careful in assessing whether the narrative qualifies as a "cartographic" history (Boone 2000:10), because there are indigenous Tarascan and European spatial sensibilities at work. For the Tarascans there is a strong identification with place but the locations of settlements in relation to each other are established through the use of place-names that describe prominent landmarks, topographic features, or possibly activities performed at the site. For example, the name "Zicháxuquaro" means "place where they turn to black," while the name Taríaran Acuezizan Harocotin means "Place of where there are snakes and where they make wind" (Joaquín 2000:718, 725). The name "Taríaran" also signifies the name of the former *señor* of Michuacán who was forced to abandon the site during the omen of the snakes (Alcalá 2000:350). The Spanish required distances and descriptions to place settlements in geographic space, which is why Vayámeo is described as being "three leagues" from the "city of Michuacán." It is possible that the *Petámuti* or Don Pedro provided this information in order to clarify the locations for Spanish audiences. I mentioned above that there is a Purépecha word for league (*mamintziquarequa* [Gilberti 1962:383]) which suggests that the descriptions of site locations was intended to clarify the locations for the audience. It is also possible that Alcalá was responsible: either he had learned enough about indigenous measurement systems to describe Spanish equivalents or he knew enough about the geography of central Michoacán plateau to estimate distances.

At the beginning of Episode II, the *Petámuti* states that each *pueblo* had its own *señor*, deities, and populations, and there are descriptions of a number of such settlements that appear as distinct and independent sociopolitical units (Alcalá 2000:341–372). There are also a large number of references to "places" that do not necessarily have settled populations. For example, following the Vision of the Snakes the four *señor*es traveled to four different "places" (Curínguaro Achurin, Ylámucuo, Pareo, and Pechataro) and created new settlements (see Figure 3.6). Because of this, it is likely that the *Petámuti* was attempting to distinguish between settled and sparsely settled areas, and from this we can derive information about settlement patterns during this period.

The terminology of *señor* and *pueblo* suggests the existence of full political units analogous to central Mexican *Tlatoani* regimes (Gibson 1964:34; Lockhart 1992:15), meaning that Zacapu, Naranjan, Cumachen, Curínguaro, Michuacán/Tzintzuntzan, Xarácuaro, Pacandan, and Pátzcuaro would be considered independent political units. Archaeological surveys of Zacapu identified a number of sites with monumental architecture (e.g., palaces, ball courts, patios), as well as ceramics dating to three phases during the Classic and Postclassic periods (Freddolino 1973:293; Pollard 1980:690, 1993:13). Therefore, it appears that during the period of the *Uacúsecha* entrada (A.D. 1100–1250), Zacapu was a prominent population center and would therefore qualify as a *pueblo* under Gibson's (1964:32) interpretation.

Furthermore, archaeological surveys and excavations near Tzintzuntzan found evidence of shrines on Cerro Yaguarato and Cerro Taríacuri that predate Tzintzuntzan's population expansion during the fifteenth century (Pollard 1980, 1993). Excavations into the Great Platform at Tzintzuntzan uncovered evidence of a smaller, earlier platform with three keyhole-shaped yacatas (Pollard 1993:198), which supports the interpretation of a religious center in the region. Unfortunately, little is known about Tzintzuntzan before that time. The modern settlement of Pátzcuaro covers the prehispanic settlement area; thus, comprehensive investigations are not possible at this time (Pollard 1980:687). Pollard's study of Xarácuaro is not published; however, satellite imagery analyses of the area do not show any archaeological features probably because the modern settlement is covering it.

The important element of this is that the *Uacúsecha* were living in a place filled with already-settled areas. As a result, when the *Uacúsecha* entered into a conflict with Naranjan, Hireti-Ticatame realized that his relatively small tribe of hunter-gatherers could not compete with the larger, more established population of Naranjan. He fled the area and resettled at Zicháxuquaro, where he built a temple to Curícaueri and became a *señor* in the formal sense of the other *señor*es of the area. Sicuírancha took this a step further with the founding of Vayámeo, where he managed to incorporate five different factions and five deities under his rule. When they began exploring the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, they discovered a number of areas that were suitable for human habitation, but were unoccupied.

Archaeological and environmental surveys of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin indicate that the basin was largely abandoned during the Early Postclassic because of drought and lake regression (O'Hara et al. 1993:50). Environmental data indicate that the Lake Pátzcuaro basin experienced severe drought shortly before A.D. 1250, which might have led to the abandonment of some areas of the basin (O'Hara et al. 1993:49). This is not the case in the southwestern and northern areas of the basin, where populations continued inhabiting the areas despite the environmental fluctuations (C. Fisher et al. 2003:4959; O'Hara et al. 1993:49). When the *Uacúsecha* explored the basin and found all of the verdant lands, it is possible that they encountered a landscape that was just recovering from drought. Thus, the "Omen of the Snakes" was a migration in which five factions established new settlements elsewhere. However, it is clear that they retained elements of their former lives at Vayámeo, in keeping with the traditions discussed in later episode where new settlements retain the traditions of the old (Alcalá 2000:450). This can be seen in chapters from the third story arc, where the enemy pueblo of Curínguaro celebrates the same festivals as the Tarascans living in Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:452–453).

In analyzing the RM, it is also important to consider the types of biases that were in place during the production of the document (see previous chapter). The elite informants were trying to tell their history to preserve the legacy of their lineage at Tzintzuntzan, while providing some answer to Quiroga's claims, however indirectly, about Pátzcuaro (Stanislawski 1947a; Warren 1985). Quiroga claimed that Pátzcuaro was the aboriginal *cabecera* instead of Tzintzuntzan (Warren 1985:5), and the elites had figure out how to preserve the core elements of the narrative that acknowledged Patzcuaro's importance to *Uacúsecha* history without inadvertently ceding the argument to Quiroga. Thus, the statement in Episode VII about the transfer of the *cabecera* to other parts speaks volumes because the elites acknowledge Patzcuaro's status as a *former* political center while at the same time emphasizing its greater religious and spiritual significance to the Tarascans.

Gorenstein and Pollard (Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard1983) conducted a comprehensive ethnohistorical and archaeological survey of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin to locate all sites that were mentioned in the RM narrative. They managed to locate at least half of the 91 settlements in the basin

(Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983). Using these data, they analyzed the various political/administrative, economic, and religious systems functioning in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. According to their findings, Protohistoric Tzintzuntzan, that is, the city from A.D. 1450–1522, was the only settlement that fulfilled political, economic, and religious functions (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983). Tzintzuntzan was the only settlement that possessed administrative architecture in the Cazonci's palace on the Santa Ana platform on Cerro Taríacuri, which is adjacent to the Great Platform (Pollard 1993:190). The Santa Ana platform is located over a kilometer away from the Great Platform, which suggests that the political and ceremonial functions were separated to some degree. Furthermore, the public and ceremonial architecture on Cerro Yaguarato was designed to support large audiences, making it a highly accessible religious center. Economic data are scarcer, but there is ethnohistorical evidence to suggest that Tzintzuntzan had a market as well (Alcalá 2000:618).

In contrast, they suggest that Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro were not significant political centers in the basin because there are no references to political or administrative functions being fulfilled at either site (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Pollard 1980). The ritual and ceremonial precincts were the only aspects really emphasized in the ethnohistory, which supports the idea of the importance of Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro as *ritual* centers (Beaumont 1932b:47; Pollard 1980). Thus, when the *Petámuti* is reciting the narrative, he acknowledges the ritual importance of the site as the place where the gods enter and leave the world, a fact that cannot be downplayed or ignored in Tarascan historiography. The statement about the transfer of the cabecera to other parts cannot be directly attributed to Alcalá because it lacks the linguistic separation he usually inserts (i.e., "It was their custom…"). Regardless of who said it, the statement supports Patzcuaro's ritual importance, while emphasizing the importance of Tzintzuntzan as the *cabecera* (Alcalá 2000:364).

However, it should be noted that since the modern city of Pátzcuaro was constructed over the archaeological site we do not have a clear picture of Pátzcuaro's political role within the alliance (Pollard 1980). The descriptions from the RM suggest that there were multiple *barrios* and settlements under Pátzcuaro's control during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which would require at least some level

of administration at the site. In addition, Ihuatzio served as the *cabecera* during Tarascan geopolitical expansion and although this was a relatively short period it would have required some political and administrative functions to be fulfilled there.

By the end of Episode IX, the *Uacúsecha* are firmly established in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Alcalá 2000:374). The process by which the *Uacúsecha* arrived at this point is akin to the migration tales of the Aztecs, wherein they have to travel from place to place from a point of mysterious origin in order to reach their final destination. Viruguarapexo, Zicháxuquaro, Vayámeo, and Xarácuaro are all waypoints where the *Uacúsecha* lords learn and develop. Although the alliances are established with Xarácuaro, seemingly fulfilling the combination of the two factions, the narrative shows us that the Chichimecs are not meant to be tied down; indeed, by abandoning their cultural identities they move away from their destinies. Truly, they are meant to work alone. The events of these episodes also have implications in later story arcs, as their descendants must confront the consequences of their forebears' actions and deal with them appropriately. The next arc, featuring the sons of Vápeani and Pauácume, is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 4: The Second Narrative Arc

In the first story arc, we are introduced to the earliest known members of the *Uacúsecha*/*Chichimec* lineage and their movement toward the Lake Pátzcuaro basin that took place over the course of several generations (Alcalá 2000). The second story arc focuses on lord Taríacuri, the lord of Pátzcuaro and the architect of Tarascan geopolitical expansion throughout Michoacán that culminates in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:516). In this chapter, I analyze the text and imagery of the episodes of the second story arc to determine how the information given by the Tarascan informants informs us about Tarascan sociopolitical organization.

Episode X

Episode X marks the start of the second story arc (Episodes X–XIX) that follows the early lives of Taríacuri and his cousins Zetaco and Aramen after the death of their fathers Pauácume and Vápeani in Episode IX (Alcalá 2000:371). The three men are the progenitors of the founding lineages of Pátzcuaro, Tzintzuntzan, and Ihuatzio later in the story. After their fathers' deaths, the task of raising and educating Zetaco, Aramen, and Taríacuri falls to the three priestly advisors Chupitani, Nuriuan, and Tetaco (Alcalá 2000:372). Although Zetaco and Aramen are older than Taríacuri, the priests quickly focus their efforts on educating Taríacuri to be the next ruler of Pátzcuaro. Taríacuri is the only one who has "discretion," which translates to the embodiment of many of the qualities of his venerated ancestor, Hireti-Ticatame: he hunts with the bow and arrow, gathers firewood, lets blood from the ears, and is willing to wage war for Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:373). In contrast, Zetaco and Aramen do very little of these activities, preferring instead to drink and consort with women. For this reason, the priests send Zetaco and Aramen to a "place" called Vacananbaro to found their own *pueblo* where they can do as they please.

The appointment of Taríacuri as the next ruler shows the flexibility of the succession system in Tarascan society. It was customary for the father to pass the office to his eldest son (López Sarrelangue 1965:34–35); however, the Cazonci was free to choose whomever he wanted as his successor. In the event the father died before officially naming his successor, a caucus of *señores* and *Caciques* was

authorized to choose the successor (Alcalá 2000:631). Here, the priests have the authority to choose the successor. The episode also shows a change in the mode of government from dual rulership to single-ruler status. Vápeani and Pauácume were joint rulers of Pátzcuaro, at least as far as the text describes; however, with three male heirs the integrity of the system was threatened, as only two could rule with the rank of *Señor*. Therefore, by sending Zetaco and Aramen to found a new *pueblo* at Vacananbaro, the Tarascans were effectively creating a new settlement where both men could rule jointly, and Taríacuri could retain his own status in Pátzcuaro.

Episode X describes elements of the Tarascan worldview, and the responsibilities associated with the *Señores*: bloodletting, gathering firewood, waging war, and "remembering the insults" (Alcalá 2000:373). "Remembering the insults" requires an individual to seek retribution against those who wronged his ancestors. It provides a means of connecting the individual in the narrative present with events in the narrative past, and the priests specifically cite the deaths of Vápeani, Pauácume, and Hireti-Ticatame as motives for seeking retribution (Alcalá 2000:372). An indeterminate time later, Taríacuri declares war on Xarácuaro by carrying firewood to the patios of the temples, beginning with his own temple at Tarimichúndiro, and continuing on to other temples at Zirípemeo, Quaraco Hoato, and Yongoan. Taríacuri places an arrow on each pile as "a sign of war" (Alcalá 2000:374). He also places firewood and arrows at Huriquamacurio, Yauaticuiro, Vanita Ychacuriyo, Zacapu Hacurucu, Xangua Hurepangayo, Camenbaro, Xaramuto, and Aterio, which are identified as the "borders of his enemies." Taríacuri is establishing a claim on the territory of the Islanders and using his powerful Chichimec weapons to do it, much like his ancestor Hireti-Ticatame laid claim over deer killed with his arrows.

At Aterio, Taríacuri lights a large bonfire that produces a considerable amount of light and smoke near the village of Tupuparanchuen, where a group of Islanders from Xarácuaro settled and dried their nets, because they "had nothing to fear" (Alcalá 2000:375). Tupuparanchuen was a shore side conduit for transporting supplies of firewood and foodstuffs to Xarácuaro, because in the following chapter the *señor* of Xarácuaro laments their inability to go ashore to get vital supplies (Alcalá 2000:376). Fearful of the spectacle, the villagers flee, leaving all their possessions behind to be claimed by the *Chichimecs*. They

flee to Zyrimbo, Chutio, Xanoato Hucazio, Pareo, Charahuen, Haramutaro, and Cuiris Tucupachao, but shortly after they arrive at each settlement Taríacuri lights new bonfires to scare them away. Figure 4.1 illustrates the flight of the Islanders toward Xarácuaro. Eventually, the refugees flee to Xarácuaro (Alcalá 2000:376). The end result is that the *Chichimecs* now have direct access to Lake Pátzcuaro and all the spoils left over from the Islanders' flight.

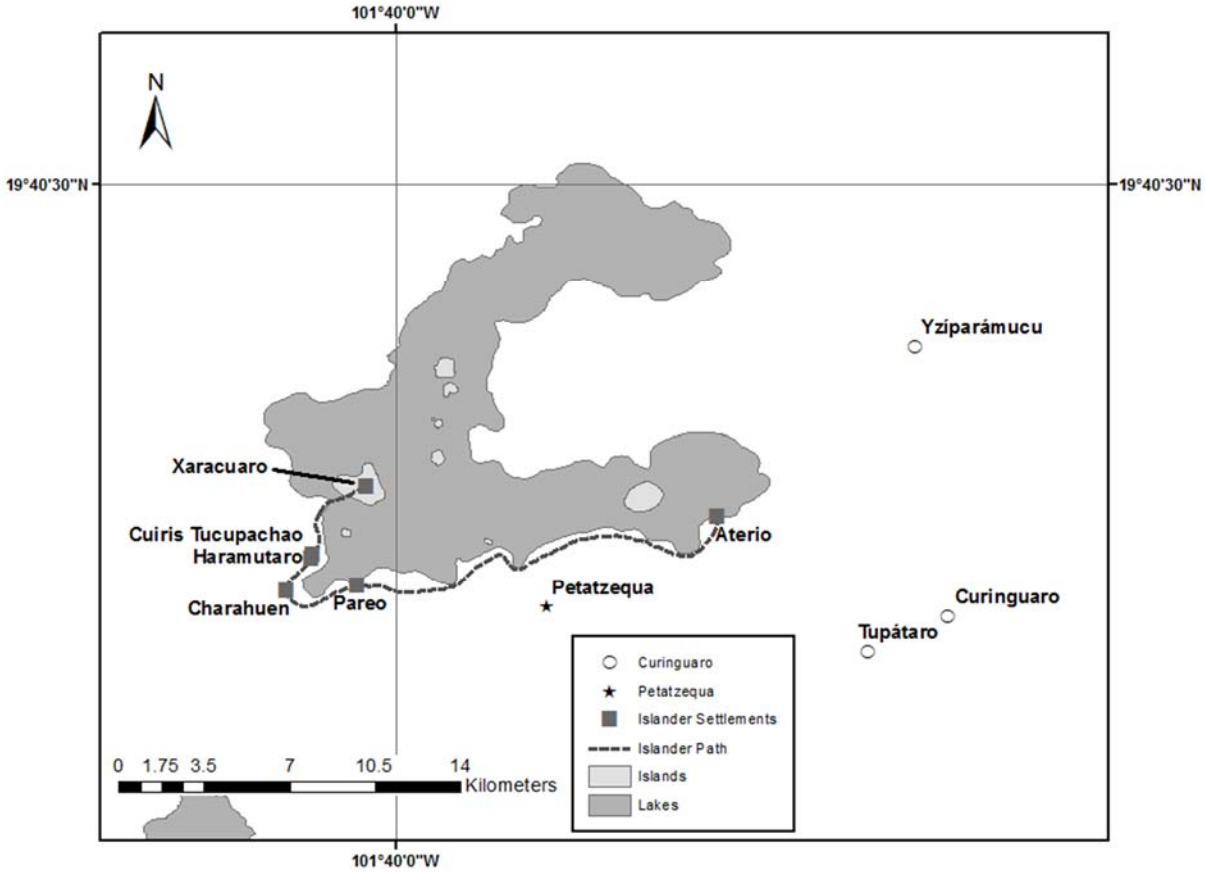


Figure 4.1. Map illustrating the path the Islanders (dashed line) took to reach Xarácuaro after Taríacuri began his offensive in Episode X. The places marked on the map are the known locations of sites they visited. Not shown: Tupuparanchuen, Huriquamacurio, Yauaticuiro, Vanita Ychacuriyo, Zacapu Hacurucu, Xangua Hurepangayo, and Camenbaro.

Archaeological and ethnohistorical descriptions from the RM support the description of the Islanders' flight from the southeastern lakeshore to Xarácuaro. The references to Huriquamacurio, Yauaticuiro, Vanita Ychacuriyo, Zacapu Hacurucu, Xangua Hurepangayo, Camenbaro, Xaramuto, and Aterio as the enemy borders suggest that the narrator is outlining an area of islander control on the mainland. Only

Aterio has been identified along the eastern lakeshore, approximately 3.5 kilometers from sacred precinct of Petatzequa in Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Toussaint 1942:196). Likewise, the locations of Zyrimbo, Chutio, and Xanoato Hucazio are not known; however, Pareo, Charahuen, Haramutaro, and Cuiris Tucupachao are located at points along the southwestern shoreline of Lake Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:19). It appears that Taríacuri's direction of movement while laying the bundles was from west to east, thereby ending his travels near his target. After lighting the bonfires, the Islanders started moving west toward Xarácuaro, moving along the shoreline to stay away from the bonfires. Gorenstein and Pollard (1983:25), using ethnohistorical data from the RM, the *Cronica de Michoacán* (Beaumont 1932a, 1932b, 1932c), the *Visita de Carbajal* and the *Suma de Visitas*, as well as archaeological data gathered from site surveys and published reports to locate sites, argue that Haramutaro is located along the southwestern shoreline approximately two kilometers from Xarácuaro, and Cuiris-Tucupachao is a locality within Haramutaro (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:25). Their interpretations agree with the general direction of movement.

Geoarchaeological and settlement surveys suggest that the southern and southwestern shoreline areas near Lake Pátzcuaro were heavily populated during the Middle and Late Postclassic (C. Fisher et al. 2004:4959), and climatic data gathered from sediment cores in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin indicates a major lake level transgression in the fourteenth century around the time of Taríacuri's early life (A.D. 1350 – 1400) (Bradbury 2000:73; Davies et al. 2004:92; Espejel Carbajal 2008; Israde-Alcántara 2005:35; O'Hara 1992:53; O'Hara et al. 1993:49; O'Hara and Metcalf 1995:485; Watts and Bradbury 1982:67). As a result, Lake Pátzcuaro extended into the area separating Pareo from Haramutaro, which means that the Islanders would have had to go around the lake and head north to reach their final destination. This suggests that their movement toward Xarácuaro was deliberate.

Lamina IV depicts the siege of Xarácuaro (Alcalá 2000:377). At least thirty individuals are huddled together on the island, watching a group of individuals on the lakeshore. These individuals are packed very close together, perhaps as a sign of overcrowding. In addition to the masses, two individuals sit inside a structure near a temple – these appear to the *señor* of Xarácuaro, Caricaten, who is sitting on a

throne, and his wife. Canoes are moored to the shore of the island, which suggests that the Islanders are unable to leave the island for fear of the *Uacúsecha* attack. Flames are shooting up out of the wood, and an arrow is sticking out of the woodpile. The four individuals are each wearing quivers and sandals, and carrying bows. On the shore, a road with footprints leads directly to the lake signifying the Islanders' flight, and nearby four individuals stand near a bonfire. The arrow could symbolize the power of the *Chichimecs* and their taking possession of lands formerly belonging to the Islanders.

Episode XI takes place a sufficient time after Episode X for the population of Xarácuaro to run out of foodstuffs and firewood for ritual burning (Alcalá 2000:376). Desperate because supplies of food and firewood are running low, Caricaten of Xarácuaro sends messengers to Zurunban, the *señor* of Taríaran, asking him for aid. As it turns out, Zurunban is actually a member of the Aparicha and Vinturopatin lineage of Xarácuaro, and Caricaten plays on these loyalties to obtain the other man's aid. Zurunban sends his priest, Naca, to Curínguaro to ask for military aid to crush Taríacuri. Along the way, Naca meets a *señor* named Quaracuri near the Zirahuen basin, and Naca tells the elder man of his intentions (Alcalá 2000:379-380).

Episode XII takes place immediately after Episode XI because Quaracuri sends messengers ahead of Naca to warn Taríacuri that he is in danger (Alcalá 2000:380). Taríacuri formulates a plan to thwart the attack by sending messengers to intercept Naca on the island of Cuyomeo (see Figure 4.1). The messengers go to Urichu and take a canoe from one of Taríacuri's aunts to Cuyomeo, an island that was located south of Xarácuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22). The messengers, pretending that they were sent by Quaracuri, tell Naca that their master is ashamed of the manner in which he received Naca at Zirahuen, and that he wishes to make it up to Naca by meeting him on the road with better food and wine. Naca agrees to meet Quaracuri, and gives them information about his travel plans. Taríacuri, meanwhile, summons Zetaco and Aramen to him and orders them to capture Naca using the information on his itinerary. Zetaco and Aramen pretend to be part of a hunting party on the road where Naca is traveling, but as Naca passes Aramen shoots him in the back, and then apprehends him. Naca is taken to the temple in Pátzcuaro and sacrificed (Alcalá 2000:384).

Lamina V represents the scene described in Episode XII (Figure 4.2). On the left of the image is the lake and canoe pulled up on shore. Near the lake is a mountain shown near the center of the image, and man's head is peeking over the top, signifying the lookouts Zetaco and Aramen posted to watch for Naca's approach (Roskamp 2000b:378). A group of people carrying fish is walking along the southern lakeshore, and they are observing the events taking place on the road that runs in front of the mountain. One of the men in the group is pointing a finger at the scene, which is Mesoamerican pictorial shorthand signifying speech (Stone 2004:82). Three men stand on the road dressed in long shirts. The lead individual is also wearing a quiver of animal skin and ornaments on his ankles. The ornaments could be bells or deer hooves which would identify him as an elite, just as the *Cazonci* wears the same ornaments during his induction ceremony depicted in Lamina XL (Alcalá 2000: 629). He is holding a bow and has nocked his second arrow; his first is embedded in the back of a man standing farther to the right. The wounded man also wears a long shirt, as well as a headband, lip plug, and sandals. His head is turned toward the shooter, but the rest of his body is pointing away. Next to him, another man appears to be restraining him by putting an arm around his neck.

In the text, Aramen is responsible for shooting Naca in the back and then apprehending him, while his brother Zetaco apparently does nothing (Alcalá 2000:379). Roskamp (2000b:378) notes that in Lamina V (see Figure 4.2) the *Carari* was forced to draw Aramen twice to illustrate both actions, but the styles of dress for the two men are somewhat different. I noted above that the individual who shot Naca is wearing bells or deer hooves on his ankles, which are commonly worn by higher-ranking elites as a status symbol, particularly the Cazonci during his installment ceremony (Alcalá 2000:630). However, the individual apprehending Naca in the image is not wearing ankle adornments, and his woven shirt is significantly longer than the first individual. This may be an example of reinterpretation by the *Petámuti* or the *Carari*. There are several places in the text where the *Petámuti* emphasizes the valiant actions of a member of the Tzintzuntzan lineage over the members of the Ihuatzio or Pátzcuaro lineages. Although the *Petámuti* might be trying to subtly emphasize his lineage over others, the *Carari* may have been trying to represent the past as he understood it, involving the members of both lineages.

Figure 4.2. Lamina V shows the capture of the priest Naca by Zetaco and Aramen (center, holding bow and arrow) (Alcalá 2000:382). Aramen is said to have shot Naca as well as captured him, but note the differences in dress between the man holding the bow and the man restraining Naca. This suggests that the man at the far right could be Zetaco.

In Episode XIII, Taríacuri orders Quaracuri to cook Naca's body and send his thighs to Zurunban , the body and ribs to the Islanders, and the arms to Curínguaro (Alcalá 2000:389). The lords are told that the body parts belonged to a disobedient slave of Taríacuri's (Alcalá 2000:390). When the meat is received, the parts are divided up among the elites and priests and eaten. Alcalá breaks into the text at this point to explain that when someone was sacrificed, the meat was divided up among the priests to "make the salve" of the gods, and the meat was eaten (Alcalá 2000:390). While they are eating, a messenger arrives from Quaracuri to inform them that they are in fact eating Naca (Alcalá 2000:391). Zurunban goes to the edge of his patio to vomit up the meat, and he vows revenge against Taríacuri. Taríacuri is engaging in "magical warfare": ingesting the flesh of an individual that was very likely part of Zurunban's lineage symbolizes the demise of the bloodline. Naca was not sacrificed in a particular ceremony; therefore, his body was not consecrated and the lords of Curínguaro, Taríaran, and Xarácuaro are simply eating human flesh without absorbing any of its power. Taríacuri is symbolically cursing these men, which will lead to their eventual downfall.

Lamina VI shows the scene described in the episode, with a large pot holding the dismembered remains of an individual, surrounded by several individuals maintaining the pot and the fire. In the center

of the scene are two servants (*ancianos*) and a messenger (shown wearing sandals). To the right is Zurunban's house, and his is shown sitting on his throne, eating meat from the dismembered individual, Naca. Zurunban is dressed in the long shirt and red headband associated with nobles, but he does not have a turquoise lip plug, perhaps to emphasize Taríacuri's later statement that Zurunban is no lord. Zurunban is surrounded by six women dressed only in colored skirts, kneeling on the ground. Roskamp (2000b:391) suggests that right side shows two different times: Zurunban eating the remains of Naca before he learns of the deceit, and the six women showing the aftermath when they are trying to vomit up the meat. However, only four of the women are holding their hands near their mouths, and it appears that they are attempting to ingest the food rather than regurgitate it. The illustrations are careful to show time in discrete spaces, and like Lamina V above, this image appears to show one continuous scene.

In Episode XIV, Zurunban orders his subordinate, Vyana, to lead a force of warriors to destroy Vacananbaro, the settlement founded by Zetaco and Aramen in Episode X (Alcalá 2000:394). The warriors destroy the houses and knock down the granaries, and "dishonor" the women (Alcalá 2000:394–395). They grab Zetaco and Aramen and strip them naked as a sign of subjugation, an action that is also shown in Lamina VII (Alcalá 2000:395). In addition, Zetaco's son Hiripan and Aramen's son Tangáxoan are believed killed in the attack, which ends their hope of establishing new lineages. Taríacuri, seemingly aware of the attack, orders a mass evacuation of Pátzcuaro and the people leave their belongings behind, which is another sign of subjugation and conquest, parallel to the actions Taríacuri previously took against the Islanders of Tupuparanchuen in Episode X. They move to several "places," including Huiqua Macuritiro, Ebarizan Viuio, and Zinzu Cuiquaro, where Taríacuri stops and sets up camp under an oak tree (Alcalá 2000:397). Zetaco and Aramen's messengers eventually find Taríacuri, who offers to provide the two men with food and clothing from his storehouses at Yongoan. However, the men are resistant to taking Taríacuri up on his offer because it would make them his subordinates, as Alcalá explains in the following passage

> *Tenía esta genta una costumbre, que si tomaban algún maíz o mantas de las trojes de los dioses que estaban deputadas para las guerras, aquellos que las recibían, aunque fuese dado gracioso, ellos o sus hijos quedaban obligados por ello y los hacían esclavos* (Alcalá 2000:398).
>
> *These people had a custom, that if they took some maize or blankets from the storehouses of the gods that were set aside for the wars, those that received them, although they were given graciously, they or their sons remained obligated and were made slaves* (Author's Translation).

Reciprocity is a prevalent theme throughout the RM: gifts given by one party must be reciprocated in order to avoid becoming socially indebted to the other party. Moreover, the reciprocal gift must be of greater value than the initial gift. For example, the RM shows that when someone gives food, the reciprocal gift consists of blankets or clothing. If the individual wishes to establish a political relationship or alliance, the gift is usually precious stones, metals, or feathers (Alcalá 2000). The importance of the gift as a means of social interaction has been discussed at length by scholars such as Marcel Mauss (1954) and Claude Levi-Strauss. Mesoamerican societies viewed gift exchange as a means of establishing political alliances, enhancing an individual's social position, or creating social debts and obligations (Berdan 2003:95). In this case, Zetaco and Aramen relying on Taríacuri's largesse without a means of paying him back meant that they would become his political and social subordinates who owed him for all time (Van Zantwijk 1967:37).

Zetaco and Aramen flee rather than submit to Taríacuri (Alcalá 2000:398). Zetaco settles in the mountains, never to be heard from again, while Aramen becomes the *Señor* of Hirazeo, a place near the southern coast of Lake Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008), and is responsible for opening a large marketplace in the settlement of Pareo (Alcalá 2000:398). Pareo was an important market center during the pre-Hispanic period, and here again is an ancestor of the Tzintzuntzan lineage participating in a

pivotal event. In contrast, Zetaco, the ancestor to the Ihuatzio lineage, disappears from the narrative entirely. Aramen attracts the attention of the wife of Caricaten, lord of Xaráquaro, and thus begins a dalliance that ends after Caricaten finds out and has Aramen killed.

Taríacuri sends his priestly advisors to Chánshori with gifts of rich feathers to secure safe passage through Chánshori's territory to Condébaro, which is controlled by the lord Mahiquisi (Alcalá 2000:378). Chánshori suggests instead that Taríacuri settle at Tupátaro, one of Chánshori's subordinate *pueblo*s, where he can eat food from Chánshori's storehouses and cloth himself in blankets meant for Vréndequabécara, the patron god of Curínguaro (Alcalá 2000:401). Seeing the reversal of his fortunes, Taríacuri resettles instead on the slope of a mountain called Hoato Pexo, where he makes temples and braziers for the gods (Alcalá 2000:401). The location of Hoato Pexo is not known, but it is believed to be somewhere east of Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008).

In Episode XV, Chánshori proposes the establishment of a marriage alliance with the *Chichimecs* by arranging for his daughter to marry Taríacuri (Alcalá 2000:401). It is Chánshori's hope that Taríacuri and his daughter will have a child who will succeed Taríacuri as the leader of the *Chichimecs* and supplant Curícaueri as the patron god. Instead of outright conquest, Chánshori intends to take control of the *Uacúsecha* from within the bloodline. This situation is nearly identical to the events of Episode II, when Ziranzirancamaro (aka Zizanban) sent his sister to marry Hireti-Ticátame (Alcalá 2000:341). However, Taríacuri's wife does not want to be wedded to Taríacuri, and she returns many times to Curínguaro to consort with her male relatives and drink (Alcalá 2000:403). Finally, she refuses to return to her husband in Pátzcuaro, even when Taríacuri travels to Curínguaro to win her back. When Chánshori asks her why, she lies and says that Taríacuri spends all day making arrows and telling her how he will use them to kill her family, and tells her that her family is weak. Chánshori refuses to believe this and has two men, Xarapitio and Tarequazyngata, principales from the subordinate settlement of Yzíparámucu, escort her back to Pátzcuaro. On the way, they stop and have sex with her before escorting her into the town, where Taríacuri rewards them with gifts of blankets and food (Alcalá 2000:408), unaware of her infidelity.

Lamina VIII shows the scene depicted in the episode. On the left a woman is walking on the road away from the gathering at the right. On the right side of the image, an elite male dressed in a large shirt, red headband, red braid, and turquoise lip plug sits on a red throne. He is holding an arrow, and sits in front of a house to the right of him. In front of him (to the left of him) sit three women and two men. The three women are dressed in multi-colored garments and are kneeling on the ground, while the two men are dressed in pink and red garments, and are seated on stones. They have the braids that distinguish them from the women (Roskamp 2000b:403).

In Episode XVI, Xoropeti and Tarequazyngata return to Pátzcuaro during the festival of Purecotaquaro to "visit" Taríacuri's wife, their relative, when in reality they spend the night having sex with her while Taríacuri sleeps on the mountain. In the morning, Taríacuri's wife, who is already pregnant, falls ill. Taríacuri's aunt tells him of her activities, which he confirms for himself. Meanwhile, the two men, Xoropeti and Tarequazyngata, manipulate events by slicing open their earlobes and crying to the leader of Yzíparámucu, Zinzuni, that Taríacuri did this to them because they slept with his wife, even though, according to them, they had the right to sleep with her because they were related. All of this is reported to Chánshori, whose enmity toward Taríacuri grows.

The festival of Purecotaquaro is associated with warfare and involves the participation of the war gods Curícaueri and Pungarecha (Caso 1943:15; Pollard 1993:149), which could mean that this episode is an allusion to the growing tension between Taríacuri and his father-in-law, Chánshori. Taríacuri's wife is pregnant and possibly about to give birth, which in Mesoamerican belief is comparable to males waging war. Furthermore, Taríacuri refers to his wife in a later episode, remarking that she would have made formidable warrior if she were a man, judging from the great damage she had done to Taríacuri in his already vulnerable position.

Lamina IX depicts the scene described in Episode XVI (Figure 4.3). On the left of the image sits a man, probably Taríacuri, dressed in a large shirt with a red headband, and turquoise lip plug. He is seated below a tree and his bow and arrow hang on the tree. A fire burns in front of him. The terrain shows that he is in the mountains or woods away from a house. In the middle of the image in the background is a

structure in which a lone figure sits in the left-most room alone. To the right a woman assumed to be Taríacuri's wife is seated in between two men (Xoropeti and Tarequazyngata) who have their hands on her. The right side of the image shows a woman (Taríacuri's aunt) standing in front of a structure, although the structure appears to be lying on its side, perhaps as a way to depict the events of the narrative within a limited space. A man, attired similarly to the man at the left, stands over a prone figure wrapped in a blanket while another smaller female figure attends to the prone figure. This image is interesting because it divides the story up into three discrete spaces on the page unlike the lamina for Episode XI which was one continuous image. Clearly the *Carari* had trouble fitting the entire scene on the page because one portion is upended to fit it on the page.

Figure 4.3. Lamina IX from the RM (Alcalá 2000:414). Taríacuri is shown at left with his bow and arrows, attired in the garb of a Uacúsecha elite. In the background, his wife is consorting with two men, presumably her relatives from Curinguaro. At right, Taríacuri stands over a woman, presumably his wife, who has fallen ill from her activities.

Episode XVII begins with Taríacuri feeling heartsick over the loss of his wife, to the point that he stops taking care of himself. However, his aunt convinces him to seek out a new wife, and for this Taríacuri goes to Taríyaran to meet with Zurunban. Zurunban challenges him to a feat of skill, requiring the *Uacúsecha* to shoot a hummingbird out of the sky. In exchange for winning the contest, Zurunban takes Taríacuri back to his house to show the women of his household the *Uacúsecha's* skill. Taríacuri

and Zurunban paint each other in the colors of their patron gods, and Zurunban goes to sleep, but not before directing the women of the house to watch over Taríacuri. Taríacuri, on the other hand, sends the women to bed and spends the night "taking the smoke" with his priests. "Taking the smoke" involves placing a censer under the shirt to allow the smoke to come into direct contact with the body, presumably as a means of communion with Curícaueri and as a way of coloring the body black which is the color commonly associated with Curícaueri (Alcalá 2000:419). In the morning, he converses with Zurunban, advising him on the evils of drinking and telling him that he should remember that he is not a true lord. Zurunban, sobbing, agrees to what Taríacuri has said and presents him with two of the women of his house. The word used is "chambermaid," but some have interpreted this to mean that Taríacuri married them (Haskell 2008:202). As Taríacuri comes home with his new wives, his old wife goes home to Curínguaro and never returns.

The following episode, XVIII, describes the falling-out between Taríacuri and Chánshori. Though Taríacuri is getting ready for the festival of Sicuindiro, Chánshori attacks his temples and places his own god, Vréndequabécara, in Curícaueri's place. Though Taríacuri tries to reason with Chánshori, the lord feels that he has the upper hand and is loath to give it up. Taríacuri and his forces become trapped at Vrexo, but Curícaueri intervenes and strikes the attackers down with sicknesses, allowing the *Chichimecs* to sacrifice them to Curícaueri. Curínguaro sends out spies to find the *Uacúsecha* again, eventually sending Chánshori's son Zinzuni to find Taríacuri. Eventually Taríacuri and his people flee the area and end up at Santangel, on the western side of the Pátzcuaro basin.

Episode XIX opens with Chánshori's son Vresqua sending messengers to demand tribute from Taríacuri, because of his exploits in the west (Alcalá 2000:429). When the messengers arrive, Taríacuri pulls out chests filled with arrows of different colors. The messengers balk at this because they expected to have to carry feathers, but Taríacuri insists that these are just like the tribute that they had been expecting. The messengers take the arrows, but it is because they are unsure whether the arrows really are as important as Taríacuri claims.

On the left side of Lamina XI are four seated figures. Each wears a long shirt, headband, red braid, and lip plugs. Two of them are seated on thrones, while the remaining two are on stones. In front of the largest individual sits a bundle of arrows. In the background is a fire. On the far right sit a number of figures dressed in robes or long shirts and they appear to be seated as well. One figure holds and bow and is seated on a throne similar to the larger figure on the left. Roskamp suggests that the left figure is Vresqua, and the right figure is Taríacuri.

Analysis

The narrative from Episodes X–IX is still a *res gestae* history, focusing on the deeds of the *Uacúsecha* lineage. The passage of time is not an essential factor to the story; rather, the events that propel the story forward are the most important. The pivotal events of this part of the narrative include: 1) Taríacuri's development into a leader; 2) the spiritual and physical conflicts with Curinguaro, Taríaran, and Xarácuaro and the implications of these conflicts for *Uacúsecha* prominence in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin; and, 3) Taríacuri's marriages to the daughters of two of his greatest enemies. The first event is important because the narrative is by design a generational story, and Taríacuri and his cousins Zetaco and Aramen represent the next generation of *Uacúsecha* to rule in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. Taríacuri has to develop his abilities as a leader, but from a narrative standpoint he cannot be a flawless leader because there would no conflict and no drama for the story. Therefore, Taríacuri's early ruling period is marked by considerable challenges and pitfalls.

Taríacuri's marriages are pivotal to the story because they provide a means of infiltrating the bloodlines of rival *pueblos* while also creating dramatic tension in the story. Much of the narrative is portrayed in moralistic terms and the marriages provide a narrative vehicle for highlighting more examples of moral decay on the part of Taríacuri's rivals. His first wife proves to be unfaithful, engaging in incestuous relationships with members of her own lineage in Taríacuri's own house, and many of her greatest character flaws are passed on to their son, Curátame. Furthermore, she and her relatives are manipulative, telling lies to lord Chánshori to incite conflict with the *Uacúsecha*. Taríacuri's second

wives do not understand his ways, since he prefers to stay out all night "taking the smoke" with his priests instead of sleeping in a house.

From a structural standpoint, events in this part of the narrative tend to occur in pairs, almost as mirror images of each other. For example, in Episode X Taríacuri's war against Tupuparanchuen forces the Islanders to flee west to Xarácuaro, leaving all of their possessions behind. Later, the impending threat of attack from Taríaran forces Taríacuri to flee eastward, leaving all of his possessions in Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000). When Vacananbaro is destroyed, Taríacuri attempts to capitalize on the situation by offering Zetaco and Aramen socially subordinate positions, and this same scenario is played out between Taríacuri and Chánshori within the same episode.

We can infer two important elements from these mirrored events. First, everything occurs in balance, so that misfortune in one instance turns to good fortune later, or vice versa. It is how Taríacuri deals with these problems that make him a noteworthy leader. Second, the story may have been structured this way to facilitate memorization of the narrative: by shifting details around, it is possible to create a balanced, memorable story, which is important for a society without writing. Analyses of the RM's text finds certain parallels between the speeches given by the *Petámuti* at the beginning and ending of Part Two and the speeches given in Part Three by the leaders of Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, Ihuatzio, and Xacona before they go to war (Mendoza 2000:266). The recitations are similar enough that they may have been designed for memorization and performance by multiple individuals in different places (Vansina 1985).

Political Landscape. Taríacuri's war with Xarácuaro expanded *Uacúsecha* territory within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and gave them access to the lakeshore zone. After the events of Episode VI in the first story arc, Vápeani and Pauácume return to Tarimichúndiro and formally found the settlement of Pátzcuaro by constructing temples at the sacred precinct of Petatzequa. Using Petatzequa as a spatial referent, the *Uacúsecha* settlement was located several kilometers away from Lake Pátzcuaro, and presence of Islander settlements along the lakeshore created a barrier to *Uacúsecha* access. Taríacuri's tactics removed the impediment and facilitated regular access to the lakeshore.

The changes in environmental stability resulted in increased competition as populations were displaced, and warfare provided a means of obtaining access to scarce resources and land. Settlements that had been established on higher ground or on the volcanic *malpaís* were in a better position to defend against warfare. However, judging from the location of Petatzequa, the settlement of Pátzcuaro was not well-equipped to defend against attacking forces because it is on fairly open ground. This would have been sufficient cause for a *Uacúsecha* exodus from Pátzcuaro if faced with the prospect of warfare against a larger population such as Taríaran.

Curinguaro was the head of a political unit that included the *pueblos* of Tupátaro and Yzíparámucu. The locations of these settlements are known, although in the case of Yzíparámucu the location is approximate (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983). When plotted on a map, the locations suggest that Curinguaro controlled the southeastern corner of the Pátzcuaro basin between Curinguaro and Tupátaro, which explains why Taríacuri had to approach Chánshori, the leader of Curinguaro, to obtain permission to cross his lands (Alcalá 2000:474). In addition, Curinguaro was the superordinate center to Yzíparámucu in the northeast and the RM indicates that there were lineage ties between the two settlements as Yzíparámucu had its own *principales.* It appears that Curinguaro established functional-territorial control over the eastern Lake Pátzcuaro basin as indicated by its control over nodal centers. Currently, we lack the data necessary to determine if they controlled the interstitial space in the territory as well.

Factional competition was a common feature of the Late Postclassic period in west Mexico, and the *RG Tirípitio* states that during the period before conquest each village had its own principal serving as leader (Acuña 1987:352). The information from the RM suggests that Curínguaro's influence was expanding through a combination of political alliances and conquests. Indeed, this expansion may have been the impetus for the population aggregation at Tzintzuntzan during the latter half of the fourteenth century (Pollard 1980:683).

The narrative also tells us a great deal about the political system. When Taríacuri was young, the Islanders controlled portions of the southern lakeshore, and the boundaries are defined by the *Petámuti*.

When he laid siege to Xarácuaro, Taríacuri effectively wrested control of the area from the Islanders and incorporated it into his own area of control. When he fled Pátzcuaro, he gave up his seat as *señor* and his people abandoned their things, which amounted to a *de facto* conquest of the area by the settlement of Taríaran.

Curínguaro's political system is given greater description as well. For example, we know that Chánshori was the *señor* of Curínguaro for much of the narrative; indeed, he may be the same Chánshori who founded Curínguaro back in Episode IV (Alcalá 2000:351). By Episode XIX, Chánshori has stepped aside and given the position of *señor* to Vresqua, one of his sons, in accordance with the succession traditions of west Mexico. Curínguaro controlled at least two subordinate *pueblo*s, Tupátaro and Yzíparámucu (Alcalá 2000:401, 408). Yzíparámucu's *señor* was Zinzuni, and the two *principales*, Xoropeti and Tarequazyngata, are related to both Zinzuni and Chánshori, but apparently they lack political authority of their own.

The geographic component is restricted mainly to areas already known to or explored by the *Chichimecs*, which centers the narrative focus on Taríacuri and his marriages. Chánshori's hope that Taríacuri and his daughter would have a son who would replace Curícaueri shows knowledge of marriage and succession rules, in which the male offspring of a high-ranking male ruler will become eligible to succeed his father (Carrasco 1984:54). This deft manipulation of the rules would allow Chánshori the political, military and economic advantages of a marital alliance while simultaneously allowing Curínguaro to co-opt the Chichimec bloodline in Pátzcuaro.

However, his daughter's complete rejection of Taríacuri shows that the two cultures are completely distinct from one another, and the alliance will be short-lived. The wife's assertion to Chánshori that Taríacuri is "crazy" is based on observing Taríacuri sleeping under an oak tree every night, while hunting deer and collecting firewood during the day. Earlier episodes, particularly Episodes II and III, showed that these were normal activities for members of the *Uacúsecha* lineage because their purpose in life was the care and veneration of Curícaueri. The wife's own actions include drinking and carousing with members of her own bloodline, which qualifies as a severe violation of marriage and kinship rules. She

fails to fulfill the duties set down for her at the start of the marriage, including feeding Taríacuri and giving out blankets (Alcalá 2000:342). When she lies about Taríacuri's plan to kill Chánshori and the Curínguaro elites, tensions begin to escalate which culminate in armed conflict at the beginning of Episode XVIII. Although Taríacuri used deception as part of his plans to further *Uacúsecha* dominance, his wife's actions are seen as immoral and contrary to their union. However, it does set up the opposition that will occur between Taríacuri and his son, Curátame.

In Episode XVII, Taríacuri marries a second time, this time with two of Zurunban's daughters who had been serving him as part of his house. They, too, note Taríacuri's eccentric behavior, which includes staying up all night and putting a censer under his shirt to "take the smoke." Taríacuri's new marriages upset his first wife and she goes back to Curínguaro, never to return.

With Episode XVIII, the narrative shifts back to a combined *res gestae*/cartographic historical narrative because Taríacuri is forced to flee after Chánshori attacks his temple at Hoataro Pexo, which spoils the festival of Sicuindiro (Alcalá 2000:423). In a calculated move, Chánshori then offers Taríacuri a new place to live, stating that he could live off of food stored in Vréndequabécara's *trojes* (storehouses) if he agreed to settle down. It states earlier in the chapter that the custom when settling in a new place is to adopt the festivals, customs, and gods of the parent *pueblo*; therefore, Taríacuri would be forced to give up Curícaueri for Vréndequabécara. Taríacuri then moves to Santangel, on the opposite side of the basin from Curínguaro.

The second narrative arc describes the development of Taríacuri as a leader, as well as the trials and tribulations he faces as he attempts to establish the power and prestige of his lineage. In the following chapter, I discuss the third and final narrative arc in which Taríacuri molds the next generation of *Uacúsecha* into the future leaders of the Tarascan Empire.

Chapter 5: The Third Narrative Arc

Episode XX begins the third and final arc of the narrative that opens the focus up from Taríacuri to the next generation of the *Uacúsecha* lineage: Hiripan (son of Zetaco), Tangáxoan (son of Aramen), and Hiquíngaje (son of Taríacuri). Hiripan and Tangáxoan were believed killed in Episode XIV when the warriors of Zurunban destroyed their home village of Vacananbaro (Alcalá 2000:398). However, they did not die in the attack; rather, they hid and wandered the countryside for a time with their mother. Meanwhile, Taríacuri tries to teach his son, Curátame, to learn from his example and not the example of his other relatives in Curínguaro. Unfortunately, Curátame does exactly the opposite of what Taríacuri wants and embraces the conduct of his mother over his father.

The transition to the story of Hiripan and Tangáxoan is different than other episodes ("We now turn to Hiripan and Tangáxoan") because the narrative is actually jumping back in time to just after the destruction of Vacananbaro in Episode XIV (Alcalá 2000:394). The transition begins with a brief synopsis of the places Hiripan and Tangáxoan visited, which included Pechataro, Siuínan, Cheran, Sipiaxo, Matoxo, and Zaueto, where they subsist by eating scraps of food that had fallen to the ground in the market. One day, they meet the wife of Niniquaran who claims to be one of their relatives, and she takes them to her house in Hucariquareo (Hucaquaro), near the present-day city of Morelia (Alcalá 2000:440; Espejel Carbajal 2008). Taríacuri believes that they are still alive, and he sends out people to search for them. One lord, Chapa (who will appear again in Ep. XXII) of Hetóquaro, informs Taríacuri that they are hiding in Hucariquareo, and Taríacuri sends his priests to retrieve them. The two boys and their "mother" flee Hucariquareo, essentially by retracing their steps through Sipiaxo, Matoxo, and then to Timban (Alcalá 2000:441). Figure 5.1 shows the route they took to reach Hucariquareo. The locations of these settlements are important to the story because some will be conquered in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:519).

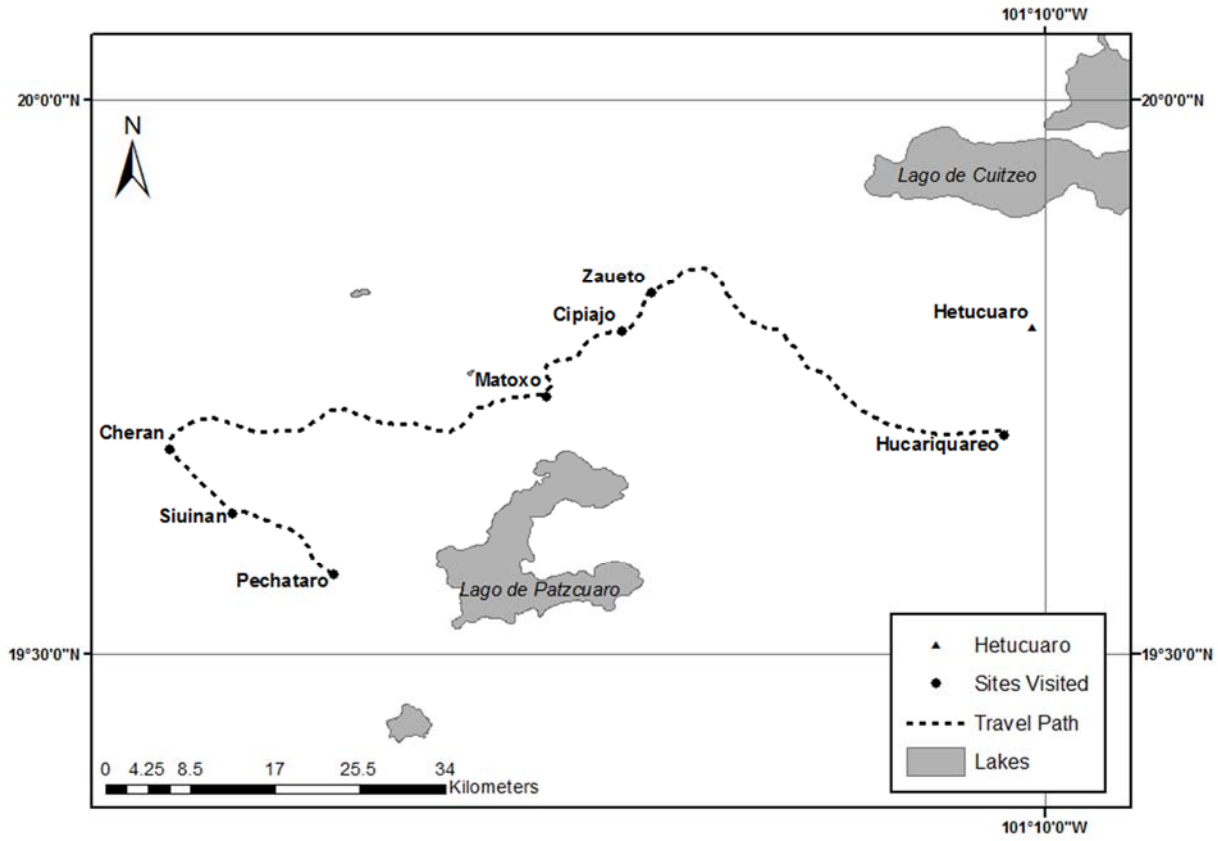


Figure 5.1. Map illustrating places (black circles) Hiripan and Tangáxoan visited after the destruction of Vacananbaro in Episode XIV. Their path (in black) took them from to Hucariquareo. Chapa, lord of Hetúquaro (black triangle), learned of the boys and told Taríacuri. Fearful, the two young men and the wife of Niniquaran retrace their route.

This episode is a *res gestae*/cartographic episode that conveniently explores different parts of the countryside while simultaneously removing Hiripan and Tangáxoan from the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. From Vacananbaro, they begin an arc around the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, starting at Pechataro and moving on to Siuínan, Cheran, Sipiaxo (Cipiajo), Matoxo (Matugeo), and Zaueto (Chaeta) (Alcalá 2000:439). Sipiaxo and Matoxo may have been transposed, because Matoxo is located southwest of Cipiajo, and far from Zaueto. From Timban, they go to Eróngaricuaro where they stay with a relative, Cuiuva, who agrees to let them stay in his house as long as they agree to cultivate his fields. However, Hiripan and Tangáxoan spend the majority of their days hunting deer and gathering firewood while neglecting their obligations to Cuiuva. Eventually, Cuiuva throws them out, and they precede the pueblo of Hurecho where the same thing occurs. They next go to Pareo, where they are finally discovered by Taríacuri.

Taríacuri rejoices at finding them because at this point Taríacuri's military and political strength is gravely weakened, and even his relatives appear to want him dead.

This arc starts a new sequence focusing on the third generation of *Uacúsecha* who will succeed at fulfilling the prophecy set down in Episode II that Curícaueri will come to conquer the world. Curátame fails to heed his father's advice when he goes to Curínguaro and becomes a drunk; however, with Curátame effectively out of commission Taríacuri is suddenly given the opportunity to fulfill the prophecy of Curícaueri's domination using Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje as his successors. The trip through the various *pueblos* allows the audience to take a tour through an area that has not been previously explored.

Lamina XII, shown in Figure 5.2 below, illustrates the market scene described in Episode XX (Alcalá 2000:437). In the center, a large group of men and women are standing or sitting together, while a smaller group of women sit next to their wares, consisting of fish and possibly fowl and different types of fruit (Roskamp 2000b:438). Slightly to the right of the crowd sit two young, nude male figures who appear to be eating and they are Hiripan and Tangáxoan (Roskamp 2000b:438). On the left of the image stands two females, presumably the wife of Niniquaran who acts as caretaker for Hiripan and Tangáxoan, as well as the sister of Hiripan and Tangáxoan (Roskamp 2000b:438). Five men sit on the right side of the image. Four men sit on the ground, and are dressed in long shirts and red headbands, but they do not have the lip plugs normally associated with high-ranking elites. The fifth man sits slightly ahead of them on a stool, adorned in a long shirt, red headband, long hair, and a lip plug; he is probably Taríacuri. He is also drawn slightly larger than the other men, perhaps in emphasis of his social status.

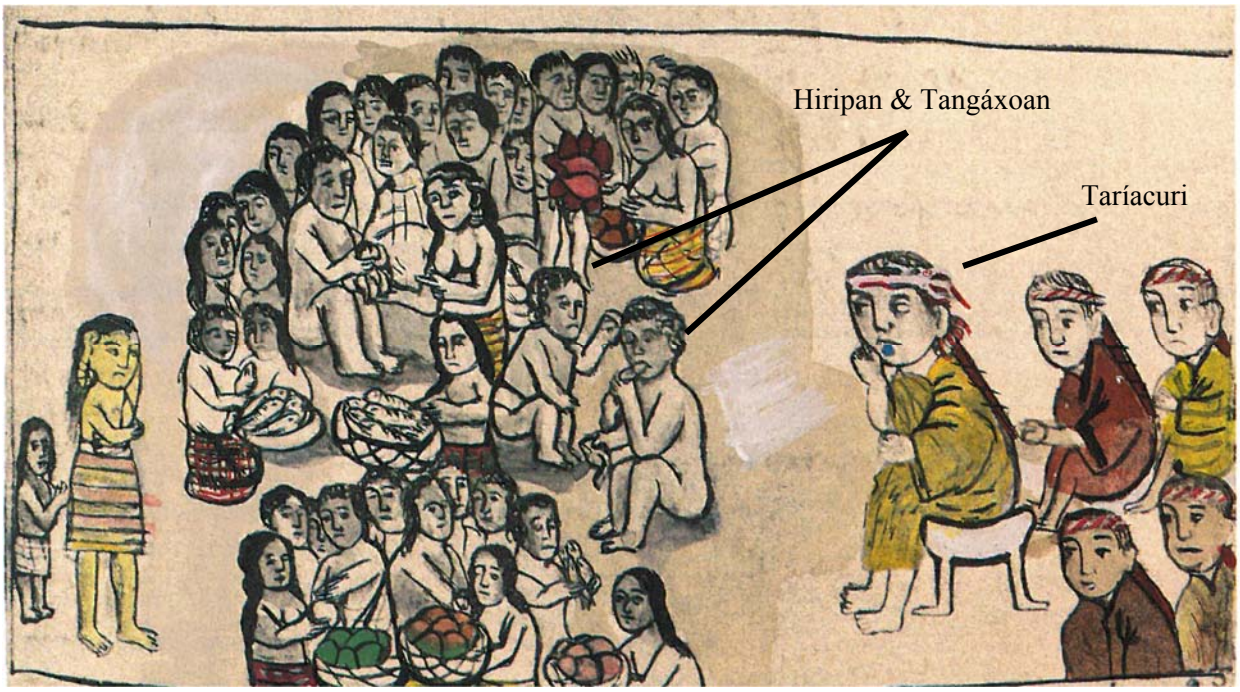


Figure 5.2. Lamina from Episode XX, showing Hiripan and Tangáxoan (center, seated on the ground) in the market of Marijo during their journey. This is the only available depiction of a west Mexican market in the RM (Alcalá 2000:437). The wife of Niniquaran (at left, in yellow) sees them and takes them in. A Uacúsecha, presumably Taríacuri, is seated (at right) looking for the two boys. The position of the wife and Taríacuri may encode directional information in the image.

This scene illuminates several important points about the Tarascans. First, it is the only available depiction of the marketplace in Tarascan culture and it matches ethnographic descriptions of the marketplace (Warren 1985:23) as the domain of women who sit on the ground and hawk their wares (Roskamp 2000b:438). Second, there is as least one directional indicator encoded into the image to give the person reading the document a sense of where events are taking place. Niniquaran's wife is painted yellow, which is the color commonly associated with the north (Pollard 1993:141), and from the correlation of ethnohistorical and real-world locations, we know that the peregrination of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and the two women took them through northern Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:436), meaning that in this image left is north. Taríacuri is drawn on the right-hand or "south" side, and his seat of power is located south in relation to the markets. Therefore, the *Carari* is probably trying to incorporate directional elements to give the performer a clearer idea of where events are taking place.

In Episode XXI, Taríacuri tells his son to meet him at a place called Xaramu, where Taríacuri has made a temple and priests' house (Alcalá 2000:447). Curátame obliges, and Taríacuri tells him to "bring firewood for first for the temples, and after come here where I am and be *señor* and leave me this house where I am" (Alcalá 2000:447). At the same time, Taríacuri's wives suggest that Curátame should go to Pare Xarapitio, where there is wine, wealth, and the will to do whatever one wants (Alcalá 2000:451). Later, Curátame asks to speak with his father during the festival of Purecotaquaro, a festival dedicated to two war gods, Curícaueri and Pungarecha, the messenger of death (Caso 1943:15). When Taríacuri arrives, he carries with him gifts of duck feathers, a headband of leather and other gifts, but he finds his son drunk. Taríacuri and Curátame go into the latter's house to talk and drink wine, and Taríacuri simply says that he has returned from persecution.

At this point, an altercation ensues between Curátame and Taríacuri, as Curátame hurls Taríacuri against a wall and holds him there by the throat (Alcalá 2000:452). He asks "Are you a *señor*? For that you have won the right to speak? Go to the lake, go to the lake, that you are an islander" (Alcalá 2000:452). Curátame is referring to Taríacuri's mixed heritage, as well as the cultural stereotype that Islanders are weak. Taríacuri replies "Yes, this is so, I am no *señor*, but an islander. How are you *señor*? You are of Curínguaro, and you have a part of the god Tangachuran. Go to your pueblo of Curínguaro. I am not *señor*, nor are you *señor*. Here Hiripan and Tangáxoan have to be *señores*. They are true *señores*" (Alcalá 2000:452).

Taríacuri leaves Pare Xarepitio and takes refuge in Cutu, a barrio of Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:452). Meanwhile, Curátame takes over as *señor* of Pátzcuaro, while Hiripan and Tangáxoan "always went to the mountain to bring firewood for the temples" (Alcalá 2000:452). In a deviation from the normal mode of storytelling, the *Petámuti* actually tells the audience that a year passes before events move forward again, because the timing of the events is important. The new *señor* wants his cousins and his father to attend the new festival of Purecotaquaro so that he might prove himself as a leader. Taríacuri thinks about it, but he, his wives, and advisors decide not to go to the festival because it would be too

exhausting. "We are going to the barrio called Zacapu Hacarucuyo, there we will be spies, because our enemies on the lake do not come" (Alcalá 2000:453).

Hiripan and Tangáxoan also opt to go elsewhere for their festival, even though they were invited by Curátame (Alcalá 2000:454). Instead, they go to the mountain known as Xanoato Hucazio and watch for their enemies to attack. Eventually, they decide also to go to Zacapu Hacarucuyo, but they bring two squadrons of warriors with them. Taríacuri's underlings discover this, which causes great concern among his wives, but it is soon revealed that the warriors are *Uacúsecha*. Taríacuri and the boys agree that they did not want to attend Curátame's festival. However, Taríacuri tells them to depart in the morning and go to the festival, to behave as young boys and watch the games and be youths. They refuse, stating that they want to go to the houses of the priests and collect firewood for the ceremonial fires. This proves to Taríacuri that his faith in their dedication and their destiny is well-founded.

There was a tenuous political situation developing between Pátzcuaro and Curínguaro, and on a personal level, between members of the *Uacúsecha*. Although Taríacuri thought the persecution was over and possibly he had an ally in Curátame, this episode shows that the persecution was far from over. Curátame used his martial skill against Taríacuri, throwing him against the wall to prove his strength (this is similar to the fact that Taríacuri's enemies had him pinned by the throat as well). His designating Taríacuri as an Islander is meant to reduce him to a weak, passive person, easily defeated. However, Taríacuri accepts this, and goes further by acknowledging that he is not a *señor*, and neither is Curátame. Taríacuri is accepting that it is neither he nor Curátame who will conquer the land for Curícaueri; rather, that duty is left to Hiripan and Tangáxoan. Furthermore, he deems Curátame unworthy to rule. The episode also builds on Episode XX by further highlighting Hiripan's and Tangáxoan's respective dedication to Curícaueri and the *Uacúsecha*. Hiripan and Tangáxoan placed greater importance on hunting and gathering firewood in the tradition of true *Uacúsecha*, rather than spending time on agriculture like the Islanders. Their choice to forego childish things shows that they are ready to go on to the next step in their development as *Uacúsecha* lords.

Lamina XIII is an illustration of the shift in power from Taríacuri to Curátame. A structure stands in the upper right, and there are two entrances. In one entrance, two men dressed in breechcloths are grappling with each other (Alcalá 2000:448). Curiously, though from the text we know that these men are Taríacuri and Curátame, they are not wearing any accoutrements (e.g., headbands, lip plugs) associated with elite status. This may be deliberate because Taríacuri loses his rank to Curátame, yet Taríacuri proclaims that Curátame will never be a true *señor* (Alcalá 2000:452). The loss of rank is reinforced with the adjoining image of two empty thrones and abandoned cups which signify that there are no more *señores* here. There is also an allusion here to the festival of Purecotaquaro in which the two war gods are engaged in battle (Caso 1943:15).

In the foreground, a group of men dressed in colored shirts are walking toward the left side of the image, preceded by two standard-bearers carrying red and white banners, and a man wearing a breechcloth and carrying quiver and a bow. In the text, Hiripan and Tangáxoan lead troops toward Zacapu Hacarucuyo, and it appears that these are the warriors, although they are not attired as such. They may be carrying religious offerings, as well as the idol of Curícaueri in the oak box referred to in Episode III (Roskamp 2000b:450). Two spies sit on the left side of the image, dressed in robes and armed with bows and arrows. These are the spies sent by Taríacuri to watch for their enemies. In the upper left sit a group of women, dressed only in long skirts and watching over foodstuffs.

Unlike the previous image, this image does not appear to have encoded directional indicators, perhaps because the settlements (e.g., Zacapu Hacarucuyo) and topographic features (e.g., Xanoato Hucazio) are all believed to be located along the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008). However, the depiction of the troops and standard-bearers is consistent with descriptions of Tarascan warfare, and since each standard is believed to represent a single *Ocámbecha* unit (Pollard 1993:33), it appears that Hiripan and Tangáxoan led a very modest force of approximately fifty warriors. Since Taríacuri took refuge at Cutu, a *barrio* of Pátzcuaro ruled by the principal Tariachu, the warriors probably came from there.

Episode XXII immediately follows the events of the previous episode (Alcalá 2000:459). Taríacuri tells his wards, "If you speak the truth that you do not want to go to the festivals of my son, hear me: you, lords, and three lords you have to be. Hiripan will be *señor* in one part and Tangáxoan in another and my younger son Hiquíngaje in another part" (Alcalá 2000:459). This is the first reference to Taríacuri's younger son, Hiquíngaje.

Taríacuri continues by saying "Look for containers that we have to throw in the things with which they were *señores*. Have no more *señores* in the *pueblos*, that all will die and their bodies will be thrown in the fields" (Alcalá 2000:459). Essentially, Taríacuri is laying out his war plan. Throwing the things with which they have to be *señores* into a container is similar to stripping a conquered foe as a sign of subjugation and throwing their bodies into the fields means that there will be no deals reached with conquered subordinates. In essence, Taríacuri is proposing the beginning of a new social order with Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje at the top.

The remainder of the episode involves Taríacuri naming places that the three would-be lords will conquer and the lords of these places. In addition, Taríacuri names their offspring and the reasons why they are unworthy. For example, Taríacuri first mentions his home of Xarácuaro, stating that the lord Caricaten is dead and his son was a "little *señor*," who only brought firewood to the temples part of the time. He left two sons, Cuyn Zurumu and Vtume, and a sister, Zizita (Alcalá 2000:459). The same is true of the *señor* of Pacandan, called Varapame, who died and left a son named Zuangua.

Chánshori, Taríacuri's first father-in-law from Curínguaro, is dead and left five sons: Cando, Huresqua, Sica, Zinaquabi, and Chapa (Alcalá 2000:460). "All of them bring differences into the *señorío.* None of them has it to be *señor*; all of them will die in war and one of them called Chapa told me a thing of importance: that his mother was a slave and they did not obey him for having been born part-slave." Taríacuri tells the story of Chapa at length, stating that since he believed that Chapa was destined to rule, he gave Chapa a piece of Curícaueri, "and for this you will bring firewood from the mountain" (Alcalá 2000:460).

Alcalá inserts himself into the narrative by saying "In the time of these people, those that were to be lords, have to have a piece of Curícaueri and if they did not have it, they would not be able to be lords. And for this the *señores* guard them with much caution and after their sons" (Alcalá 2000:460) We have already seen evidence of this in previous episodes, as each generation of *Uacúsecha* carefully guarded Curícaueri and stored him in either a ceremonial box or in a storehouse. The fact that Taríacuri is giving Chapa a piece of the god speaks of his strong support for the young lord.

The narrative resumes by saying that Chapa carried Curícaueri to Tétepeo, where "Curícaueri took many slaves and brought, at times, two hundred slaves, Chapa, from the war, and so he expanded his *señorí*o" (Alcalá 2000:460). The expansion continued with the conquests of Aragnario, which was destroyed, and Tirípitio. At this time, Curínguaro gave him a *Señor*a, or female member of the elite lineage, as a wife. In return, Chapa split up the number of slaves taken in war between Curínguaro and Pátzcuaro. The numbers of slaves going to Pátzcuaro gradually dwindled and the number going to Curínguaro presumably increased. When Taríacuri confronted Chapa, Chapa fled to a mountain called Tareta Hoato and a pueblo called Xenguaro and "there he took a good piece of land for Curícaueri, that he conquered." From there he went to Hucariquareo, Vayangareo (on the road to Mexico) and to Hetúquaro. There he conquered the "land of the Otomis that dwelled there." From there he took his seat in the pueblo of Hararo." At Hararo, Chapa "repented," in that he did not want to give part of his lands, wealth and captives to Curícaueri, saying "how will Chapa be king?" Taríacuri states "I thought that he had to be king and for this I have repented" (Alcalá 2000:461).

Chapa left six sons: Huacco, Hozeti, Vacusquazita, Qururescu, Quata Maripe, and Xaracato (Alcalá 2000:461). They compete with each other over the *señorí*os and have divided the feathers among them, and each one makes his fiestas and they dance the dances called Ziziqui Baraqua, Ariuen, and Chereque. The priest and sacrificer, so important to the religious expression of the village, abandoned their duties and their ornaments to dance all day. The women who had been charged with bringing offerings to the gods similarly abandoned their duties.

As a result, the natural order of the world began to destabilize as there were no people willing to step in and restore order (Alcalá 2000:463). Animals gave birth and died in moments; women of all ages became pregnant and gave birth to knives with colors corresponding to the sacred colors of the world. The rains failed to come for over a year. In Hetóquaro the people began to go hungry, and the *señor* of the village sold off each of his five sons to obtain meager amounts of food.

Sycuinda Cuma, *señor* of Huániqueo, left sons named Cocopara and Pacus Quazita Zacapara, and neither was destined to become a lord. The same was true in Cumachen, where the *señor* known as Henziua died and left three sons named Tangáxoan, Nando, and Carata. They went to Eróngaricuaro and made friends with them, settling and drinking.

> *"And it was the chichimecas who settled in to get drunk, that none was able to drink the wine that belonged to Tares Vpeme, god of Cumachen, who was a very great god, because the gods of the sky were drinking and they threw him to the ground and because of this he was made lame, that this wine that he drank could not be drunk by any other but him. There in Cumachen, there will be a* señor*"* (Alcalá 2000:464).

Whereas places like Xarácuaro, Curínguaro, Pacandan, and Hararo were deemed future conquests and would no longer have *señores*, Cumachen is the lone exception that *will* have a *señor*. This is because no one in the pueblo can drink the wine of the patron god; therefore, they have not been corrupted like the lords of the other places. This foreshadows the events of Episode XXXI, where Cumachen is designated a cabecera of the "right hand" (Alcalá 2000:523).

The next part of the episode involves a story of the lord of Zacapu, Carocomaco, who was not destined for lordship; rather, he had bad luck and was a poor beggar (Alcalá 2000:465). Carocomaco begins having a series of dreams in which he traverses a step of the temple of Querenda Angapeti each night. After several nights, he comes to the attention of Querenda Angapeti's wife, who instructs their messenger, Syrunda Aran, to speak with Carocomaco. Eventually Querenda Angapeti instructs

Carocomaco to seek out a woman named Quenomen from the pueblo of Uruapan who is as poor as he is. They will marry and have a child, and he will become lord of Quaruno. "There will be no other *señor* but me," says Querenda Angapeti. Carocomaco seeks out Quenomen and has a child, but resumes his post as the *señor* of Zacapu. This is further compounded by the fact that Quenomen took over as *señor*a of Zacapu after Carocomaco's death, a fact that angers Taríacuri considerably. "They should have dismembered her and thrown her body into the river," he says. However, he states, "There also Zacapu has to have a *señor*."

Zurunban, in Taríaran, has ten sons: Çacapu, Haramen, Vaspe, Terazi, Cuciqua, Tupuri, Hivacha, Zinzumi, Hanzina, Quarao, and a daughter named Mahuina (Alcalá 2000:467). The children were all bad: the sons disappeared for much of the time, and Mahuina misused the idol of Xarátanga by putting her on display in a pavilion called Xupaquata and by enticing the "beautiful men" who passed. "For this there is to be no *señor* in Taríaran where Zurunban is."

The *señor* of Tacámbaro, "who was not the official *señor* of the village," was favored by Xarátanga who gave him two sons, Tarando and Horohta. "Neither will be *señor*" (Alcalá 2000:467). Finally, Taríacuri tells of the *pueblos* of Pungacuran, Siuínan, Aranja, and Capacuaro, that each have their own *señores*. "Each day they bring differences and they remove the borders and the fields and they take bows and arrows and they feed the gods of the sky with blood, and they shoot each other and I pleaded with them" (Alcalá 2000:467). The lords refused to stop fighting, stating that they would not remove their ornaments for anyone because they were of their fathers and they used them in the festivals. "This is what they say in aforementioned *pueblos* that were of ours, and for this there will be no more than three *señores* which are you" (Alcalá 2000:468).

Alcalá ends the episode with his own commentary: "All of this past chapter the Cazonci had in much reverence and made the priest, who knew this history, recount it many times and said that this chapter was the doctrine of the *señores* and that it was advice that Taríacuri had given to all of them" (Alcalá 2000:468).

This episode outlines the doctrine of the *Uacúsecha* lineage, the conquests that will be carried out by Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje in Episode XXXI, as well as some of the political units that will be established. Taríacuri's reasons for such substantial political shifts are usually the result of a failure to behave appropriately by collecting firewood for the temples, drinking too much, deserting the service of their gods, or by being divisive within one's own *señorí*o. In contrast, several *pueblos*, namely Zacapu and Cumachen, are spared from having their *señorí*os revoked because they demonstrated some type of worthiness to remain in power.

Lamina XIV appears to be incomplete because it is a black and white image, without the types of colored details evident in other images (Alcalá 2000:457). A group of individuals are seated on the left dressed in robes and carrying bows and arrows (Alcalá 2000:457). The right side shows a house, and inside are three figures sitting on the ground and an elder figure seated on a full throne with a back, in contrast to other laminas. More than any of the other images, Lamina XIV has a number of colonial influences, included the manner in which the long shirts are drawn, because they appear more like robes, and the representation of the *Uaxántsiqua*, or throne, which is represented in all other illustrations as a backless seat. However, Lamina XIV shows one significant element, namely that Taríacuri has aged since the narrative arc began in Episode X. The individual seated on the throne is clearly wrinkled with age, in contrast to the younger man featured in earlier images. This shows a deliberate attempt to capture the passage of time and move the story along to focus on other elements.

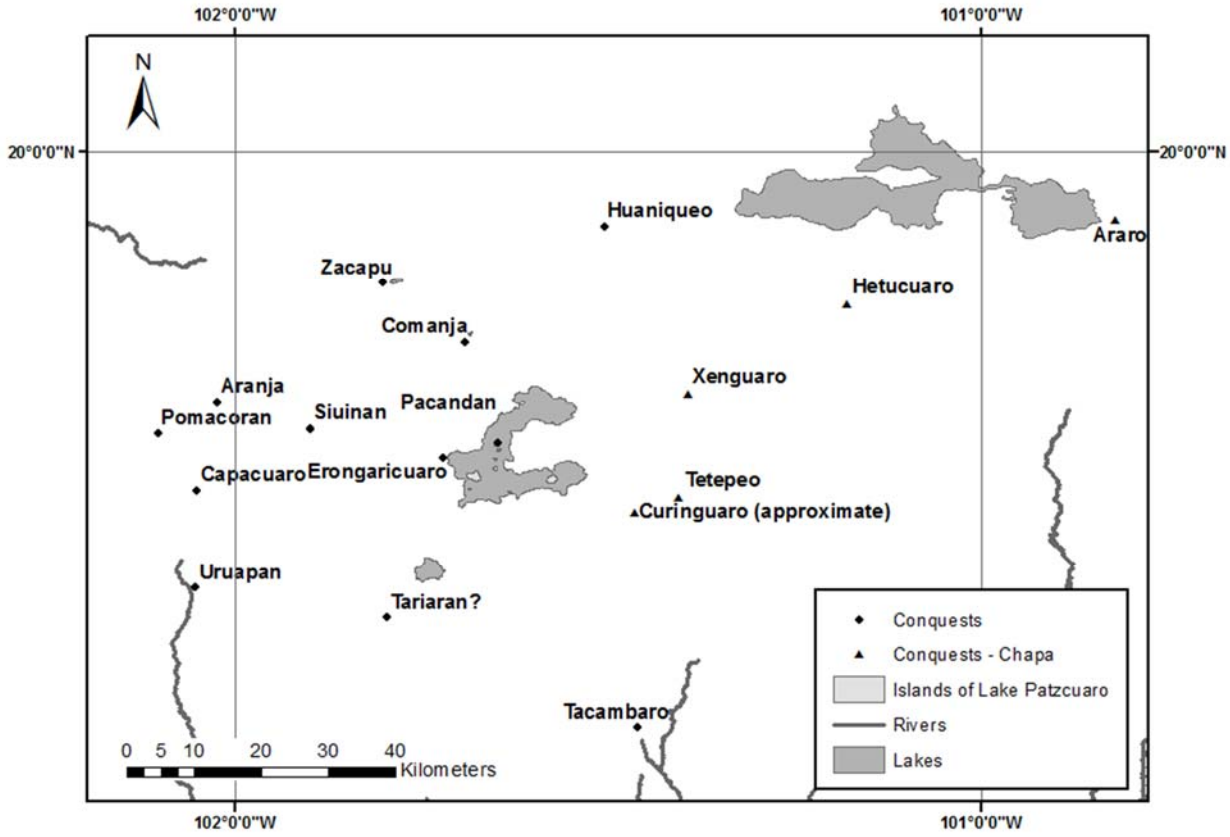


Figure 5.3. Map illustrating the locations of sites destined for conquest (black triangles), according to Taríacuri's recitation in Episode XXII (Alcalá 2000).

In Episode XXIII, "Some days passed," and Hiripan and Tangáxoan set a trap for the islanders of Xaráquaro (Alcalá 2000:471). Zapíuatame comes ashore, only to be taken captive by Hiripan and Tangáxoan, who want to shoot him. However, Zapíuatame requests to speak with Taríacuri, who agrees. After a time, Zapíuatame leaves Taríacuri's house adorned with a white shirt and cape and leaves. Taríacuri tells Hiripan and Tangáxoan to make arrows, and he will show them why. "I do not know why he wanted to speak to me, or why the Islanders wanted to put themselves under the protection of Curícaueri. He tells them that to go to Xanoato hucazio and observe the lake. If canoes are spewing foam in their wake, they are islanders and they speak the truth. Likewise, if the men come giving great cries then Hiripan and Tangáxoan are to rise up from the trap and receive them" (Alcalá 2000:472).

As Hiripan and Tangáxoan watch, they witness people coming near in canoes that bore their gods in the prows: Caro Onchanga, Uriti, Xarenaue, Varichu Vquare, and Tangachurani (Alcalá 2000:472). The men give great cries, and the warriors pop up from their trap and receive them. The *Uacúsecha* shoot arrows at the attackers, and received refugees from the island of Cuyomeo. Taríacuri receives them, feeds them and sends them to live at Aterio. These refugees become allies who bring Curícaueri firewood, just as the *Chichimecs* did. And they make "entradas" (attacks) together into places like Tupuparanchuen, Ychapetio, Hiranizo, Charandavchao and Xarapen, but they did not capture any of their enemies. The people from Cuyomeo did not speak to Taríacuri, but went to other places: Syrumutaro, Hopiquaracha, Pucunda Hacurucu, Hoata Tetengua, Tirindini, and eventually get very close to Curínguaro, where they made great fires to scare their enemies. Curínguaro attempts to attack, but Hiripan and Tangáxoan fend them off, sinking two canoes. They went to another place called Qureta Parazicuyo in Michoacán and made great fires that resulted in the deaths of many animals. Taríacuri calls Hiripan and Tangáxoan to him, and rebukes them for their actions, for killing so many animals. "You have caused me pain," Taríacuri tells them. Hiripan and Tangáxoan go to a place near Naranjan, where they are able to hunt and gather firewood for the fires, which they bring to Curícaueri.

Lamina XV shows a body of water and an island with a temple and *señor*'s house (Alcalá 2000:469). A canoe is pulled up on the shore, and a figure disembarking is being held by his hair by another figure wielding a club, presumably Tangáxoan. Several other club-wielding warriors are in the background. In the foreground, a standard-bearer lies on the ground, although it is not clear if he was simply knocked down or killed. To the right a figure sits in a house wearing a robe, red braid, sandals, and turquoise lip plug. He is seated on a throne that appears to have been drawn as a full throne, but the artist apparently decided not to fill in the back.

In Episode XXIV, Hiripan and Tangáxoan spent much time bringing presents to their uncle and paying penance for their actions in Episode XXIII (Alcalá 2000:478). Meanwhile, Curátame becomes aware of Hiripan and Tangáxoan, and sends messengers to speak with Taríacuri about them. He offers Hiripan and Tangáxoan the opportunity to become his servants: Hiripan will hold his chamber pot, since

drinking causes a great deal of urination, while Tangáxoan will hold his cup. This proposed arrangement is similar to the relationship between the Islanders and *Uacúsecha* described in Part Three. In that section, the Islanders state that "first I carried your pitcher and your cup, and after you trusted me I ran the kingdom for you" (Alcalá 2000:610).

Taríacuri refuses to comment, or to send the message to Hiripan and Tangáxoan, so the messengers proceed to where the two young men are. When they arrive, Hiripan and Tangáxoan had just sacrificed from their ears. The messengers repeat Curátame's offer, but they refuse outright. Tangáxoan mocks the size of the cup he would have to carry for Curátame. The messengers return to Curínguaro with the refusal. Hiripan and Tangáxoan cross the lake to speak with Taríacuri, who tells them he thinks it would be good if Hiquíngaje were the sacrificer, and that it was now time for him to join them in their company. The three leave and go to place called Patuquen where they stay in a cave. Hiripan and Tangáxoan eat grasses, while Hiquíngaje eats toasted maize. When Hiquíngaje questions this, Hiripan begins to cry and says, "This is how we eat. If you do not like it, we can take you home to your father." Hiquíngaje acquiesces.

Figure 5.4 illustrates the scene. In the upper left sits a *señor's* house with two entrances, and inside a Tarascan elite male is seated on a throne, dressed in the common accoutrements of a Tarascan lord. Two other men dressed in simple shirts are attending to him. In the right foreground sits a cave where three young men are huddled together near a fire, in the vicinity of a body of water. The image contains all of the textual elements: Hiripan and Tangáxoan crossing the lake to serve their penance while also caring for Taríacuri's youngest son, Hiquíngaje. They live simply in a cave, yet the cave also symbolizes the spiritual transition from youths into responsible young men. Some have suggested that their stint in the cave is reminiscent of the Hero Twins who straddled the corporeal and the spirit worlds (Roskamp 2000a:240).

Figure 5.4. Lamina XVI illustrates the penance of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje (at right, seated) for attacking neighboring villages without Taríacuri's permission (Alcalá 2000:476). Taríacuri (upper left, seated) sits in his house.

In Episode XXV, Taríacuri gives Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje a piece of Curícaueri which is a sign that of Taríacuri's faith in them and of their destiny as lords (Alcalá 2000:481). He tells them to make an altar to Curícaueri; however, they make a complete temple, houses for the priests and a storehouse for Curícaueri. Creating a sacred space requires a great deal more effort than an altar because temples must be consecrated with blood, or else it is a grave violation of the natural worldly order. Angrily, Taríacuri sends the boys away, and he sends Chupitani to the island of Pacandan to confer with the leader, Varapame. Varapame agrees to send one hundred men ashore led by a principal call Zipyn-canaqua so that the *Chichimecs* may capture them for sacrifice at Queretaro. However, after Chupitani departs, Varapame instructs Zipyn-canaqua to find the three boys and tell them that Pacandan could send only seventy people for sacrifice. Zipyn-canaqua meets Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje to tell them, but they are confused because they were not privy to the arrangement. They go to Taríacuri, who tells them that Varapame has deceived them. They lay a trap to capture Zipyn-canaqua and his seventy men,

sending forty to Pátzcuaro for sacrifice, and thirty to Queretaro. Finally, they made an incursion into Yzíparámucu to capture another one hundred men for sacrifice.

Lamina XVII is divided up into four different groups of elements (see Chapter Eight). The first group, located in lower right, shows a Tarascan *señor* seated on a throne before three young men who are seated on the ground. One of the young men is painted yellow, which from previous imagery suggests that there is an element associated with the north (see Episode XX above). Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje built their temple in the north at Queretaro, which is believed to be somewhere in the vicinity of Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan (Espejel Carbajal 2000:302; 2008), which is geographically located north of Pátzcuaro. The *señor* is presenting the young men with a black object bordered with red and white, which from the text is the piece of Curícaueri that Taríacuri gave them (Alcalá 2000:482). In the second group, the seated *señor* is preparing to shoot a second arrow at the three young men, who are fleeing the house and taking cover. The first arrow is already embedded in a wall. In the third group, located in the upper left, three male figures are constructing a temple, after completing granaries and a priests' house located just below them in the image. Finally, the fourth group shows an elite male crossing a body of water in a canoe.

This image is unique in that it is showing a *sequence* of events taking place, rather than a particular scene from an episode. Moreover, the image groups show the main events in the sequence, but not in the order described in the text. This suggests that the sequence of events may have varied across different performances, and the actual order is not essential to the telling of the story. The petámuti's recitation of this episode might have been one of several variations that were lost with the conversion from oral history to text.

Taríacuri instructs Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje to make Curátame a *rancho*, which is probably a small farm or dwelling. He then sends Chupitani to confer with Curátame, telling him that they had had enough, and peace should be established between the islanders, Curínguaro, and the *Chichimecs*. Curátame agrees and comes to the rancho, where Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje invite

him into the house and give him maguey wine. Tangáxoan grabs a club from the straw and beats Curátame to death. The episode ends with Taríacuri taking back his seat in Pátzcuaro.

Lamina XVIII, shown in Figure 5.5, illustrates the sequence of events in the episode (Alcalá 2000:490). In the upper right, a *señor* dressed in traditional Tarascan elite garb sits on a throne in his house. His hand is raised and he is pointing his finger. In this context, the individual is probably Taríacuri informing his son and nephews to kill Curátame. In the lower part of the image, an elite male is crossing the lake, and from the text it is likely that this is Curátame responding to Taríacuri's summons (Roskamp 2000b:491). A village is located on the left side of the image, but it stands empty because the inhabitants are fleeing toward the lower left. There is a *señor*'s chair that is left vacant, possibly signifying Curátame's loss of position, not to mention his life. Also, three men stand over a corpse. One of the men, dressed in a breechcloth, holds a large club over his head, signifying that he is the one who brought about Curátame's death, and the text indicates that this is Tangáxoan (Alcalá 2000:493). Next to him is another man dressed in breechcloth, probably Hiripan, who is pointing toward the third individual, Hiquíngaje, who is dressed in a long shirt instead of a breechcloth. Hiquíngaje is also pointing, but toward Tangáxoan. In the text, the three young men argue over who should be the one to kill Curátame, and this is probably an indication of the disagreement.

Figure 5.5. Lamina XVIII from Episode XXVI of the RM (Alcalá 2000:490), depicting the murder of Curátame (at left). Three Uacúsecha warriors stand over a dead boy while villagers (at left) watch. In the lower right part of the image, a messenger and a passenger cross the lake to make amends with Curátame. Through it all, Taríacuri stays in his house (at right).

Tangáxoan is portrayed as the "valiant man" who takes care of the violent actions required, just as his father Aramen was responsible for killing Naca in Episode XII (Alcalá 2000:382). In episode XXI, Tangáxoan apprehends Zapíuatame, and in a later episode he kills the *señor* of Viramu Angaru. The *Petámuti* may have deliberately reinterpreted the text to portray Tangáxoan as a valiant man to emphasize the importance of the Tzintzuntzan lineage to the Tarascan polity. However, it is interesting that Tangáxoan chooses to use a war club over the bow and arrow, a weapon notably used by earlier generations of his lineage. This may signify a cultural shift away from Chichimec weaponry to something that requires close combat to prove bravery and skill in battle. There are also indications that succeeding generations of the Tzintzuntzan lineage preferred the war club over the bow and arrow. In Don Melchor Caltzin's account of Zizipandaquare's sacking of Tzintzuntzan, Zizispandaquare uses a war club to dispatch his enemies with particular ferocity (Roskamp 2012:122).

Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje split up their forces, with Hiripan going to Tariacaherio to observe the movements of the islanders of Xaráquaro and Pacandan and Tangáxoan going to Pureperio to observe Cumachen. Hiquíngaje remains at Queretaro to do battle with Curínguaro. During their times on the mountains of Tariacaherio and Pureperio, Hiripan and Tangáxoan each have dreams where they are visited by the Curícaueri and Xarátanga, respectively.

In Tangáxoan's dream, Xarátanga asks him to "clear the road" for her to return to Michuacán, her original home described back in Episode IV, just before the mass diaspora. If he retrieves her and brings her home, she will "make his house" and his fields, and his storehouses. Hiripan has a similar dream where Curícaueri asks Hiripan to adorn him with feathers and other finery, and in exchange he will make Hiripan's house. When they tell Taríacuri of their dreams, he says that this confirms the idea that they will be *señores*. The two *Uacúsecha* have their dreams while sleeping at the base of an oak tree on a mountain. Taríacuri sleeps under an oak tree every night, while the god Curícaueri was found under an oak tree after Sicuírancha retrieved him. Therefore, there is a symbolic representation of the *Uacúsecha* connection to the mountains and the oaks.

Lamina XIX depicts the dream sequence described by Hiripan and Tangáxoan (Alcalá 2000:495). The two men are seated on opposite sides of the image separated by a body of water. They are dressed in warrior garb and armed with bows and arrows. The man on the left side is Tangáxoan and the one on the right is Hiripan. The bonfires they lit to scare their enemies are burning near them. Other figures are asleep in the foreground – they are probably troops accompanying Hiripan and Tangáxoan. Finally, the figures of a man and woman, Curícaueri and Xarátanga, stand near Hiripan and Tangáxoan and attempt to wake them up.

Episode XXVIII is a departure from the action described in the previous episode, focusing on the people of the village of Yzíparámucu, a subordinate village of Curínguaro (Alcalá 2000:500). The *señor* of the village, Zinzuni, decides to move his people away from the area when he witnesses the fires set by Tangáxoan at Pureperio. As in earlier episodes, fires and smoke were used to frighten people – Taríacuri did this in Episode XI when he frightened the Islanders. Zinzuni sends messengers to Cando and

Huresqua of Curínguaro to inform them of his intention to move the people in five days and Zinzuni gathers the people of the village and informs them of the move, with instructions to bring food and as many of their belongings as they can carry.. In the meantime, he tells them that they will spend the remaining time getting drunk. He also tells the leaders of the village to gather together all of the feathers and finery they had received from Pátzcuaro for the ransom of Tamápucheca, one of Taríacuri's sons, so that they might leave some of it for Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje as a gift to allow them to leave in peace. The capture and ransom of Tamápucheca is not told until Episode XXXIV, when the petámuti's narrative is completed (Alcalá 2000:537). This episode and Episode XXXIII take place outside of the normal flow of events. It is thought that these stories were told by informants other than the petámuti, who filled in the gaps in the information that the petámuti had missed after his narrative was done.

On the right of Lamina XX sits a structure in which a lone figure is seated, and this is believed to be the *señor* of Curínguaro (Roskamp 2000b:502). Two male figures are heading to the left toward another settlement, and from their dress they appear to be messengers. On the left, an old woman is walking away from the house carrying goods in a net bag and in her arms, while another woman stands next to a fire, bleeding to death from an arrow embedded in her chest. Next to her, a child sits in a cooking vessel over a fire, and a male elite sitting in the house watches the whole scene. Other figures are seated to the far left of the image. A small stream runs in the foreground.

This image contains several traditional Mesoamerican conventions, including the footprints on the road signifying movement away from the pueblo. Clearly, the events are not meant to take place strictly in Yzíparámucu and the artist was forced to find a way to indicate movement. It is curious that there are no directional indicators, however, because the leader of Yzíparámucu had sent messengers south to Curínguaro to inform the leader of the intentions (Alcalá 2000).

In Episode XXIX, Taríacuri sends Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje to speak with Hiuacha Zirapen, the son of Zurunban, the lord of Taríaran, about his drinking problem. Taríacuri had already spoken with Zurunban about the latter's drinking problem, and Zurunban had promised to give it up. Taríacuri hoped that the three young men would be able to convince Hiuacha of the same.

When Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje arrive at Hiuacha's village, Hiuacha receives them poorly (Alcalá 2000:509). "Why have you come?" he asks. He proceeds to discuss the Nahuatl calendar, thinking that it must be time to schedule a ritual conflict to obtain sacrificial captives, but Hiripan stops him by saying "Who told you to count the days?" In turn, he tells Hiuacha how the *Chichimecs* tell when it is time for war. Hiuacha replies that he does not need to know the time, because he will simply buy slaves in the market with blankets. Angrily, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje leave, but not before they are stopped by Hiuacha's mayordomo, who bribes them into letting him go free if he is captured by the *Chichimecs*. The three young men return to their home, and proceed into the mountains for firewood to make a ritual fire to begin a warfare ceremony against Hiuacha. At one point, Hiripan climbs out onto a tree branch too fragile to hold him, and falls to the ground, seemingly dead. Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje pick him up, and Hiripan is miraculously revived.

Later, they meet with Taríacuri, and they tell him of their intentions to go to war. "You will see our deaths," they tell him (Alcalá 2000:512). Taríacuri asks who will support them, and Hiripan replies, "We are many. We have Cueçe, Cassímato and Quririqui and Quacángari and Cupáuaxanzi. Among the Islanders we have Zapíuatame and Zaneta and Chapáta y Atache hucane." The first group including Cueçe, Cassímato and Quririqui and Quacángari and Cupáuaxanzi are actually Taríacuri's "Chichimec" relatives. Taríacuri had spoken of their persecution of him in Episode XX (Alcalá 2000:446). Now, they are willing to serve as allies. Zapíuatame (and Zaneta) and Chapáta y Atache hucane are Islander lords willing to serve. Taríacuri tells them to enlist the aid of Huresta, the *señor* of Cumachen, as well, because he is a "valiant man."

To the right of Lamina XXI, an elite sits in a house on a throne, dressed as in other laminas. In the right foreground, three figures dressed in red and white loincloths are walking away from another figure sitting on a stone, dressed in a robe with a red braid. He has a large jar in front of him. To the left is a wood, and a central feature is one individual who has fallen to the ground from a broken tree. Two other figures attend to him.

Episode XXX marks the point at which Taríacuri formally declares Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje to be *Uacúsecha* lords (Alcalá 2000:513). He summons them to Thiapu, a mountain near Pátzcuaro, where he makes three mounds and places an arrow and a stone on each mound. When the three appear, Taríacuri tells them that they represent the three *señoríos* they will rule. Hiripan is designated as the *señor* of Cuyuacan (Ihuatzio); Tangáxoan becomes *señor* of Michuacán (Tzintzuntzan); and Hiquíngaje becomes *señor* of Pátzcuaro.

Next, Taríacuri outlines the battle plan against the village of Hiuacha Zirapen, telling them that they will have the support of troops from Eróngaricuaro, Urichu, Pechataro, and Comachuen. The warriors from the first three villages will go along one route, Comachuen will come along another route, and the warriors from Pátzcuaro will take a third route to cut off escape from the village. During the attack, the village is set on fire, and the people are rounded up to be escorted back to Pátzcuaro, although a number of them flee to other Nahua villages in the region. Tangáxoan, ever the man of action, dispatches Hiuacha with a blow to the head. Zapíuatame is sent ahead to give news of the victory against the village to Taríacuri, who remained in Pátzcuaro (contrary to descriptions given by Pollard (1993)). When they arrive at Pátzcuaro, the people of Hiuacha's village are sacrificed, except for Hiuacha's majordomo. The *Uacúsecha* rejoice, and the stage is set for the Tarascan expansion.

Lamina XXII, shown in Figure 5.6, is divided into two segments (Alcalá 2000:514). On the left in the background is a large mountain, and just in front of it stand three mounds topped with a stone. In front of that are four figures. One is standing, dressed in a loincloth and red headband. Three figures are seated and holding bows and arrows. They are also attired in loincloths, headbands, and lip plugs. Just behind them are groupings of black lines that could mean groupings of warriors (Roskamp 2000b:515). The right side of the image is connected to the left by a blue line. On the right, a burning structure stands in the background. In front of it stand several warriors in red and white loincloths - one is putting fire to the building while another holds a bow and arrow. The third figure is wielding a club and striking another figure dressed in a long robe and wearing a red braid. In the foreground, another warrior holds a rope that is tied around the necks of four naked males whose hands are bound.

Figure 5.6. Lamina XXII of the RM (Alcalá 2000:514). At left, a man stands before three young men who are seated and holding bows. In the background stand three mounds with stones at the apex which symbolize the three cabeceras that Hiripan, Hiquíngaje, and Tangáxoan will rule. The second image (at right) shows the attack carried out against the village of Hiuacha Zirapen and the death of the man.

Episode XXXI describes the conquests of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje. After conquering Hiuacha's village, the three *Uacúsecha* proceed to Curínguaro and destroy it. Next, they go to Tétepeo and Tirípitio, and conquer them in a morning. They also conquer Hetúquaro and Hóporo. At this point, Hiripan and Tangáxoan are credited with the conquests of Xaso, Chucándiro, Terémendo and Bányqueo (Huániqueo). Bányqueo gives them considerable trouble, as they are unable to conquer the village with the same rapidity as before. The attackers have to sacrifice from their ears in order to gain strength from Curícaueri to successfully conquer the village, but it takes an additional afternoon.

From there, they go on to Conquer Cumachen, Naranjan, Zacapu, Cheran, Siuínan, Uruapan, and several Nahuatl villages: Hacáuato, Zizupan, Chenengo, Vacapu, Taríyaran, Yuriri, Hopácutio, and Condébaro. Finally, they conquer Hurecho and return home. At this point, Taríacuri dies, and the three lords inter him in Pátzcuaro, where according to Alcalá his body was exhumed by a Spaniard and all of his funerary goods stolen. Hiripan instructs his brothers to take their seats in their new villages.

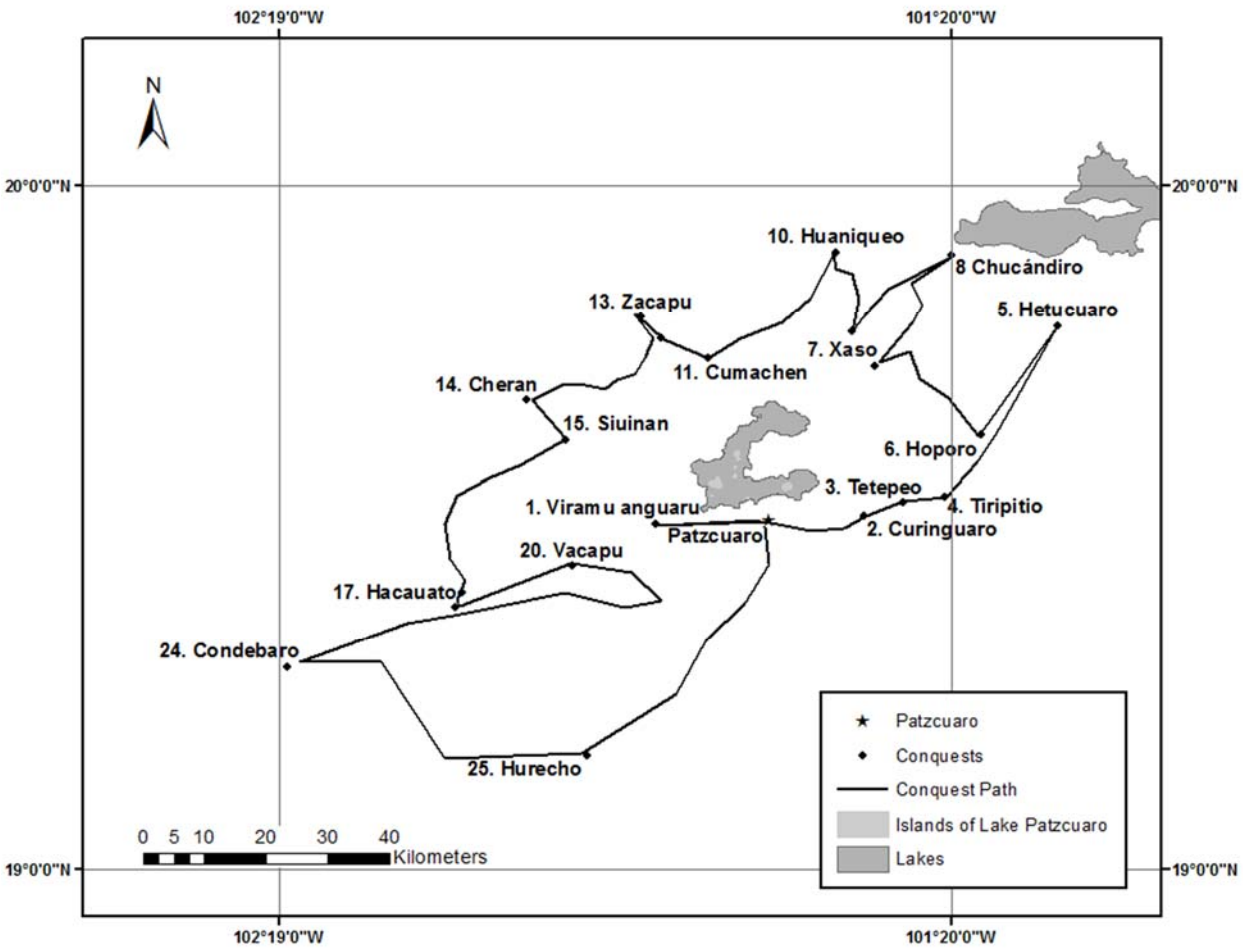


Figure 5.7. Map describing the path of the first campaign of conquest (black path). Conquests are shown in sequential order given in text. Not shown: (18) Zizupan, (19) Chenengo, (21)Taríyaran, (22)Yuriri, and (23) Hopácutio.

The conquest of Huríparao touches off the second series of conquests, which includes Huríparao, Charáchutiro, Tupátaro, Varírosquaro, Xeroco, and Cuitzeo. The sequence of conquests is shown in Figure 5.8.

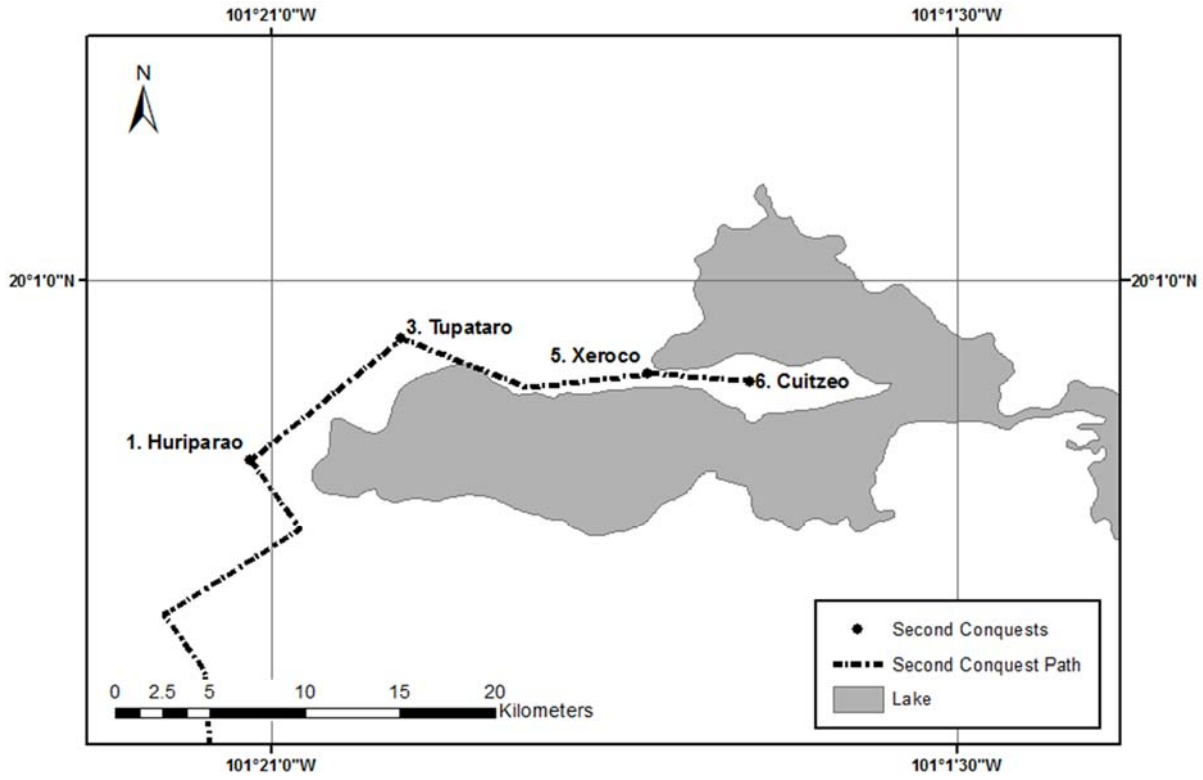


Figure 5.8. Map describing the path of the second campaign of conquests (dashed line). The conquests are shown in sequential order as given in the text. Not shown: (2) Charáchutiro, (4) Varírosquaro.

A third series includes Peuéndao, Zinzímeo, and Araro. Figure 5.9 shows the known locations of Zinzímeo and Araro.

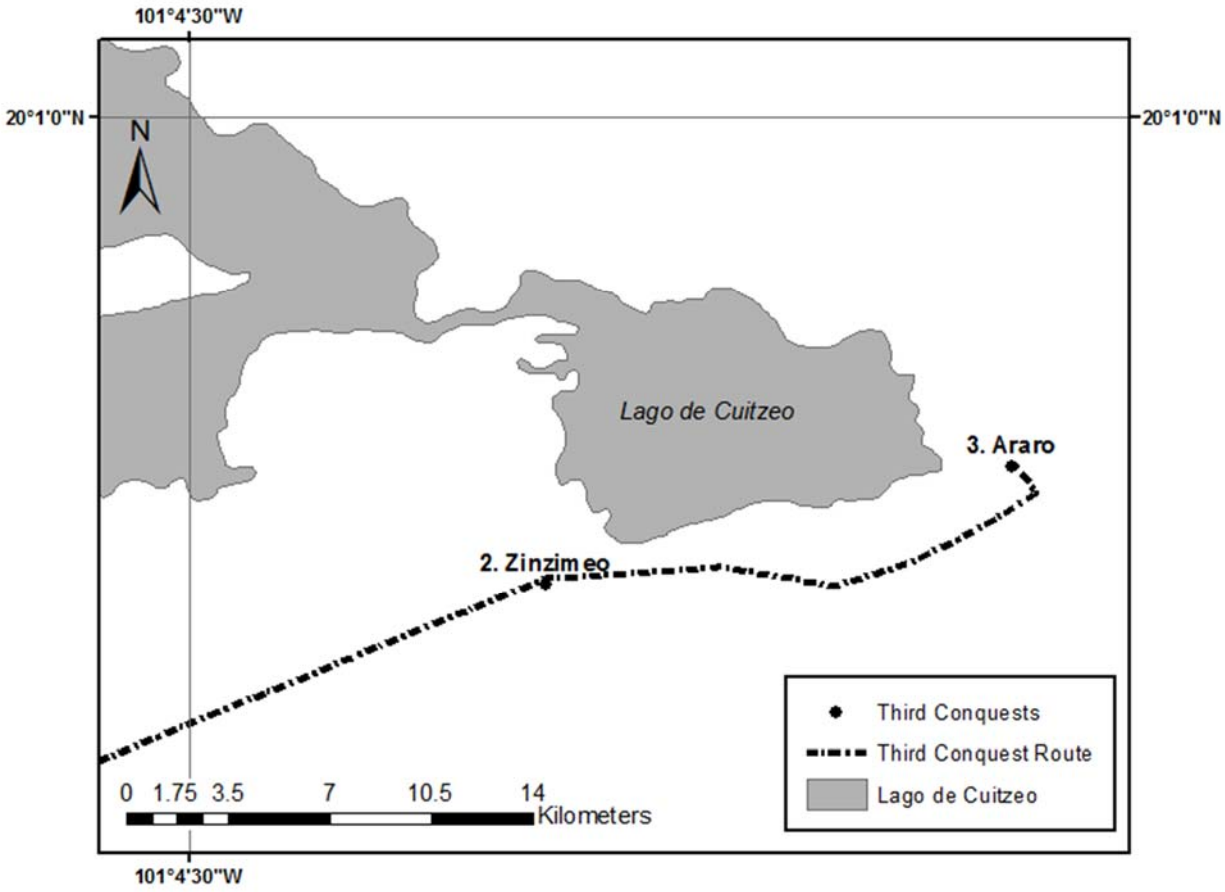


Figure 5.9. Map describing the path of the third round of conquests described in Episode XXXI in the RM (in black). Conquests are shown in sequential order in the text. Not shown: (1) Peuéndao.

After the third round of conquests, Hiripan comes to several important realizations. The first is that the people are fleeing from the villages and taking all of the valuables with them, so he sends Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje to bring the people back and to place the valuables in Ihuatzio. "The gold is the sacred excrement of Curícaueri, while the silver is the sacred excrement of Xarátanga," he tells his compatriots (Alcalá 2000:523). Because these items belong to Curícaueri, he decides that there must be a place for the goods to be stores to allow the gods to view it. He proposes that Hiquíngaje take the wealth, but the younger lord refuses, stating that he will only take the white feathers. As a result, a treasury is built in Ihuatzio to safeguard the treasures of conquest.

The second realization is that the local villages that they have conquered (26 so far) have no leaders, which in their view causes great anxiety among the people, and makes them more likely to flee (Alcalá

2000:523). In Hiripan's view, the villages need leaders at the head so the people can keep their heads and live calm lives. As a result, the three lords convene a council and begin designating *señores* and *Caciques* for the conquered *pueblos*. Taríacuri explained in Episode XXII that Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje would be the only *señores*, although he also told them that the settlements of Zacapu and Cumachen would each have a *señor*.

The three *señores* begin a final campaign of conquest, taking over the settlements of Tacámbaro, Hurapan, Parochu, Charu, Hetóquaro, and Curupu hucazio. "And they walked also the women with those that went to conquer and all of their jewels." This marks the end of the *Uacúsecha* conquests. This sequence of conquests is illustrated in Figure 5.10 below.

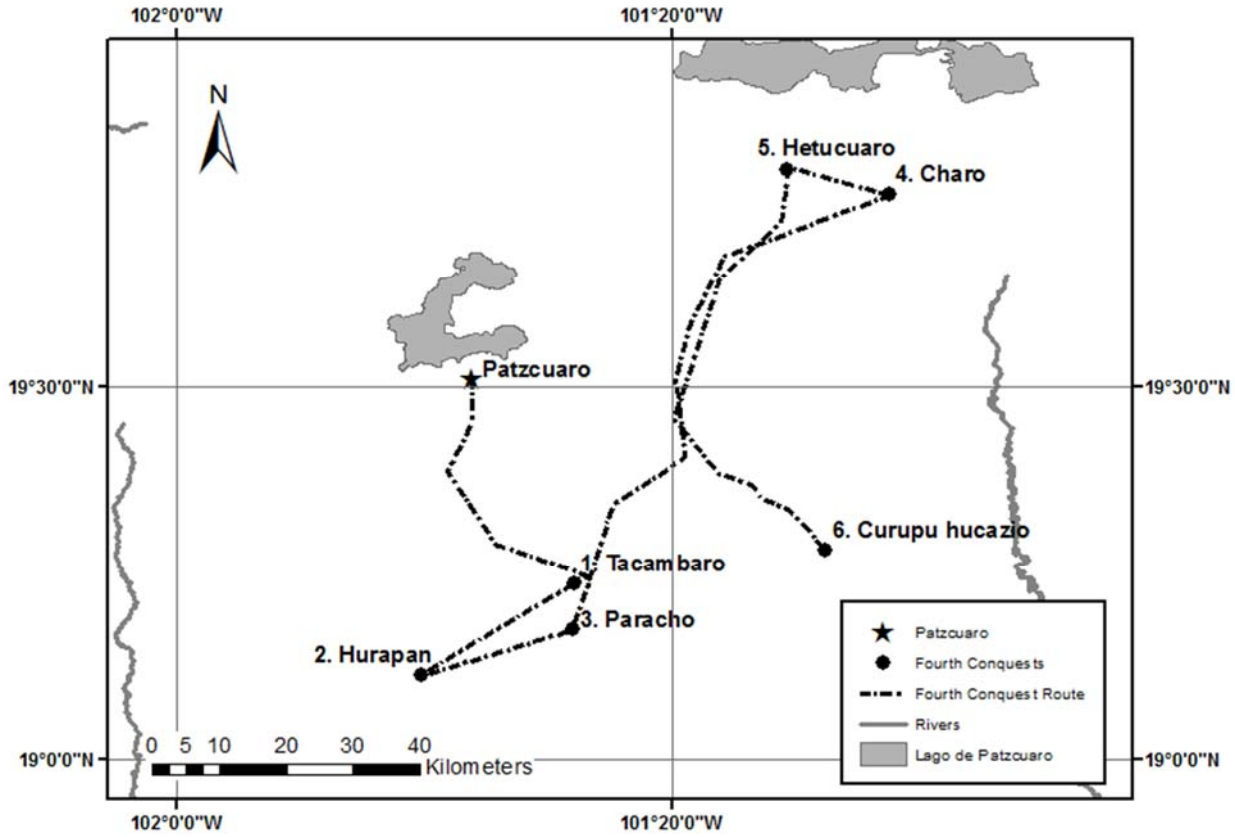


Figure 5.10. Map describing the path (in black) of the fourth and final round of conquests by Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje described in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:519). The conquests are shown in the sequential order given in the text.

At this point, the narrative lists a third sociopolitical rank, the principal. In other areas, the term *principal* is used to denote those individuals related to the *señores* and *Caciques*, what would normally be referred to as the *pipiltin* (Gibson 1964) or "upper-class Indians." The following *principales* took a seat in Caropu Hucazio: Tíachucuqua, Cháquaco, Zinguita, Tiuítani, Yzirimenga varicha, Tauàchacu, Acume, and Varicha Tareco (Alcalá 2000:523–524). The islanders took the *pueblo* of Hurapan, which is located in southern Michoacán, and not to be confused with Uruapan. Another principal called Cupáuaxanzi settled in La Huacana, in southern Michoacán. Hiripan acknowledges Cupáuaxanzi as "one of ours," meaning that he is a relative of the *Chichimecs*. Zapíuatamenzangueta took a seat in Paracho, while the men Chapáta y Atiache Hucáuati (Chapáta y Atache Hucane) and Utume y Catúquema took seats in Curupu hucazio. Utume y Catúquema might be the son of the leader of Xarácuaro known as "Vtume," since letters "U" and "V" were often used interchangeably. This also would be supported by familial relation, since the three *señores* and Taríacuri are related to the Xarácuaro bloodline through the marriages of Vápeani II and Pauácume II to the islanders in Episode VI.

The Chichimec *principal* Cupáuaxanzi "took his seat" in La Huacana, in southern Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:524). The *Petámuti* credited Cupáuaxanzi with the conquest of the following settlements in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Conquests made by the Chichimec principal *Cupáuaxanzi in southern Michoacán.*

Settlement Name
Caxúruyo
Sycuýtaro
Tarinbo házaquaran
Zicuýtaran
Púmuchacupeo
Yacocho
Ayáquenda
Sinagua
Churúmucu
Cuzaru

The *principal* Vtúcuma is credited with the conquests of the following 17 settlements in Michoacán, shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Conquests made by the principal Vtúcuma in southwestern Michoacán.

Settlement Name
Paràn̄zio
Zinapan
Ziràpitio
Taziran
Turúquaran
Vrechu ambàquetio
Copúan
Euáquaran
Charápichu
Paráquaro
Paqués hoato
Euáquaran
Tirístaran
Puco hoato
Tancitaro

Once the various *principales* are discussed, the narrative continues with a very long list of conquests which are attributed to the "*Chichimecs* and Islanders" (Alcalá 2000:524). From the context, it appears that the subordinates to the *principales*/conquerors began conquests of their own, which results in the expansion of the Tarascan *señorío.* The Chichimec and Islander conquests are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Settlements conquered by the Chichimecs *and Islanders from Episode XXXI of the RM (Alcalá 2000:519).*

Settlement Name
Purechu hoato
Tetengueo
Puruaran
Cuzian
Mazani
Patacio
Camuua hoato
Yurequaro
Sirandaro
Copúan
Cuxaran
Visindan
Hauiri hoato
Zinapan
Zirápetio
Hapanhoato
Cuyucan
Hapázingani

Pungari Hoato
Ambézio
Tauengo Hoato
Tiríngueo
Charácharando
Çacapu hoato
Peránchequaro
Vasís hoato
Hucumu
Hacándiquao
Haroyo
Xungápeo
Chapáto hoato
Haziro hauánio
Taximaroa
Pucuri Equátacuyo
Maróatio
Hucario
Hirechu Hoato

Acánbaro
Hirámucuyo
Tebéndaho
Mayao
Eménguaro
Cazáquaran
Yurírapúndaro
Cuypu hoato
Vangaho
Tánequaro
Purúandiro
Zirápequaro
Quaruno
Ynchazo
Hutáseo
Hacáuato
Zánzani
Verecan

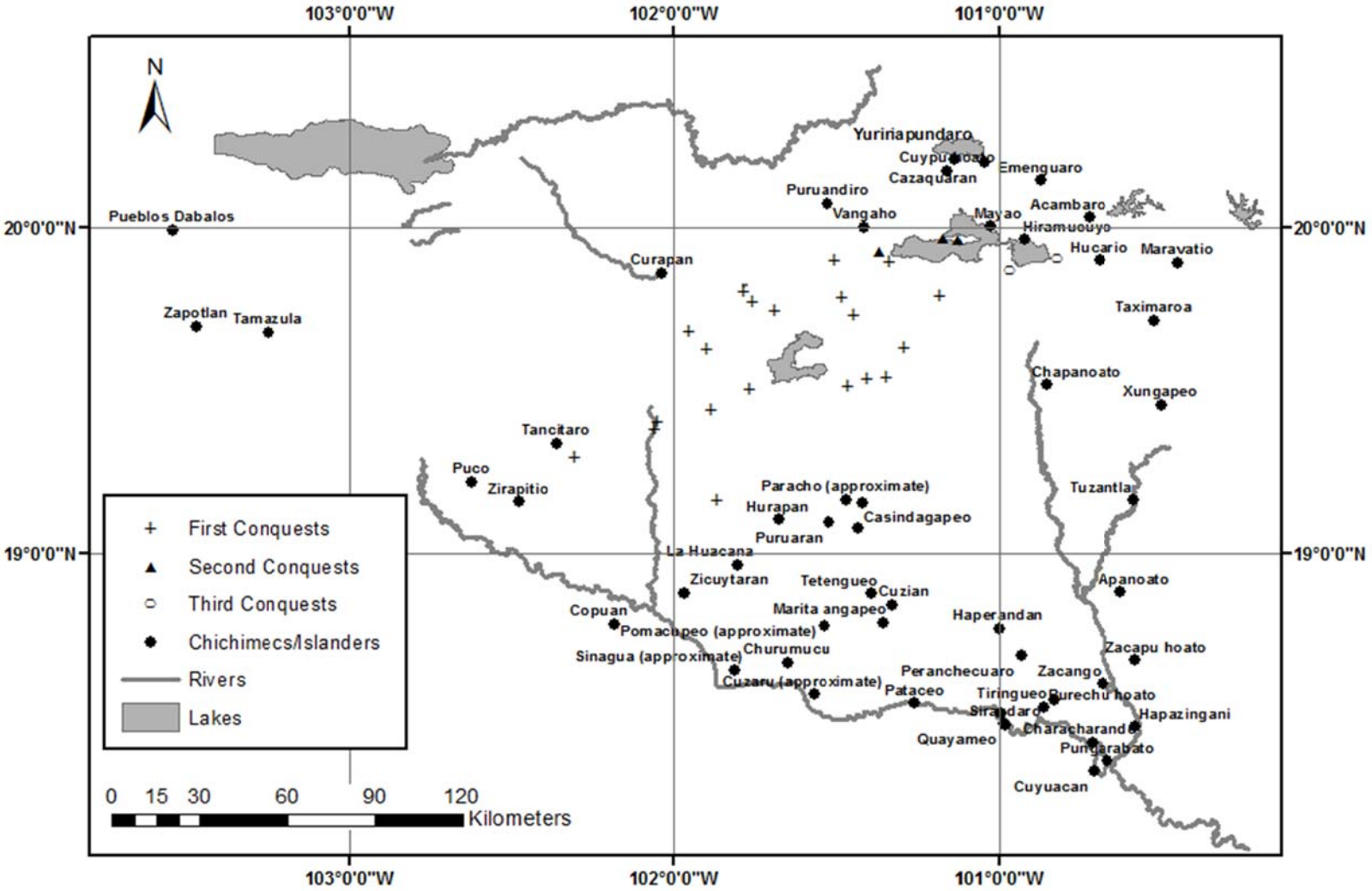


Figure 5.11. Map describing the path of the Chichimec and Islander conquests described in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:524). The conquests move in a counter-clockwise arc on the map, starting in the southeast near Ajuchitlan and traveling north and west toward Lake Chapala.

Analysis

The narrative between Episodes XX–XXXI focuses on the development of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje into the three *señores* who will lead the new Tarascan polity. The political situation in Pátzcuaro is tenuous because Taríacuri's power base is still weakened from the conflicts with Curínguaro and Taríaran, his enemies/allies from the second story arc (Episode X–XIX), but during the third arc Taríacuri is threatened by those within his own lineage.

In Episode XX, Taríacuri laments to his nephews that his *Chichimec* relatives Cuezeecha, Symato, Quririqui, Quacángari, Anguáziqua, and many other relatives are persecuting him (Alcalá 2000:446). Judging from the events of the second arc, Taríacuri likely angered his relatives by breaking off his marriage alliance with Curínguaro and marrying new wives from Taríaran. Moreover, he states in Episode XXII that he tried to stop the constant conflict between the *Chichimecs* living at Siuínan, Pomacoran, Aranja, and Capacuaro (Alcalá 2000:467), but they called him an islander and dismissed him (Alcalá 2000:468). In reality, the conflict may have begun because the inhabitants of Pátzcuaro were attempting to expand their influence beyond the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and they encountered resistance from local rulers. Pátzcuaro's early period of influence was not well known, but from the text it appears that Taríacuri was attempting to gain more power and authority for the settlement, and there was resistance.

Taríacuri also faces opposition from his son, Curátame, who usurps Taríacuri's seat of power in Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:452). The RM portrays Curátame as the antithesis of a proper *Uacúsecha* lord through his constant drinking and debauchery. Indeed, all of the inhabitants of Curínguaro are portrayed in this manner, so that it appears that they are not permitted to rule because they are the products of moral decay.

Pátzcuaro was probably gaining power and influence within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and started facing more boisterous competition from neighboring settlements like Curínguaro, Taríaran, Eróngaricuaro, Urichu, and Vayámeo. Although we only have archaeological data for Eróngaricuaro and

Urichu, they were prominent sites within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there appear to have been relatives of the *Uacúsecha* living in this place.

From the descriptions, Curátame spent at least two years as the *señor* of Pátzcuaro before Taríacuri ordered his wards to assassinate him. There are no other ethnohistorical descriptions about Curátame's reign, but the textual statements suggest that Curátame was not an efficient ruler and was assassinated to make way for a better ruler.

The political situation in central Michoacán during most of the third arc still consists of multiple, independent *pueblos* with their own local rulers, deities, and populations. Taríacuri mentions that Xarácuaro, Pacandan, Zacapu, Uruapan, Comanja, Eróngaricuaro, Curínguaro, Taríaran, Siuínan, Aranja, Pomacoran, and Capacuaro are all controlled by local lineages, but the sons that are succeeding the rulers are incapable of being good leaders by *Uacúsecha* standards. The theme of division and conflict run throughout the third arc and sets the stage for the great consolidation by Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje in Episode XXXI.

In addition, there appears to be some early efforts at conquest and consolidation in eastern Michoacán by Taríacuri's protégé, Chapa, who like Taríacuri is of mixed descent. Chapa becomes a follower of Curícaueri and Taríacuri gives him a piece of the god to carry into battle against his enemies. Because of Taríacuri's patronage, Chapa pays tribute in sacrificial victims to Pátzcuaro until Curínguaro establishes a marriage alliance with Chapa and the flow of sacrificial victims is transferred to Curinguaro. After Taríacuri angrily confronts Chapa about his change of loyalties, Chapa establishes himself as the *Señor* of Araro in eastern Michoacán, adding to his existing territorial holdings. Chapa's conquests extend from the Guayangareo Valley to the Ucareo Valley in eastern Michoacán, a distance of approximately 60 kilometers (Google Earth 2013). If Araro is regarded as the unit capital, then Hetúquaro was very likely a subordinate cabecera, since it is a place of worship where the people danced the dances and forgot about their other duties (Alcalá 2000:462).

In the very last episode of the narrative, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje begin the conquest campaigns that reshape the sociopolitical structure of west Mexico. The first series includes the conquest

of twenty-six settlements located in the immediate vicinity of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The narrative describes this as a continuous sequence, but in reality it may have been enacted over a series of several years.

Each episode in the narrative builds on and invokes the previous episodes to heighten the tension of the story and provide a justification for the *Uacúsecha*'s actions, which is this case is the directive to "right the wrongs" done against the lineage. The conquest of Viramu Angaru righted the immediate wrongs against Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje done to them by Hiuacha Zirapen, while the conquest of Curínguaro destroyed an enemy that had plagued the Tarascans since Episode VI, when Chánshori convinced the islanders to revoke their alliance with the *Chichimecs*. Tétepeo, Tirípitio, and Hetúquaro were former possessions of Chapa, while Comanja and Naranjan were partially responsible for the death of the lineage founder, Hireti-Ticatame, in Episode III.

At the same time, the Tarascans justified the conquests of Uruapan, Zacapu, and Huániqueo because the individuals living there had in some way disobeyed or displeased the gods, and the same is true for several of the *pueblos* that had wronged the *Uacúsecha*. Thus, the Tarascans were able to justify their actions on moralistic grounds as a means of exacting revenge against evildoers for their impiety. In reality, there were more overt reasons for the conquests of these areas. Uruapan was strategically located near copper deposits important to the Tarascan metallurgical industry (Hosler 1994:28). Zacapu was represented an important religious site that the Tarascans incorporated into their cosmology. Each year, the Tarascan ruler reportedly journeyed along a constructed ceremonial road from Lake Pátzcuaro's northwestern shore up to the Zacapu basin site of El Palacio (Gorenstein and Pollard 1991:191). In a practical sense, the conquests of the first series secured nearly every access point to the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and established routes for future conquests. Pechataro, Viramu Angaru, Huániqueo, Zacapu, Curínguaro, and Tirípitio are all located along major access corridors that would enable outsiders to enter and attack the major population centers in the basin; namely, Ihuatzio, Pátzcuaro, Tzintzuntzan, and Eróngaricuaro.

The second series of conquests targeted the Lake Cuitzeo basin, which during this period represented a very lucrative area in goods and tribute. The basin had a high population density during this period, and offered access to a wide variety of lacustrine resources, including fish, fowl, and salt (Macias Goytia 1990; Williams 1999, 2010). The third series pushed farther to the east and secured access to the obsidian sources in the Zinapecuaro and Ucareo Valleys.

After the third series, the Tarascans were forced to confront the need for a treasury that could store spoils of war and the tributary proceeds (Alcalá 2000:522). Pollard (1993) suggested that the initial conquest campaigns were actually raids for needed supplies, but the raiding gradually gave way to the creation of an administrative system and tributary obligations. This appears to be the moment when the Tarascans created the systems, in conjunction with the designation of new *señores* and *Caciques* for the conquered villages. According to the text, the Tarascans built a treasury, and Lamina XXIII shows that the treasury was constructed on an island. The island was most likely Apupuato, because it is located in close proximity to Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro, and there is evidence that a treasury was found there (Pollard 1993). The Tarascans also created a new sociopolitical system because their conquered settlements could not function without leaders, who had all been executed. The Tarascans designated new leaders using their lineal relatives and close associates to fill the positions, and it appears that the Tarascans may have left some individuals in charge, albeit in subordinate positions of authority.

According to a later episode in Part Three, the Tarascans did permit enemy leaders to live and rule the conquered *pueblos* pledged their loyalty to the *Cazonci* (Alcalá 2000:591). This may have been an attempt to compensate for the decreasing numbers of eligible *Uacúsecha*, as it was clear that there were not very many of them to begin with.

By the end of the fourth series, the Tarascans controlled a large portion of the central Michoacán plateau, the Tarascan Sierra, the Lake Cuitzeo basin, and the transitional zone between the plateau and the tierra caliente (Alcalá 2000:524). After that, the Tarascan *señores* ended their campaigns and their designated subordinates continued the expansion. According to the text, there were at least five city-state capitals established in the *tierra caliente*, in addition to the three *cabeceras* of the "right hand" in the

north (Alcalá 2000:524). Gradually, these *señores* expanded their domains to include sizeable areas, while other groups of *Chichimecs* and Islanders conquered settlements further to the southeast. It appears that southeast Michoacán was a place of concerted efforts at conquest, and the large number of riverine valleys and uneven topography hid a large number of settlements. Although the RM describes the conquests in a structured fashion, the actual series of conquests was probably more opportunistic, carried out by *señores* who were in close proximity to new areas instead of the Tarascans systematically proceeding in a counterclockwise arc around Michoacán.

At the end of the Episode XXXI, the *Petámuti* describes several conquests carried out by the successors. For example, Ticátame conquers Carapan, while Zizispandaquare undertakes the conquests in Toluca, as well as campaigns near Tamazula, Zapotlan, and the *Pueblos* Dábalos (Alcalá 2000:524). Therefore, we know that the Tarascans under took conquests to the east and to the north, and that these are corroborated in other ethnohistorical texts like the RG (Acuña 1987).

As a result, we can infer several sociopolitical levels. At the top are the three cabeceras, Ihuatzio, Pátzcuaro, and Tzintzuntzan, yet Tzintzuntzan takes over as the superordinate *cabecera* shortly after the deaths of the three founders. Next, at the second level are several regional *cabeceras*, which include the settlements of Cheran, Comanja, and Xénguaro, along with Zacapu and Uruapan. These settlements are designated cabeceras or there is evidence to suggest that they had a *señor* among them (Warren 1977). At the third level are individuals who are not *señores*, but *principales*: La Huacana, the Pueblo of Vtúcuma, Hurapan, Paracho, and Curupu Hucazio. The units become successively smaller until one reaches the village level.

In the chapter that follows, I analyze each sociopolitical unit under Tarascan control using ethnohistorical, archaeological, and remote sensing evidence to reconstruct the constituent settlements for each unit, as well as their connections to the Tarascans.

Chapter 6: Sociopolitical Organization

The conclusion of the narrative leaves the audience with a mental picture of Tarascan geopolitical expansion that includes the conquest of over 140 *pueblos* located throughout Michoacán and parts of Guerrero, Jalisco, and Guanajuato. Further conquests are described in Episode XXXV (Alcalá 2000:542–543), but these are mentioned in passing as the episode was probably intended as an epilogue to connect the Tarascan past to the colonial present. As a result, the text glosses over successive generations of *Uacúsecha* rulers, their deeds, and descriptions of the political system because it was probably not an original part of the narrative. We are left with a tantalizing yet incomplete picture of Tarascan sociopolitical organization that lists conquests, but gives little about the organizational structure.

The objective of this chapter is to reconstruct the sociopolitical units of the Tarascan polity using ethnohistorical, archaeological, and remote sensing data to delineate each unit and its network of *cabeceras* and subject towns. In addition, I use these data to assess whether the Tarascans developed an *altepetl*-like political structure. The RM is a useful starting point because it provides historical data as well as political data on the systems of political obligations that were extant in pre-Hispanic Michoacán. However, it is not a comprehensive data source and we must supplement the RM with additional data from the colonial period.

The *Carvajal Visita* (CV) consists of five surviving fragments of a survey conducted by Antonio de Carvajal to gather data on indigenous sociopolitical and tributary networks for Cortes to grant *encomiendas* (Medrano 2010; Warren 1985:74). Carvajal interviewed local officials whom he referred to as *Señores, Caciques,* or *Calpixques*, titles which refer to political as well as economic roles. *Señores* and *Caciques* are political titles used to denote high-ranking elites, while *Calpixque* is normally used to refer to tributary officers who serve the political unit or the imperial government (Gutierrez 2013:143). These titles are not exclusive; rather, it was not uncommon for a *Señor* or *Cacique* to also hold a role as *Calpixque* (Gutierrez 2013:141).

The information given by the officials included names of superordinate and subordinate centers, distances from superordinate centers, settlement classification (*pueblo* vs. *estancia*) and “house” sizes

(Warren 1977:388). The document contains two differing estimates of "house" size, the first being the native estimate and the second Carvajal's own (Warren 1985:76). The indigenous estimate probably pertains to a family unit as the RM states that tributary officials (*Ocámbecha*) counted the number of people in each unit because they varied in composition from extended families to couples (Alcalá 2000:558; Warren 1985:76). It is possible the official underreported the number of people to avoid higher tribute costs. Carvajal's estimate was probably based on the number of structures at the settlements and may have been overinflated to increase tribute (Warren 1985:76). Either way, we are left with two very different descriptions of population size.

The *altepetl* model suggests that 1) population size is not a factor in the designation of the *cabecera* and 2) the settlement pattern consists of many small habitation groups rather than large settlements (Gibson 1964; Gutierrez 2012). The CV data provide a means of assessing these ideas if we compensate for the differences between the two estimates. I added my own estimate based on a geometric mean calculation, which is derived by multiplying *n* variables together and calculating the *n*th root (Manick 1997). The geometric mean is less susceptible to large numerical differences than a statistical mean, yet it behaves like a statistical mean when differences are small. Thus, we can create a relatively unbiased estimate. It should be noted, however, that these data probably do not include children, the elderly, or the tenant farmers (*terrazgueros*) who worked fields for the *Cazonci* or local lords (Borah and Cook 1960); however, they still provide sufficient data to assess the *altepetl* model.

I also use economic and religious documents from the sixteenth century, including the *Suma de Visitas* (SV), which was a series of surveys conducted in New Spain to assess available resources after plagues and famine struck the region in the 1540s (Borah and Cook 1960:68; Paso y Troncoso 1905). The document records some data on *cabeceras*, *subcabeceras*, and *sujetos*, as well as tributary data and location descriptions. A similar document known as the *Libro de Tasaciones* (LT) describes tributary payments made by units in New Spain from 1530 to 1580 (Cossío 1952). It also provides some scattered references to political systems. The *Relación de los Obispados de Tlaxcala y Michoacán* (RO) is a church document describing the networks of *cabeceras* and *sujetos* in Michoacán in the early 1570s

(García Pimentel 1904). Similar documents like the *Relación de los Congregaciones* (RC) and the *Crónica de Michoacán* (CM) are equally useful (Beaumont 1932b; Torre Villar 1984). Finally, the *Relaciones Geográficas* (RG) are answers to a 50-question survey sent out by the Spanish government in the 1570s and 1580s to learn more about the resources, cultures, geography, and populations of their subjects (Acuña 1987; Cline 1964). The RG contains extensive information on political systems for comparison with earlier documents.

The reconstruction of political systems during the pre-Hispanic period requires paying careful attention to ranks of individuals in the various *cabeceras* and *sujetos* and assessing the changes in political status over time. Therefore, I also make use twentieth-century ethnohistorical compendia, including López Sarrelangue's (1965) comprehensive study of the Michoacán indigenous nobility and Gerhard's analyses of the units of New Spain (Gerhard 1972). Finally, I use Espejel Carbajal's (2000, 2007, 2008) extensive research on the RM to locate ethnohistorical and archaeological sites.

This chapter is divided into five sections, starting with a discussion of *cabeceras* mentioned in the RM and continuing geographically by quadrant. I begin sections with a discussion of the quadrant's geography and provide a map of the local *cabeceras* derived from Figure 6.1 below. Next, I analyze each political unit, beginning with the discussion of a *cabecera's* relevant references in the RM to provide proper context and use these data combined with other sources to situate the unit in geographic space. In the tradition of scholars like Barlow (1949) and Carrasco (1999), I analyze each *cabecera* and its subject towns by listing each and mapping them out according to individual ethnohistorical sources to prevent mixing of different sources. In some cases, I use the modern town as a stand-in for the pre-Hispanic site because the locations of these sites are often inconclusive (Barlow 1949:2; Carrasco 1999). I continue to use colonial Spanish terminology to describe political units, particularly the terms *cabecera, subcabecera, barrio,* and *sujeto.* These are common terms in the ethnohistorical literature and in scholarly texts and the Tarascans did not have an equivalent form of terminology.

In the text, I use a decimal numbering system to organize each unit. *Cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* are assigned whole numbers and subject towns are organized using the whole number, plus a decimal. For

example, Tzintzuntzan is 1.00, and the *barrio* of San Broyavaru is marked by 1.01. The result is a series of unique identifiers for each site mentioned in the text.

I supplement the ethnohistorical data with archaeological data and remote sensing analyses from published sources, but rather than list every archaeological site in the vicinity of a unit I limit my discussions to those studies that pertain to Late Postclassic sites that have Tarascan archaeological assemblages or specific references in the ethnohistorical sources named above. These data will provide a possible interpretation of Tarascan political organization, but only future field research can assess its accuracy. At the end of the chapter, I look at all of the collected data and analyze Tarascan sociopolitical structure as well as how the political system compares to the *altepetl* model. The *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* are presented in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1.

Table 6.1. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *of the Tarascan polity which are featured in the text. The cabeceras and subcabeceras have each been assigned a whole number that will provide organizational structure and representation in the text.*

Northeast	**Name**	**Cabecera**
1	Tzintzuntzan	Tzintzuntzan
2	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro
3	Ihuatzio	Ihuatzio
4	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro
5	Aranja	Eróngaricuaro
6	Urichu	Eróngaricuaro
7	Pechátaro	Eróngaricuaro
8	Ceremotaro	Eróngaricuaro
9	Aramantaro	Eróngaricuaro
10	La Huacana	La Huacana
11	Churúmucu	La Huacana
12	Sinagua	La Huacana
13	Comanja	Comanja
14	Apundaro	Comanja
15	Naranjan	Comanja
16	Tescalco	Comanja
17	Tipicato	Comanja
18	Tutepec	Comanja
19	Xénguaro	Xénguaro
20	Terémendo	Terémendo/Xaso
21	Xaso	Terémendo/Xaso
22	Guango	Guango
23	Purúandiro	Guango
24	Huániqueo	Huániqueo
25	Pareo	Huániqueo
26	Cipiajo& Axuda	Huániqueo
27	Chichanvemo	Huániqueo
28	Areno	Huániqueo
29	Cuitzeo	Cuitzeo
30	Huandacareo	Cuitzeo
31	Xeroco	Cuitzeo
32	Huríparao	Cuitzeo
33	Santiago	Cuitzeo
34	Yuríriapúndaro	Yuríriapúndaro
35	San Miguel	Yuríriapúndaro
36	Tebequaro	Yuríriapúndaro
37	Guariscaro	Yuríriapúndaro
38	Acámbaro	Acámbaro
39	Iramuco	Acámbaro
40	Emenguaro	Acámbaro
41	Arocutin	Acámbaro
42	Amocutin	Acámbaro
43	Araro	Araro/Zinapecuaro

44	Zinapecuaro	Araro/Zinapecuaro
45	Maravatio	Maravatio
46	Taximaroa	Taximaroa
47	Xaratangao	Taximaroa
48	Banio	Taximaroa
49	Zitácuaro	Zitácuaro
50	Indaparapeo	Indaparapeo
51	Charo	Charo
52	Necotlan	Charo
53	Taimeo	Charo
54	Tirípitio	Tirípitio
Northwest	**Name**	**Cabecera**
55	Cheran	Cheran
56	Pomacoran	Cheran
57	Aran	Cheran
58	Sevina	Cheran
59	Zacapu	Zacapu
60	Uruapan	Uruapan
61	Xirosto	Uruapan
62	Xicalan	Uruapan
63	Carapan	Carapan/Chilchota
64	Chilchota	Carapan/Chilchota
65	Tlazazalca	Tlazazalca
66	Xacona	Xacona
67	Pajacoran	Xacona
68	Ixtlan	Xacona
69	Tamandagapeo	Xacona
70	Chicharapo	Xacona
71	Guarachan	Xacona
72	Zenguayo	Xacona
73	Tarecuato	Tarecuato
74	Xiquilpan	Xiquilpan
75	Tinguindin	Tinguindin
76	Tamazula	Tamazula
77	Tuxpan	Tamazula
78	Zapotlan	Tamazula
Southwest	**Name**	**Cabecera**
79	Quacoman	Quacoman
80	Tancitaro	Tancitaro
81	Tepalcatepeque	Tepalcatepeque
82	Hurapan	Hurapan

83	Paracho	Paracho
84	Curupu Hucazio	Curupu Hucazio
85	Hurecho	Hurecho/Uruapan ?
Southeast	**Name**	**Cabecera**
86	Tacámbaro	Tacámbaro
87	Cuzaronde	Tacámbaro
88	Turicato	Turicato
89	Catao	Turicato
90	Chupingoparápeo	Turicato
91	Tucúmeo	Turicato
92	Tuzantla	Tuzantla
93	Cuseo	Cuseo/Huetamo
94	Huetamo	Cuseo/Huetamo
95	Sirandaro	Sirandaro
96	Cutzamala	Cutzamala
97	Pungarabato	Pungarabato
98	Coyuca	Coyuca
99	Ajuchitlan	Ajuchitlan

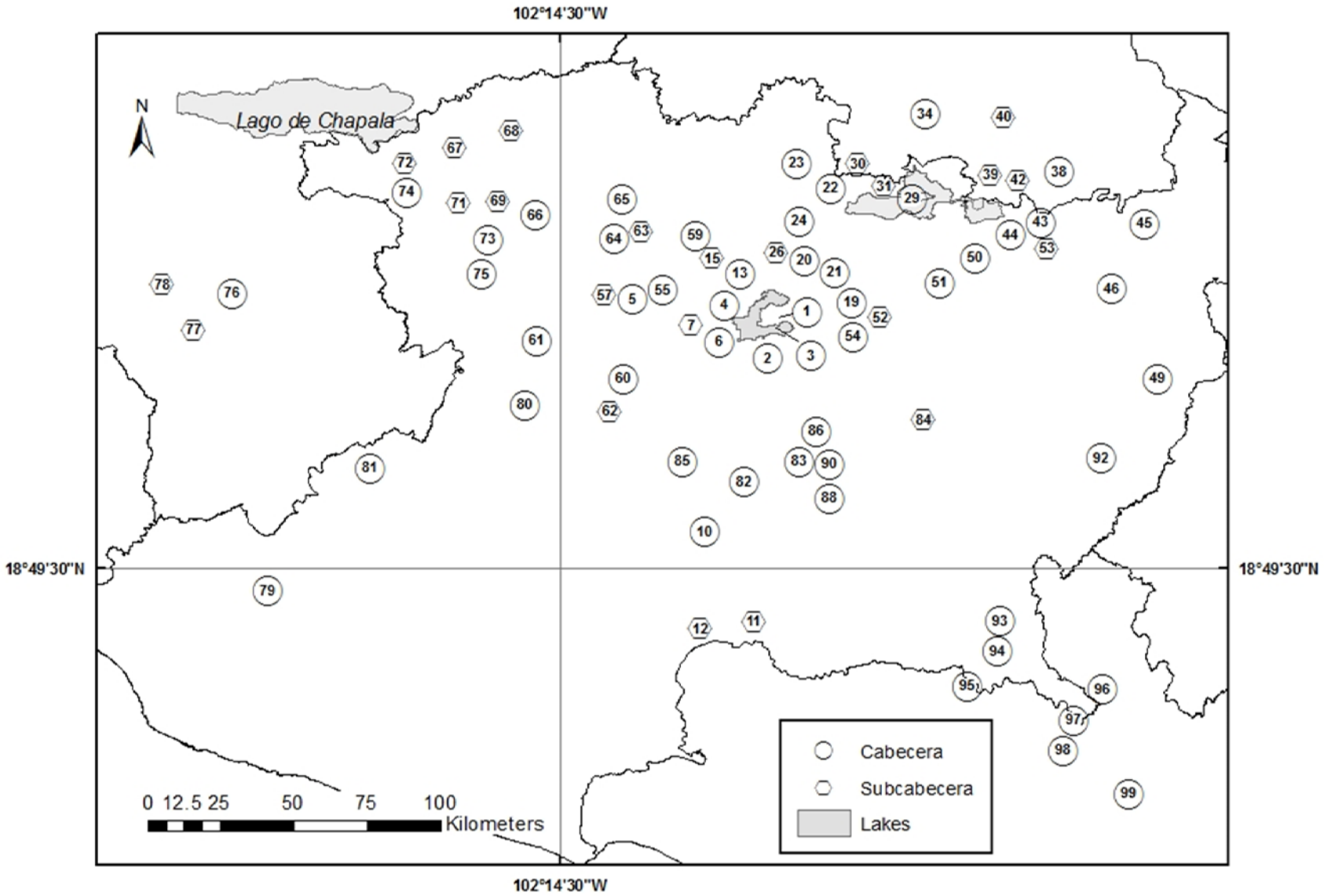


Figure 6.1. Key map of the cabeceras and subcabeceras of Michoacán and the Tarascan polity.

Cabeceras in the *Relación de Michoacán*

The Lake Pátzcuaro basin is a small lake basin located in central Michoacán. It served as the backdrop for many of the episodes depicted in the RM, beginning with the *Uacúsecha* migration to Vayámeo in Episode IV and continuing through Episode XXXIV (Alcalá 2000). The three senior members of the coalition – Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, and Ihuatzio – were established here, as well as the neighboring settlement of Eróngaricuaro.

1) Tzintzuntzan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. During the early period of *Uacúsecha* migration discussed in Episode IV there was a settlement known as "Yaguaro" where the *Chichimecs* paid tribute to the goddess Xarátanga (Alcalá 2000:350). This settlement was controlled by a *Señor* named Taríaran who established good relations with the Chichimecs by carrying firewood to Vayámeo for Curícaueri while the Chichimecs did the same for Xarátanga (Alcalá 2000:350). The Omen of the Snakes forced a mass exodus from the region and Taríaran carried Xarátanga to a settlement called Taríaran, located southwest of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Alcalá 2000:351; Espejel Carbajal 2008). Xarátanga appeared to Tangáxoan in Episode XXVII when she asked him to return her to Tzintzuntzan (Alcalá 2000:498). In Episode XXXI, Taríacuri named Tangáxoan the *Señor* of "Mechoacán," the new settlement in that area and the new lord took his seat after the first campaigns of Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:516). After the death of *Señor* Hiquíngaje, Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro combined to form a single *señorío* known collectively as Mechuacán (Alcalá 2000:542). As a result, later references refer to Mechuacán as the city of Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, or both and it is the responsibility of the analyst to separate the references to each.

Tangáxoan's son Zizispandaquare took over leadership of the Tarascan polity from Ihuatzio by taking the idol of Curícaueri and the contents of the alliance treasury to Tzintzuntzan (Alcalá 2000:542). A 1543 document has shed some light on the early days of Zizispandaquare's reign in Tzintzuntzan (Monzón et al. 2009:22; Roskamp 2012:122). The document is written testimony from a noble named Don Melchor

Caltzin pertaining to a codex, now lost, in the care of Don Domingo Catimito about the military conquest of Tzintzuntzan. Caltzin authenticates the contents of the codex, stating that Zizispandaquare entered Tzintzuntzan during the night and assassinated the nobles controlling the settlement. He was supported by twenty merchants who entered the city and assisted him in rounding up the settlement's leaders and executing them all (Monzón et al. 2009:22). After he secured control, Zizispandaquare granted the merchants noble titles and lands, effectively creating a Nahuatl-speaking noble lineage within Tzintzuntzan. Monzón et al. (2009:22) believes that Caltzin may be defending the information in the codex because he is a descendant of those original merchants. Don Melchor Caltzin's testimony suggests that the Tzintzuntzan lineage may have been struggling over whom had the right to succeed after the death of Tangáxoan, and Zizispandaquare had to assassinate his brothers to assert his rights (Monzón et al. 2009:22). Zizispandaquare also embarked on several campaigns of conquest in Toluca and Xocotitlan in the east, and Colima and Zacatula in the west (Alcalá 2000:525). He also participated in the conquests of the "*Pueblos Dábalos*," a group of *pueblos* in Jalisco that were placed under the control of the Avalos family in the early colonial period (Warren 1985:262). According to the RM, Zizipandaquare's son Zuangua "did much to expand the *señorío*" as well (Alcalá 2000:543). Tzintzuntzan remained the principal *cabecera* until the Spanish Conquest in A.D. 1522 (Warren 1985:25).

Tzintzuntzan has been continuously inhabited since the Late Postclassic and its location in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin is well known. The settlement is situated along the lakeshore of the northern arm of Lake Pátzcuaro between Cerro Taríacuri (Tariacaherio) on the west and Cerro Yaguarato (Yaguaro) on the east. Archaeological surveys show that parts of the site sit on the lower slopes of the two mountains and small *barrios* lie to the south, directly between them. Tzintzuntzan's location is shown in Figure 6.2, along the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro.

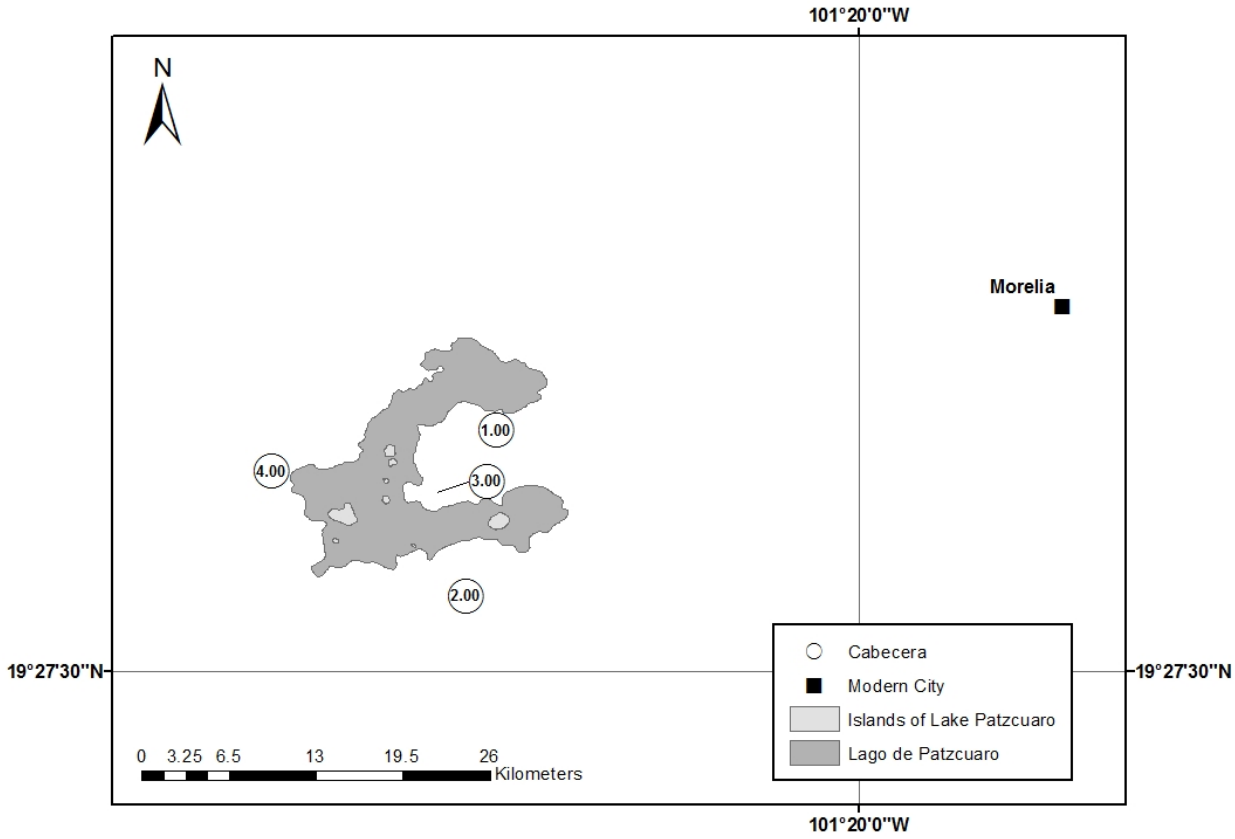


Figure 6.2. The cabecera *of Tzintzuntzan (circle, #1) and the neighboring* cabeceras *(circles) of Pátzcuaro (#2), Ihuatzio (#3), and Eróngaricuaro (#4). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tzintzuntzan's rise to *cabecera* status takes place at the very end of the narrative and there are no details given about Tzintzuntzan's subject towns (Alcalá 2000:542). The most comprehensive information on Tzintzuntzan's tributaries comes from documents relating to the transfer of the *cabecera* from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro. These documents show that Tzintzuntzan stood to lose tributary revenue from 82 tributaries within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Paredes Martinez 1984:16). These tributaries are shown in Table 6.2 below.

*Table 6.2. The list of tributaries transferred from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro when the latter became the cabecera around 1538 (Paredes Martinez 1984:16). C*abeceras *and* subcabeceras *are given whole numbers (e.g. 1.00) and subordinate towns are noted by their superordinate center's number and an individual number to the right of the decimal point (e.g., 1.01, 1.02).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
1.00	Tzintzuntzan	Tzintzuntzan	*Cabecera*	Tzintzuntzan	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.01	San Broyavaru	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.02	Los Tres Reyes	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.03	San Miguel Oncheo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.04	Paguemeo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.05	Quenemao	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Guanimao?	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.06	San Juan Evangelista	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.07	Aguanoato	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.08	México "de esta ciudad"	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.09	Panquaguaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.10	Sangatacu Tzingataco	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.11	San Mateo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.12	Santa Ana Chapitiro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Santa Ana Chapitiro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.13	Numaran	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.14	Tuporu	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.15	San Lazaro Quiechao	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.16	Pacandan	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Pacandan	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.17	Apupato	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Apupuato	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.18	Olleros	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.19	Tzurumutaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Tzurumutaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.20	Santiago Sanambo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.21	San Pedro Tito	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.22	Apatzeo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Apaseo	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.23	San Pablo Sicui Hocurio (Huecorio?)	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Huecorio?	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.24	Tupátaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Tupátaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.25	Santo Tomas Taxupan	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.26	Tzecancha	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.27	Santa María Natividad	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.28	Tacupan	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.29	San Pedro Yurecuareo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.30	Aquisquaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.31	Puaquaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Puacuaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.32	Tzintziro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.33	Opongio	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Oponguio	Paredes Martinez 1984:16

1.34	San Sebastián	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.35	Ateno	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.36	Tsiquimitio	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Chiquimito?	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.37	Xaracuaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Jaracuaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.38	Arameo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.39	San Bartolomé Pareo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Pareo	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.40	San Jerónimo Purenchequaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Purenchquaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.41	Santa Mariao Tziquimitio/Yuritiepo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.42	Guaycaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.43	San Bartolomé	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.44	Santa Clara	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.45	Plumajeros	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.46	Zirahuen	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Zirahuen	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.47	Noritapan	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.48	San Bartolomé Atzimbo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	San Bartolomé Atzimbo	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.49	Guanajo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Guanajo	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.50	Del Espiritu Santo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.51	Urichu	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	San Francisco Urichu	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.52	Chupicuaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Chupícuaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.53	Cocupao	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Cocupao	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.54	San Lorenzo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.55	Santa María Asunción	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.56	Curumendaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.57	Santiago San Ramiro/Don Ramiro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.58	Capacuero	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.59	Guayameo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Santa Fe de la Laguna	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.60	San Cosme	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.61	Santa Cruz	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.62	Santiago	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.63	Cucuchucho	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Cucuchucho	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.64	San Pedro Uchuchari	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.65	Tapameo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.66	Indios Vabagundos	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.67	San Juan Bautista	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.68	Genscuaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.69	San Francisco Hechuen	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.70	La Trinidad	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16

1.71	Huiramangaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Huiramangaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.72	Yzíparámucu	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.73	San Juan Ucao	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.74	San Pedro Echuen	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.75	San Luis	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.76	San Juan Huiramangaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Huiramangaro?	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.77	San Juan Vomecuaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.78	San Francisco Viejo/Caraqua	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.79	Guayangareo	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
1.80	Juzacatao	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*		Paredes Martinez 1984:16
3.00	Ihuatzio	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Ihuatzio	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	Eróngaricuaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16
7.00	Pichátaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Sujeto*	San Francisco Pichátaro	Paredes Martinez 1984:16

The tributaries shown in Table 6.2 above include the majority of settlements in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin, as shown in Figure 6.3. Some, however, including Tsiquimitio/Chiquimitio and Guayangareo, are east of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

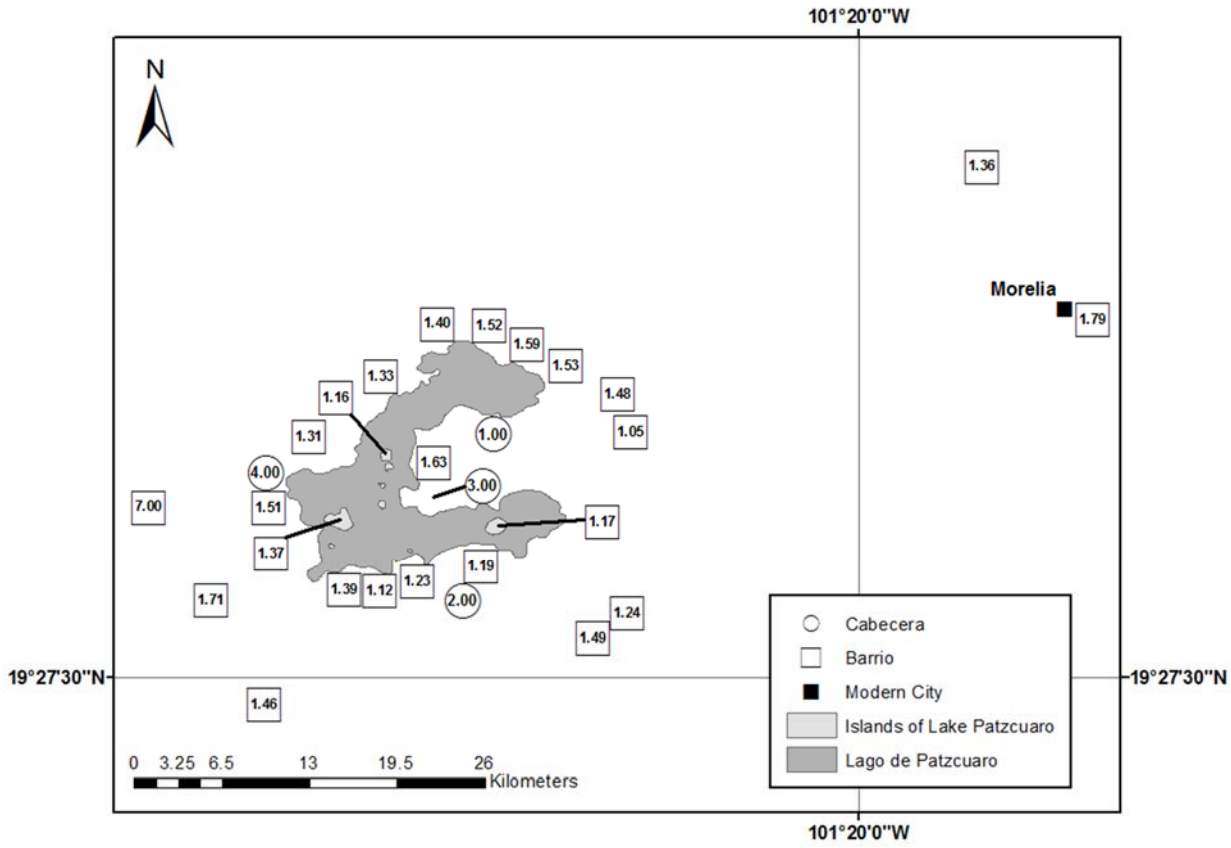


Figure 6.3. Map depicting the locations of Tzintzuntzan's (1.00) tributaries as described in colonial documents. The tributaries include several cabeceras *(circles) as well as* sujetos *(squares) (Paredes Martinez 1984:16). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Twenty-five settlements from Table 6.2 are recognizable as modern settlements or settlements that are featured in other ethnohistorical sources. Ihuatzio and Eróngaricuaro are notable because they are also *cabeceras* with their own subordinates reporting to them. For example, Eróngaricuaro's subordinates Urichu and Huiramangaro (Viramu Angaru) are listed, which suggests that not all tributary obligations flowed upward through superordinate centers; rather, political centers had their own direct connections to their tributaries.

The *barrio* is a level of political organization found at Tzintzuntzan as well as the other *cabeceras* in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The use of the term *barrio* varies by source with some sources using the term to denote subunits within a larger settlement and others using the term to denote subordinates who are not necessarily in close proximity to the settlement. Where possible, I explain how the sources use the term.

The RO contains a number of references to *barrios* belonging to Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, and the combined *señorío* of Mechuacán (Garcia Pimentel 1904:32). These are listed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. The barrios *belonging to named individuals from the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:32).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
1.81	Barrio de Don Antonio	Mechuacán	*Cabecera*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:32
1.82	Barrio de Don Francisco Tariacure	Mechuacán	*Cabecera*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:32

The *barrios* named in Table 6.3 are part of the combined unit of Mechuacán, but instead of names they are described as the barrios of specific individuals. The *barrio* of Don Antonio is probably a reference to Don Antonio Huitzimengari, the youngest son of the Zinzicha Tangáxoan who was a prominent political figure in Pátzcuaro after the death of his brother, Don Francisco Taríacuri, for whom the other barrio is named. Don Francisco Taríacuri was a reference to Zinzicha Tangáxoan's eldest son, who served as the first *gobernador* of Michoacán in the 1530s and early 1540s (López Sarrelangue 1965:170–171). The fact that the *barrios* are named for them attests to their elevated social status within the colonial hierarchy, and may be a reflection of pre-Hispanic political organization.

The RO also describes the specific *barrios* of Tzintzuntzan (Garcia Pimentel 1904:33), which are described in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. The barrios of Tzintzuntzan described in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:33).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
1.83	Barrio de Don Bartolome	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.84	Maria Madalena	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.85	Yaguaro	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.86	Zanzanbo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.87	Cerandagacho	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.88	San Mateo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
1.89	San Lorenzo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
3.00	Hiuatzeo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Ihuatzio	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33

Numbers 1.86–1.92 are *barrios* in or near Tzintzuntzan. "Hiuatzeo" is a derivation of Ihuatzio, which suggests that by the 1570s Ihuatzio's status had diminished within the colonial hierarchy. Cerandagacho (#1.87) is located several kilometers east of Tzintzuntzan. In addition, Foster (1948:15) mapped the locations of nine *barrios* within the limits of modern Tzintzuntzan during the course of his ethnographic research. The names of the settlements are shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5. The barrios of Tzintzuntzan as described in the ethnographic research of Foster (1948:15).

No.	**Name**	**Cabecera**	**Hierarchy**	**Location**	**Source**
1.90	La Cruz	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.91	San Pablo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.92	Santiago	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.93	San Bartolo	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.94	Santa Ana	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.95	San Pedro	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.96	La Trinidad	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.97	San Miguel	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15
1.98	San Juan	Tzintzuntzan	*Barrio*	Tzintzuntzan	Foster 1948:15

The known locations of *barrios* from Table 6.4 and 6.5 are shown in Figure 6.4 below. The majority of the *barrios* are located between Cerro Taríacuri and Cerro Yaguarato in close proximity to each other. This is consistent with the descriptions given by scholars of a major urban center actually being made up of multiple, smaller constituent political units (Gibson 1964:33; Gutierrez 2012:32).

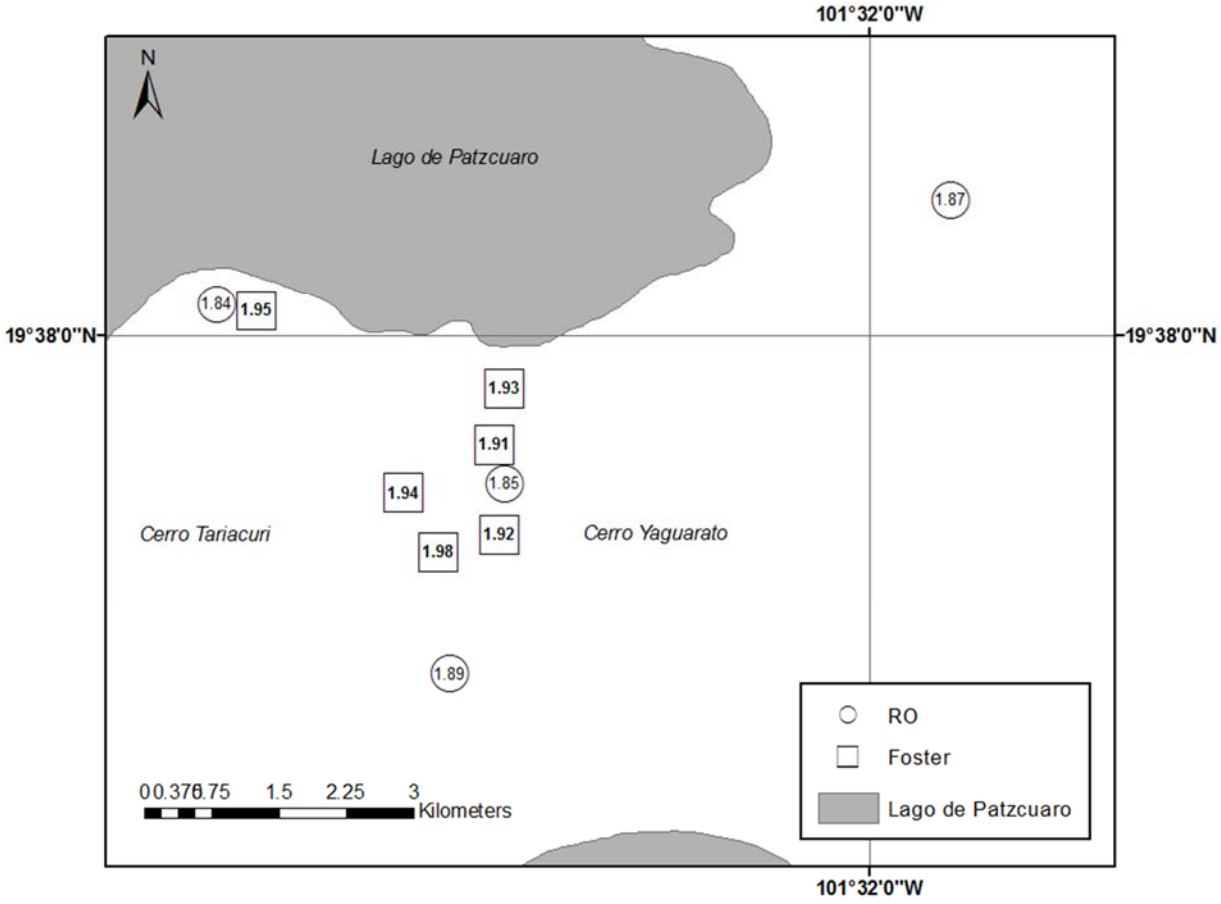


Figure 6.4. The barrios of Tzintzuntzan, from the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904) and the work of Foster (1948).

During the Colonial period, the lower-ranking *principales* served as *barrio* leaders (López Sarrelangue 1965:67–70), which was probably similar to their status during the pre-Hispanic period because they represented spatial and political units within Tzintzuntzan akin to the ward. Marriage endogamy within the *barrio* was required or the union would not be officially recognized regardless of the couples' social status (Alcalá 2000:619). This is consistent with the RM's claim that the *Uacúsecha* practiced marriage endogamy to keep political advantage within their bloodlines (Alcalá 2000:619). I discuss these practices and their importance to the political structure in the concluding section of this chapter.

Archaeological Analyses. Pollard reported finding archaeological sites as a result of her field surveys with Shirley Gorenstein in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22; Pollard 1993). These sites are shown in Table 6.6 and Figure 6.5.

Table 6.6. The archaeological sites in Tzintzuntzan, surveyed by Gorenstein and Pollard (1983:22).

Number	Name	Type	Source
1.99	Site 31	Site	Pollard 1993:199
1.100	Great Platform	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.101	Yacata 6	Site	Gali 1942:58; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983
1.102	Yacata 7	Site	Gali 1942:58; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.103	A81	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.104	A66	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.105	A86	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.106	A91	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.107	A88	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.108	A92	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.109	A87	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.110	A80	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.111	A79	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.112	A78	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.113	A77	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.114	A69	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.115	A59	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.116	A60	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.117	A76	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.118	A58	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.119	A57	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.120	A55	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.121	A53	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.122	A52	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.123	A51	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.124	A54	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.125	A56	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.126	A82	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.127	A70	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.128	A74	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.129	A71	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.130	A72	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.131	A73	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.132	A68	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.133	A67	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22

1.134	A65	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.135	A64	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.136	A63	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.137	A62	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.138	A61	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.139	A75	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.140	A90	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22
1.141	Caringaro	Site	Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:22

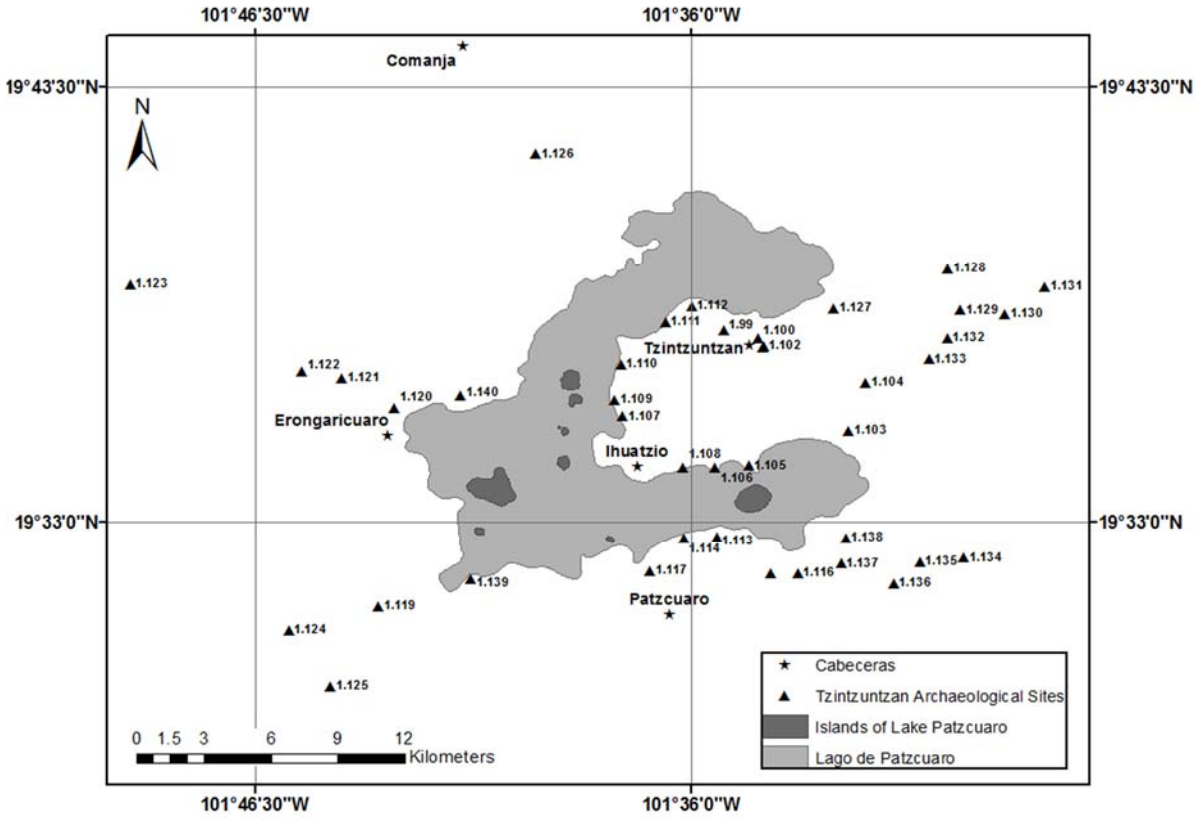


Figure 6.5.The archaeological sites in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

Comprehensive surveys of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin attempted to tie ethnohistorical references to real-world sites (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Gorenstein 1985b:125; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:38). During this process researchers found evidence of archaeological sites like those listed in Table 6.6 throughout the region, often arrayed in the interstitial spaces between major settlements. Settlement sizes varied from a few family groups to several hundred individuals (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:38), which suggests that the settlement pattern was more dispersed throughout the basin.

Field surveys of Tzintzuntzan recovered evidence of distinct archaeological assemblages in different parts of the settlement, which supports the interpretation that the settlement was divided into socially differentiated units. For example, "elite" zones are geographically located on the higher elevations like the slopes of Cerro Taríacuri on the Santa Ana platform and they have the artifacts characteristic of the Tarascan elite: 1) red-on-cream ceramics; 2) stirrup-handled vessels and unusual vessel forms; 3) metal tweezers and pectorals; 4) exotic types of obsidian including green obsidian from Pachuca; 5) clay pipes (Lister 1955:58; Pollard 1993:37; Rubin de la Borbolla 1948:29–30). In contrast, "commoner" zones are located at lower elevations and their archaeological assemblages have no red-on-ream ceramics. In addition, their ceramic types include jars and simple bowls. They also have gray or black obsidian, probably from Ucareo-Zinapecuaro because it was the most common source of obsidian for Michoacán and no reported metal objects (Pollard 1977:54, 1993:34–35).

Pollard also reported finding archaeological evidence of an intermediate class, presumably corresponding to the *principales* (Pollard 1993:38). This archaeological assemblage includes small amounts of polychrome ceramics with complex geometric motifs; a limited amount of red on cream ceramics; and a small number of unusual vessel forms (Pollard 1993:40). The obsidian found in these residential zones is limited to gray and black. There were also several obsidian production zones in Tzintzuntzan with varying functions ranging from the production of prismatic blades (Type 1), lip and ear plugs, and projectile points (Type 2), and scrapers (Type 3) (Pollard 1993:43). Ceramic production was locally coordinated without much oversight from the Tarascan elites (Hirshman 2010:299); however, the Tarascans appear to have brought in outside artisans to produce unique ceramic types such as the Querenda White Ware found on Cerro Yaguarato that is commonly found at the border site of Acámbaro (Gorenstein 1985a:12; Pollard 1993:42). Pollard's analysis suggests that Tzintzuntzan was divided into socially stratified zones, but it is not clear from the data whether each zone represented one *barrio*. In other Mesoamerican societies, different social classes lived together within a *barrio* and it is likely that this was the case in Tzintzuntzan as well but the territorial boundaries are not exact.

Information from the RM and archaeological surveys of the settlement and surrounding areas suggest that the settlement that became Tzintzuntzan originated as a series of small, isolated settlements known as "Michuacán" and "Yaguaro" located on the slopes of Cerro Taríacuri and Cerro Yaguarato, respectively, around A.D. 1000 in the Early Postclassic period (Pollard 1980:683). Gradually, the settlement on Cerro Yaguarato grew in size and the inhabitants built several small temples that were covered up by later phases of construction of the Great Platform and the five yacatas that now sit on top of it (Pollard 1993:193). One explanation for Tzintzuntzan's sudden growth during the fourteenth century is that people began to aggregate in response to military buildups along the eastern rim of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Pollard 1980:683). The RM notes a number of conflicts with polities like Curinguaro, Yzíparámucu, Hetúquaro, Guayangareo, and Araro (Alcalá 2000:459) in the period preceding the formation of the triple alliance. However, there are no clear archaeological indicators explaining Tzintzuntzan's development into a large population center.

The Lake Pátzcuaro basin acted as geopolitical core of the Tarascan Empire, and the Tarascan officials accepted a wide variety of tributary items from maize, honey, meats, fish, fowl, wood, and precious metals (Alcalá 2000:558–563; Pollard 1987:677). The metals were mined at sources near Inguaran and Sinagua, processed at sites near Sinagua and La Huacana, and the finished metal ingots were transported to the Lake Pátzcuaro basin for storage (Pollard 1987:787). From there, the metals were melted down by artisans and used to form tweezers, pectorals, and axe monies (Hosler 1988:833, 1994:32, 1995:100; Hosler et al. 1990). The metals were stored in treasuries on islands in Lake Pátzcuaro, a tradition that appears to have started with the founding of the treasury depicted in the RM (Alcalá 2000:522).

The RM contains references to markets in Tzintzuntzan, Pareo, and Asajo to the north of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Alcalá 2000:624) as important places of exchange for commoner populations where they could obtain foodstuffs, obsidian cores, services, and utilitarian metal objects (Pollard 1982:256). But there are few archaeological indicators available to locate the marketplace sites (Pollard 1993:51). The market appears to have been largely independent of Tarascan elite control because they did not exercise

authority over it except in extreme circumstances like the death of the Cazonci and the first encounter with the Spanish. Pollard (1993:114) also suggests that the lack of congruence between market and administrative centers is further evidence that the market system was not strictly controlled.

Altepetl are composed of multiple layers of interlocking subunits, with successively smaller layers mimicking the organizational structure of the larger layers (Gutierrez 2009:320). The three founding members of Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro probably functioned as a united *altepetl*-like unit, with Ihuatzio serving as the original *cabecera* or primary unit with Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro serving as constituent *calpolli/tlaxilacalli* subunits. Taríacuri named Ihuatzio the cabecera in Episode XXXI and Hiripan exerted his authority over Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje by ordering them to herd the people back to their villages (Alcalá 2000:469, 521). Within each subunit are groups of smaller units which are similar to the wards of *barrios* of the colonial period. Tzintzuntzan's political hierarchy is shown in simplified form in Figure 6.6.

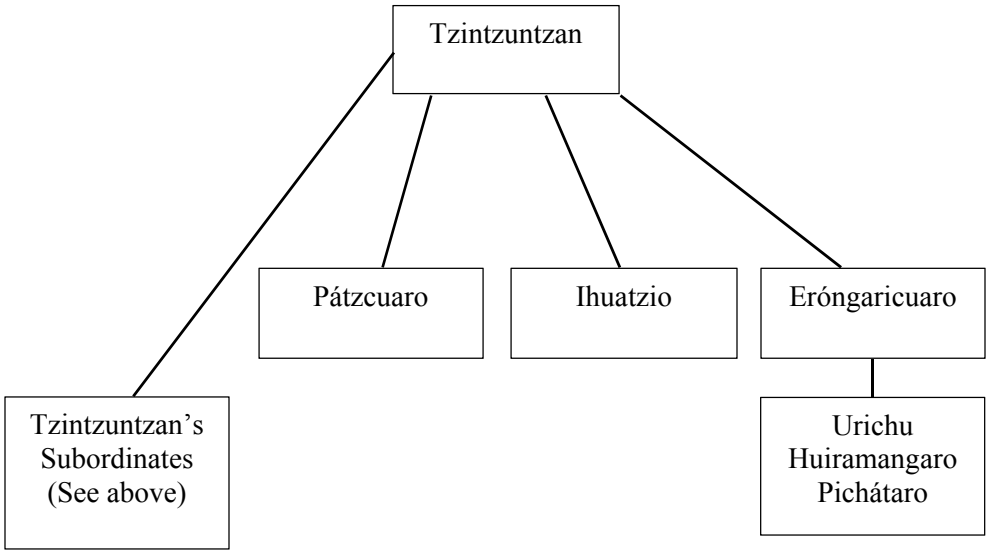


Figure 6.6. Sociopolitical hierarchy of Tzintzuntzan.

Figure 6.6 shows three sociopolitical "tiers" consistent with the ranks of *cabecera/altepetl, subcabecera/tlaxilacalli,* and *subject* wards or *barrios.* Aside from the earliest period of Tarascan geopolitical expansion Tzintzuntzan was the *cabecera* of the entire Tarascan polity and hosted the leader

of the coalition; thus, it occupies the highest tier. Below Tzintzuntzan are the two other members of the coalition, Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro and they were residences for members of the *Uacúsecha* lineage and their extended families. I have also placed Eróngaricuaro in the second tier because it served as a *cabecera* in its own right and administered to subordinate settlements like Urichu, Pechátaro, and Viramu Angaru/Huiramangaro, which are in the third tier. Tzintzuntzan's direct subordinates are also in the third tier because they do not have subordinates at least as far as the ethnohistory tell us.

Remote Sensing. The area around Tzintzuntzan has a number of archaeological sites that attest to the unusually large size of Tzintzuntzan during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The Great Platform of Tzintzuntzan served as the central ceremonial precinct, with five *yacatas* seated atop on a 450 x 250 x 5m platform to represent the god Curícaueri and his four "brothers" (Pollard 1993:47, 189–190), the four gods who left Vayámeo after the Omen of the Snakes (Alcalá 2000:351). The *yacatas* are shown in Figure 6.7 below. Excavators working under Dr. Roman Piña Chan determined that the platform once had a large staircase on the west side that provided access to the precinct (Acosta 1939:85). Rubin de la Borbolla's (1941:15) and Gali's (1942:54) analyses of the stratigraphy of the Great Platform showed that there were at least ten different stratigraphic layers. The two uppermost layers contained few ceramics. The third layer, 45–70cm below the surface, was the only layer with a large quantity of pre-Hispanic ceramics (Gali 1942:54). This may correspond to the original platform construction from the Classic/Early Postclassic period. They also found carbon residue in Layer 5, although neither excavator drew any conclusions about what the carbon residue represented and no ^{14}C dating was done. Layer 10, located 2.32 meters below the surface, consisted of large stones that excavators found difficult to move without winches and pulleys (Gali 1942:53). These stones formed the Great Platform's foundation, and from the signs of fluvial erosion it appears that they were transported there for that purpose (Gali 1942:53).

The Tzintzuntzan yacatas are among the most extensively studied of any of these structures because of their ceremonial significance and because the extreme state of disrepair brought on by centuries of raiding for building materials, outright neglect, and destruction (Acosta 1939:85; Marquina 1951:249).

Archaeological survey and excavation teams of the 1930s and 1940s cleared the yacata of vegetation, took measurements of the stone and surviving structures, and began putting the yacata back together (Acosta 1939:85; Castro-Leal 1986:40; Gali 1942:53; Rubin de la Borbolla 1941:8).

Between the 1940s and 1970s, excavators found over 50 different burials on the Great Platform, most in the vicinity of the yacatas (Castro-Leal 1986:40–42; Pollard 1993:190). Excavators found single and multiple burials but no indications of tomb construction (Pollard 1993:190). The majority of the burials were looted, probably during the colonial era. The excavations also revealed an ornate stirrup-handled vessel with brown slip with negative painting, as well as red horizontal and vertical lines alternating with black and white lines (Rubin de la Borbolla 1941:8–9). In addition, two human figures are painted in white and red with geometric bodies and flexed extremities, holding white spheres. A second recovered vessel had black cream slip, with two red spirals and white spots. These edges were painted red with white vertical lines. Rubin de la Borbolla (1941:10) also reported finding two ollas and an obsidian earplug. The structure and the contents within the structures are important for comparative studies of yacatas in other areas of the empire (e.g., Xacona, Huandacareo), which have evidence of similar types of structures (Macias Goytia 1990: 10; Plancarte 1893:7).

Figure 6.7. The five yacatas on the Great Platform of Tzintzuntzan. Courtesy of Digital Globe.(2012).

The *barrio* of San Pablo, located further upslope on Cerro Yaguarato, has two keyhole-shaped yacatas, shown in Figure 6.8 (Gali 1942:37; Pollard 1993:47). Gali labeled them yacata 6 and 7. The dimensions of yacata 6 are 35m long by 16m wide by 5.4m high, while the dimensions of yacata 7 are 43m long by 18m wide by 4.0m high (Gali 1942:58). The two structures are separated by a corridor approximately 9m wide. Today, yacata 6 and 7 are covered with vegetation and difficult to see on multispectral imagery without trying different band combinations (Parcak 2009:104).

Figure 6.8. Yacatas 5 and 6 in the barrio of San Pablo. Data: Digital Globe Google Earth.

Santa Ana (#1.94) is an elite residential zone, possibly the residence of the Cazonci and his family, judging from the presence of a large platform (300x125mx3.9m) on the northeast-facing slope of Cerro Taríacuri (Pollard 1993:35, 192), shown in Figure 6.9 and Figure 6.10. Lamina XL shows the Cazonci's house sitting on a platform that required a staircase to access it (Alcalá 2000:629). The only other platform in the area is the Great Platform on the northwest-facing slope of Cerro Yaguarato.

Figure 6.9. The barrio of Santa Ana (in white) where the Tarascan elites lived. The close-up is shown in Figure 6.10. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

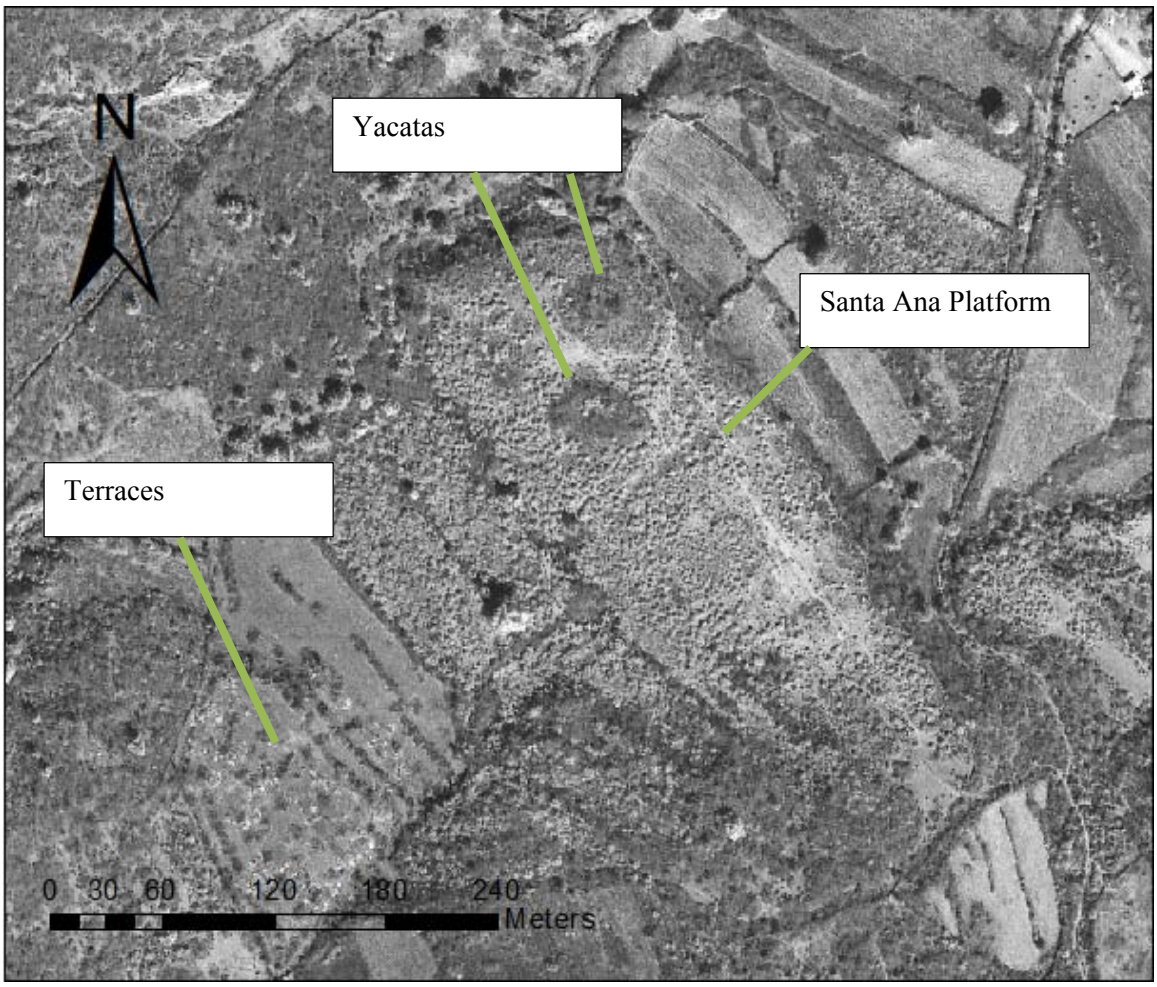
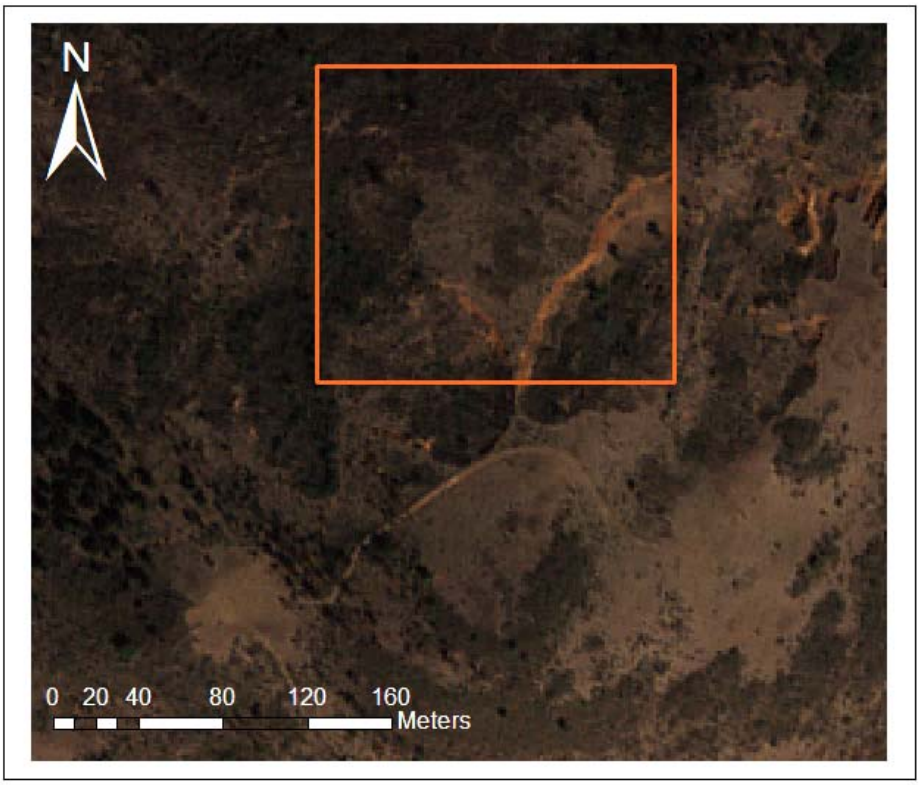


Figure 6.10. Panchromatic image showing the barrio of Santa Ana, southwest of the Great Platform on Cerro Taríacuri. Imagery courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

The RM states that the island of Apupuato (see Figure 6.11) may have been one of the treasuries used by the Cazonci to store his wealth (Warren 1985:53); indeed, Apupuato may have served as the prototypical treasury created by the founding lord following their third conquest campaign (Alcalá 2000:523). The island is covered with small agricultural terraces approximately 3 meters wide. These would have impeded movement, and the use of band ratios has revealed the presence of a linear feature along the top of the hill that could mean a structure was present. I used the Bands 3 and 4 for the red band, 3 and 2 for the green band, and 2 and 1 for the blue band to produce what is seen in Figure 6.11 below.



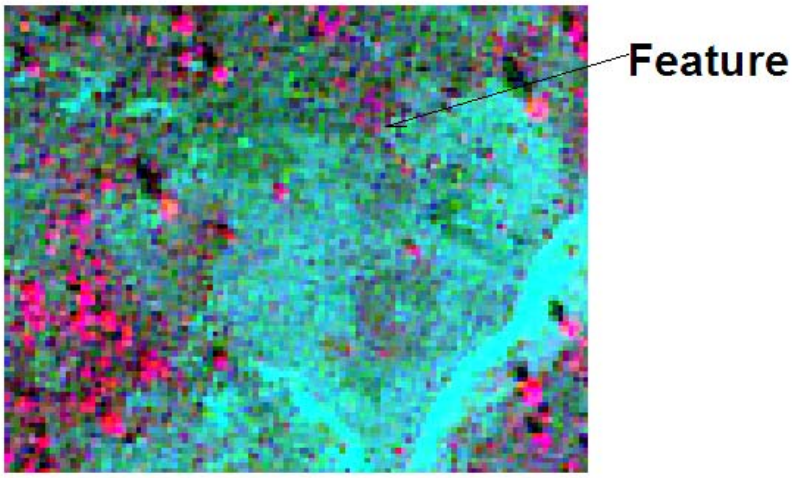


Figure 6.11. Image of the summit of Apupuato showing linear feature (center) using band ratios (4/3) in the red band, (3/2) in the green band, and (2/1) in the blue. Multispectral imagery courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

2) Pátzcuaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Pátzcuaro was the original *Uacúsecha cabecera* until the development of the alliance with Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan (Alcalá 2000:516). It was also an important spiritual center where the gods could pass between the corporeal and spiritual realms, and Vápeani and Pauácume built a sacred precinct, Petatzequa, in commemoration (Alcalá 2000:363). When Vápeani and Pauácume were murdered by the men of Curínguaro, Pauácume's son Taríacuri became the sole leader (Alcalá 2000:372). Years later, Taríacuri's son Curátame usurped his father's position, only to be murdered later by Tangáxoan (Alcalá 2000:493). The lineage of Taríacuri ended when his son Hiquíngaje died without leaving a successor (Alcalá 2000:542)

> *No hubo más señorío en Pesquero después que murió Yquingaje [Hiquíngaje], porque sus hijos mando matar Hirepan [Hiripan]* (Alcalá 2000:542).
>
> *There was no more señorío in Pátzcuaro after Hiquíngaje died, because he commanded his sons to kill Hirepan* (Author's Translation).
>
> *There was no more señorío in Pátzcuaro after Hiquíngaje died, because Hiripan commanded his [Hiquíngaje's] sons killed* (Alternate Translation by author).

While it is clear that the lineage founded by Taríacuri ended with Hiquíngaje, there are two very different linguistic interpretations regarding *why* it ended. The first interpretation means that Hiquíngaje ordered the death of his fellow lord, and because of this his sons were executed. This interpretation implies that there might have been internal strife among the members of the alliance, and Hiquíngaje finally solved the problem by killing Hiripan. In the second version, Hiripan orders the deaths of Hiquíngaje's sons because of their immoral behavior, which is consistent with his authority as the *señor universal* of the alliance. However, the sentence immediately following this one in the text refers to Hiripan's burial place, which would support the first interpretation.

Pátzcuaro's location is well known in the ethnohistorical record, and its location is shown in Figure 6.12.

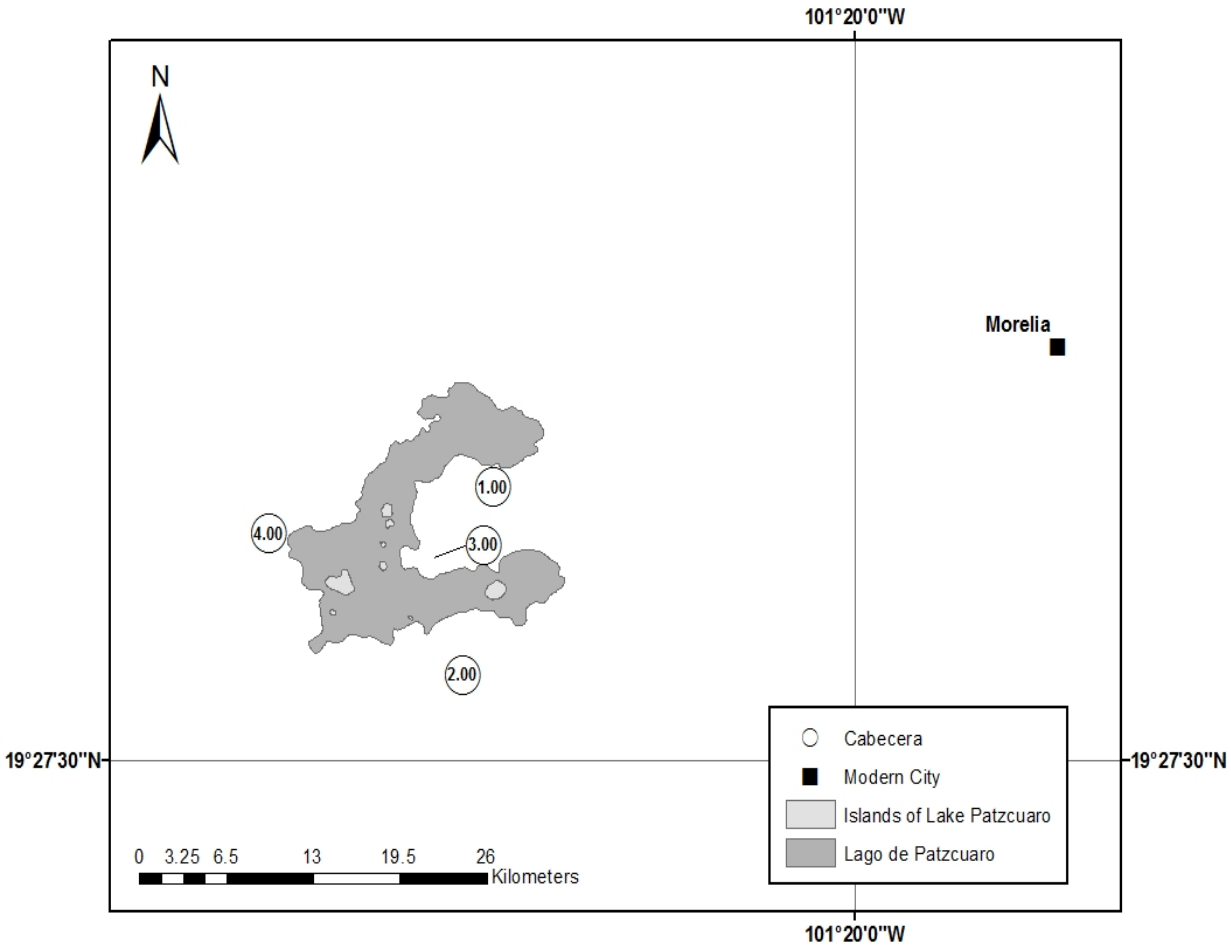


Figure 6.12. The cabeceras *(circles) of Pátzcuaro (#2), Tzintzuntzan (#1), Ihuatzio (#3), and Eróngaricuaro (#4). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The RM mentions the names of several *barrios* around Pátzcuaro and these are listed in Table 6.7. Only one *barrio*, Petatzequa, has been identified within the boundaries of modern Pátzcuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008). The location is shown in Figure 6.13.

Table 6.7. The cabecera of Pátzcuaro and barrios listed in the RM (Alcalá 2000).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
2.00	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	*Cabecera*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000: 363
2.01	Tarimichúndiro	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000:365
2.02	Cutu	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000:452

2.03	Hoataro Pexo	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000:401
2.04	Vpapo Hoato	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000:426
2.05	Petatzequa	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Alcalá 2000:363

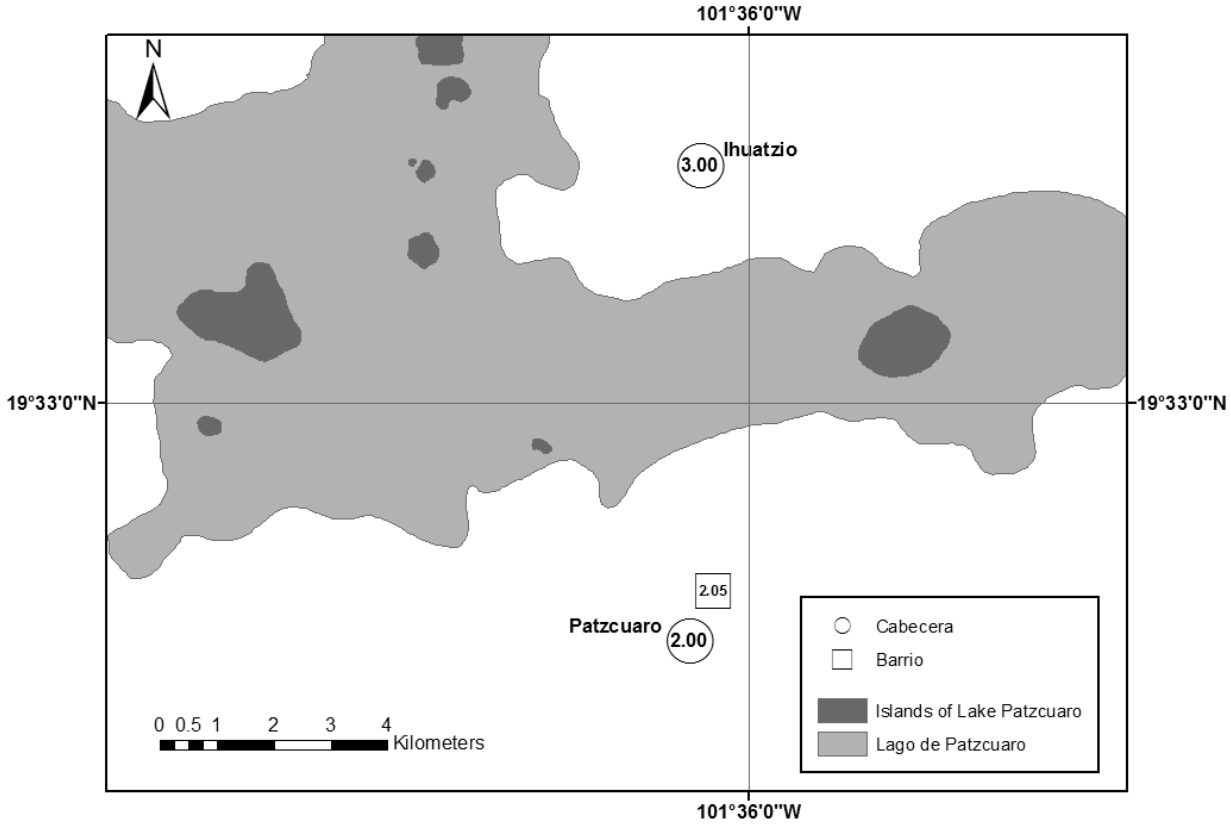


Figure 6.13. The cabecera *of Pátzcuaro (circle, #2) and its subordinate* barrio*, the ceremonial precinct of Petatzequa (square, #2.05). The* cabecera *of Ihuatzio (circle, #3) has been provided as a spatial referent.*

Espejel Carbajal (2008) suggests that the ceremonial precinct of Petatzequa is located in downtown Pátzcuaro. The locations of the other *barrios* listed in the RM have not been identified. In addition, there were several other *barrios* located near Pátzcuaro (López Sarrelangue 1965:38), and these are shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8. Barrios *of Pátzcuaro assembled by López Sarrelangue (1965:38).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
2.00	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	*Cabecera*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.06	Barrio de Don Marcos	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38

2.07	Barrio de Don Francisco Cuiris	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.08	Pareo	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	San Bartolo Pareo	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.09	San Juan Bautista	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.10	Santiago	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.11	Curumendaro	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38
2.12	Iriban	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	López Sarrelangue 1965:38

Note that two of the *barrios* are named for specific individuals, which suggests that like the Barrios of Don Antonio and Don Francisco Taríacuri; these *barrios* were under the control of Don Marcos and Don Francisco Cuiris. Two *barrios*, Pareo and Santiago, are shown in relation to Pátzcuaro in Figure 6.14.

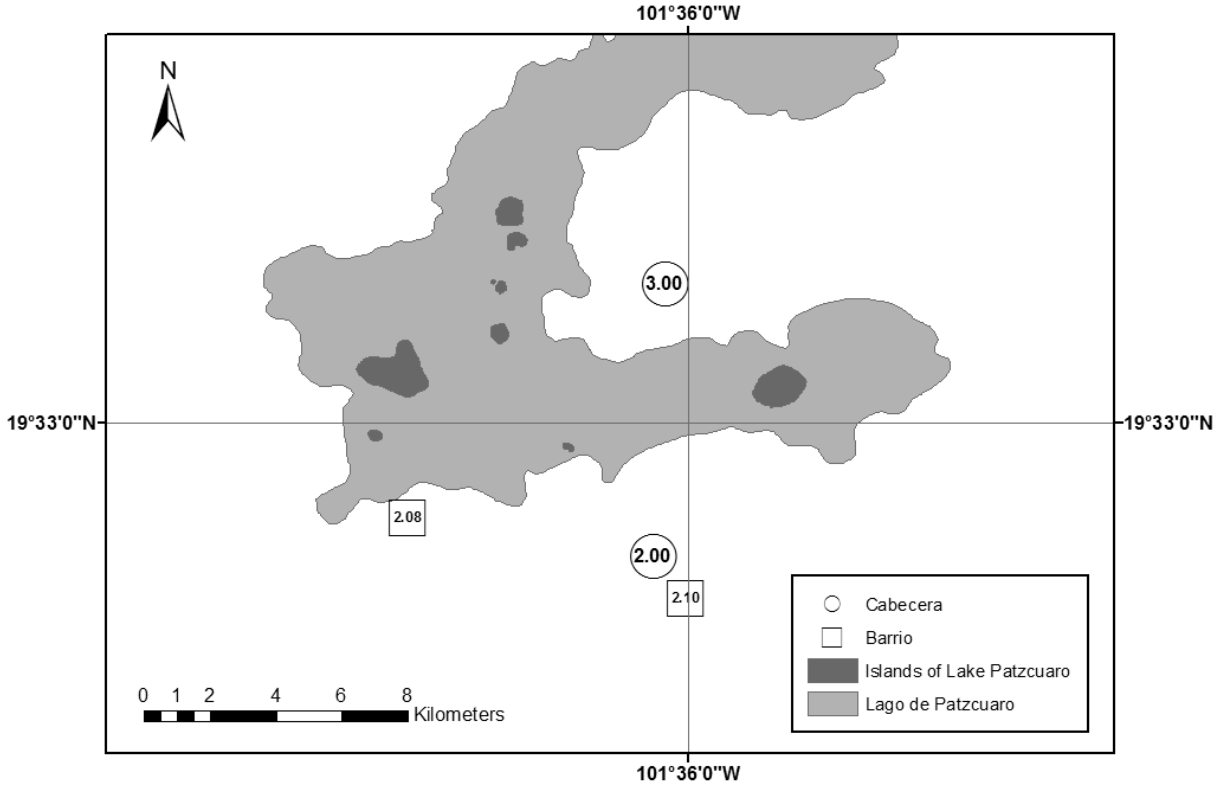


Figure 6.14. The cabecera *of Pátzcuaro (circle, #2) and its subordinate barrios (squares) from López Sarrelangue (1965:38). The* cabecera *of Ihuatzio (circle, #3) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

In 1579, the *RG Ciudad de Pátzcuaro* names several additional *barrios,* including the settlements of Eróngaricuaro and Tzintzuntzan, which attests to the subordinate status they occupied in the colonial hierarchy (Acuña 1987:197–198). These settlements are shown in Table 6.9 and Figure 6.15.

Table 6.9. The cabecera *of Pátzcuaro and its subordinate barrios from the RG* Ciudad de Pátzcuaro *(Acuña 1987:197).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
2.00	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	*Cabecera*	Pátzcuaro	Acuña 1987:197–198
1.00	Tzintzuntzan/Huitzitzila	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Pátzcuaro	Acuña 1987:197–198
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	Eróngaricuaro	Acuña 1987:197–198
2.13	San Jerónimo	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro?	Acuña 1987:197–198
2.14	San Andrés	Pátzcuaro	*Barrio*	San Andres Tzirondaro?	Acuña 1987:197–198

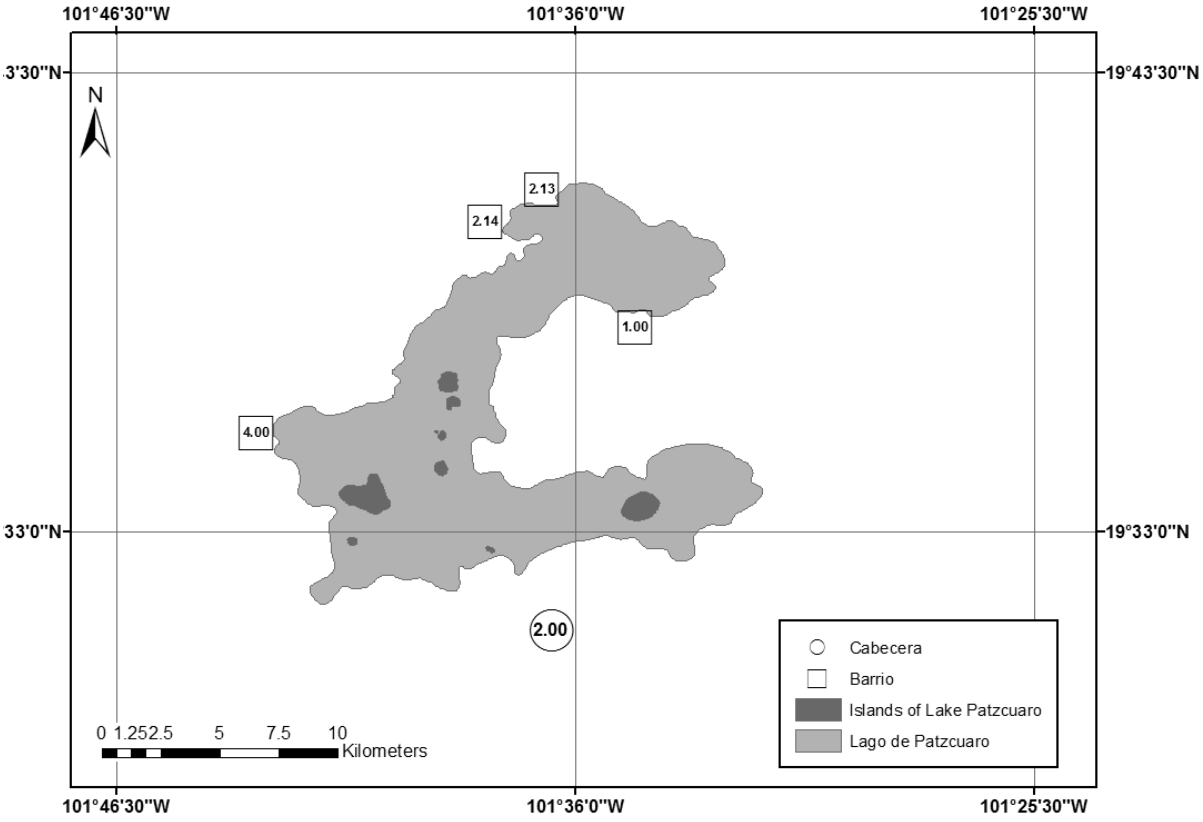


Figure 6.15. The cabecera *of Pátzcuaro (circle, #2) and its subordinate* barrios *(squares) from the* RG de la Ciudad de Pátzcuaro (Acuña 1987:197).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Pátzcuaro's sociopolitical hierarchy is difficult to reconstruct because it combined with Tzintzuntzan after Hiquíngaje's death (Alcalá 2000:542), but there were at least two political tiers. We know that Pátzcuaro was the *cabecera* over several constituent *barrios* from the RM

and colonial documentation suggests the presence of additional *barrios* within the confines of the Pátzcuaro settlement (López Sarrelangue 1965:68). In addition, there are *barrios* located some distance away from the settlement like Pareo and San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro.

However, it should be noted that Pátzcuaro is noted several times in the RG as a superordinate center instead of Tzintzuntzan or Mechuacán, and given the intricacies of Mesoamerican political structures it is possible that Pátzcuaro was indeed the superordinate center over *cabeceras* like Ameca (Acuña 1988:28) and Xiquilpan (Acuña 1987:413).

Archaeological Evidence. The modern city covers the archaeological site of Pátzcuaro (Pollard 1980:685) and we therefore have little physical evidence of Pátzcuaro's historical development or the extent of its authority during Tarascan geopolitical expansion. However, scholars have used the descriptions from the RM to identify sites like the ceremonial precinct of Petatzequa (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Scholars have suggested that Pátzcuaro's small size and lack of palaces and administrative buildings meant that it was not a major political center during the fifteenth century; rather, it was another important religious/ceremonial center in the basin. However, the RM states that Pátzcuaro was a *cabecera* as well as a religious center, which suggests that it was capable of fulfilling administrative functions. Pollard (1980:687) argues that Pátzcuaro had a population of about 5,000 people during the fifteenth century, making it comparable to neighboring Ihuatzio. All political and economic functions were introduced during the colonial period after Pátzcuaro became the capital of Michoacán (López Sarrelangue 1965:61).

3) Ihuatzio/Cuyacan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Ihuatzio is referred to by its Nahuatl equivalent, Cuyacan, in the RM (Alcalá 2000:531). The founding of Cuyacan took place shortly after the establishment of the temple at Queretaro in Episode XXV (Alcalá 2000:484). The alliance between Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje began with Hiripan as the leader because he was chosen by Curícaueri to lead (Alcalá 2000:499). After the deaths of the founders, Zizispandaquare of Tzintzuntzan took the treasury and the

title of *cabecera* from Ihuatzio (Alcalá 2000:542). In a story from Part Three, Zuangua explains that Hiripan's son Ticátame did not exercise good judgment and he preferred playing the turtle-shell drums all day rather than providing solid leadership (Alcalá 2000:655). Ticátame is thought to be the conqueror of the settlement Carapan (Espejel Carbajal 2008). After Ticátame's death, Tucúruan became *Señor* of Ihuatzio. The only reference to his position is in the *Lienzo de Jicalan,* which shows Tucúruan as the "*Señor* de Michuacán" at the time a group of metalworkers from the Yucatan passed through (León 1903:107). Upon his death, his son Paquíngata served as the last pre-Hispanic *Señor* of the settlement (Alcalá 2000:542). Ihuatzio's location, like Tzintzuntzan's, is well known from ethnohistorical descriptions and archaeological field research. It is shown in Figure 6.16.

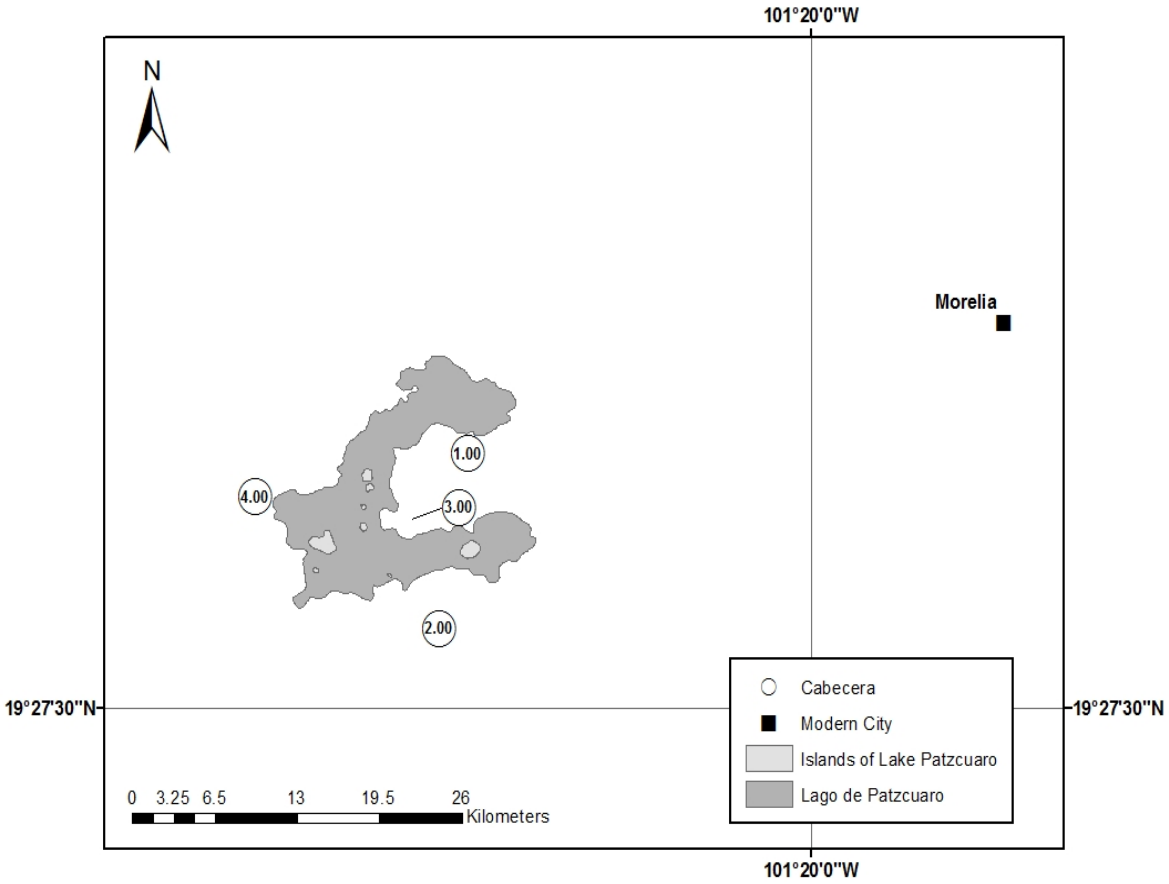


Figure 6.16. Map showing the cabecera *Ihuatzio(circle, #3) in relation to the neighboring settlements (circles) of Tzintzuntzan (#1), Pátzcuaro (#2), and Erongarícuaro (#4) in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The RM credits the conquest of Carapan to one of Hiripan's sons, probably Ticátame, because he was the last *Señor* of Ihuatzio who was leader of the Tarascan coalition (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Table 6.10 shows the relationship between Ihuatzio and Carapan.

Table 6.10. The cabecera *of Ihuatzio and its sujeto of Carapan described in the RM (Alcalá 2000:525).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
3.00	Ihuatzio	Ihuatzio	*Cabecera*	Ihuatzio	Alcalá 2000:525
63.00	Carapan	Ihuatzio	*Sujeto*	Carapan	Alcalá 2000:525

Ihuatzio does not appear in sources like the CV and SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905; Warren 1977), and I showed above that Ihuatzio was a *barrio* of Tzintzuntzan by the late sixteenth century. However, legal documents filed by Doña Isabel Beatriz de Castilleja, granddaughter of *Señor* Paquíngata of Ihuatzio and Doña Maria Cuhtacua of Tzintzuntzan, asked for compensation for unpaid tributary debts owed by the *pueblos* of Ihuatzio, Viramu Angaru, and Cheran to her because of their ancient obligations to her lineage (López Sarrelangue 1965:187; Roskamp 2001:131). In addition, Castilleja's children sued for the restoration of tributary payments from lands in Tarimbaro and Terémendo, which suggests a possible connection between them (López Sarrelangue 1965:187). These settlements are listed in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11. The cabecera *of Ihuatzio and its* sujetos *described by the ethnohistorical research of López Sarrelangue (1965) and Roskamp (2001:131).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
3.00	Ihuatzio	Ihuatzio	*Cabecera*	Ihuatzio	López Sarrelangue 1965; Roskamp 2001:131
3.01	Viramu Angaru	Ihuatzio	*Sujeto*	Ihuatzio	López Sarrelangue 1965; Roskamp 2001:131
3.02	Tarimbaro	Ihuatzio?	*Sujeto*	Ihuatzio?	López Sarrelangue 1965:187
20.00	Terémendo	Ihuatzio?	*Sujeto*	Ihuatzio?	López Sarrelangue 1965:187
54.00	Cheran	Ihuatzio	*Sujeto*	Ihuatzio	López Sarrelangue 1965; Roskamp 2001:131

The settlement locations are shown in Figure 6.17.

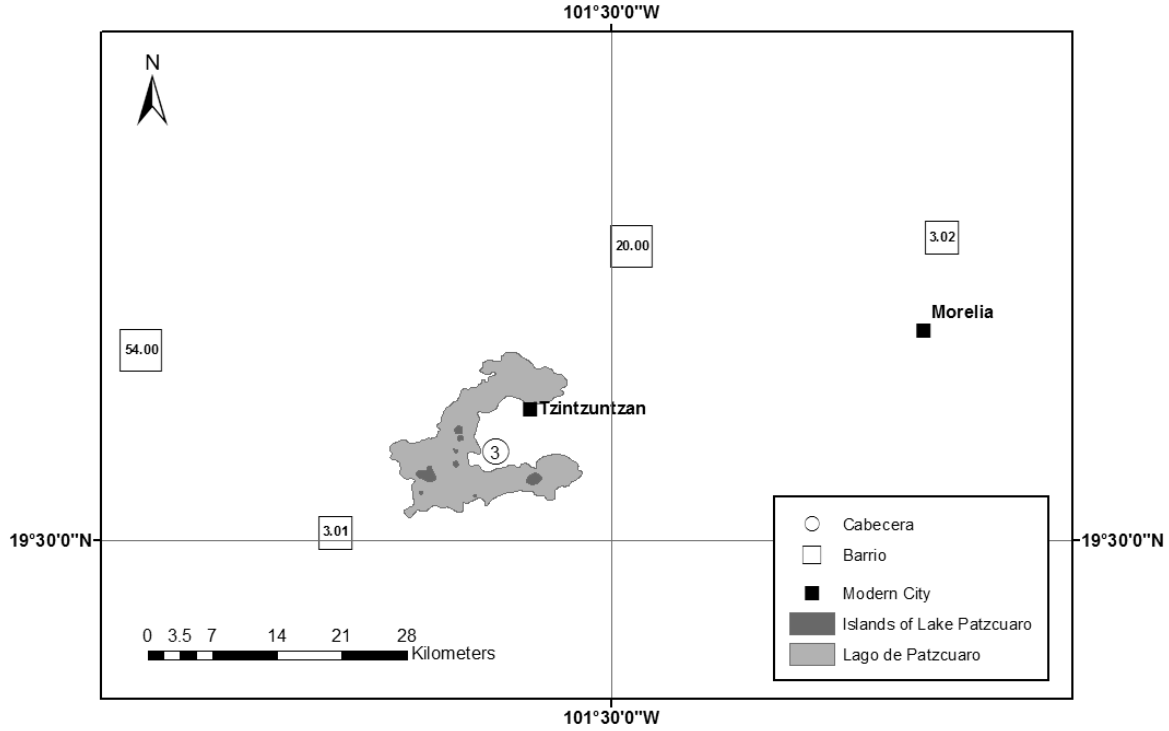


Figure 6.17. The cabecera *of Ihuatzio (circle #3) and its subordinate barrios (squares) from López Sarrelangue (1965). The settlements of Morelia and Tzintzuntzan (black squares) have been provided as modern spatial referents.*

Rudolph Van Zantwijk (1967) conducted an ethnographic survey of Ihuatzio and found that the settlement was originally divided into nine ceremonial *barrios*, which is again consistent with the *barrios*' descriptions are component units of larger settlements. These are described in Table 6.12 and shown in Figure 6.18 below.

Table 6.12. The barrios *of Ihuatzio as described by Van Zantwijk (1967). The entries are reproduced exactly from Van Zantwijk's descriptions.*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Source
3.06	Erechoo	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.07	Wekamitio	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.08	Thoroo	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.09	Gwatari	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.10	Tsirisekqua/Tsirisekwaru	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.11	Ghandsu	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.12	TsΛpakwaru	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.13	Kambanoro	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39
3.14	Palomarisio	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39

3.15	Keretaro	Ihuatzio	*Barrio*	Van Zantwijk 1967:39

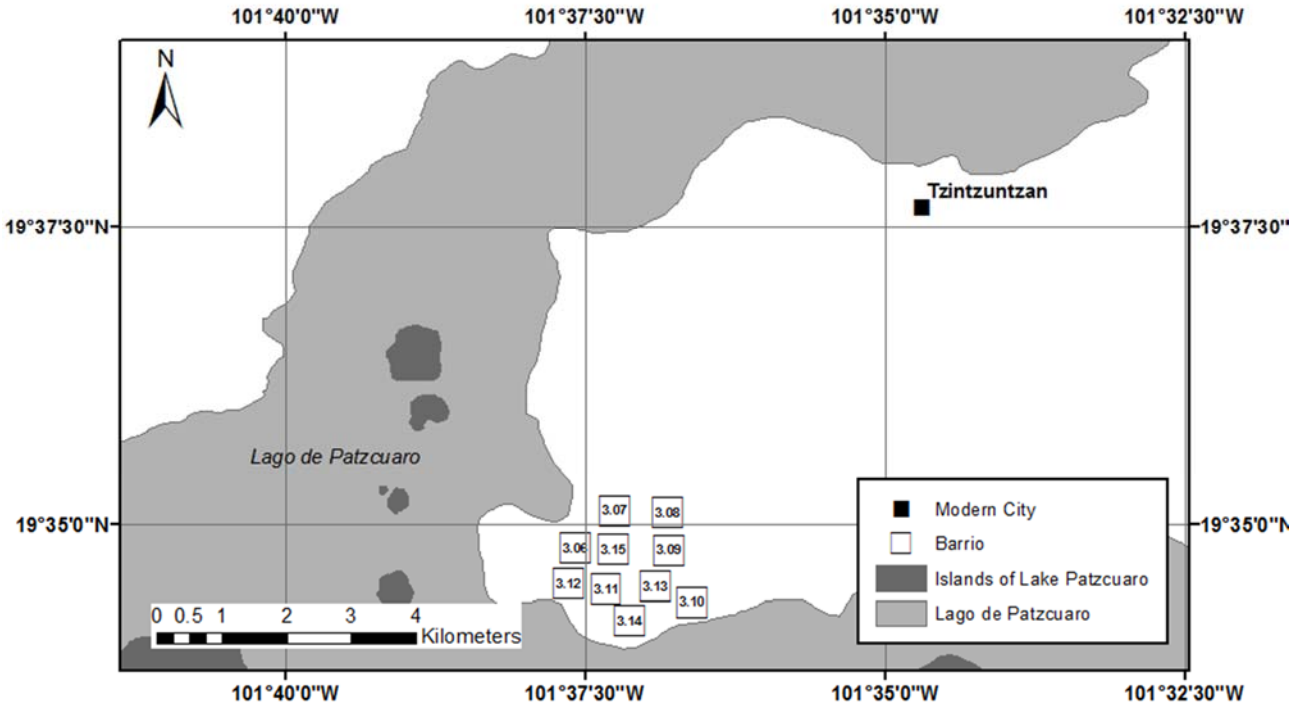


Figure 6.18. The barrios *of Ihuatzio (squares). The settlement of Tzintzuntzan (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Ihuatzio was home to the descendants of Hiripan's lineage, but it was a place of residence for lower-ranking members of the Tzintzuntzan lineage as well. One ethnohistorical reference states that in 1525 "Don Siguangua, *Cacique*, y Tzintzun, su mujer, reciben el baptismo" ("Don Siguangua, *Cacique*, and Tzintzun, his wife, receive the baptism") (López Sarrelangue 1965:244). Don Siguangua was one of Zinzicha Tangáxoan's surviving brothers, a fact supported by the mention that Don Siguangua's son, Don Francisco Sirangua Robledo, was a cousin of Don Antonio Huitzimengari, the son of the last Tarascan ruler (López Sarrelangue 1965:51). The reference to Siguangua as *Cacique* suggests that he occupied a significant position in the *pueblo*, although Paquingata was still the highest-ranking official (López Sarrelangue 1965:183). Another ethnohistorical reference from 1556 comes from Don Andres, a *principal* of Ihuatzio, who testified as to the number of *barrios* under Tzintzuntzan's control (Warren

1977:11). In 1579, Don Juan, the *Señor* of Ihuatzio, married Doña Ana, the daughter of a *principal* from Eróngaricuaro (López Sarrelangue 1965:244).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.19 shows the sociopolitical hierarchy of Ihuatzio.

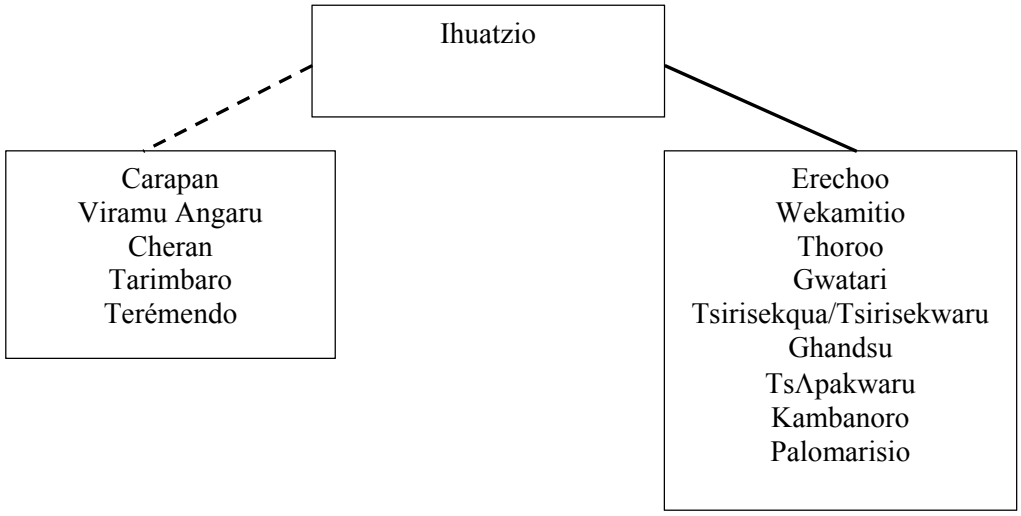


Figure 6.19. The cabecera of Ihuatzio and its subordinate barrios and settlements. The dashed line to the group on the left indicates settlements that were possibly subordinate to Ihuatzio (López Sarrelangue 1965:187), while the solid black line to the left group indicates barrios *under Ihuatzio's control (Van Zantwijk 1967:39).*

Ihuatzio was the *cabecera* over a small number of settlements at least as far as the ethnohistorical record tell us, and it probably controlled at least a three-tier political structure. However, the sociopolitical structure of this unit should be regarded as tentative. We know that it continued to be a *cabecera* because it hosted *Uacúsecha* lineage members of *Señor* and *Cacique* ranks (Alcalá 2000; López Sarrelangue 1965). Carapan was a *cabecera* on its own, perhaps with neighboring Chilchota, with an additional network of subordinate *barrios* and *sujetos*. In addition, Ihuatzio had the nine constituent *barrios* that comprised the "town" of Ihuatzio (Van Zantwijk 1967:53). Ihuatzio also had economic connections with other settlements but the ethnohistorical record is vague on whether they were political subordinates as well.

Archaeological Evidence. The archaeological data gathered from archaeological surveys and excavations are inconclusive about whether Ihuatzio was a functioning political or economic center

(Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:38; Pollard 1980:685). There are no data supporting the presence of a palace or administrative building comparable to the structures found in Tzintzuntzan (Pollard 1993:199). Furthermore, the RM does not mentioned Ihuatzio as the site of a major market on the scale with markets hosted at Pareo, Asajo, and Tzintzuntzan (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:69). Indeed, there are no indications that there was a market at all. Ihuatzio's most significant role appears to have been ceremonial, since the site's ceremonial functions were the most visible and accessible portions of the site (Pollard 1980:685–686).

The Ihuatzio archaeological site covers approximately 125 hectares, with 75 hectares devoted to habitation and 50 hectares for religious and ceremonial activities (Pollard 1980:685). Pollard (1980:685) estimates that Ihuatzio supported a population of approximately 3,000-5,000 people during the Protohistoric period (A.D. 1450–1522). The site sits atop a small mesa overlooking Lake Pátzcuaro to the west and spreads out along the slopes and surrounding areas. The main features of the site include a ceremonial precinct with two rectangular pyramids with long axes oriented North-South. Their eastern sides face toward what Beaumont (1932b:47) calls the "Plaza de Armas," a large stone area enclosed and protected by large walls with stairs overlooking the area. South of the plaza is a large field, followed by three keyhole-shaped yacatas whose long axes are also oriented North-South. Beaumont's (1932b:47) descriptions suggest that the site was a ceremonial center, but it is equally possible that it served as a political center.

The dominant features of Ihuatzio are the two sets of reconstructed yacatas located on the central part of the low hill. These structures exemplify Tarascan religious expression as dedications to the sun god Curícaueri and Xarátanga, shown in Figures 6.20 and 6.21, respectively.

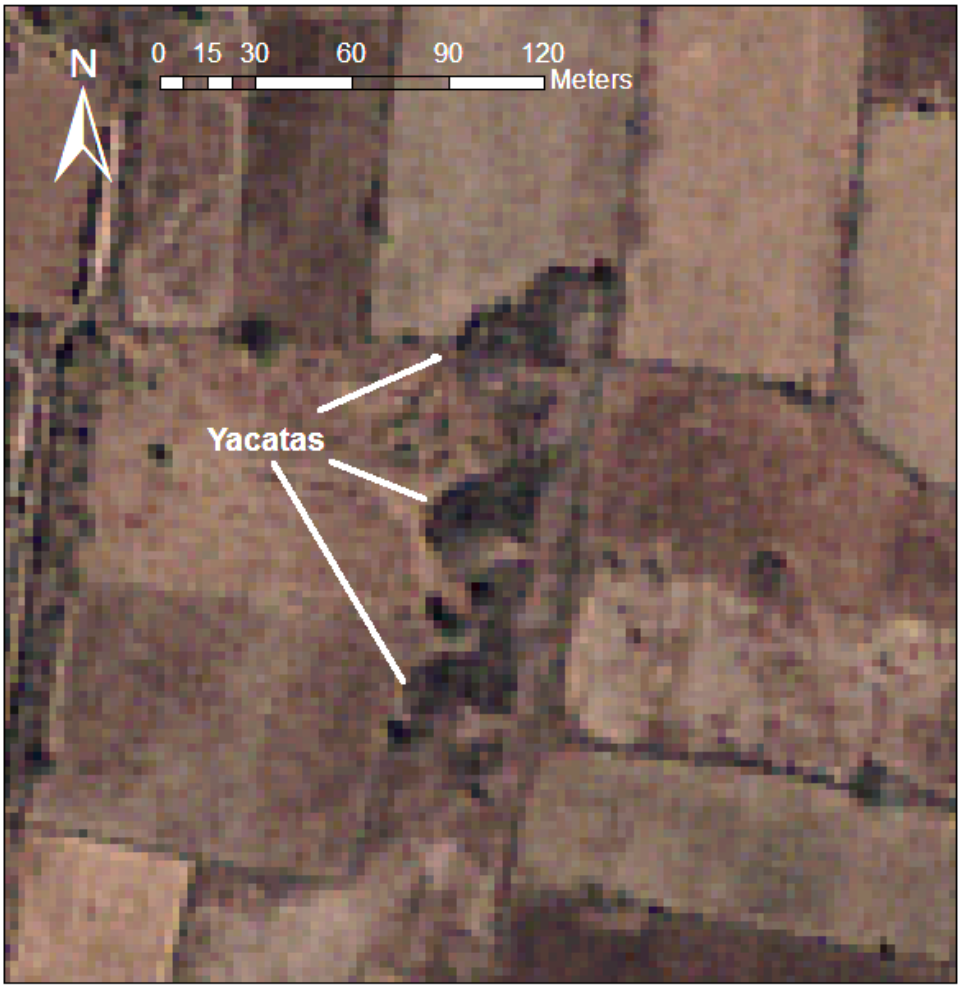


Figure 6.20. The Ihuatzio yacatas. Multispectral image (Ratios: 4/3, 3/2, 2/1) showing the yacatas dedicated to Curícaueri. Imagery courtesy of Digital Globe.

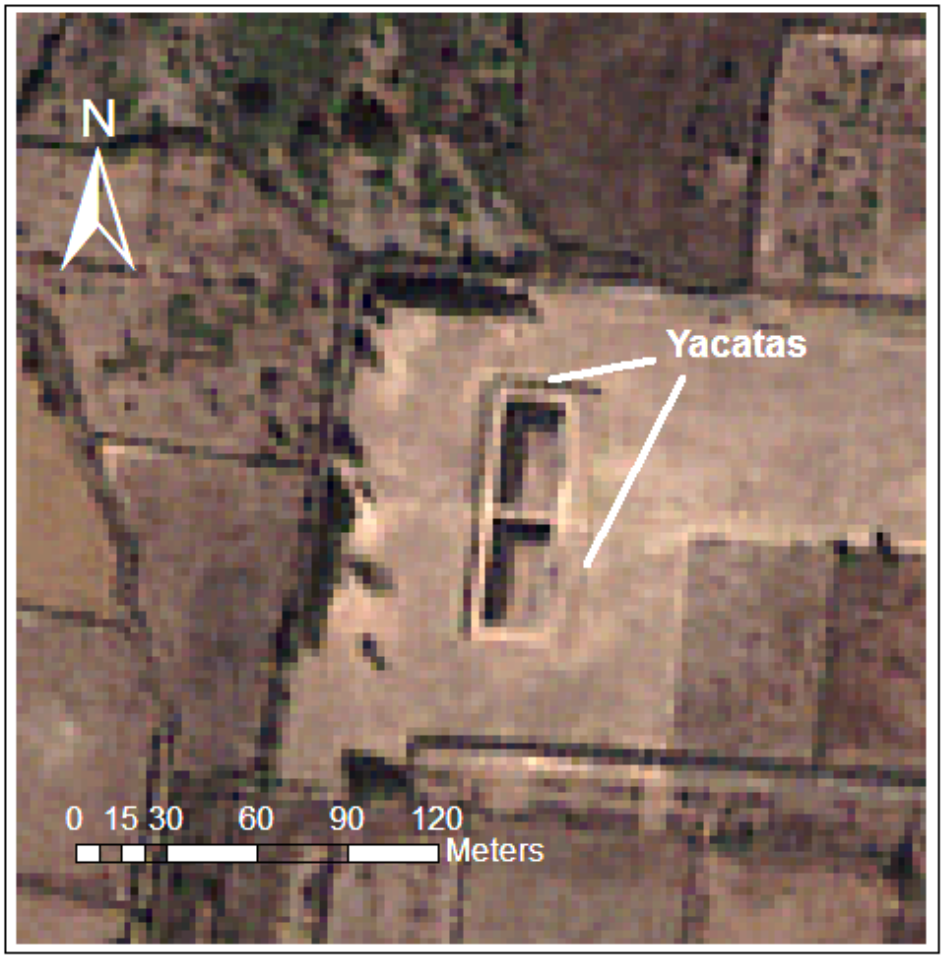


Figure 6.21. Multispectral image (R= Band 4/3; G = Band 3/2; B= Band 2/1) showing yacatas dedicated to Xarátanga. Imagery courtesy of Digital Globe.

Excavations began in the 1930s with test-pits placed by archaeologists Alfonso Caso and Eduardo Noguera (Pollard 1993:19). Later excavations revealed ceramic pipes with diagnostic features similar to pipes found at Tzintzuntzan and Huandacareo (Pollard 1993:191; Marquina 1951:251), which suggests the presence of religious specialists or elites at the site. More comprehensive studies of the southern yacatas were reported in 1939, when archaeologists began clearing and measuring the site (Acosta 1939:86). Surveyors working in the field between the two precincts recovered a large "chac-mool" figurine, a coyote bench, and several statues with anthropomorphic representations of coyotes (Marquina

1951:249). However, there are no reports of a palace or elite dwelling like the Santa Ana platform at Tzintzuntzan (see Figures 6.9, 6.10).

4) Eróngaricuaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Hiripan and Tangáxoan had a relative living in Eróngaricuaro named Cuiuva, to whom they pledged their labors in the fields. In Episode XXII, Taríacuri tells Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje that there will be no other *señores* in Comanja because they have entered the *pueblo* of Eróngaricuaro and gotten drunk, and no one is capable of drinking the wine of Comanja's god, Tares Vpeme (Alcalá 2000:464). In Episode XXX, the warriors from Eróngaricuaro, Pechataro, and Urichu agree to assist Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje in their conquest of Huiramangaro (Alcalá 2000:519). Figure 6.22 shows Eróngaricuaro's location in relation to the other *cabeceras.*

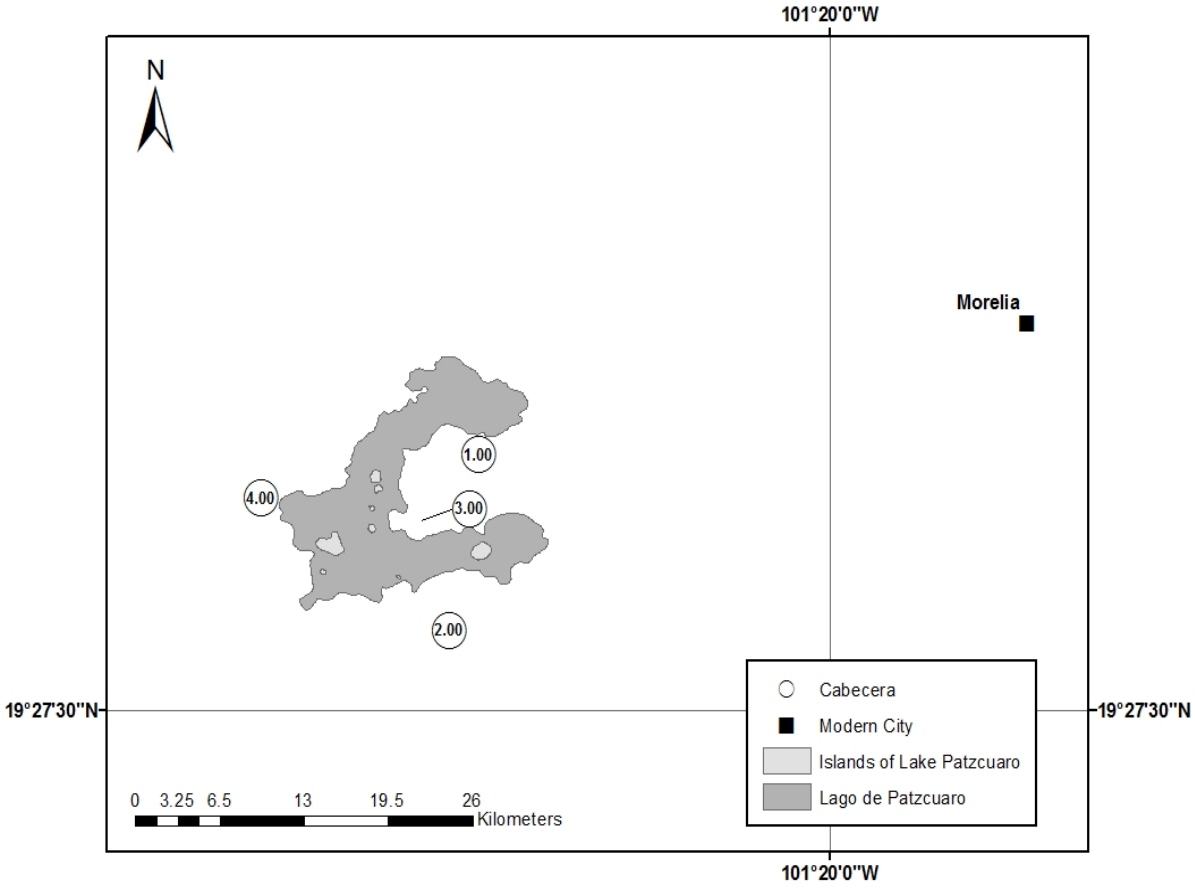


Figure 6.22. The cabeceras *(circles) of Eróngaricuaro (#4), Tzintzuntzan (#1), Ihuatzio (#2), and Pátzcuaro (#3). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Though it is discussed first here, Eróngaricuaro is the last known entry of the *Carvajal Visita* (CV), recorded in April of 1524 (Warren 1977:404-408). Carvajal met with the *señor* of Eróngaricuaro, Quaca, who told him that Eróngaricuaro's territory extended to Chunchuo and Ortaciamuname (Warren 1977:404). The settlements are listed in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro and its* subcabeceras *and* sujetos *from the CV (Warren 1977:404). The numbers used in this analysis are at left. The CV lists settlements, superordinate centers, household size estimates, ranks, distances from superordinate centers, locations (if known). Geometric means have been added to provide a balanced estimate of house/household size. In this system, S = Señor, C = Calpixque.*

No.	Name	*Cabecera*	Native Houses	Carvajal Houses	Geo. Mean	Rank	Dist. (leagues)	Location	Source
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Tzintzuntzan	20	65	36	S	3	Erónga ricuaro	Warren 1977:404
4.01	Pecurajo	Eróngaricuaro	7	20	12	*C*	0.25		Warren 1977:404
4.02	Ycheparataco	Eróngaricuaro	5	30	12		0.5		Warren 1977:404
4.03	Tanbbo	Eróngaricuaro	15	25	19		1		Warren 1977:404
4.04	Tacuyxao	Eróngaricuaro	2	10	4		1.5		Warren 1977:404
57.00	Aran	Eróngaricuaro	6	16	10		2	Aran	Warren 1977:404
4.05	Navache	Eróngaricuaro	6	20	11		2		Warren 1977:404
55.00	Charan	Eróngaricuaro	10	35	19	*C*	2	Cheran ?	Warren 1977:404
4.06	Uquacato	Eróngaricuaro	4	23	10		3		Warren 1977:404
4.07	Mirio	Eróngaricuaro	6	20	11	*C*	3.5		Warren 1977:404
4.08	Paracho	Eróngaricuaro	6	25	12	*C*	3.5	Parach o	Warren 1977:404
58.00	Se-vina?	Eróngaricuaro	10	35	19		4.5	Siuínan	Warren 1977:404
4.09	Puchumeo	Eróngaricuaro	5	15	9		0.25		Warren 1977:404
4.10	Cabaro	Eróngaricuaro	3	7	5		1		Warren 1977:404
4.11	Cuyropeo	Eróngaricuaro	5	12	8		1		Warren 1977:404
4.12	*Estancia* Baja	Eróngaricuaro	4	9	6		1.5		Warren 1977:404
4.13	Opunqeo	Eróngaricuaro	4	15	8		1	Opung uio	Warren 1977:404

4.14	Chacharapo	Eróngaricuaro	2	8	4		1.5		Warren 1977:404
4.15	Uramagaro	Eróngaricuaro	6	25	12		1	Huiramangaro	Warren 1977:404
4.16	Maharazo	Eróngaricuaro	4	10	6		1.5		Warren 1977:404
4.17	Toricaro	Eróngaricuaro	6	15	9		2		Warren 1977:404
4.18	Pechequaro	Eróngaricuaro	2	6	3		2		Warren 1977:404
4.19	Tapangatiro	Eróngaricuaro	3	20	8		0.5		Warren 1977:404
5.00	Aranja	Eróngaricuaro	10	45	21		3	Aranja	Warren 1977:404
5.01	Cheranazcon	Eróngaricuaro	6	15	9		0.25		Warren 1977:404
6.00	Urichu	Eróngaricuaro	20	70	37	*C*	0.25	San Francisco Urichu	Warren 1977:404
6.01	Urystibpachco	Urichu	15	30	21		0.25		Warren 1977:404
7.00	Pechátaro	Eróngaricuaro	10	45	21	*C*	1.5	San Francisco Pechataro	Warren 1977:404
7.01	Xuyna	Eróngaricuaro	15	25	19	*C*	1		Warren 1977:404
7.02	Cuyxo	Eróngaricuaro	10	25	16		0.25		Warren 1977:404
7.03	Yaorochio	Eróngaricuaro	6	12	8		0.25		Warren 1977:404
7.04	Opomaratio	Eróngaricuaro	3	10	5		1		Warren 1977:404
7.05	Canagua	Eróngaricuaro	5	14	8		0.25		Warren 1977:404
7.06	Vapariquto	Eróngaricuaro	2	7	4		0.25		Warren 1977:404
7.07	Urequaro	Eróngaricuaro	5	12	8		0.5		Warren 1977:404
8.00	Ceremotaro	Eróngaricuaro	25	35	30		0.25		Warren 1977:404
8.01	Capacadane	Ceremotaro.	3	20	8		0.5		Warren 1977:404
9.00	Aramantaro	Eróngaricuaro	3	20	8	*C*	1		Warren 1977:404
9.01	Andaparato	Aramantaro	4	9	6		0.5		Warren 1977:404
9.02	Guaraguao	Aramantaro	6	13	9		0.5		Warren 1977:404

The table describes 39 subordinates, including five *subcabeceras* and thirty-four *sujetos*. *Subcabeceras* Aranja (5.00), Urichu (6.00), and Pechataro (7.00) are recognizable from references in the RM and the presence of modern settlements that have been linked to these settlements (Espejel Carbajal 2008). In addition, Aran (57), Uramagaro (Viramu Angaru (4.15)) and Charan (Cheran (55)) are settlements that have been linked with their ethnohistorical counterparts.

If the Curinguaro listed under Eróngaricuaro is the same Curinguaro described in the RM, its presence may yield insight into how the Tarascans dealt with conquered *pueblos*. In central Mexico, it was common practice for conquerors to reallocate a conquered *pueblo*'s land to subordinates based on their level of participation in the conquest (Carrasco 1999:33). Ethnohistorical sources like the RM and the *RG Tirípitio* describe Curinguaro as a sovereign settlement before Tarascan expansion (Acuña 1987:353; Alcalá 2000:351), but after the conquest it was placed under control of the conquerors. This could be an indicator that Eróngaricuaro received tributary revenue from Curinguaro because of its participation in the conquests.

Eróngaricuaro is the only settlement in the unit with a *Señor*; the *subcabeceras* and several of the subject towns have *Calpixques.* The fact that there was a *Señor* suggests that the leader was closely related to the *Uacúsecha,* a conclusion that is supported by a reference from 1579 that mentions the marriage of Doña Ana of Eróngaricuaro to Don Juan of Ihuatzio, and since the *Uacúsecha* and their descendants only married within their bloodlines it is likely Eróngaricuaro had close ties to Ihuatzio, Pátzcuaro, and Tzintzuntzan. Within the sociopolitical hierarchy of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, Eróngaricuaro is unusual because its projected population size (5,000) rivals Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Pollard 1980). Furthermore, the presence of ceremonial and administrative architecture (i.e. elite residences) suggests that Eróngaricuaro was an administrative system for the southwestern area of the basin (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:42).

The settlements are spatially distributed in clusters, with Eróngaricuaro, Aranja, Pechátaro, Ceremotaro, and Aramantaro surrounded by smaller groups of subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias*. Eróngaricuaro differs from other CV *cabeceras* because a large number of subordinates are located at

distances of 2-4.5 leagues (11.14–25.1 km), whereas the other settlements' subordinates are clustered closer together at distances of .25–1.5 leagues (1.4–8.33 km). The *subcabeceras*' subordinates are clustered in this manner.

Eróngaricuaro was a *cabecera* in the 1540s with three subordinate *cabeceras*: Uramagaro (Viramu Angaru), Hurichu (Urichu), and Pichátaro (Pechátaro). These are the same settlements associated with Eróngaricuaro in the RM (Alcalá 2000:515) and subsequent documents from the sixteenth century. These are shown in Table 6.14 and Figure 6.23.

Table 6.14. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro and its subordinate cabeceras described in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:123).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Cabecera*	Eróngaricuaro	Paso y Troncoso 1905:123
4.15	Uramagaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Subcabecera*	Huiramangaro/Viramu Angaru	Paso y Troncoso 1905:123
6.00	Hurichu/Urichu	Eróngaricuaro	*Subcabecera*	San Francisco Urichu	Paso y Troncoso 1905:123
7.00	Pichátaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Subcabecera*	San Francisco Pechátaro	Paso y Troncoso 1905:123

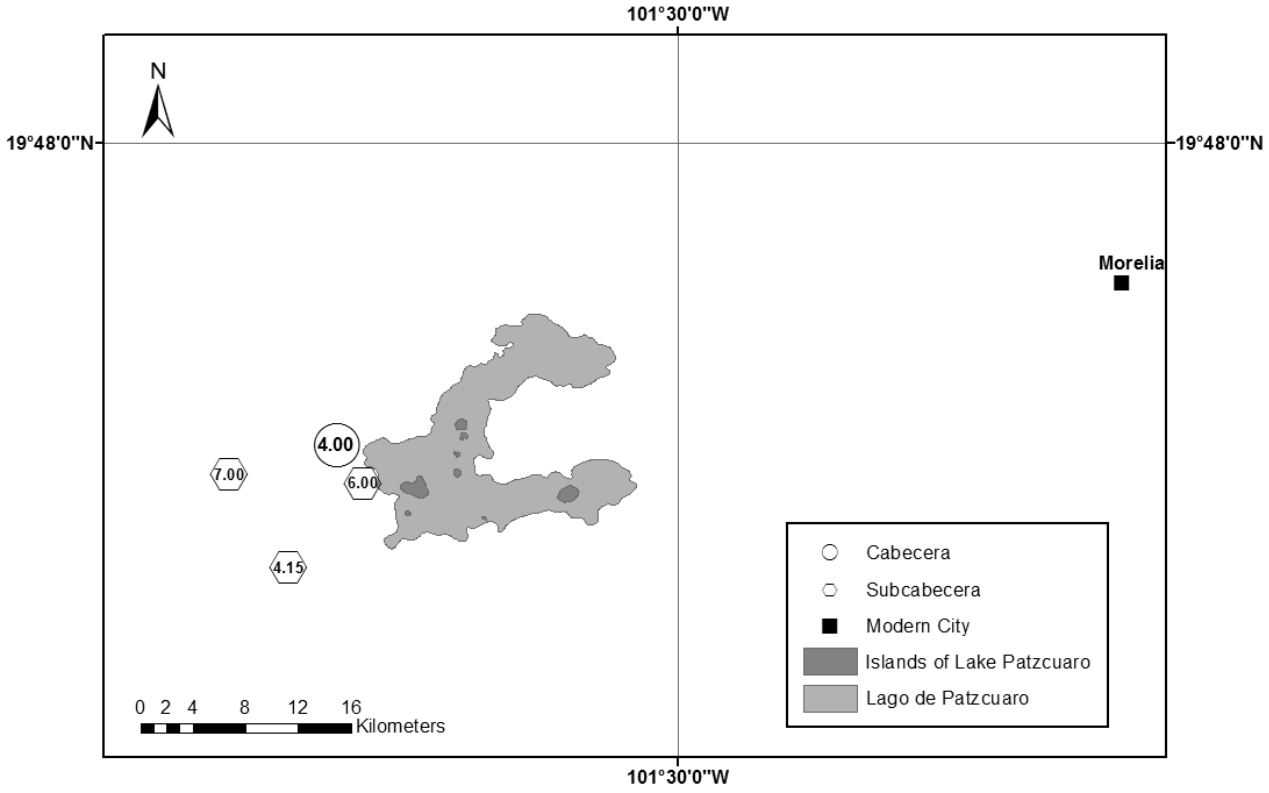


Figure 6.23. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro (circle, #4) and the* subcabeceras *(hexagons) of Uramagaro (#4.15), Hurichu (#6) and Pichátaro (#7) from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:123). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

In the RO, Eróngaricuaro is still a *cabecera* but with only five listed *barrios*, as well as smaller unnamed *barrios* and *estanzuelas* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:33). These are shown in Table 6.15 and in Figure 6.24.

Table 6.15. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro and its subordinate barrios described in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:33).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Cabecera*	Eróngaricuaro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
4.20	Xaráquaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*	Jarácuaro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
4.21	San Andres	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
4.22	San Geronimo	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
4.23	Xarapen	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:33

4.24	Opopeo	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*	Opopeo	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
6.00	Huricho	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*	San Francisco Urichu	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33
7.00	Pichátaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Barrio*	San Francisco Pechátaro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:33

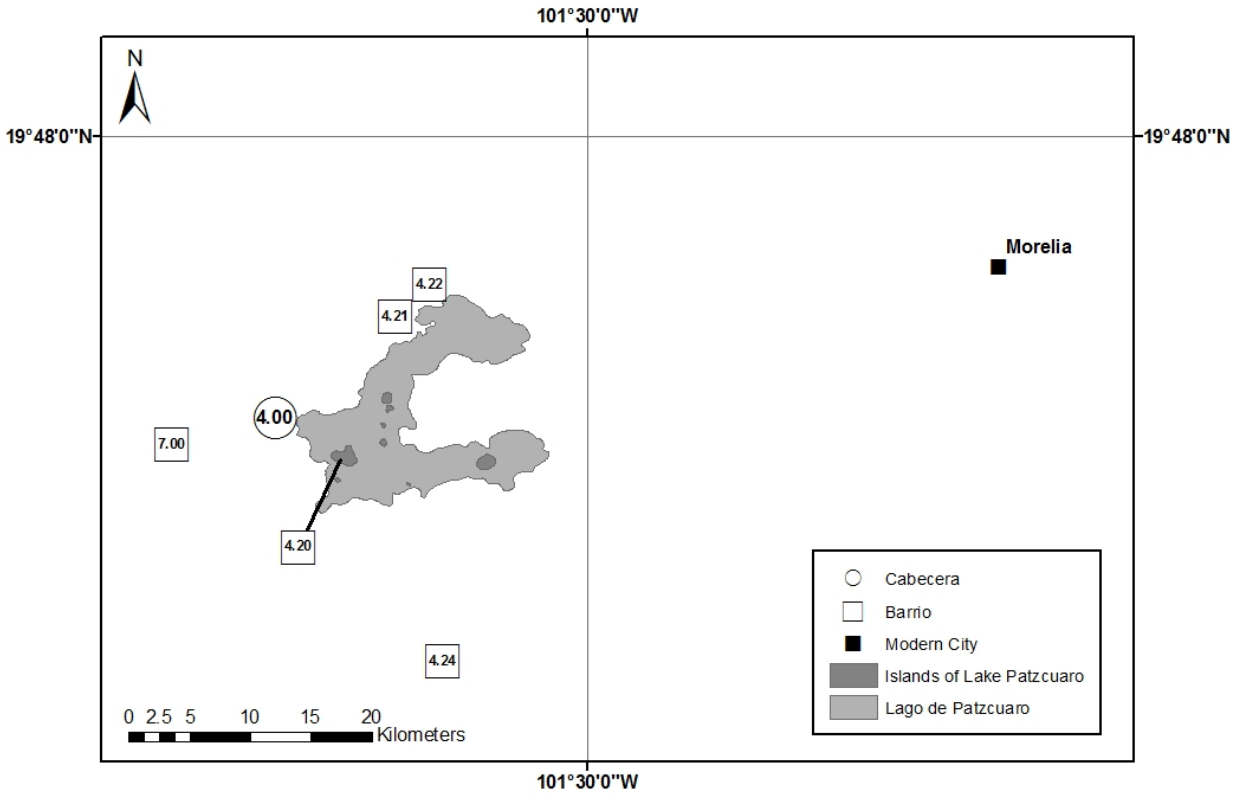


Figure 6.24. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro and its subordinate* barrios *as recorded in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:33). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.25 shows the proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Eróngaricuaro.

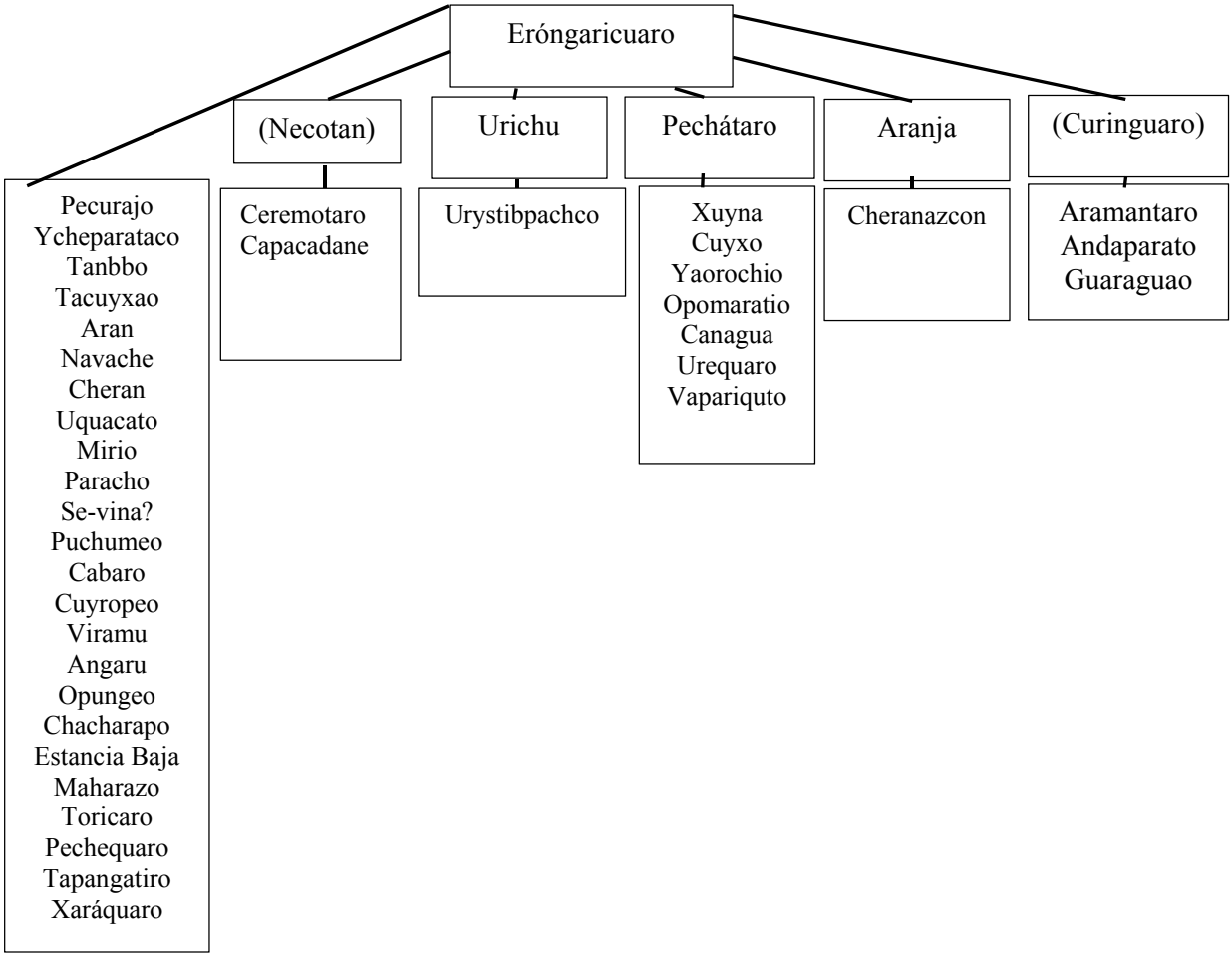


Figure 6.25. The cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro and its subordinates. Necotan, Urichu, Pechataro, Aranja, and Curinguaro are listed in the second tier because they have subordinates, while the rest occupy the third tier as* sujetos.

Eróngaricuaro was the *cabecera* of a three-tiered political hierarchy. The leaders of Eróngaricuaro supported Tarascan geopolitical expansion and they were awarded a number of subordinate towns as political and tributary subordinates. The settlements of Urichu, Pechátaro and Aranja were probably *subcabeceras* under Eróngaricuaro; indeed, Urichu and Pechátaro are usually found in close association with Eróngaricuaro in colonial records. Necotan and Curínguaro's positions are not well-understood because there is no explicit mention of Eróngaricuaro as their superordinate centers, and since the CV is a fragmentary record it could be that these settlements were subordinates of another center.

The third tier is composed of those settlements that do not have any subordinate centers of their own. As we have already mentioned above, settlements like Cheran, Aran, Siuínan, and Aranja were part of their own political unit in northwest Michoacán, although the data are unclear as to whether this unit was still in existence in 1524 (Warren 1977). Likewise, settlements like Opunqeo (Opunguio) and Xaráquaro are also listed as subordinates of Tzintzuntzan. This suggests that either Eróngaricuaro administered to these settlements for Tzintzuntzan, or Opunguio and Xaráquaro were connected to both settlements simultaneously.

Archaeological Analyses of Eróngaricuaro. Archaeological investigations involving field surveys and excavations focused on the area north of Eróngaricuaro (Haskell 2006) to determine how the elite contexts compared with the elite contexts of neighboring Urichu, a known political subordinate (Pollard and Cahue 1999). Archaeological surveys of the area north of Eróngaricuaro found large concentrations of Tarascan polychrome sherds, obsidian artifacts (e.g., blades, blade cores, scrapers, debitage), and lip plug fragments which indicated the presence of elite habitation (Haskell 2006:5).

One of the excavations took place near a large mound that Haskell believed was a pyramid. Excavators recovered a copper bell, green obsidian lip plugs, and a large concentration of ceramic pipes (Haskell 2006:8). Bells and pipes are accoutrements associated with the priesthood and elites, which supported the interpretation that this was a religious zone. In addition, they found obsidian debitage from a manufacturing zone in close proximity to the pyramid (Haskell 2006:8). Haskell suggested that different types of obsidian meant lapidary activities for the production of lip plugs (*bezotes*) which were markers of elite status and the proximity to the pyramid meant that this was a closely monitored activity controlled by the elites (Haskell 2006:8). Subsequent excavations uncovered several burials dating to the Pre-Classic and Classic periods, which enabled comparison of elite contexts through time. Grave goods in these areas included bichrome and polychrome vessels, and Pachuca obsidian. These finds are similar to finds from Urichu from the Pre-Classic and Classic periods that showed a preference for exotic goods from other regions (Pollard and Cahue 1999:261). At the onset of the Postclassic period, elite preferences

changed in favor of locally produced ceramics or goods with a west Mexican provenance (Pollard and Cahue 1999:278).

Excavations at Urichu revealed a long period of human habitation extending back to the Early Classic period (Pollard and Cahue 1999:266). During the Classic period, villages reorganized into ranked societies, as seen by burials with exotic grave goods from all central Mexico, as well as the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans (Pollard and Cahue 1999:270). The presence of monumental architecture in the form of plazas, pyramids, and elite residences attests to the elites' ability to redirect labor toward construction projects. In addition, elites were buried in family tombs, as evidenced by the presence of multiple burials within the same space.

By the Postclassic, elites shifted their preferences from exotic shells, obsidian, and pottery to the use of goods produced within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin to visibly identify themselves with the Tarascan polity (Pollard and Cahue 1999:277). Pollard and Cahue (1999) did not find any evidence of lapidary activities at Urichu, which Haskell (2006:10) believes is an indication of the social differentiation between Eróngaricuaro and Urichu: Eróngaricuaro's status required it to take on extra responsibilities. The archaeological data support the interpretations that Eróngaricuaro was a prominent *cabecera* within the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, with Urichu as its subordinate. Archaeological sites located by Espejel Carbajal (2008) and Haskell (2006) are in Table 6.16 with generic names because the maps lack specific names.

Table 6.16. The archaeological sites in the vicinity of Eróngaricuaro.

No.	Name	Location	Source
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.25	Eróngaricuaro Site 1	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.26	Eróngaricuaro Site 2	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.27	Eróngaricuaro Site 3	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.28	Eróngaricuaro Site 4	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.29	Eróngaricuaro Site 5	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.30	Eróngaricuaro Site 6	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.31	Eróngaricuaro Site 7	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.32	Eróngaricuaro Site 8	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.33	Eróngaricuaro Site 9	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.34	Eróngaricuaro Site 10	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006
4.35	Eróngaricuaro Site 11	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006

4.36	Eróngaricuaro Site 12	Eróngaricuaro	Espejel Carbajal 2008; Haskell 2006

The locations of these archaeological sites are shown in Figure 6.26.

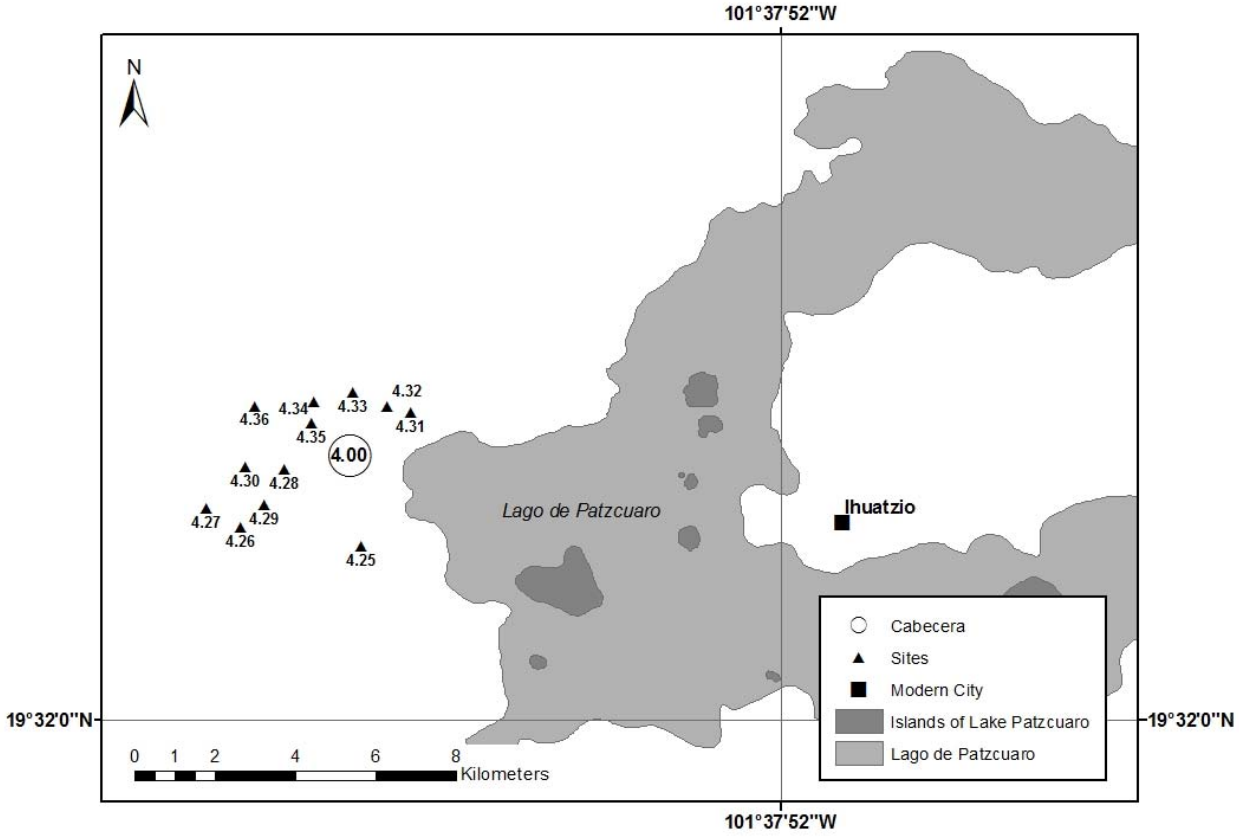


Figure 6.26. The archaeological sites (black triangles) associated with Eróngaricuaro (circle, #4). The settlement of Ihuatzio (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

10) La Huacana/La Guacana/La Guacanan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. In Episode XVI, Taríacuri suggested to his father-in-law Zurunban that he could conquer La Huacana (Alcalá 2000:421). During the conquest campaigns of Episode XXXI, the Chichimec *principal* Cupáuaxanzi "took his seat" at La Huacana, ultimately conquering ten settlements in southern Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:524). According to an earlier RM reference, Cupáuaxanzi was a Chichimec relative to *Uacúsecha*, which means that the reference to his status as a *principal* is consistent with the use of the term to denote a high-ranking relative of the ruler(s)

(Gibson 1964:221). However, Cupáuaxanzi's role took on greater significance because the sentence describing his territory states that "Cupáuaxanzi, who was as a *Cacique* in La Huacana, went conquering for his part" (Alcalá 2000:524). This reference suggests that his status was elevated after his conquests. La Huacana's location is shown in Figure 7.27.

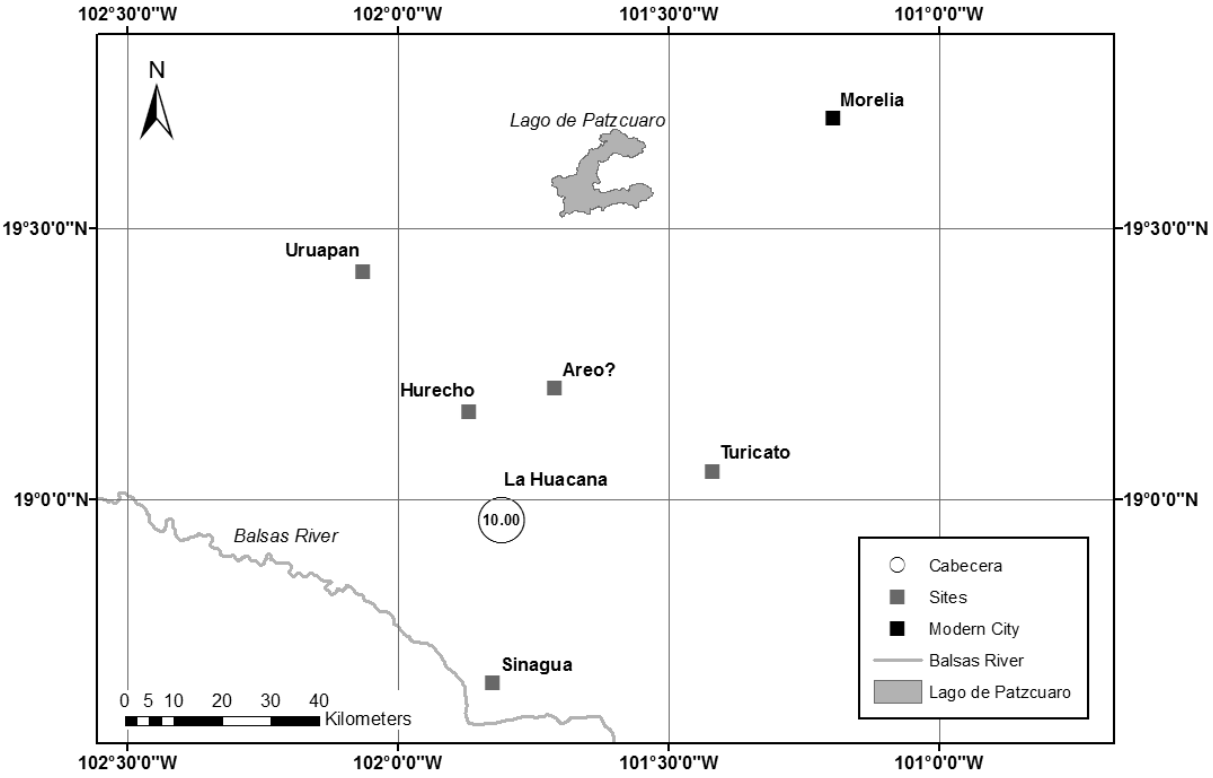


Figure 6.27. The cabecera *of La Huacana (circle, #10) and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Cupáuaxanzi conquered ten towns in southern Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:524). These are listed in Table 6.17. La Huacana's area of control extended to the Balsas River forty kilometers south and southwest near Tepalcatepeque. The subordinates' locations are shown in Figure 6.28.

Table 6.17. The conquests of principal *Cupáuaxanzi listed in the RM (Alcalá 2000:524).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
10.00	La Huacana	La Huacana	*Cabecera*	La Huacana	Alcalá 2000:524
10.01	Caxúruyo	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Alcalá 2000:524
10.02	Sycuýtaro	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Zicuýtaran?	Alcalá 2000:524

10.03	Tarinbo házaquaran	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Alcalá 2000:524
10.04	Zicuýtaran	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Zicuýtaran?	Alcalá 2000:524
10.05	Púmuchacupeo	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Púmuchacupeo	Alcalá 2000:524
10.06	Yacocho	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Alcalá 2000:524
10.07	Ayáquenda	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Alcalá 2000:524
10.08	Cuzaru	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Cuzaro	Alcalá 2000:524
11.00	Sinagua	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Sinagua	Alcalá 2000:524
12.00	Churúmucu	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Churumuco	Alcalá 2000:524

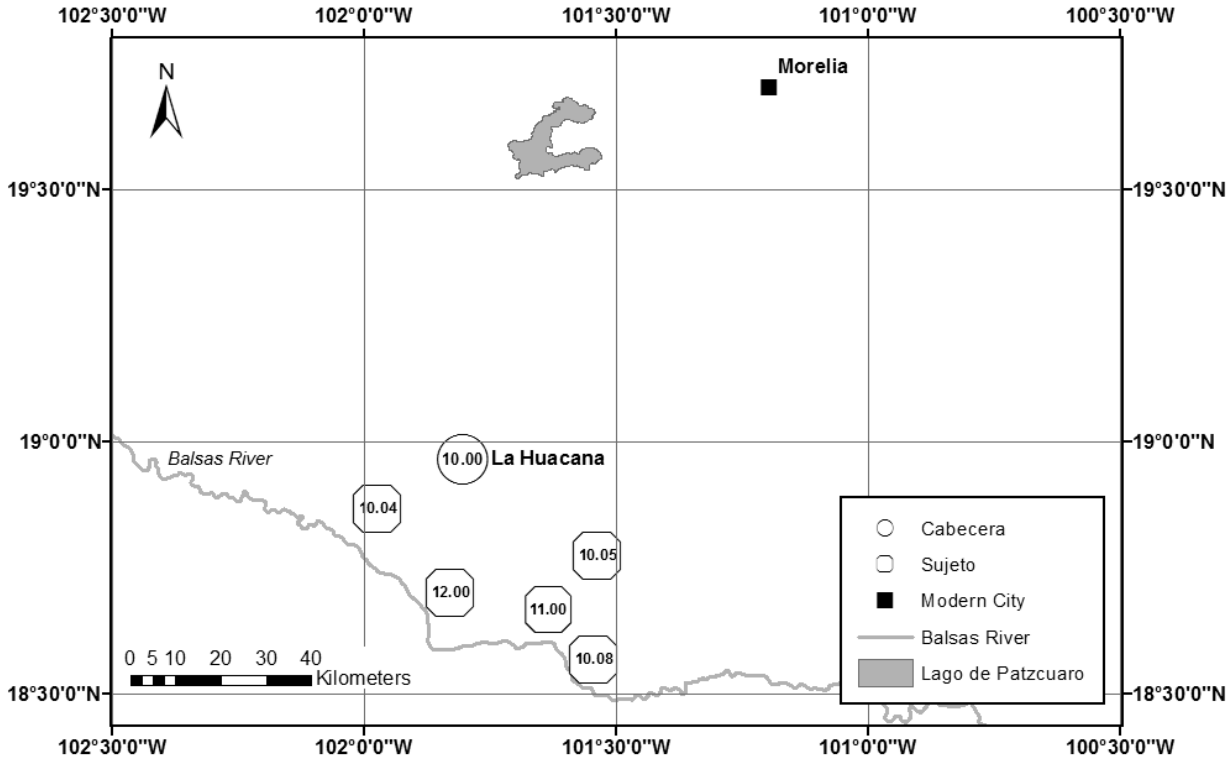


Figure 6.28. The cabecera of La Huacana (circle, #10) and the sujetos (truncated squares) as described in the RM (Alcalá 2000:524). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.

La Huacana was *cabecera* over three *estancias* during the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:294–295), shown in Table 6.18. Pomacupeo is probably another name for Púmuchacupeo, one of the original conquests (Alcalá 2000:524).

Table 6.18. The cabecera of La Huacana and its subordinate barrios as described in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:48).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
10.00	La Huacana	La Huacana	*Cabecera*	La Huacana	Garcia Pimentel 1904:47
10.05	Pomacopeo	La Huacana	*Barrio*	Púmuchacupeo	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
10.09	Xuruneo	La Huacana	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:48
10.10	San Antonio	La Huacana	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:48

The *Relación de la Congregación de La Huacana* lists additional subordinates settlements in Table 6.19 (Torre Villar 1984:215). The locations of several barrios are shown in Figure 6.29.

Table 6.19. The cabecera *of La Huacana and its subordinate* barrios *as described in the* Relación de la Congregación de La Huacana *(Torre Villar 1984:215).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
10.00	La Huacana	La Huacana	*Cabecera*	La Huacana	Torre Villar 1984:215
10.11	Uririco	La Huacana	*Barrio*		Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.12	Inguaran	La Huacana	*Barrio*	Inguaran	Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.13	Sujeto de Pomacupeo	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.05	Pomacopeo	La Huacana	*Sujeto*	Nuevo Pomacupeo?	Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.14	Inguaranicho	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.15	Etúcuaro	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Torre Villar 1984: 215
10.16	Capirio	La Huacana	*Sujeto*		Torre Villar 1984: 215

La Huacana and its subordinate *barrios* are shown in Figure 6.29.

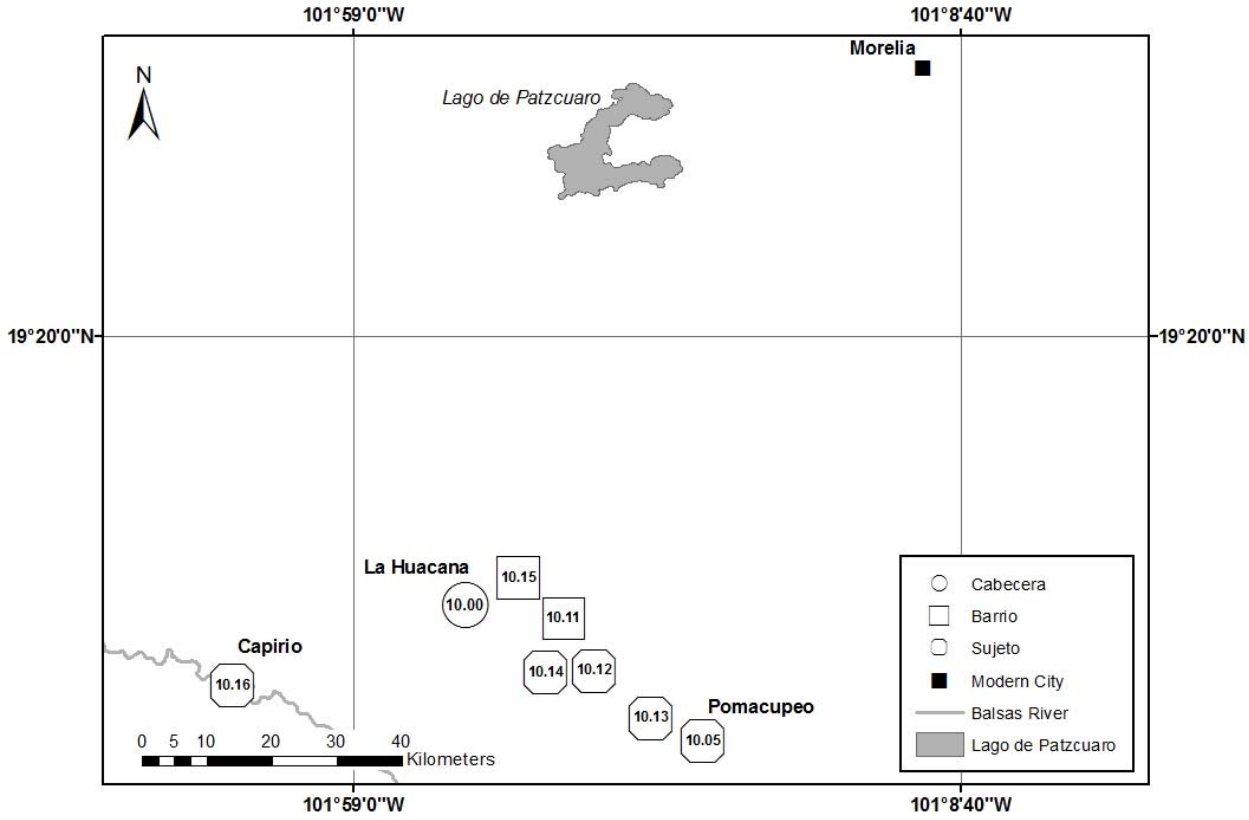


Figure 6.29. The cabecera of La Huacana (circle, #10) its barrios (squares) and sujetos (truncated squares) from the RC (Torre Villar 1984:218). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

In the 1570s, Sinagua became its own *cabecera* (Acuña 1987; Garcia Pimentel 1904:48). It had two settlements as subordinates, Ayanguitlan and Churúmucu, listed in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20. The cabecera *of Sinagua as described in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:48).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
11.00	Sinagua	La Huacana	*Cabecera*	Near El Infiernillo	Garcia Pimentel 1904:47
11.01	Ayangüitlan	La Huacana	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:48
12.00	Churumuco	La Huacana	*Barrio*	Churúmucu	Garcia Pimentel 1904:48

According to the *Relación de la Congregación de La Huacana* (Table 6.21), Churúmucu was a *pueblo* and *cabecera* (Torre Villar 1984:218). Churúmucu had at least two subordinate *estancias*, San Martin

and Santiago, located one league and one-half league from it (Torre Villar 1984:218). Cutzaro was a subject of Churúmucu located approximately three leagues from the *cabecera* (Torre Villar 1984:220).

Table 6.21. The cabecera of La Huacana and its subordinate barrios, described in the Relación de la Congregación de La Huacana *(Torre Villar 1984:218).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
12.00	Churumuco	Churumuco	*Subcabecera*	Churúmucu	Torre Villar 1984:218
12.01	San Martin	Churumuco	*Barrio*		Torre Villar 1984:218
12.02	Santiago	Churumuco	*Barrio*		Torre Villar 1984:218

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. La Huacana's sociopolitical structure is shown in Figure 6.30.

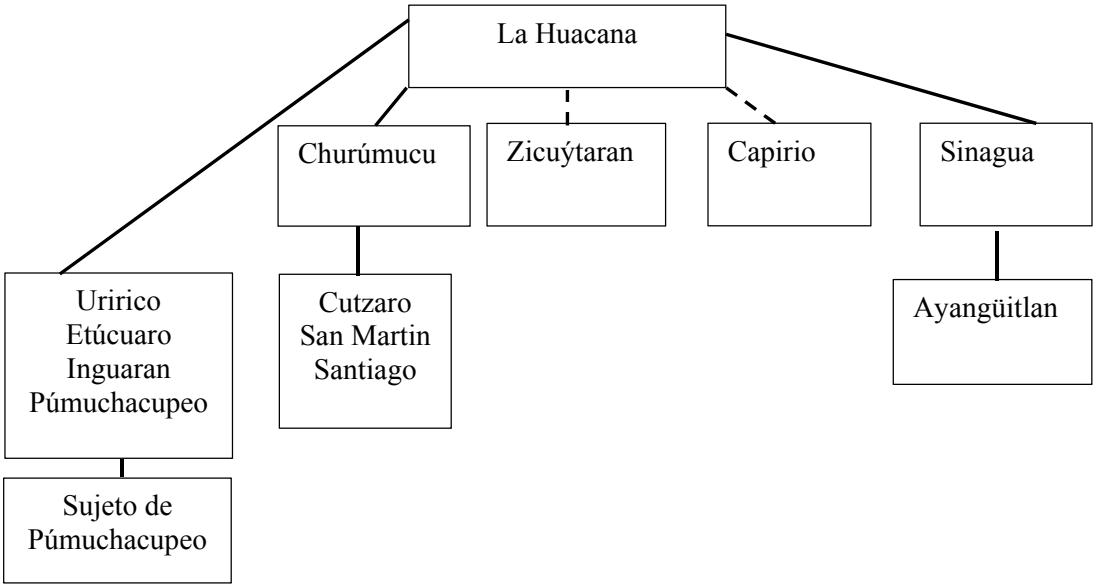


Figure 6.30. Proposed sociopolitical structure for La Huacana. The dashed lines indicate a tentative assignment as a subordinate center.

La Huacana was the *cabecera* of a three-tiered political unit because it was the place where Cupáuaxanzi resided, or "took his seat" (Alcalá 2000:524). Churúmucu and Sinagua were *subcabeceras*, although Sinagua may have been subordinate to La Huacana during the pre-Hispanic period. Zicuýtaro and Caipirio may have been *subcabeceras* because they are located tens of kilometers away from La

Huacana, and in other units it is customary to have an official present; however, the dashed line connecting them to Figure 6.30 suggests a tentative connection. Uririco and Etúcuaro were *barrios* of La Huacana, and the remaining settlements like Cutzaro and Púmuchacupeo were subordinates of other settlements.

Archaeological Analyses. Archaeological data are limited to what is available from scattered descriptions provided by Espejel Carbajal (2008). She identified a range of sites near La Huacana mostly with terraces and some monumental architecture that appear to be located on *malpaís* (i.e., volcanic lands) flows overlooking the modern city of La Huacana. Approximately 9.3 kilometers northeast of La Huacana, there is an archaeological site located on a rise overlooking the valley with what is probably a temple, as the shape are similar to those found near Xénguaro (see above). The settlement patterns within La Huacana were dispersed into five separate zones of nucleation: La Huacana, Inguaran, Púmuchacupeo, Churúmucu, and Sinagua. La Huacana, Inguaran, and Púmuchacupeo each have subordinate sites located within two leagues of the main site, which suggests a dispersed settlement pattern.

The question of kinship among units within La Huacana is unclear. We know that Cupáuaxanzi himself was a relative of the *Uacúsecha*, but whether he was related by blood to known rulers such as Hacatl and Tixcacuxe is unknown. However, I believe it is important to bring up linguistic similarities between Cupáuaxanzi ("Reed Pitchfork" [Joaquín 2000:705]) and the Nahuatl name "Hacatl" ("Reed" [Simēon 1997:8]). Family names are commonly used in West Mexico; therefore, Hacatl may be a descendant or parallel relative to Cupáuaxanzi.

The distribution of settlements is often an indication of the political decision-making process within a polity, meaning that the more levels of sociopolitical integration, the less decision-making is available within a polity (Hodge 1984:7). Given that La Huacana had five different settlement zones, it appears that each one was headed by a leader (or two) that answered directly to the head of La Huacana as the head of the lineage and relative to the leaders of the empire.

Tribute Items. La Huacana and its subordinates paid tribute with maize, beans, honey, cotton, and blankets which were also items available during the pre-Hispanic period (Alcalá 2000:421; Paso y Troncoso 1905:294–295).

Colonial Era. The Spanish *encomendero* Juan de Pantoja took possession of La Huacana and Sinagua in 1528, but it reverted to the crown via escheatment five years later (Gerhard 1972:74), and remained as a *corregimiento* during the remainder of the sixteenth century. During the 1540s, Sinagua had two subordinate *estancias*, although the names and locations are unknown (Paso y Troncoso 1905:81). By the late 1570s, Sinagua was the *cabecera* over Churúmucu, Cuzaru, and Ayangüitlan (Acuña 1987:253).

13) Comanja

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The elites of Naranjan persuaded Comanja to help them surround and kill the *Chichimec* leader Hireti-Ticátame in Episode III of the RM narrative (Alcalá 2000:347). In Episode XXXI, the three *Señores* of the principal *cabeceras* conquered Comanja as part of their first round of conquests, making it one of the three *cabeceras* of the "right hand" (Alcalá 2000:519, 523). The location of Comanja appears on modern maps today, along with the locations of other conquered settlements. I show Comanja's location in relation to other settlements in Figure 6.31.

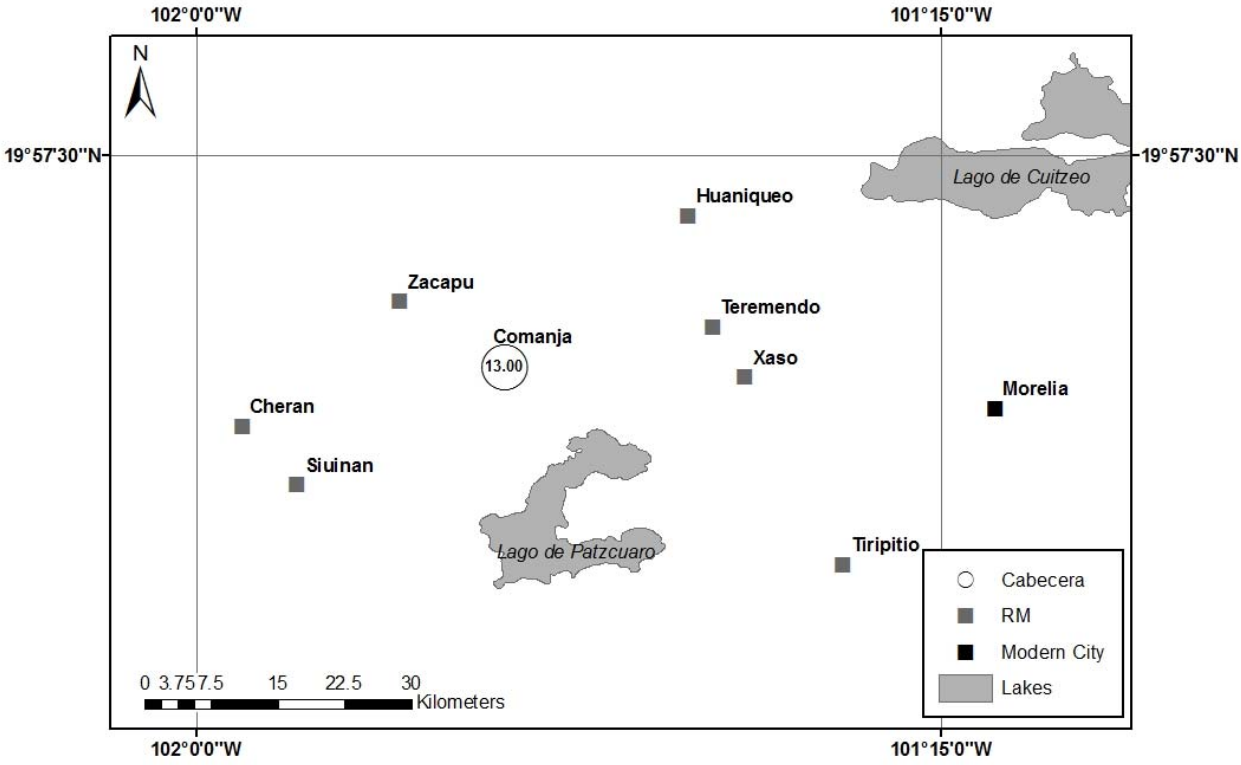


Figure 6.31. The location of the cabecera *of Comanja (circle, #13) in relation to other* cabeceras *and* subcabeceras i*n northern Michoacán. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The RM states that Comanja is the *cabecera* of the right hand, although it does not relate specific information on the organization of its subject towns (Alcalá 2000:523). To look at Comanja as a political unit, we have to study related ethnohistorical information from colonial-era documents, including the CV (Warren 1977), SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905), and RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:36).

Comanja is another of the units described in the surviving fragments of the CV, a document that is analyzed in Warren (1977, 1985). Antonio de Carvajal surveyed Comanja in 1523, first going to the *pueblo* of Comanja to interview the *Señor* of the town, Ayuxenare, followed by a series of visits and

interviews with leaders of subordinate towns. The settlements under Comanja are described in Table 6.22.

Table 6.22. Carvajal Visitation entry for Comanja (Warren 1977:386). The numbers used in this analysis are at left. The CV lists settlements, superordinate centers, household size estimates, ranks, distances from superordinate centers, locations (if known). Geometric means have been added to provide a balanced estimate of house/household size. In this system, S = Señor, C = Calpixque.

No.	Name	Hierarchy	Native Estimate	Carvajal Estimate	Geometric Estimate	Rank	Distance (in leagues)	Location	Source
13.00	Comanja	*Cabecera*	40	65	51	S	5	Comanja	Warren 1977:386
13.01	Marixo/ Cipiajo	*Pueblo*	5	15	9		1.5		Warren 1977:386
13.02	Xachon-goytula	*Pueblo*	20	95	44		1		Warren 1977:386
13.03	Atenda	Barrio							Warren 1977:386
13.04	Nida	Barrio							Warren 1977:386
13.05	Tipuculta	*Estancia*	3	10	5		0.25		Warren 1977:386
13.06	Ayunequichi	*Estancia*	5	13	8		0.5		Warren 1977:386
13.07	Huytla	*Estancia*	5	15	9		0.5		Warren 1977:386
13.08	Tetenamatal	*Estancia*	6	14	9		1		Warren 1977:386
13.09	Tox	*Estancia*	5	9	7		1		Warren 1977:386
13.10	Orinda	*Estancia*	3	10	5		1		Warren 1977:386
13.11	Cuxinbano	*Estancia*	2	8	4		1		Warren 1977:386
13.12	Chiltecan	*Estancia*	7	13	10		1		Warren 1977:386
13.13	Chanshiro	*Estancia*	3	15	7		2		Warren 1977:386
13.14	Tetenabo	*Estancia*	2	7	4	*C*	2.5		Warren 1977:386
13.15	Tacaro	*Estancia*	4	11	7	*C*	2.5	Tacaro	Warren 1977:386
14.00	Apundaro	*Sub-cabecera*	15	30	21	*C*	2.5		Warren 1977:386
14.01	Taricaco	*Pueblo*	10	40	20		3		Warren 1977:386
14.02	Agungarico	*Pueblo*	10	30	17	*C*	4.5		Warren 1977:386
14.03	Ocinibo	*Estancia*	10	15	12		0.5		Warren 1977:386
15.00	Naranjan	*Sub-cabecera*	25	40	32	*C*	2	Naranja de Tapia	Warren 1977:386
15.01	Copanban	*Estancia*	6	15	9		1		Warren 1977:386
15.02	Otlatli	*Pueblo*	10	25	16	*C*	0.5		Warren

									1977:386
15.03	Terexeron	*Pueblo*	15	25	19	*C*	0.5		Warren 1977:386
16.00	Tescalco	*Sub-cabecera*	20	45	30	*C*	2		Warren 1977:386
16.01	Usapala	*Pueblo*	10	20	14	*C*	1		Warren 1977:386
16.02	Tacatlan	*Pueblo*	15	25	19		1.5		Warren 1977:386
16.03	Chincharo	*Pueblo*	10	20	14		1.5		Warren 1977:386
16.04	Caqueon	*Pueblo*	10	10	10		2		Warren 1977:386
16.05	Istluaca	*Estancia*	4	10	6		0.5		Warren 1977:386
16.06	Orinebequaro	*Estancia*	3	7	5		1.5		Warren 1977:386
16.07	Inchazo	*Estancia*	8	15	11		2		Warren 1977:386
16.08	Urquiteon	*Estancia*	3	7	5		2		Warren 1977:386
17.00	Tipicato	*Sub-cabecera*	3	10	5	*C*	2		Warren 1977:386
17.01	Quaraqui	*Estancia*	5	10	7		0.25		Warren 1977:386
17.02	Tachibeo	*Estancia*	5	8	6		0.5		Warren 1977:386
18.00	Tutepec	*Sub-cabecera*	20	40	28	*C*	2		Warren 1977:386
18.01	Guanam-ocontero	*Pueblo*	10	20	14		0.5		Warren 1977:386
18.02	Caringo	*Estancia*	4	15	8		1		Warren 1977:386

The table above describes a total of 38 settlements under Comanja, including five *subcabeceras* and thirty-three subordinate *pueblos, barrios,* and *estancias*. Comanja is the *cabecera* of the unit, a fact that is bolstered by the presence of *Señor* Ayuxenare, in the settlement. Comanja is the largest of the settlements in the unit, with the largest estimates given by Ayuxenare, Carvajal, and by the calculated geometric mean estimates. The rest of the subordinate leaders are *Calpixques*, and at least one of these officials was probably a political leader as well. Naranja's *Calpixque* is named Chichanban, which is very similar to the name given in Episode II of the RM, Zizanban, implying that this is a family name, and the position is probably hereditary. In most cases, the *subcabecera* is the most populated, except in the case of Tipicato, which is the smallest of the *subcabeceras.* Apundaro, Naranjan, Tescalco, Tipicato, and Tutepec are the five *subcabeceras* and each has its own *Calpixque*.

In addition to the *subcabeceras*, there are also *Calpixques* in six subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias*. At the *subcabecera* level, we see that there are central *Calpixques* and subordinate *Calpixques* separated by only a few kilometers. Why would this be? According to the *altepetl* model, *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* consist of several political head units clustered in close proximity, thus giving the appearance of urban centers (Gibson 1964; Gutierrez 2009, 2012; Lockhart 1992). The Spanish reorganization forced the complex political rankings of the pre-Hispanic system into a system with fewer levels; therefore, the ranking leader also became the de facto leader of the entire unit, while subordinate rulers were reduced in rank. For example, Naranjan and two subordinates, Otlatli and Terexeron, have *Calpixques.* In the original pre-Hispanic system, Naranjan's *Calpixque* was head of the unit while the leader of Otlatli was one of his constituent leaders. At a smaller political level, Terexeron's leader was probably a constituent leader of Otlatli, as the political units replicated themselves at successively smaller levels (Gutierrez 2009:321). Naranjan's location is shown in Figure 6.32.

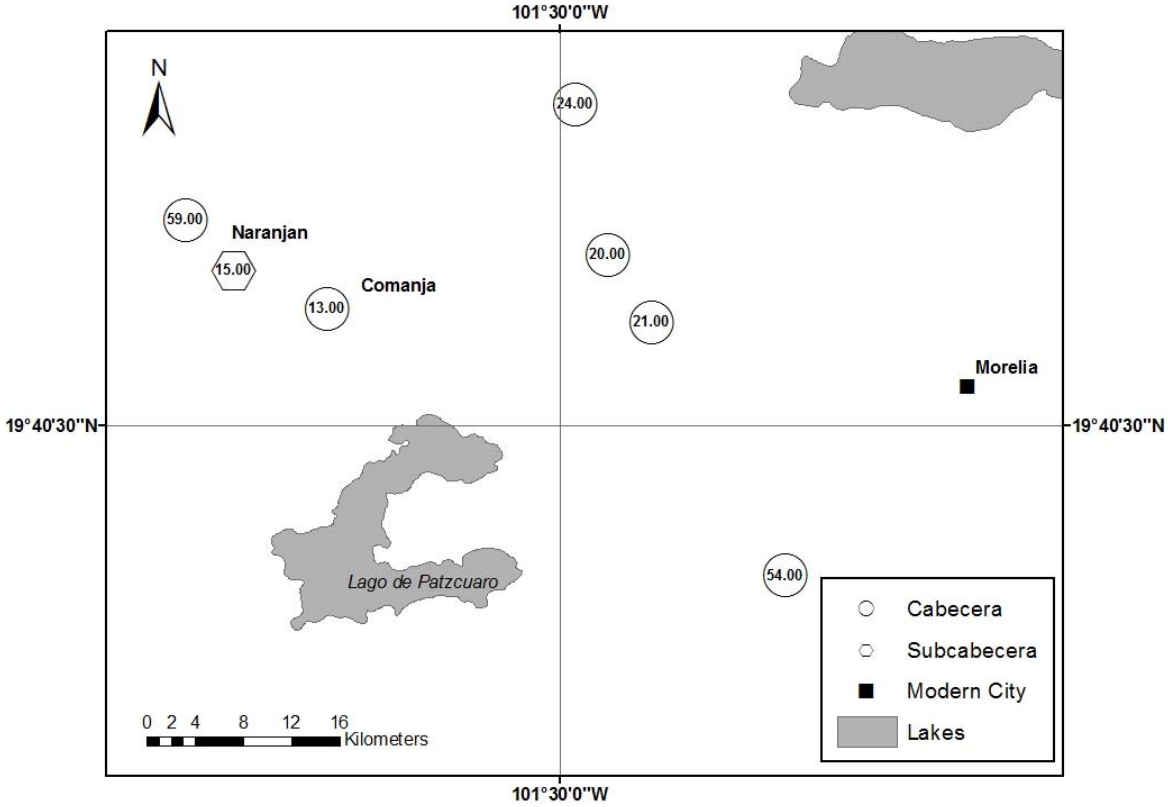


Figure 6.32. Map depicting the location of Comanja (circle, #13) and its subcabecera *of Naranjan (hexagon, #15) in relation to other* cabeceras *(circles) in Michoacán. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

The SV entry from the 1540s states that Comanja was the *cabecera* over six constituent *barrios* but no barrio names are listed (Paso y Troncoso 1905:79). However, ethnohistorical records from the period indicate that Apundaro was transferred to Zacapu by this time (Gerhard 1972:353), and subsequent reorganization efforts led to substantial changes in Comanja's composition.

The RO of 1571 indicates that Comanja was the *cabecera* of eight *barrios* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:36). Table 6.23 lists Comanja's subordinates, and the locations are shown in Figure 6.33.

Table 6.23. The 1571 RO list of Comanja's subordinate settlements, their superordinate centers, and their ranks in the colonial hierarchy (Garcia Pimentel 1904).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
13.00	Comanja	Comanja	*Cabecera*	Comanja	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.01	Cipiaxo/Cipiajo	Comanja	*Barrio*	Zipiajo?	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.15	San Pedro Tacaro	Comanja	*Barrio*	San Pedro Tacaro?	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.16	Queneo	Comanja	*Barrio*	Coeneo de la Libertad	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.17	Thsitindaro	Comanja	*Barrio*	Unknown	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.18	Compochero	Comanja	*Barrio*	Unknown	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.19	Cutzaro	Comanja	*Barrio*	Unknown	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
13.20	Parachuen	Comanja	*Barrio*	Unknown	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36
15.00	Naranjan	Comanja	*Barrio*	Naranja de Tapia	Garcia Pimentel 1904:36

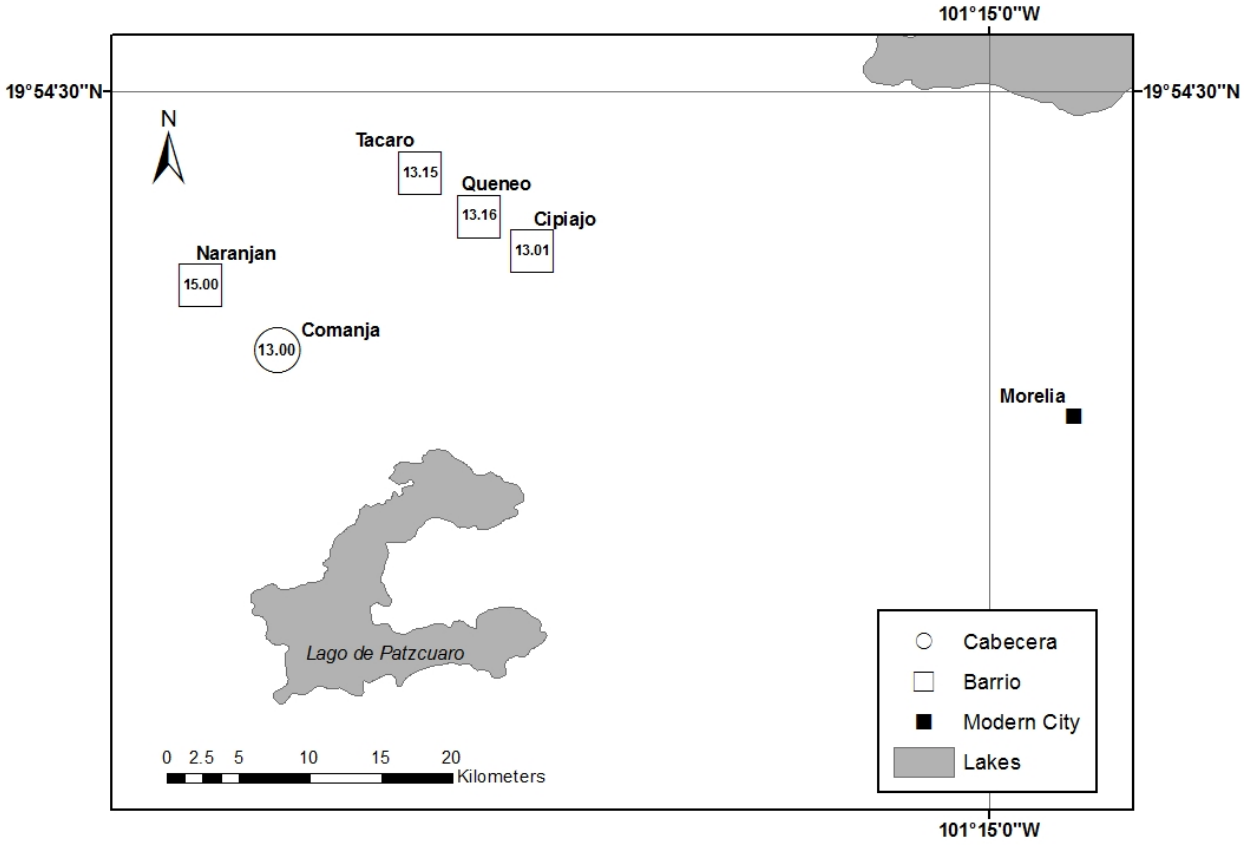


Figure 6.33. Map depicting the location of settlements recorded in the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904). The cabecera *of Comanja (circle, #13) is shown as a circle while the* subcabecera *of Naranjan (15.00) is hexagonal in shape. The* sujetos *of Cipiajo (13.01), Tacaro (13.15), and Queneo (13.16) are shown as squares.*

Several settlements are noticeable from the CV entry; namely, Naranjan and Cipiajo. These settlements have modern counterparts at Naranja de Tapia and Zipiajo, respectively. A third settlement, Queneo, is known today as Coeneo de la Libertad, located northeast of Comanja.

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.34 shows the sociopolitical hierarchy proposed for Comanja.

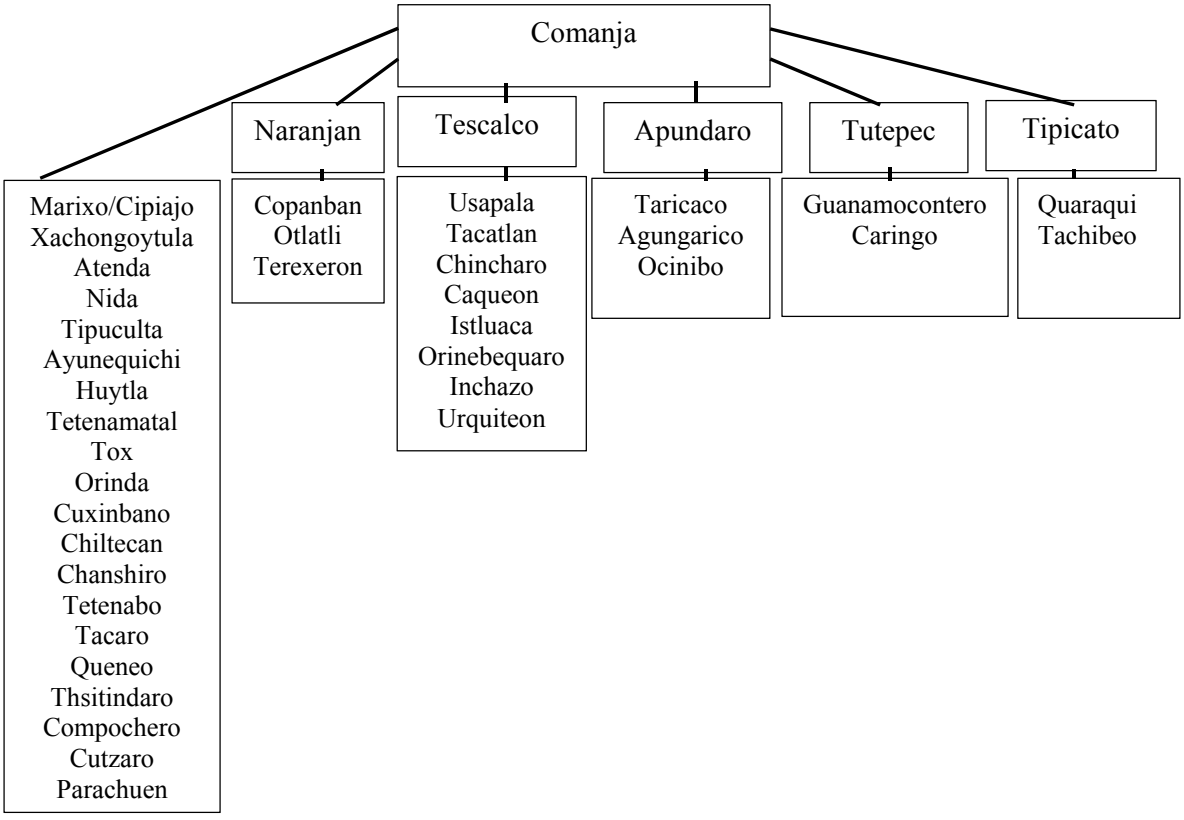


Figure 6.34. Diagram showing the proposed sociopolitical structure of Comanja. Comanja, as cabecera*, is situated at the top of the hierarchy while the* subcabeceras *are in the second tier. Below them are groups of subordinate settlements.*

The information from the RM, CV, and RO show that Comanja was the *cabecera* of a three-tiered political hierarchy in northern Michoacán. The RM establishes Comanja as the *cabecera* of the right hand and the CV describes the presence of five *subcabeceras* which occupied the second sociopolitical tier, as well as multiple *barrios* in the third and lowest tier. Although we are not entirely sure that the *Calpixques* were all political as well as tributary officers, it is likely that these were subordinate political centers that replicated the structural organization of the larger political unit.

Archaeological Evidence. Archaeological surveys were conducted around Comanja as part of a survey of the Zacapu Basin (Michelet 1989:20). While we cannot ascertain for certain the location of pre-Hispanic Comanja, if we use the modern settlement as a reference point there are several sites that may be identified. The locations of the archaeological sites are shown in Figure 6.35.

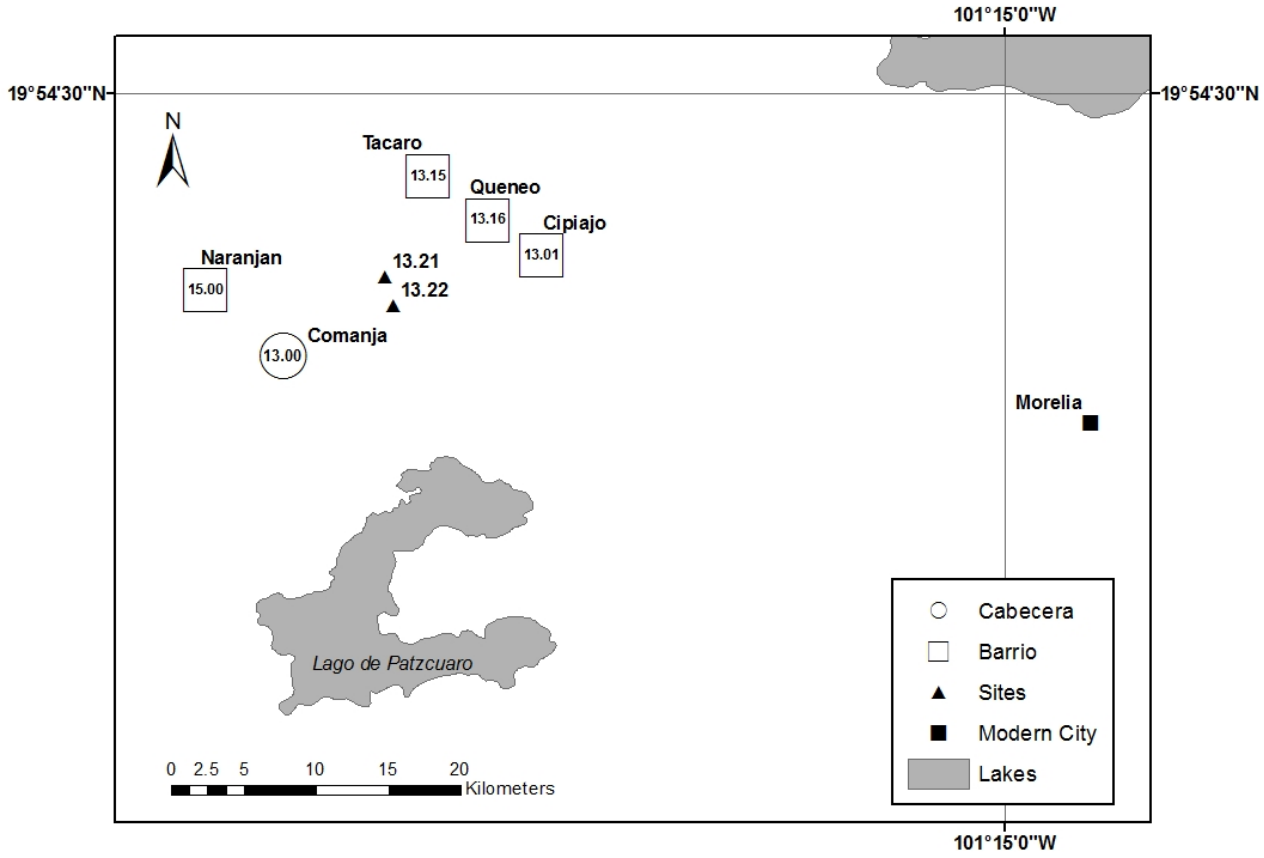


Figure 6.35. Map showing the locations of cabeceras, subcabeceras, *and* sujetos, *as well as two archaeological sites (shown as triangles), El Encanto (13.21) and Yacata de los Nogales (13.22). Yacata de los Nogales may be the* subcabecera *of Tescalco and El Encanto the* subcabecera *of Tipicato because the distance measurements and ethnohistorical descriptions in the CV closely resemble these sites in the real world.*

Carvajal's descriptions of several sites can be tied to known locations. For example, Carvajal stated that the settlement of Tipicato is located two leagues from Comanja on the slope of "Chichaxoaquarohato," a mountain located northeast of Comanja (Warren 1977). This may also be the "Zicháxuquaro" from Episode III of the RM, where Hireti-Ticátame fled after his fight with the nobles of

Naranjan (Alcalá 2000). The El Encanto archaeological site, shown in Figure 6.36, sits near the foot of Chichaxoaquarohato (Michelet 1989:20). It is characterized by the presence of a single yacata, mounds and terraces, and high-resolution (.6 m) panchromatic imagery supports this.

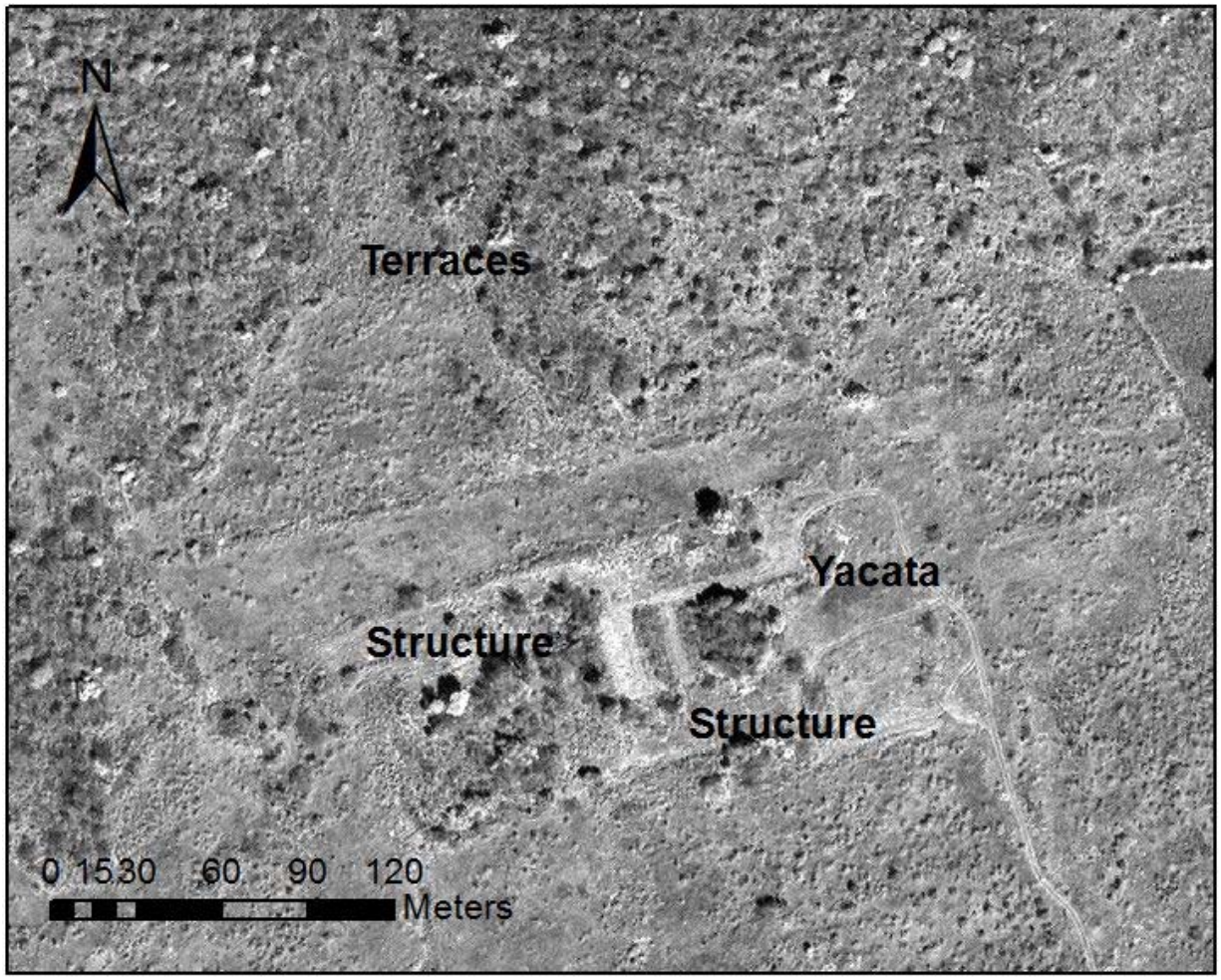


Figure 6.36. The site of El Encanto/Tipicato shown in .6 meter panchromatic imagery. Terraces, a yacata-like structure, and several other structures are visible. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

In addition, I believe that the site Michelet (1989:20) has named Yacata de los Nogales may be the site known as Tescalco in the CV because the distance of the site to Comanja is very close the CV distance estimate. The site is shown in panchromatic imagery in Figure 6.37. In addition, the text states that the *señor's* house at Tescalco is located in a "strong place," and the ceremonial center of the site is located at the crest of a hill overlooking the eastern arm of the Zacapu Basin. This is contrary to Espejel

Carbajal's (2008) interpretation that Tescalco may in fact be Zacapu because Zacapu was not a subordinate settlement.

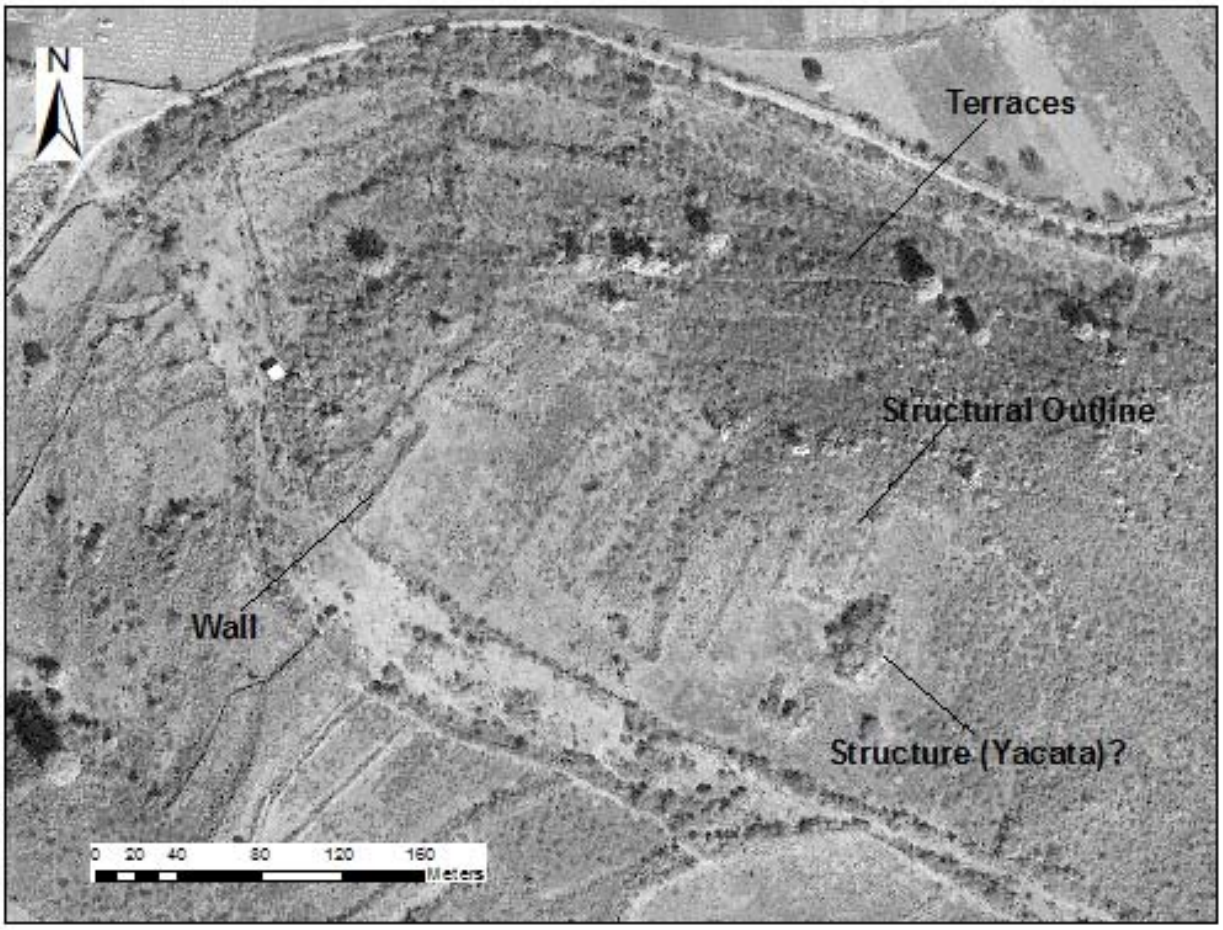


Figure 6.37. Yacata de Los Nogales in 0.6-meter panchromatic imagery. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

Northeast Quadrant

The *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* of the northeastern quadrant are shown in Table 6.24 and Figure 6.38. This area includes northeast Michoacán and the Lake Cuitzeo basin, as well as part of Guanajuato and the Lerma River Valley (Gorenstein 1985a:13).

Table 6.24. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *in the northeast quadrant of the Tarascan polity.*

Number	Name	Type
19	Xénguaro	*Cabecera*
20	Terémendo	*Cabecera*
21	Xaso	*Cabecera*
22	Guango	*Cabecera*
23	Purúandiro	*Cabecera*
24	Huániqueo	*Cabecera*
26	Cipiajo	*Subcabecera*
29	Cuitzeo	*Cabecera*
30	Huandacareo	*Subcabecera*
31	Xeroco	*Subcabecera*
34	Yuríriapúndaro	*Cabecera*
38	Acámbaro	*Cabecera*
39	Iramuco	*Subcabecera*
40	Eménguaro	*Subcabecera*
42	Amocutin	*Subcabecera*
43	Araro	*Cabecera*
44	Zinapecuaro	*Cabecera*
45	Maravatio	*Cabecera*
46	Taximaroa	*Cabecera*
49	Zitácuaro	*Cabecera*
50	Indaparapeo	*Cabecera*
51	Charo	*Cabecera*
52	Necotlan Santiago Undameo	*Subcabecera*
53	Taimeo (approximate)	*Subcabecera*
54	Tirípitio	*Cabecera*

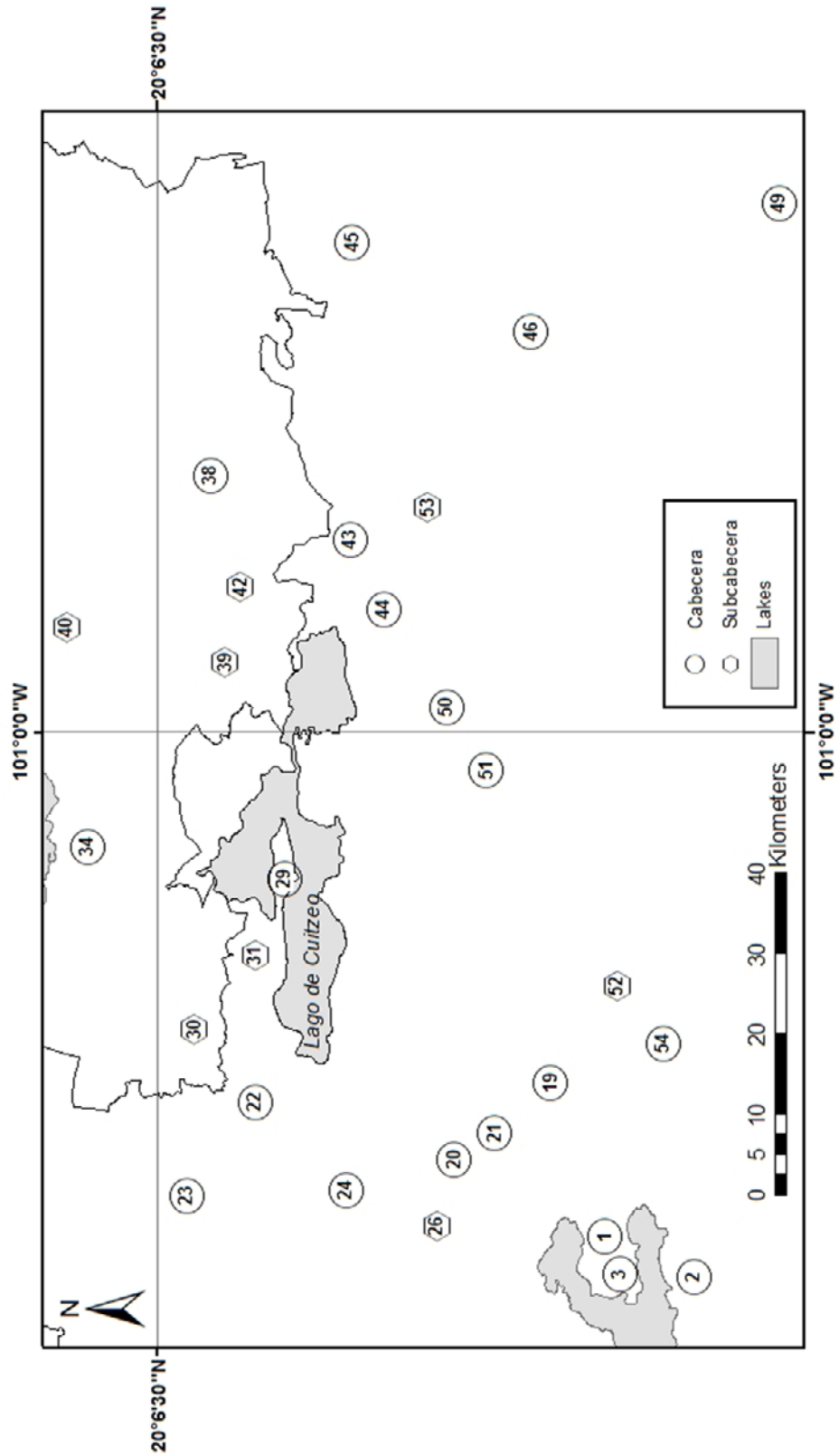


Figure 6.38. The cabeceras (circles) and subcabeceras (hexagons) of the northeast quadrant.

19) Xénguaro /Capula

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Vápeani and Pauácume visited "Xenguaran" during the diaspora from Vayámeo in Episode IV (Alcalá 2000:352). Xenguaran is probably the same as the Xénguaro referenced in the conquest narrative of Episode XXXI (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Lord Chapa, a protégé of Taríacuri's, carried Curícaueri to Tirípitio and conquered the settlement (Alcalá 2000:460–461). Later, Chapa went to Xénguaro and "took a piece of land" for himself, followed by conquests at Hucariquareo and "Vayangareo" (Guayangareo) (Alcalá 2000:461). The sequence of conquests is consistent with movements to the north and east, as Tirípitio and Vayangareo are known locations. In Episode XXXI, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje make Xénguaro/Capula one of the *cabeceras* of the "right hand" (Alcalá 2000:523).

Fray Alonso Ponce (1873:531) mentions a journey on the royal road going between two small villages, Tantzicuaro and "Capula o Xénguaro" arrayed on either side (Espejel Carbajal 2008). These two settlements are identifiable on modern maps, although Tantzicuaro is now known as Tacicuaro. The location is further confirmed by the SV entry, which states that Capula is bordered by Tarimbaro to the east and Tirípitio to the south, as well as Xaso to the north and "Zerandacho" (Sirandangacho) to the west (Paso y Troncoso 1905:77). These locations are all identifiable on modern maps. The entry includes mention of ten *barrios*, although no names are given. Xénguaro's location in relation to other ethnohistorical settlements is shown in Figure 6.39 and 6.40.

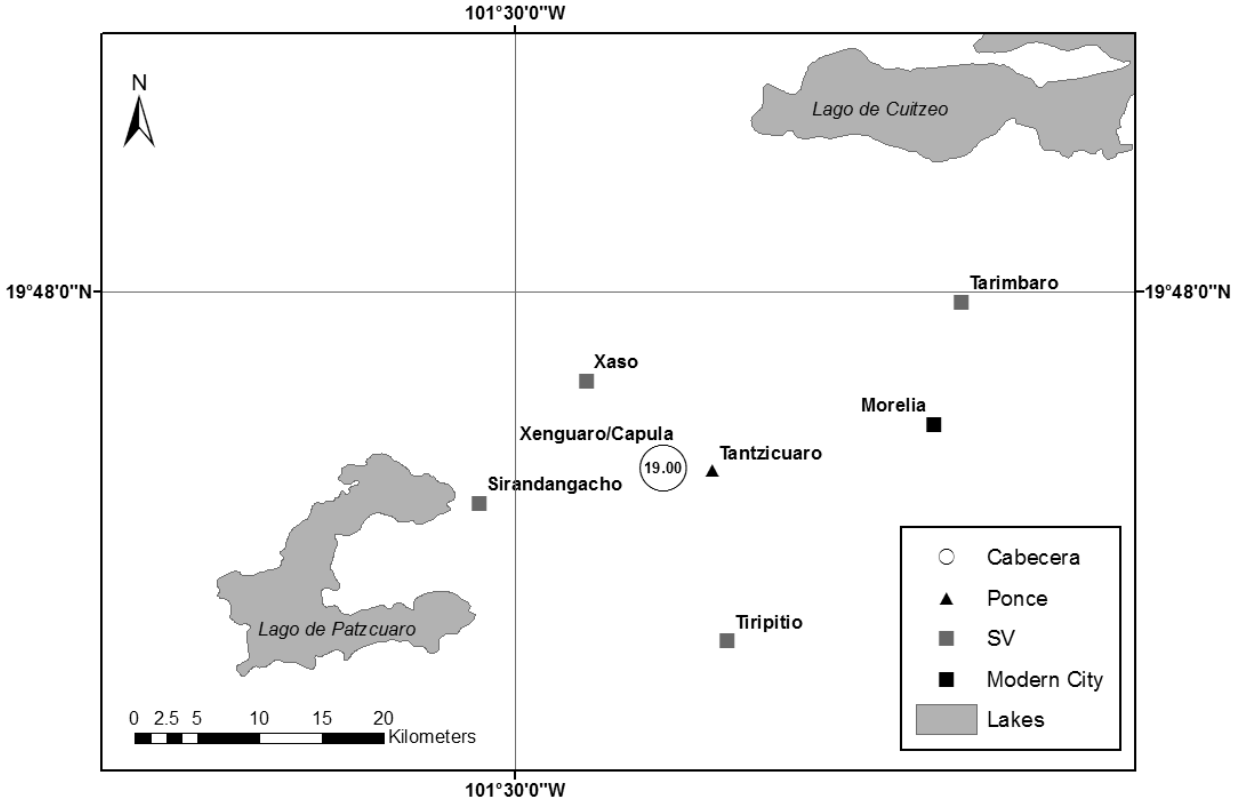


Figure 6.39. Map showing the cabecera *of Xénguaro/Capula (circle, #19) and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) of Sirandangacho, Tirípitio, Tarimbaro, and Xaso (Paso y Troncoso 1905:77). Tantzicuaro (black triangle) is the settlement described by Fray Alonso Ponce as being across the road from Xénguaro/Capula. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added to provide a modern spatial referent.*

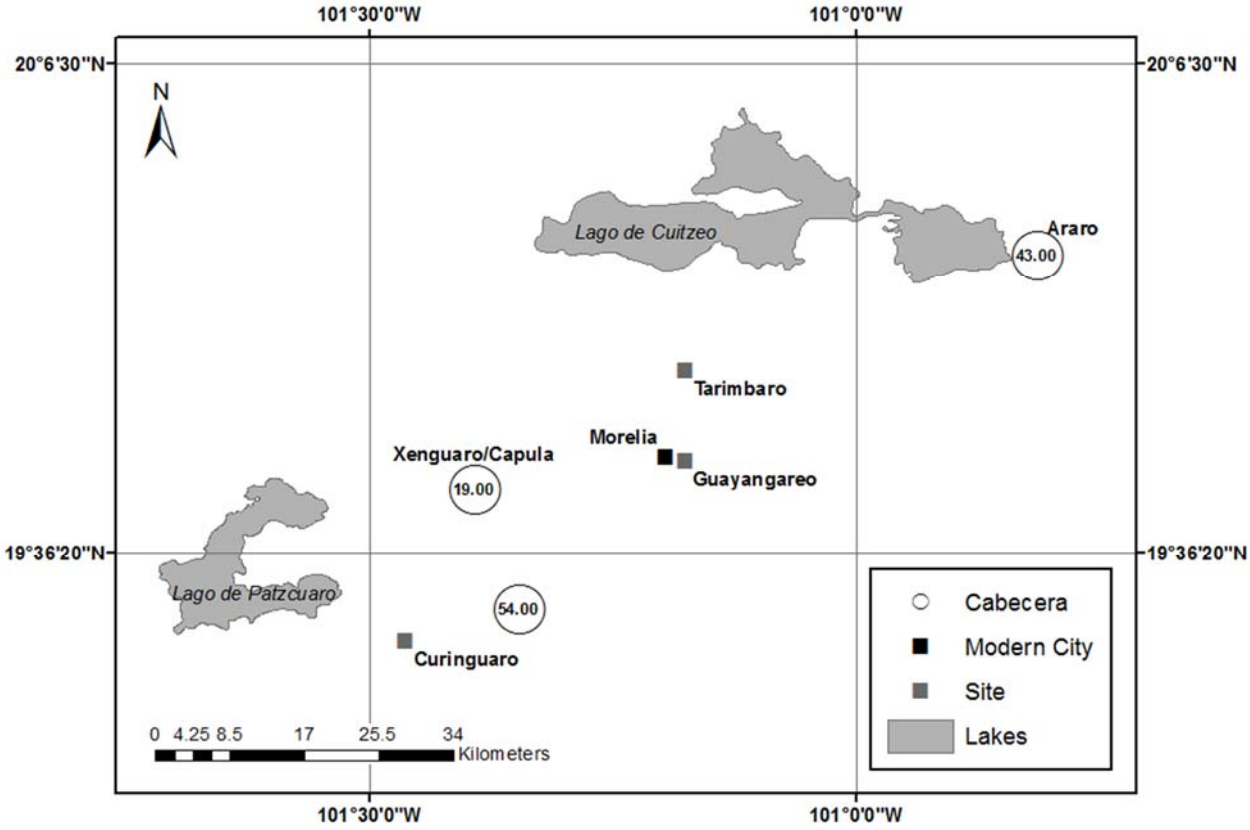


Figure 6.40. The cabeceras *of Xénguaro/Capula (circle, #19) and Tirípitio (circle, #54), and the neighboring sites of Guayangareo, Curinguaro, and Tarimbaro (gray squares). The* cabecera *of Araro (circle, #43) and the settlement of Morelia (black square) have been added to provide spatial referents.*

Subject Towns. The RO of 1571 mentions the names of eleven *sujetos* (García Pimentel 1904); however, there are two entries for Santa Cruz, which could mean the name was duplicated. These are in Table 6.25. The *sujetos*' locations are mapped out in Figure 6.41.

Table 6.25. The cabecera *of Xénguaro and its* sujetos *as recorded in the RO (García Pimentel 1904:42).*

Number	Settlement	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
19.00	Xénguaro	Xénguaro	*Cabecera*	Capula	García Pimentel 1904:42
19.01	San Bernabé	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*	San Bernabé	García Pimentel 1904:42
19.02	San Niculaus	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*	San Nicolas Obispo?	García Pimentel 1904:42
19.03	San Pedro	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42
19.04	Hacopeo	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42
19.05	San Juan Coro	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42
19.06	Los Tres Reyes	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42
19.07	San Lorenzo	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*	San Lorenzo	García Pimentel 1904:42

				Itzicuaro?	
19.08	Santa Cruz	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42
19.09	San Francisco	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*	Near El Correo?	García Pimentel 1904:42
19.10	Santa Cruz	Xénguaro	*Sujeto*		García Pimentel 1904:42

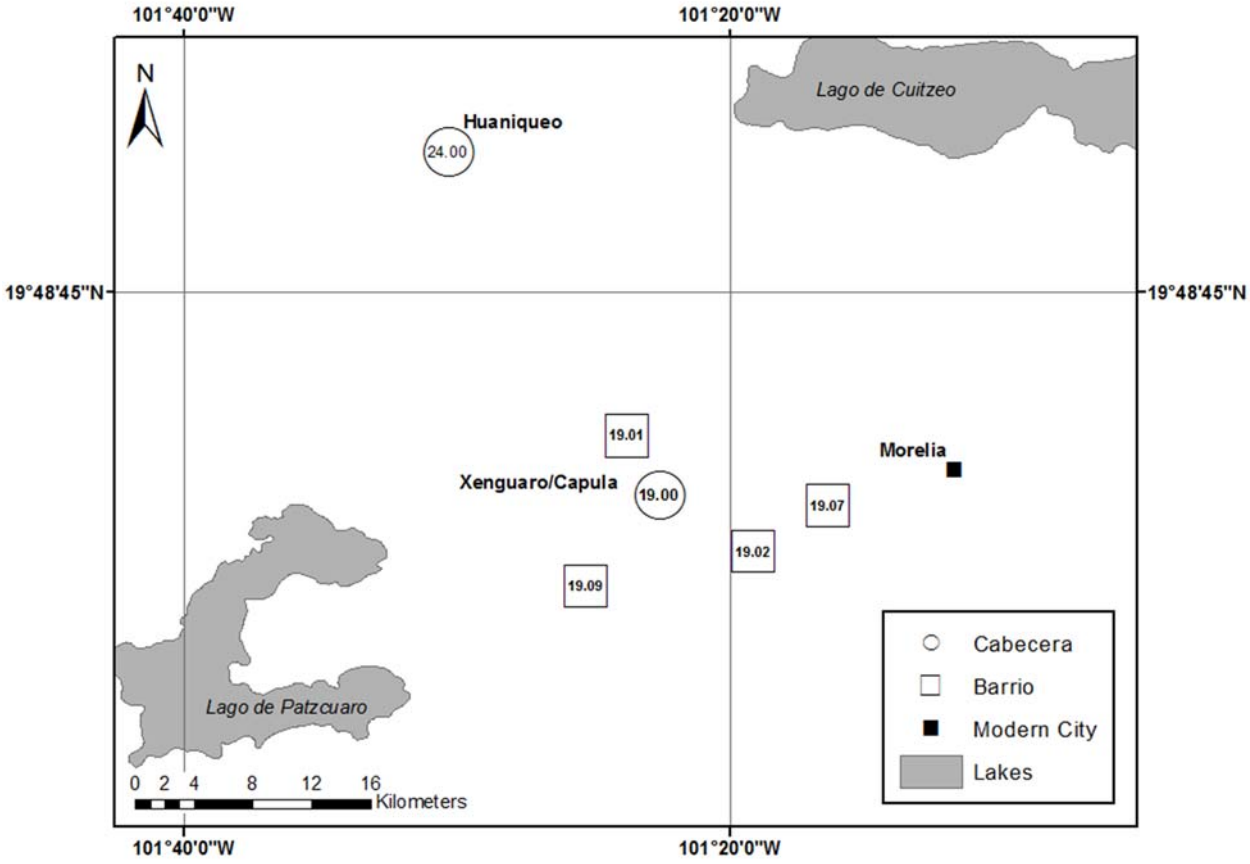


Figure 6.41. The cabecera of Xénguaro/Capula (circle, #19) and its subordinate barrios (squares) of San Bernabé (#19.01), San Niculaus (#19.02), San Lorenzo (#19.07), and San Francisco (#19.09 – approximate) (Garcia Pimentel 1904:42). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added to provide a modern spatial referent.

The locations of Xénguaro's subordinates are not precisely known. San Bernabé, located one league away, is the only modern settlement whose toponym matches the reference in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904). Several others, like San Nicolas Obispo and San Lorenzo, have similar names but there are no distance markers given in the ethnohistory. Ponce (1873:531–532) mentions passing through the *pueblo* of San Francisco, located approximately one league (5.57 km) from Capula, which would place it

approximately near the settlement of El Correo. There no other references to subordinate locations in the LT (Cossío 1952) or RG (Acuña 1987).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Xénguaro's sociopolitical hierarchy is shown in Figure 6.42.

Figure 6.42. The cabecera of Xénguaro/Capula and its subordinates listed in SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905) and RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904).

The ethnohistorical record suggests that Xénguaro was *cabecera* and the political unit consisted of at least two tiers, and Xénguaro directly administered to the subject towns under its jurisdiction.

Archaeological Evidence and Remote Sensing. To date, there have been few published archaeological investigations at Xénguaro. However, a large archaeological site is visible in satellite imagery located just north of the modern settlement of Capula, where a series of structures sit at bottom of a *malpaís* slope. The site extends approximately 3.6 kilometers north along the *malpaís*, and 2.25 kilometers from west to east, as shown in Figure 6.43.

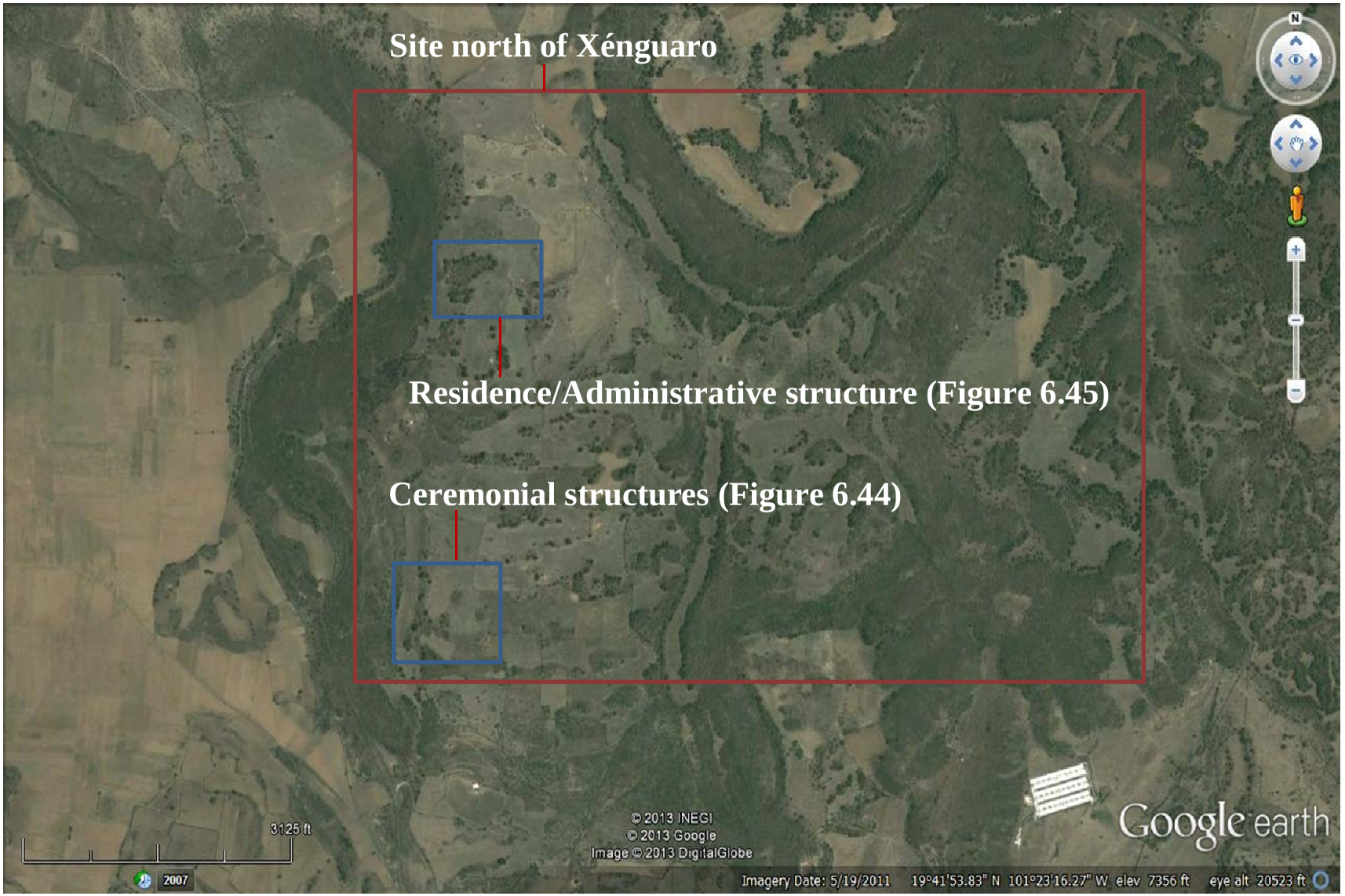


Figure 6.43. Xénguaro archaeological site. The red square outlines the extent of the site while the blue squares outline several features shown in later figures. Data: INEGI, Google, DigitalGlobe.

There are indications of structural groupings, such as the structures found in Figure 6.44 below.

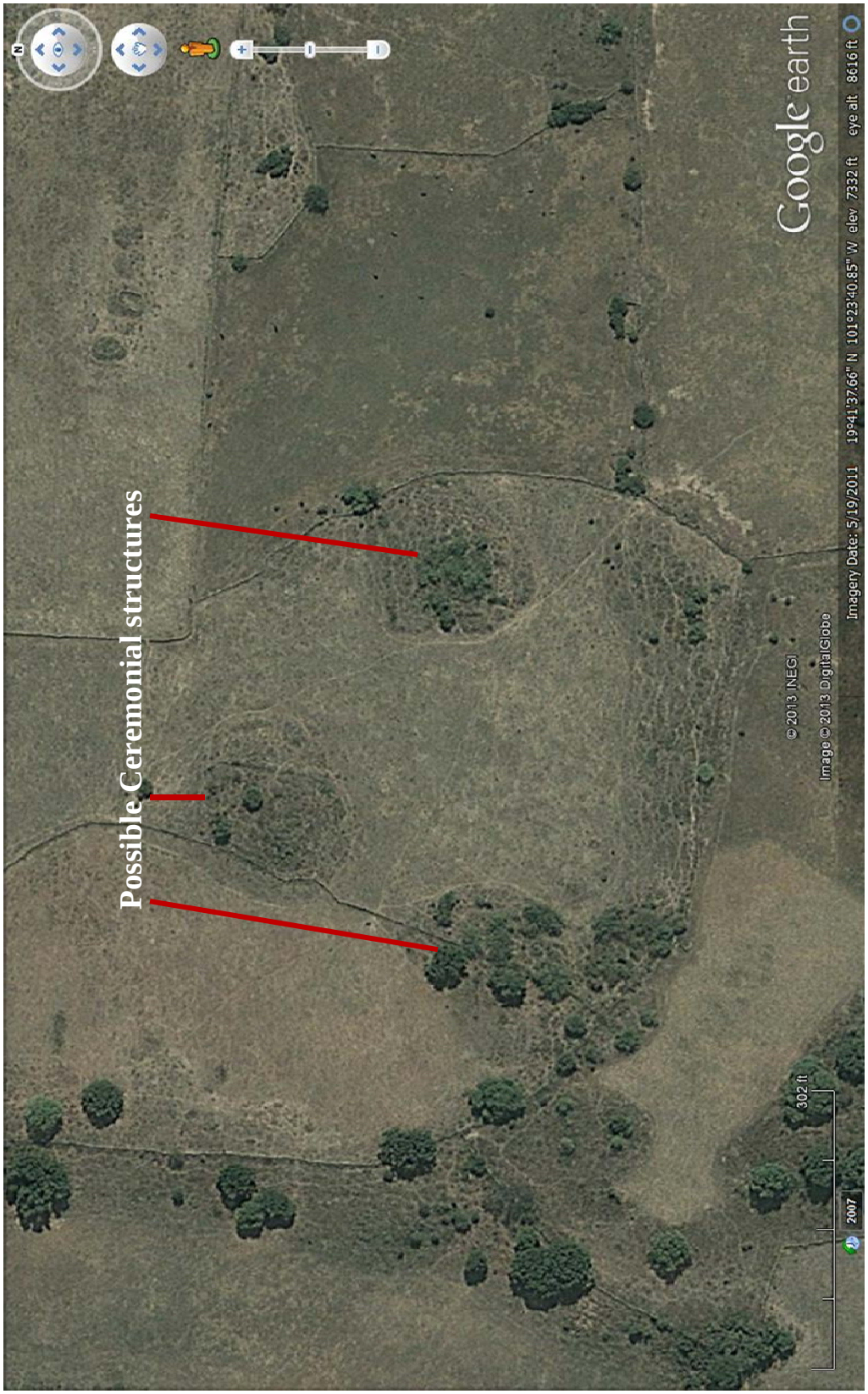


Figure 6.44. Pyramid/plaza group in southwest area of Xénguaro site. Data: INEGI, DigitalGlobe, Google Earth.

As seen in Figure 6.44, three structures sit on atop a low platform facing each other across a central plaza. These structures measure approximately 50x40 meters, and their shapes suggest that they may be examples of religious or ceremonial architecture. Pyramids usually form a mounded shape after they collapse as seen at Tzintzuntzan (Acosta 1939) and Eróngaricuaro (Haskell 2006). They are probably not Tarascan yacatas, as there is no evidence for that particular type of configuration anywhere in Tarascan territory. Possible administrative/elite residences may be found in the northern areas of the site, shown in Figure 6.45.

Figure 6.45. Possible elite residence or administrative building. Data: Google Earth, INEGI, DigitalGlobe

20) Terémendo and 21) Xaso

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Hiripan and Tangáxoan conquered Terémendo and Xaso during the first round of Tarascan conquests (Alcalá 2000:519). The text mentions the names of other conquered sites like Hetúquaro (Etúcuaro, or Tarimbaro [Espejel Carbajal 2008]), Hóporo, Xaso Chucándiro, Terémendo, and Bányqueo (Huániqueo) (Alcalá 2000:519). With the exception of Hóporo, these sites all have modern counterparts that are easily identified, as shown in Figure 6.46.

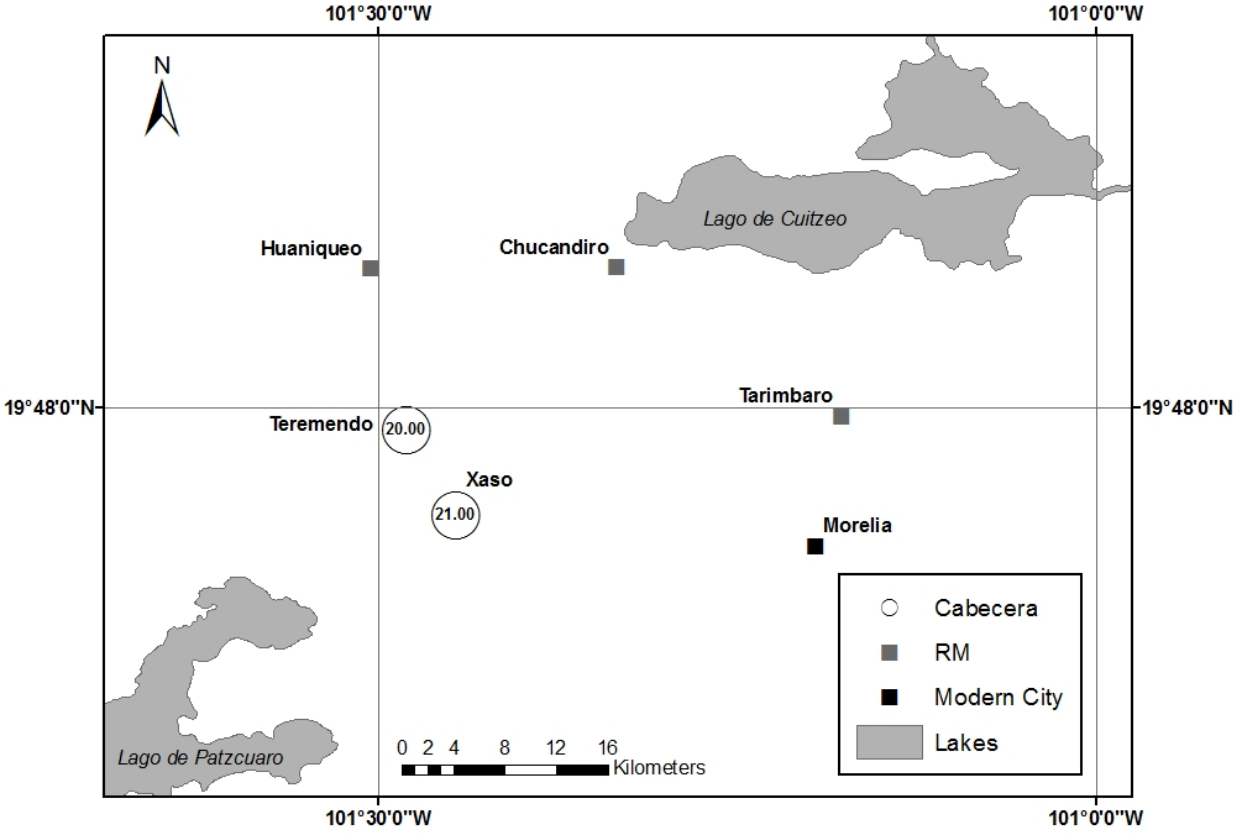


Figure 6.46. The cabeceras *(circles) of Terémendo (#20) and Xaso (#21) and the neighboring settlements of Tarimbaro, Chucándiro, and Huániqueo (gray squares). The city of Morelia (black square) has been as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Xaso and Terémendo were jointly administered sometime after 1540s when they were placed under the control of *encomendero* Andres de Monjarraz in 1528 (Gerhard 1972:245). In the SV, Terémendo and Xaso are treated separately (Paso y Troncoso 1905). Terémendo is the *cabecera* of six *barrios*, and it bordered on the neighboring units of Huániqueo, Xaso, and Xénguaro/Capula (Paso y Troncoso 1905:251). Xaso was *cabecera* of eighteen *barrios* and bordered on Terémendo,

Xénguaro/Capula, and Cerandagacho (Sirandangacho) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:132). The RO is the only document that lists the names of any subordinates, but by this time the number of *barrios* had been reduced to seven (García Pimentel 1904:40).

Table 6.26. The cabeceras *of Terémendo and Xaso and their subordinate* barrios *described in the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:40).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
20.00	Terémendo	Terémendo/Xaso	*Cabecera*	Terémendo	García Pimentel 1904:40
21.00	Xaso	Terémendo/Xaso	*Cabecera*	Terémendo Jasso	García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.01	San Miguel	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.02	Los Tres Reyes	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.03	San Juan Baptista	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.04	San Mateo Caropo	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.05	Poroaco	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.06	La Asunción	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
20/21.07	Santiago Aracheo	Terémendo/Xaso	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The sociopolitical hierarchy for Terémendo and Xaso is shown in Figure 6.47.

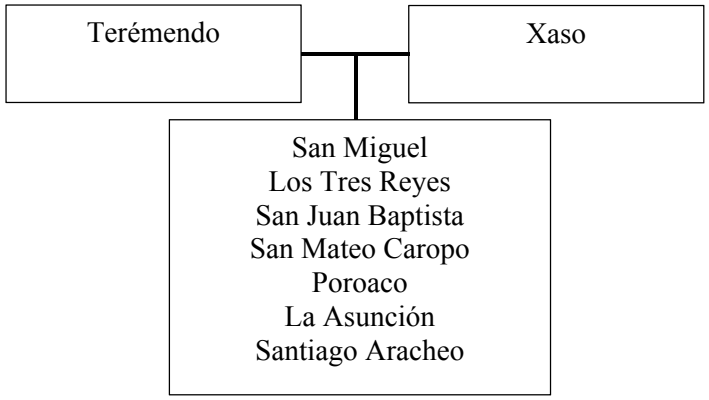


Figure 6.47. Diagram showing the proposed sociopolitical organization for Terémendo and Xaso. Terémendo and Xaso may have jointly administered their subordinates, but there are insufficient data to assign subordinates to specific settlements.

We do not know for certain which *cabecera* was in charge; indeed, we are uncertain if these settlements were independent of each other during the pre-Hispanic period. The joint administration of subordinate settlements is not unusual in Mesoamerica (Hicks 1986:39).

Archaeological Analyses of Terémendo and Xaso. Mexican archaeologist Estele Pena reported finding a structure near Terémendo that might be a yacata, but there are no published accounts of her research (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:56). No sites have been reported in the vicinity of Xaso, but the modern settlement is located near *malpaís*, which was a preferred area for settlement due to higher elevations, visibility, and availability of building materials.

22) Guango/Vangaho/Villa Morelos and 23) Purúandiro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Guango/Vangaho and Purúandiro were conquered by the *Chichimecs* and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:525). In the sixteenth century, they were administered as part of a single *encomienda*; thus, they appear together in the ethnohistory. Purúandiro may have been the pre-Hispanic *cabecera*, but the SV entry suggests that by the 1540s Guango was the *cabecera* of the unit while Purúandiro was its *subcabecera* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:116–117). Guango and Purúandiro paid tribute with maize and personal services during the colonial period (Paso y Troncoso 1905:116–117). These were likely the same types of tribute items paid during the pre-Hispanic period. Guango and Purúandiro bordered on the neighboring units of Tlazazalca, Huániqueo, Chucándiro, and Cuitzeo, as well as the *Chichimec* frontier (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Paso y Troncoso 1905:117). The locations of Guango and Purúandiro are shown in Figure 6.48.

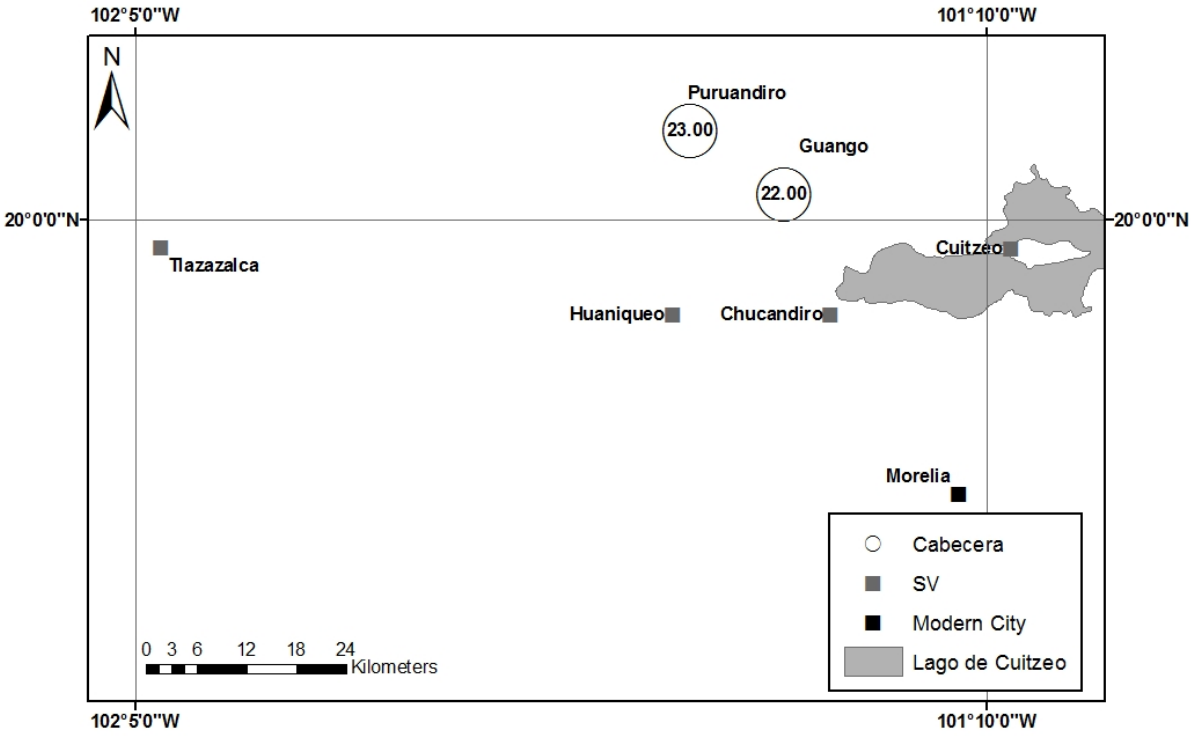


Figure 6.48. The cabeceras *(circles) of Guango (#22) and Purúandiro (#23), and the neighboring settlements of Tlazazalca, Huániqueo, Chucándiro, and Cuitzeo (gray squares). Morelia (black square) has been added to provide a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Guango had a total of eight *barrios* and Purúandiro had eleven (Paso y Troncoso 1905:116). By the 1570s, Guango was the *cabecera* of the combined unit with one *barrio*, Acámbaro (Garcia Pimentel 1904:49). This is probably not the same Acámbaro located on the Tarascan-Aztec border because that settlement retained *cabecera* status throughout the colonial period. Purúandiro was a *subcabecera* with a total of six *barrios* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:49). The entries from the RO are shown in Table 6.27.

Table 6.27. The cabeceras *of Guango and Purúandiro, located on the northern Tarascan frontier.*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
22.00	Guango	Guango/Purúandiro	*Cabecera*	Villa Morelos	García Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.01	Acámbaro	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.00	Purúandiro	Guango/Purúandiro	*Cabecera*	Purúandiro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.02	Tzinbanguaro	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49

22/23.03	Santiago	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.04	Xexan	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.05	Cirapequaro	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.06	Santa Ana	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49
22/23.07	Hucaro	Guango/Purúandiro	*Sujeto*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:49

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Guango's and Purúandiro's sociopolitical hierarchy is shown in Figure 6.49.

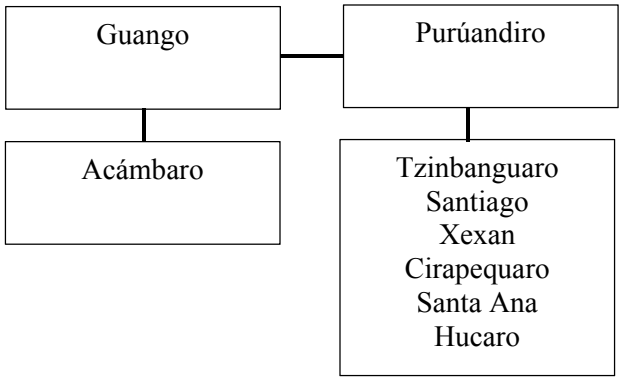


Figure 6.49 The proposes sociopolitical hierarchy for Guango and Purúandiro. Guango and Purúandiro are placed at the highest level because it is unclear which one was the cabecera during the pre-Hispanic period.

As with Terémendo and Xaso, colonial administrative documents described these settlements together and because of these we know very little about their pre-Hispanic political systems. Guango and Purúandiro were certainly *cabeceras* during this period and there were the listed subordinates below them but other than this information we do not know which settlements, if any, served as *subcabeceras*.

Archaeological Analyses. There are no published archaeological investigations at Guango and Purúandiro. Investigations with Landsat ETM+ Panchromatic imagery and the use of Roberts filtering techniques revealed the presence of linear features on the southeastern face of a large hill near Purúandiro. These are shown in Figure 6.50 and 6.51.

Figure 6.50. Linear feature found with Google Earth. Data: DigitalGlobe, INEGI, and Google Earth.

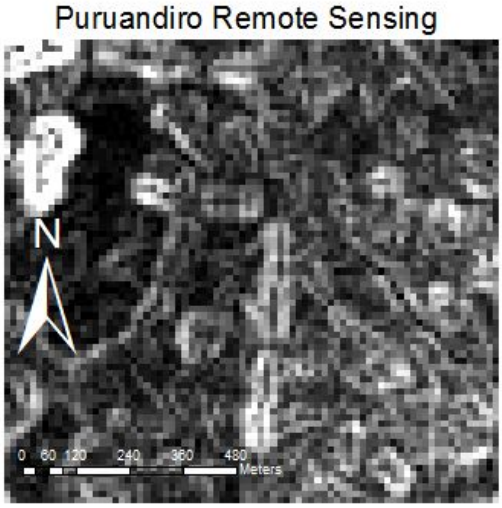


Figure 6.51. Linear feature found on southeastern hillside near Purúandiro made with Sobel filtering. Image courtesy of DigitalGlobe.

Closer investigation with Google Earth imagery shows that the linear features are probably walls or boundary markers, and within these markers are evidence of structural remains and the presence of

numerous terraces, walls and foundations on a large hill southwest of the modern settlement of Purúandiro. The position of the settlement is well-suited for observation of the surrounding areas, and the walls provided a means of defense against enemy troops, shown in Figure 6.52.

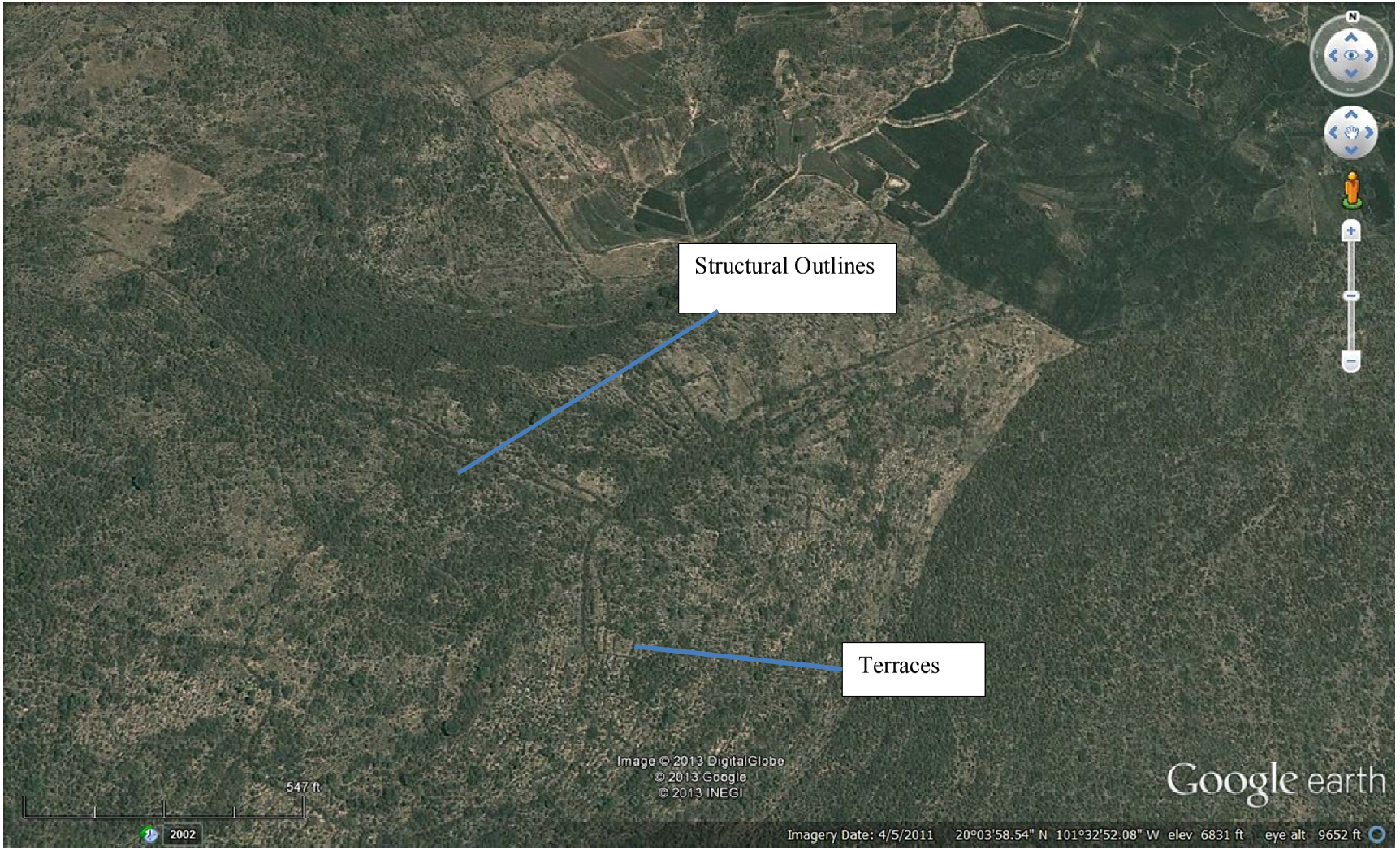


Figure 6.52. Google Earth imagery of the archaeological site southwest of Purúandiro. Data: DigitalGlobe, Google, INEGI.

Guango [aka Vangaho, Villa Morelos (Espejel Carbajal 2008)] is located in a valley several kilometers southeast of Purúandiro. The modern site sits on the valley floor, but structural foundations are located southeast of the modern site on the upper slope that is shown in Figure 6.53 and Figure 6.54.

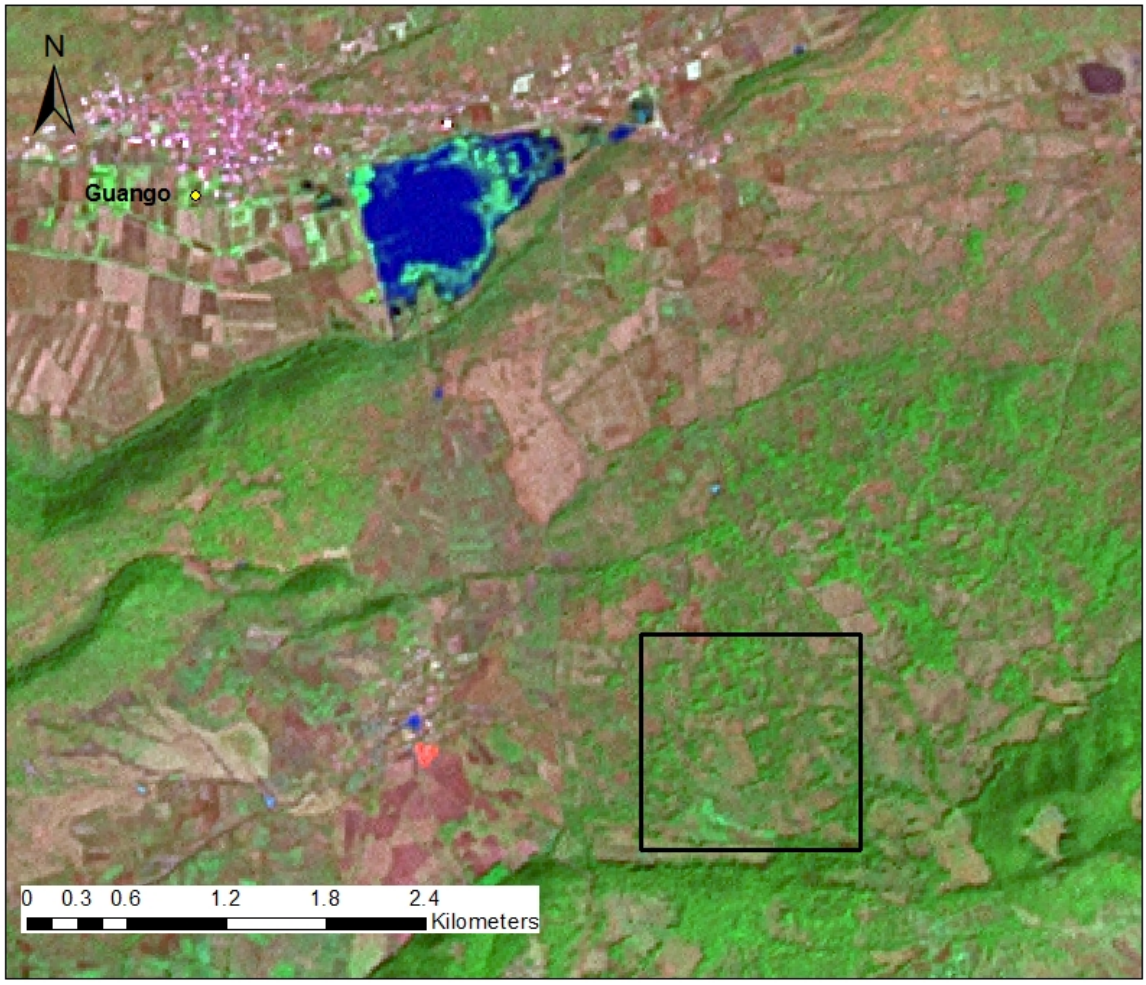


Figure 6.53. The location of Guango (now Villa Morelos) and the nearby archaeological site identifiable on Landsat ETM+ imagery. Figure 6.54 shows the feature in more detail. Data available from the U.S. Geological Survey.

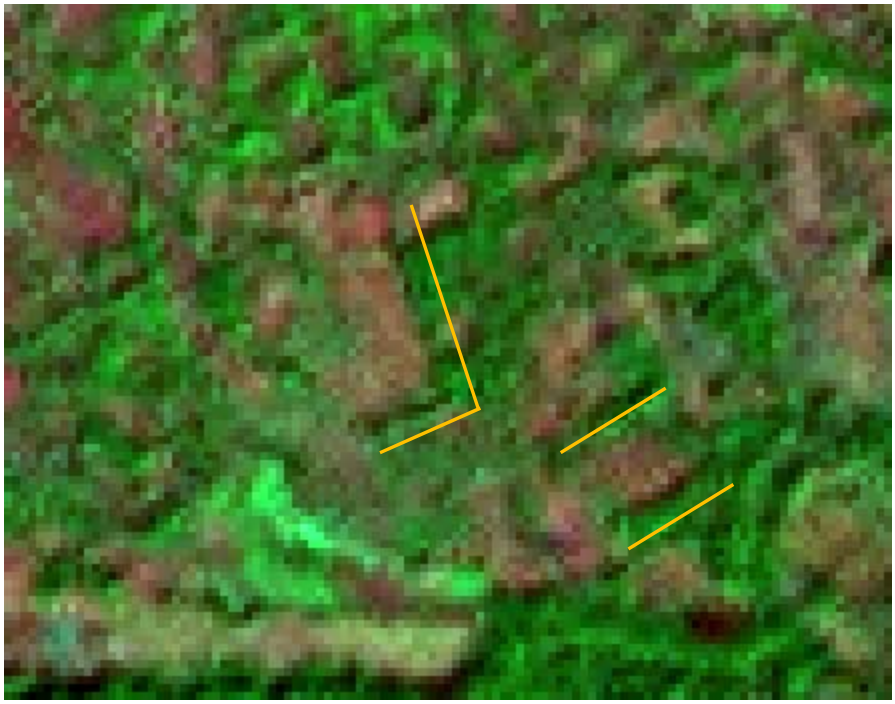


Figure 6.54. Landsat ETM+ imagery showing foundations southeast of Guango. The width of the image is approximately 1.6 kilometers. Data available from the U.S. Geological Survey.

Colonial Era. Purúandiro and Guango were *encomiendas* of Juan de Villaseñor (Gerhard 1972:121).

24) Huániqueo/Guániqueo/Bányqueo

Connections to the RM and Mapping. In Episode XXII, Taríacuri states that there will no longer be a *Señor* in Huániqueo because the last *Señor* Sycuindi Cuma has died and his sons are not worthy to succeed him (Alcalá 2000:463). Hiripan and Tangáxoan attacked Huániqueo during their first round of conquests, but unlike previous conquests they were met with great resistance which prompted greater effort and finally bloodletting to gain the strength to defeat Huániqueo (Alcalá 2000:519).

The RM mentions conquests at Xaso, Chucándiro and Terémendo before reaching Huániqueo (Alcalá 2000:519) and Comanja and Naranjan afterward. These sites are all identified with modern settlements; thus Huániqueo's place in the conquest order is similar to its location in geographic space. Furthermore, the location of the modern settlement near the foot of a large slope suggests that it was a defensible area. Figure 6.55 shows the location of sites mentioned in the RM. Furthermore, Huániqueo was bordered by

Guango on the east, Terémendo on the south, and Chucándiro to the east (Paso y Troncoso 1905:116). Huániqueo's location is illustrated in relation to the other settlements mentioned in the RM in Figure 6.55, and from the SV in Figure 6.56.

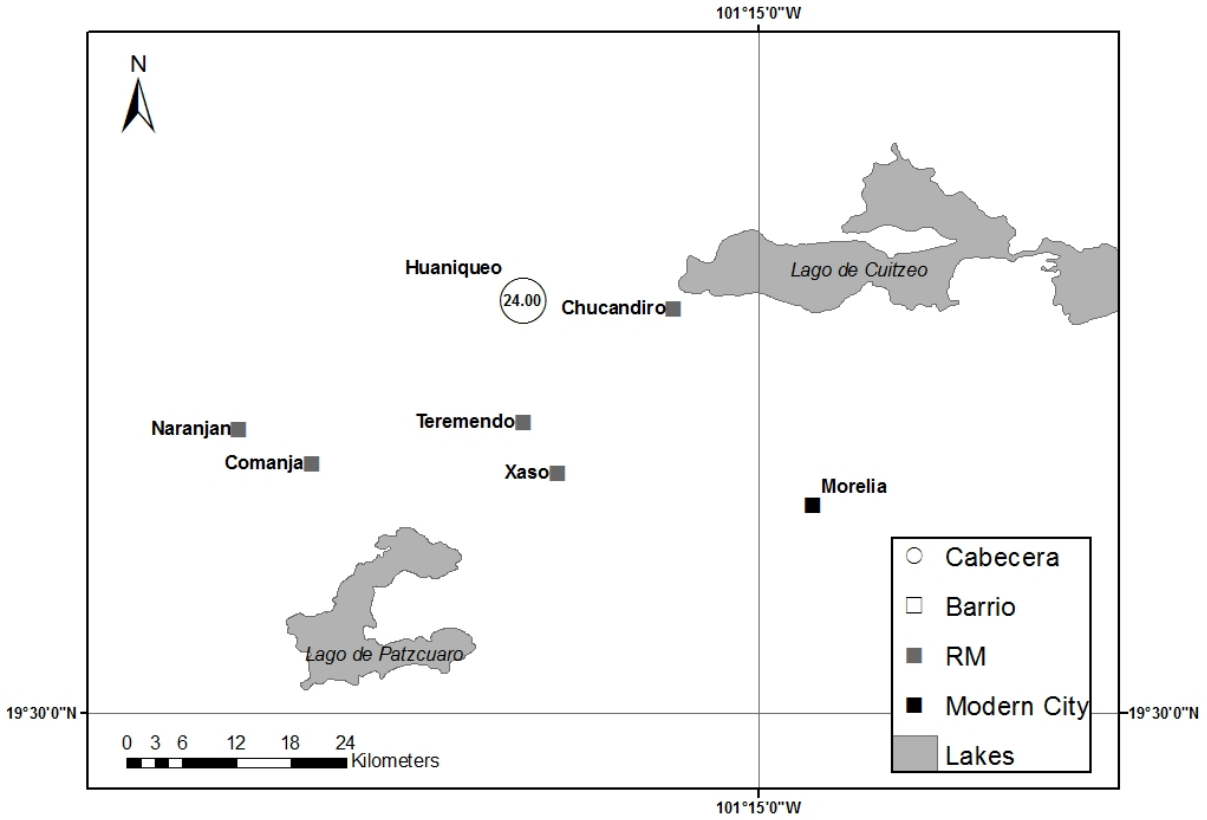


Figure 6.55. Map depicting the location of the cabecera *of Huániqueo (circle, #24) and the neighboring locations of settlements the Tarascans conquered according to the RM account (gray squares) (Alcalá 2000:519). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

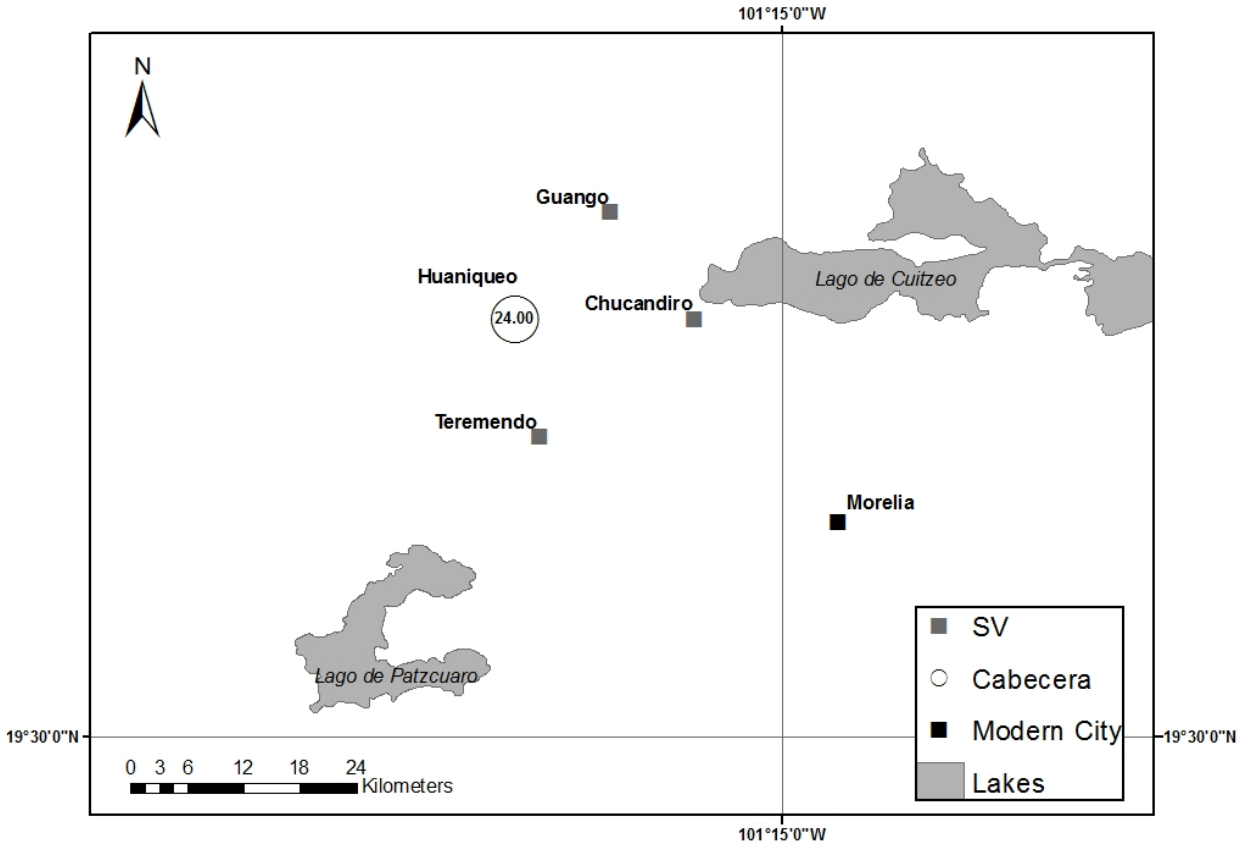


Figure 6.56. The location of the cabecera *of Huániqueo (circle, #24) and the neighboring locations of settlements mentioned in the SV (gray squares) (Paso y Troncoso 1905). Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Antonio de Carvajal visited Huániqueo in March of 1524 (Warren 1977:297). Unlike the other settlements, Carvajal refers to this unit's leader as a "*Cacique* o *Calpixque*," which is the first time that political and economic titles are recorded together in this document (Warren 1977). *Caciques* are elites but their ranks are lower than *Señores* (López Sarrelangue 1965:38).

The results are displayed in Table 6.28 below.

Table 6.28 The cabecera of Huániqueo and its subordinate settlements recorded in the Carvajal Visitation of 1524 (Warren 1977:297). The CV lists settlement names, superordinate centers, household size estimates, ranks, distances from superordinate centers, locations (if known) and the source material. In this system, S = Senor, C = Calpixque.

No.	Name	Cabecera	Native Est.	Carvajal Est.	Geometric Mean	Rank	Distance	Location	Source
24.00	Huániqueo	Tzintzuntzan	10	45	21	C/C	N/A	Huániqueo de Morales	Warren 1977:397
24.01	Cuchapeceo	Huániqueo	5	15	9	C	0.25		Warren 1977:397
24.02	Cucharro	Huániqueo	15	25	19		0.25		Warren 1977:397
24.03	Choropeceo	Huániqueo	5	20	10	C	0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.04	Carachao	Huániqueo	6	17	10		0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.05	Tuyquaro	Huániqueo	5	16	9		1		Warren 1977:397
24.06	Poromo	Huániqueo	10	40	20		1		Warren 1977:397
24.07	Hachocato	Huániqueo	20	30	24		1		Warren 1977:397
24.08	Name Missing	Huániqueo	10	35	19	C	1.5		Warren 1977:397
24.09	Pano	Huániqueo	10	18	13		2.5		Warren 1977:397
24.10	Curunxao	Huániqueo	5	5	5		0.25		Warren 1977:397
24.11	Charico	Huániqueo	4	10	6	C	0.25		Warren 1977:397
24.12	Cumuxao	Huániqueo	5	15	9	C	0.25		Warren 1977:397
24.13	Yoriquataquaro	Huániqueo	5	8	6		0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.14	Chimo	Huániqueo	1	5	2		0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.15	Xarepetio	Huániqueo	5	10	7		0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.16	Cuynia	Huániqueo	5	12	8		0.5		Warren 1977:397
24.17	Quinzeo	Huániqueo	3	8	5		1		Warren 1977:397
24.18	Tavanquaro	Huániqueo	2	15	5		1		Warren 1977:397
24.19	Haruteo	Huániqueo	3	10	5		1		Warren 1977:397
24.20	Curindecutero	Huániqueo	4	9	6		1		Warren 1977:397
24.21	Cochequeta	Huániqueo	5	14	8	C	1		Warren 1977:397
24.22	Chinandaro	Huániqueo	6	13	9		1		Warren 1977:397

24.23	Atapuato	Huániqueo	2	5	3		1.5		Warren 1977:397
24.24	Cheraquaro	Huániqueo	5	12	8		1.5		Warren 1977:397
24.25	Puruaco	Huániqueo	10	10	10		1.5		Warren 1977:397
25.00	Pareo	Huániqueo	10	15	12	C	1.5		Warren 1977:397
25.01	Tabinao	Pareo	8	12	10		0.25		Warren 1977:397
26.00	Cipiajo y Axuda	Huániqueo	10	45	21	C	2.5		Warren 1977:397
26.01	Chichachoquaro	Cipiajo	2	10	4		0.5		Warren 1977:397
26.02	Haxistio	Cipiajo	2	8	4		1		Warren 1977:397
27.00	Chichanvemo	Huániqueo	5	35	13	C	1		Warren 1977:397
27.01	Machendao	Chichanve-mo	10	15	12		0.25		Warren 1977:397
27.02	Unjequaro	Chichanve-mo	3	20	8		0.25		Warren 1977:397
27.03	Aneplayo	Chichanve-mo	10	30	17		0.25		Warren 1977:397
27.04	Guandararo	Chichanve-mo	7	12	9		0.25		Warren 1977:397
27.05	Chavero	Chichanve-mo	10	25	16		0.5		Warren 1977:397
28.00	Areno	Huániqueo	20	25	22	C	2.5		Warren 1977:397
28.01	Tarinbaro	Areno	3	30	9		0.25		Warren 1977:397
28.02	Tamapuato	Areno	5	12	8		0.25		Warren 1977:397
28.03	Chacurco	Areno	20	45	30		0.5		Warren 1977:397
28.04	Guagua	Areno	10	35	19		1		Warren 1977:397
28.05	Carachao	Areno	3	3	3		0.5		Warren 1977:397
28.06	Carijo	Areno	3	3	3		1		Warren 1977:397
28.07	Acámbaro	Areno	15	25	19		0.25		Warren 1977:397

Huániqueo had six subordinate *Calpixques* located within .20–1.5 leagues of the main settlement of Huániqueo. Like Comanja, these *Calpixques* may have been settlement leaders whose settlements were conflated under Huániqueo's control, or they were economic officials collecting tribute for the political

unit and the empire (Gutierrez 2013:143). Beyond Huániqueo, there were three subordinate pueblos as well as one subordinate estancia. These settlements are at a range of 1–2.5 leagues from Huániqueo.

Huániqueo was the *cabecera* of thirteen *barrios* in the 1540s but no names are listed in the text (Paso y Troncoso 1905:116). The RO lists five *barrios* for Huániqueo (García Pimentel 1904:35), shown Table 6.29. None of these are listed in the earlier CV entry.

Table 6.29.The cabecera of Huániqueo and its subordinate barrios described in the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:35).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
24.00	Huániqueo	Huániqueo	*Cabecera*	Huániqueo de Morales	Espejel Carbajal 2008; García Pimentel 1904:35
24.26	San Miguel	Huániqueo	*Barrio*	San Miguel, Michoacán?	García Pimentel 1904:35
24.27	Huaraxo	Huániqueo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35
24.28	Ichapisco	Huániqueo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35
24.29	Tauaque	Huániqueo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35
24.30	Cuzaro	Huániqueo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35

Figure 6.57 shows the locations of Huániqueo and the possible location of its *barrio,* San Miguel (Garcia Pimentel 1904:35). The location should be considered tentative.

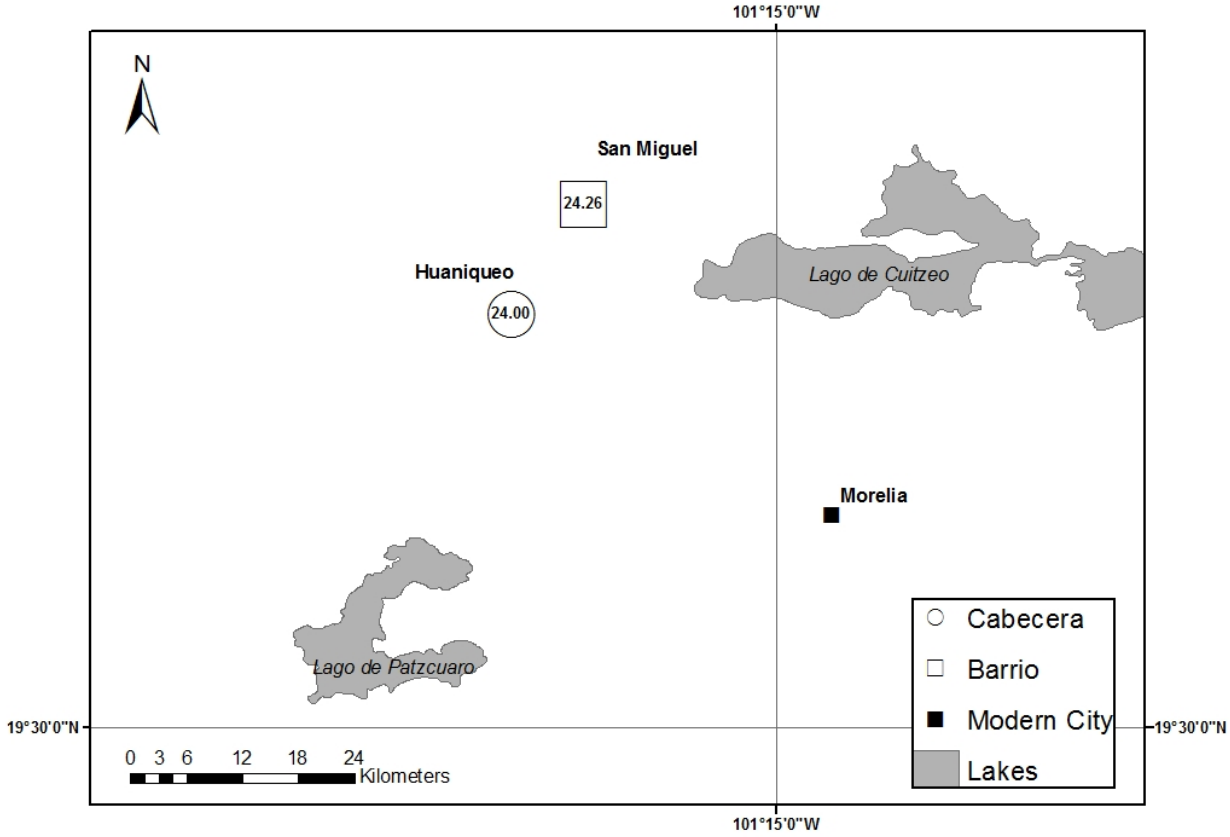


Figure 6.57. The cabecera *of Huániqueo (circle, #24) and its subordinate* barrio *of San Miguel (square, #24.26) shown in the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:35).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.58 shows the sociopolitical hierarchy of Huániqueo.

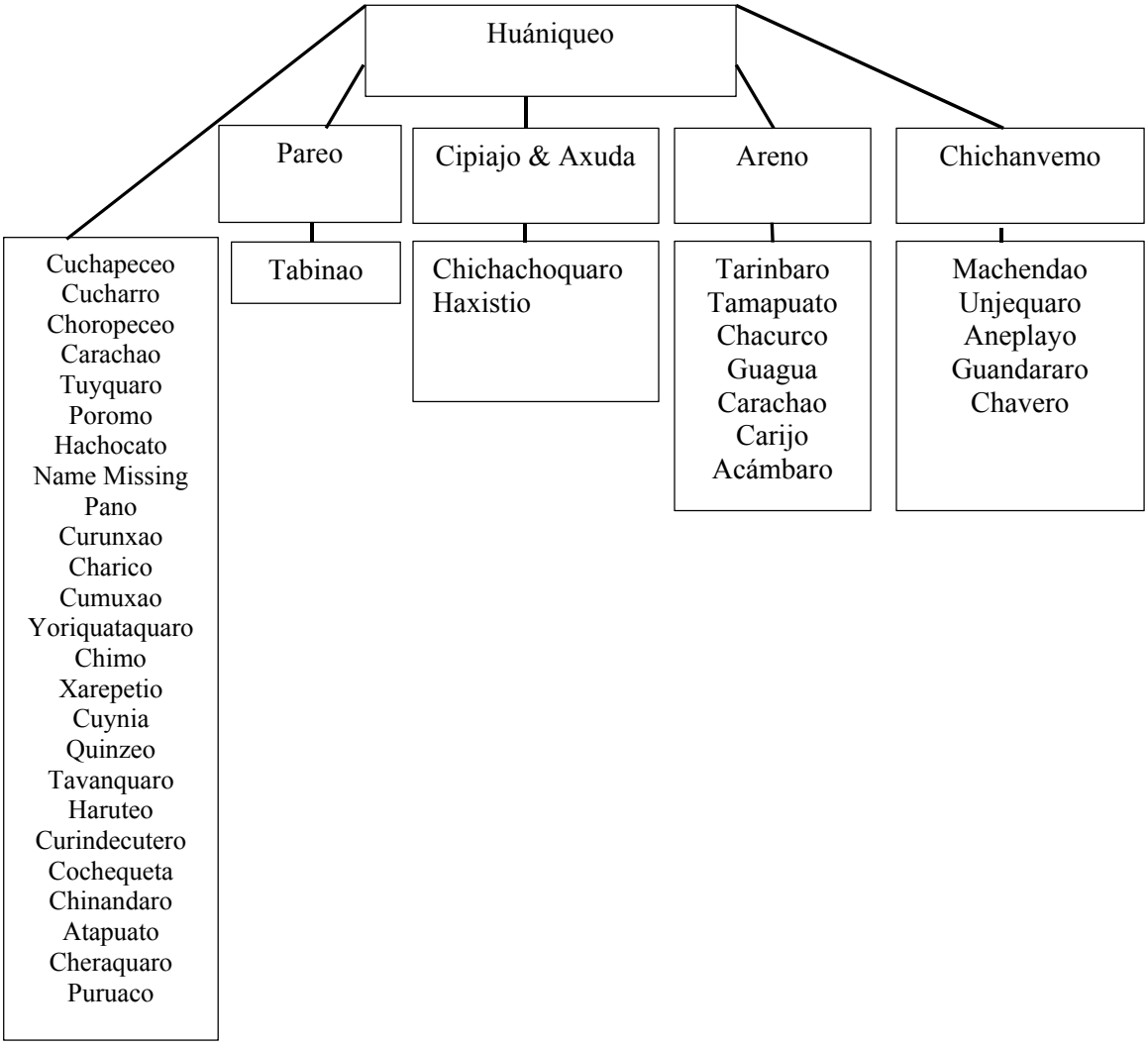


Figure 6.58. Diagram showing the proposed sociopolitical hierarchy of Huániqueo.

Huániqueo was the *cabecera* of a three-tiered unit, with Pareo, Cipiajo & Axuda, Areno, and Chichanvemo as *subcabeceras*. Cipiajo & Axuda might be one instance of a jointly administered *subcabecera* where two *Caciques* resided, but there are insufficient data for to know for certain. In the third tier are the *barrios* and *sujetos*, and several familiar names suggest that there may have been sharing between political and economic units. For example, Cipiajo is a *subcabecera* under Huániqueo and a *sujeto* under Comanja, which could mean that it held low political status in one and high political status in another. Chichachoquaro is a subordinate to Cipiajo, and this is likely located near the *subcabecera* of Tipicato which is also located on the same mountain slope.

Archaeological Analyses. The archaeological sites associated with Huániqueo are in the hills above the modern settlement, and the available data were collected during a highway survey of northern Michoacán (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82). These are listed in Table 6.30.

Table 6.30. The archaeological sites in the vicinity of Huániqueo (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82).

No.	Name	Location	Source
24.31	Yacata la Ladera	Huániqueo de Morales	Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82
24.32	Plaza de Las Yacatas	Huániqueo de Morales	Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82
24.33	La Manza	Huániqueo de Morales	Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82
24.34	Huániqueo Terraces	Huániqueo de Morales	Google Earth 2013
24.35	Santiago la Mesa	Huániqueo de Morales	Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:82

Investigators recorded eleven archaeological sites within.5 leagues (2.78 km) of Huániqueo (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Michelet 1989:20). Several Postclassic sites like Yacata la Ladera and Plaza de las Yacatas have ceremonial structures. Yacata la Ladera has two large structures measuring 30 meters long by 15 meters wide by 6 meters high and separated by 50 meters (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:53). The dimensions of the structure are smaller, but similar to, the yacatas at Tzintzuntzan, which measure 50x20x10 meters. La Manza, named for the modern settlement of the same name, is located approximately 7.5 kilometers northwest of Huániqueo (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:53). The distance makes it potentially Atlaxuato, Puruaco, Cherequaro, or the unnamed *pueblo* listed in the text (Warren 1977). The locations of identifiable sites are shown in Figure 6.59.

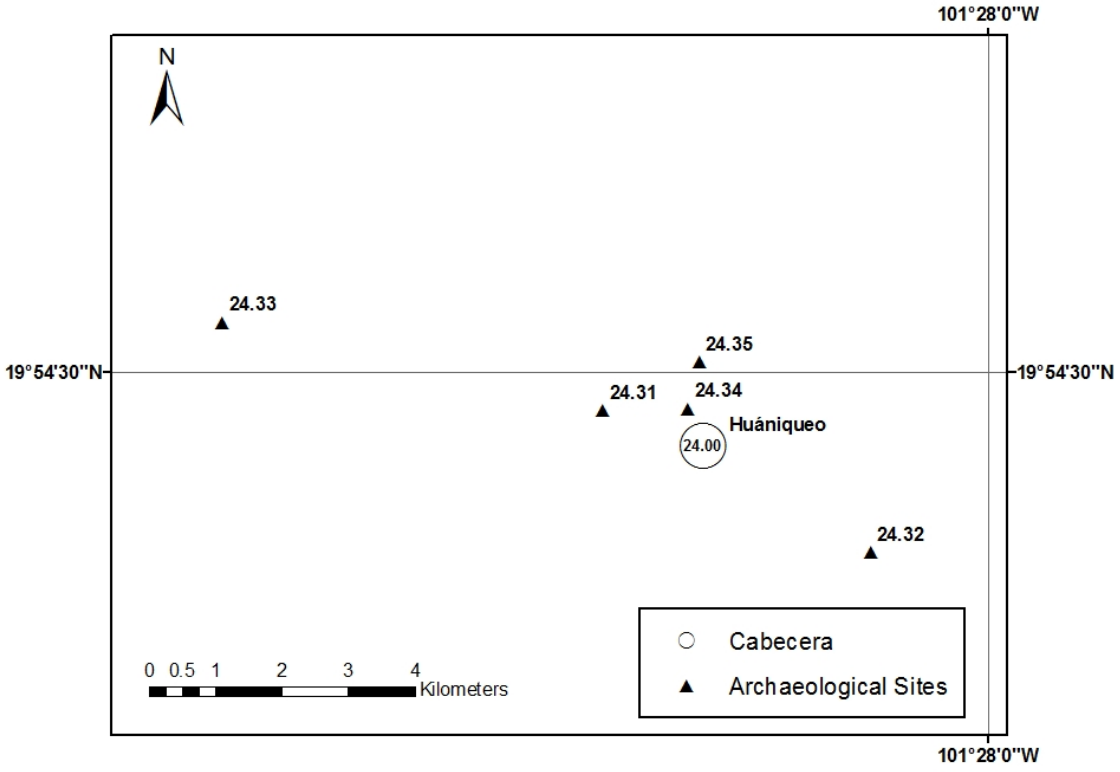


Figure 6.59. The cabecera *of Huániqueo (circle, #24) and nearby archaeological sites (black triangles).*

Colonial Era. Huániqueo was held jointly by Fernando Alonso and Marcos Ruiz (Gerhard 1972:345).

29) Cuitzeo/Cuitzeo de la Laguna

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje targeted the Lake Cuitzeo basin during their second and third rounds of conquest (Alcalá 2000:520). During the second round, they conquered the settlements of Chucándiro, Huríparao, Xeroco and Cuitzeo, most of which are located in the western half of the Cuitzeo basin (Alcalá 2000:520); Huríparao's location has not been identified but it is probably somewhere along the western shore. Later, they conquered Peuéndao, Zinzímeo, and Araro which are located in the eastern half of the Cuitzeo basin (Alcalá 2000:520). The Chichimecs and Islanders conquered the northeastern shore of the basin by conquering Hirámucuyo (Iramuco) and Mayao (Alcalá 2000:524; Espejel Carbajal 2008). Chucándiro, Xeroco, and Cuitzeo are identifiable because of

modern sites of the same name, as are the settlements of Araro, Maya, and Iramuco. The sites are shown in Figure 6.60.

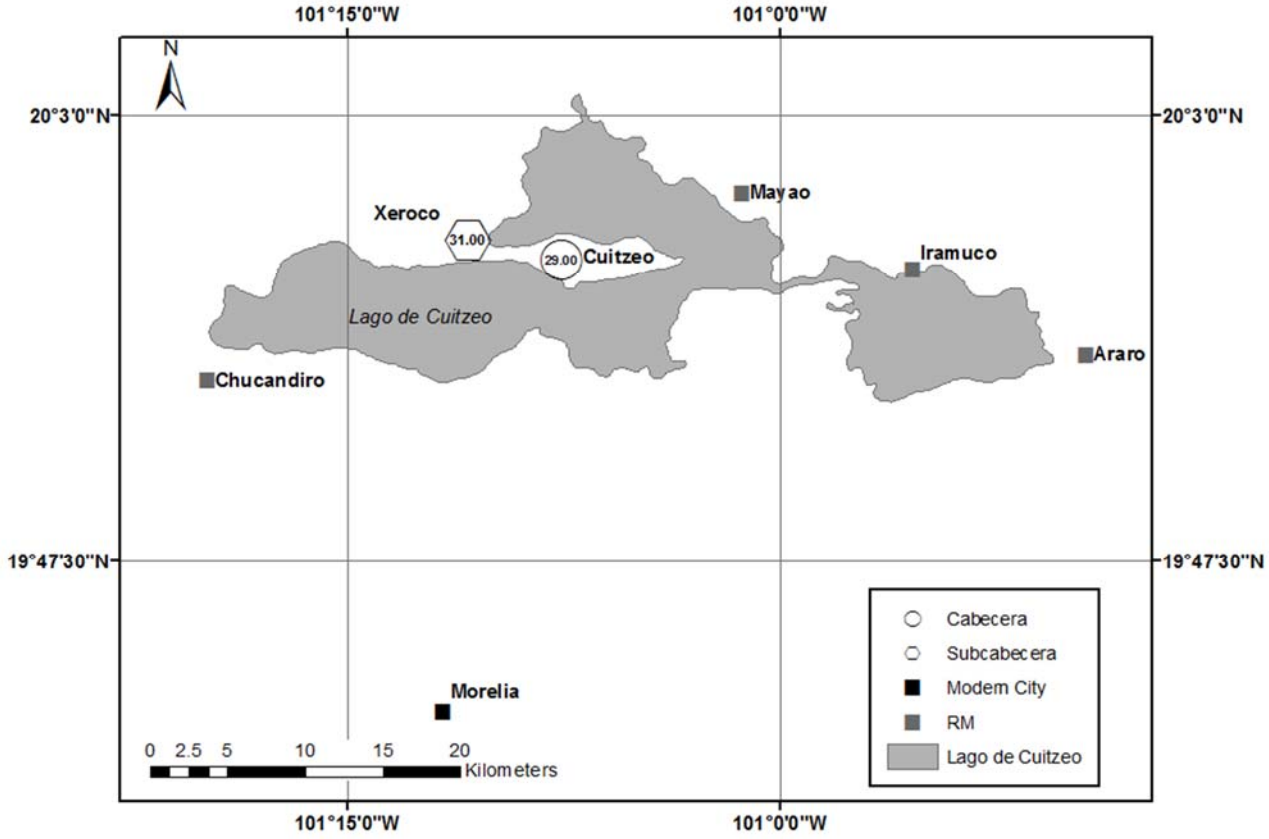


Figure 6.60. The cabecera *(circle, #29) of Cuitzeo, the* subcabecera *(hexagon, #31) of Xeroco, and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) of Mayao, Iramuco, Araro, and Chucándiro (Paso y Troncoso 1905:76). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Cuitzeo and its subordinate *pueblos* participated in wars for the Cazonci as part of their tributary duties. The *RG Cuiseo de la Laguna* states that Cuitzeo and its subordinates were "vassals of the king of Tsintsontsa (Tzintzuntzan)," and they gave personal services and participated in warfare, and worked the fields for the *Cazonci* (Acuña 1987:85). Each Indian gave a personal tribute of a single blanket, as well as a cloth article called a *Guangoche* that the respondent classified as a type of clothing, but ethnoarchaeological research has since found that the *Guangoche* is a type of cloth sack used in salt production (Williams 1999:404). In addition, Cuitzeo traded different varieties of fish, including one

known by its Purépecha name *Charrao* (Genus: *Chirostoma*), which they traded for cotton from settlements as far as 40–50 leagues (222.8 –278.8 km) away (Acuña 1987:85).

Lake Cuitzeo is a shallow saline lake that seasonally expands and contracts, leaving salt deposits in the soil that can be extracted through drying out the soil (Williams 1999:401). As a result, many towns in the Lake Cuitzeo basin produced salt during the pre-Hispanic and colonial eras for use as a mordant for fixing dyes and as a dietary staple (Williams 1999:400, 2010). During the colonial era, the Spanish used salt in the *patio* process to extract silver through the reaction between sodium and mercury in silver ores, which caused a separation and leaching of the silver (Williams 1999:414). No direct archaeological evidence for salt production has been found, but ethnoarchaeological research has uncovered potential indicators, including mounds of exhausted earth; freshwater canals to divert water to leach salt from the soils; and, bags for leaching (Williams 1999).

Subject Towns. Cuitzeo was the *cabecera* over three subordinate *cabeceras* in the 1540s, as well as thirteen subordinate *estancias* of its own (Paso y Troncoso 1905:76). Xeroco had eight *estancias*, Huandacareo had five *estancias*, and Huríparao had ten (Paso y Troncoso 1905:76). The *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* for Cuitzeo are listed in Table 6.31. Figure 6.61 shows the locations of Cuitzeo, Huandacareo, and Xeroco in the Lake Cuitzeo basin.

Table 6.31. The cabecera *of Cuitzeo and its* subcabeceras *of Xeroco, Huandacareo, and Huríparao according to the SV entry (Paso y Troncoso 1905:76).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
29.00	Cuitzeo	Cuitzeo	*Cabecera*	Cuitzeo	Paso y Troncoso 1905:76
30.00	Huandacareo	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*	Xeroco	Paso y Troncoso 1905:77
31.00	Xeroco	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*	Huandacareo	Paso y Troncoso 1905:78
32.00	Huríparao	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:79

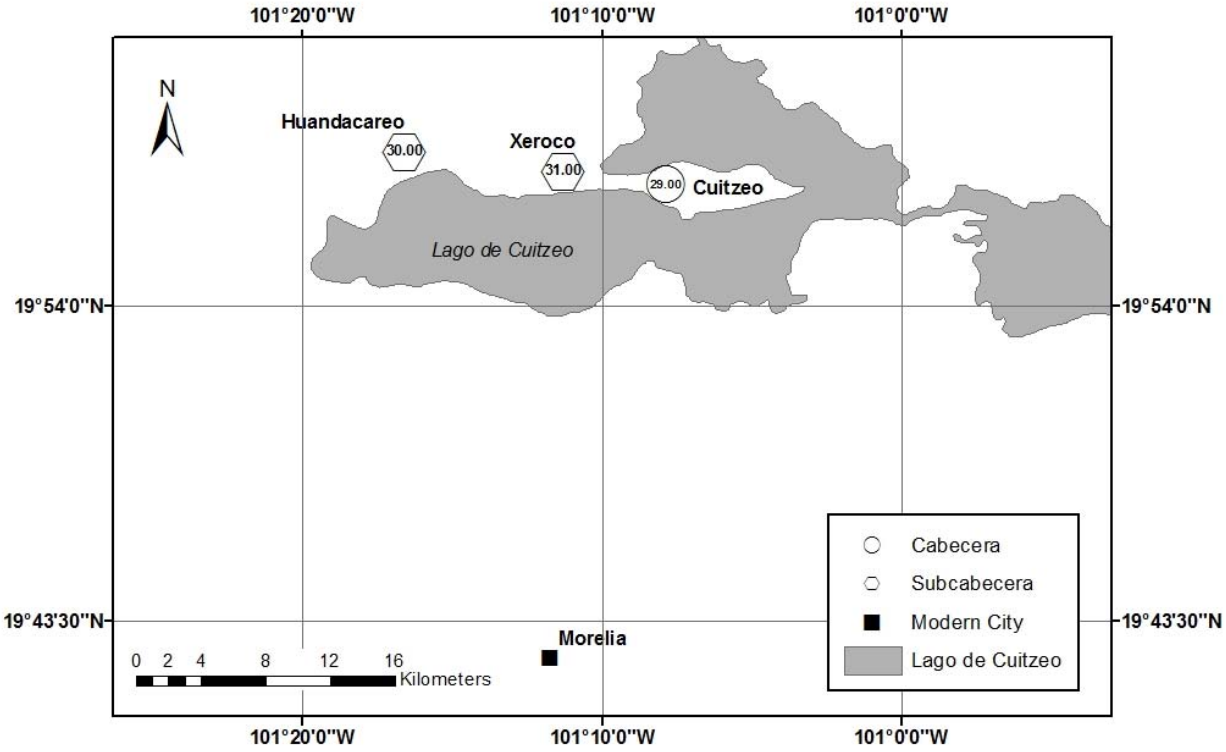


Figure 6.61. Map showing the cabecera *(circle, #29) of Cuitzeo and the* subcabeceras *(hexagons) of Huandacareo (#30) and Xeroco (#31). Huríparao's location is unknown. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

The RO lists subordinate *barrios* for Cuitzeo and these are described in Table 6.32. Xeroco and Huandacareo are instantly recognizable as *subcabeceras* from the SV entry. Mayari and Quaracurio are new entries on this list. Figure 6.62 shows the locations of Xeroco, Huandacareo, Quacurio, and Mayari.

Table 6.32. The subordinate towns of Cuitzeo according to the RO List of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:34).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
29.00	Cuitzeo	Cuitzeo	*Cabecera*	Cuitzeo	Paso y Troncoso 1905:76
30.00	Huandacareo	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*	Huandacareo	García Pimentel 1904:34
31.00	Jeruco/Xeroco	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*	Xeroco	García Pimentel 1904:34
29.01	San Miguel	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.02	Cazo	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.03	San Pedro	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.04	Arucutin	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.05	Mayari	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*	Mayao?	García Pimentel 1904:34
29.06	Tayao	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.07	Sancta Monica	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.08	Quaracurio	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*	Quacurio	García Pimentel 1904:34

29.09	Auyameo	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.10	Onxao	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
29.11	San Miguel	Cuitzeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
33.00	Santiago	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*		García Pimentel 1904:34

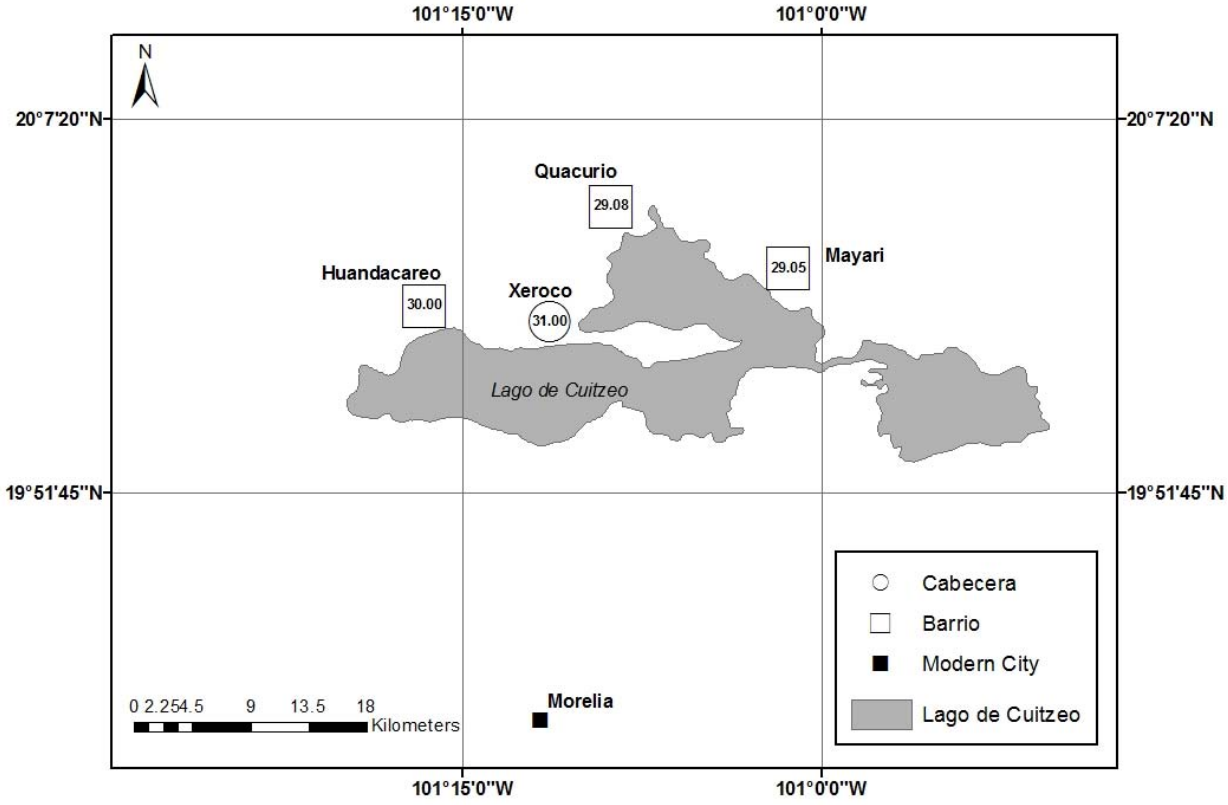


Figure 6.62. The cabecera *(circle, #31) of Xeroco and the barrios (squares) of Huandacareo (#30), Mayari (Mayao, #30.05) and Quacurio (#30.08).*

Arucutin (Arocutin?) was a *subcabecera* of Acámbaro during the first half of the sixteenth century (see Acámbaro entry). Arocutin's appearance on multiple lists may be due to the changing composition of *encomiendas* during the sixteenth century, since it appears again as a subordinate of Acámbaro in 1579 (Acuña 1987:34). It may also be attributed to the fact that Arocutin was a tributary subordinate of multiple *cabeceras*. The *altepetl* model suggests that a settlement will pay tribute to a number of

individuals regardless of political affiliation. Therefore, Arocutin might have continued to be the *subcabecera* of Acámbaro but be a tributary to Cuitzeo as well.

In addition, the RO list mentions the names of two subordinate *cabeceras,* Santiago and Huandacareo (García Pimentel 1904:34–35). Santiago is listed as a subject of Cuitzeo with five subordinate *barrios*, including the former *cabecera* of Huríparao. Guanaxo and Jungapeo are unusual because their locations are far away from Santiago. Guanaxo, or Guanajo, is located in southeastern Michoacán near the *cabecera* of Turicato, while Jungapeo is along the eastern frontier northeast of Zitacuaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Google Maps 2013). These are in Table 6.33.

Table 6.33. List of subordinate barrios *for the subcabecera of Santiago according to the RO List of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:34).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Source
33.00	Santiago	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*	García Pimentel 1904:34
32.00	Huríparao	Santiago	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:34
33.01	Guanaxo	Santiago	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:34
33.02	Jungapeo	Santiago	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:34
33.03	San Juan	Santiago	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:34
33.04	Tararamequaro	Santiago	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:34

Huandacareo is the *subcabecera* of four *barrios* but none have been identified (Garcia Pimentel 1904:35). The list of Huandacareo's *barrios* is in Table 6.34.

Table 6.34. The subcabecera *of Huandacareo and its subordinate* barrios *from the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:35).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
30.00	Huandacareo	Cuitzeo	*Subcabecera*	Huandacareo	García Pimentel 1904:34
30.01	Capamucutiro	Huandacareo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
30.02	Santiago Caropo	Huandacareo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
30.03	Los Olleros	Huandacareo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34
30.04	Xuchamicho	Huandacareo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:34

The *RG Cuiseo de la Laguna* lists Cuitzeo as the *cabecera* of seventeen subject settlements which are listed in Table 6.35. The locations of identifiable sites are shown in Figure 6.63.

Table 6.35. The subordinate pueblos *of Cuitzeo as described in the* RG Cuiseo de la Laguna *of 1579 (Acuña 1987:78–79).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
29.00	Cuitzeo	Cuitzeo	*Cabecera*	Cuitzeo	Acuña 1987:78–79
31.00	Xeroco	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*	Xeroco	Acuña 1987:78–79
30.00	Huandacareo	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*	Huandacareo	Acuña 1987:78–79
29.05	Mayao	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*	Santa Ana Maya	Acuña 1987:78–79
29.12	Hucaquaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.13	Omecuaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.14	Apuxipacuaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.15	Tayao	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.16	Quameo	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.17	Sindo	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.18	Guaroco	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.19	Capamocutiro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.20	Copandaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*	Copandaro	Acuña 1987:78–79
29.21	Quanaseo	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.22	Arunbaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.23	Tepaqua	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.24	Arostaro	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79
29.25	Caraqua	Cuitzeo	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:78–79

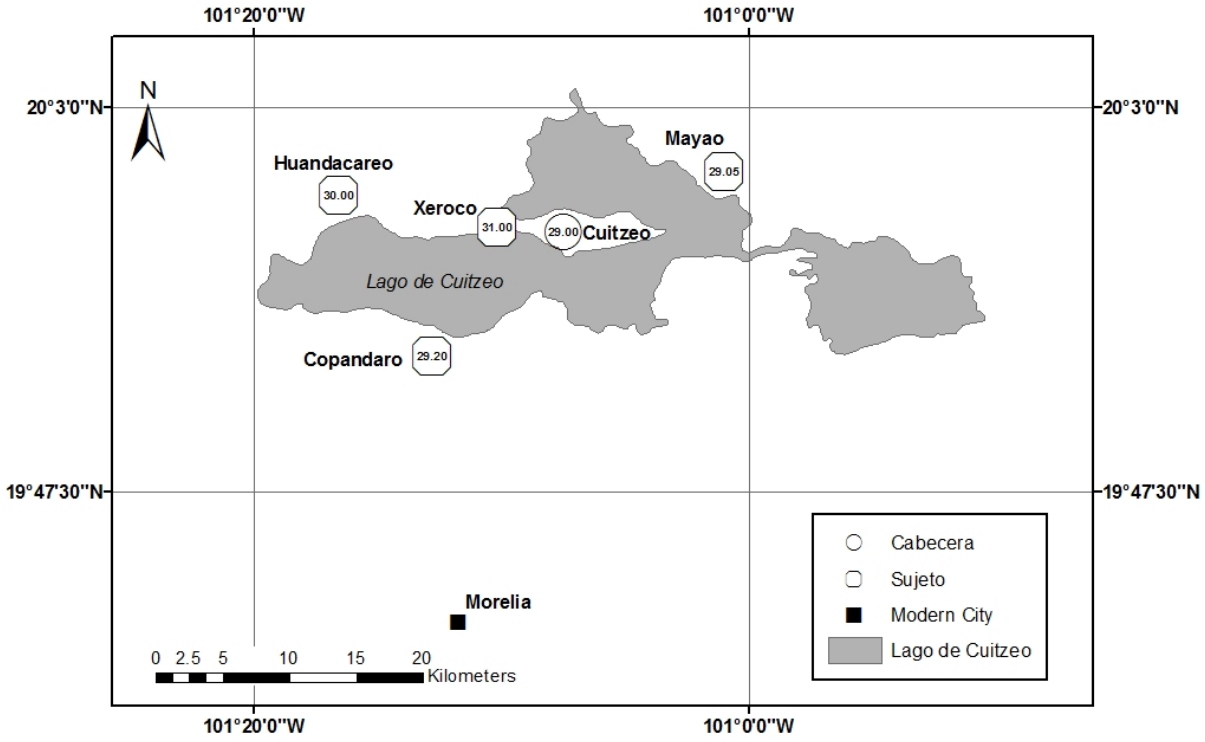


Figure 6.63. The cabecera *of Cuitzeo (circle, #29) and the* sujetos *of Huandacareo (#30), Mayao (#30.02), Copandaro (#30.11), and Xeroco (#31). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Cuitzeo's sociopolitical hierarchy is shown in Figure 6.64.

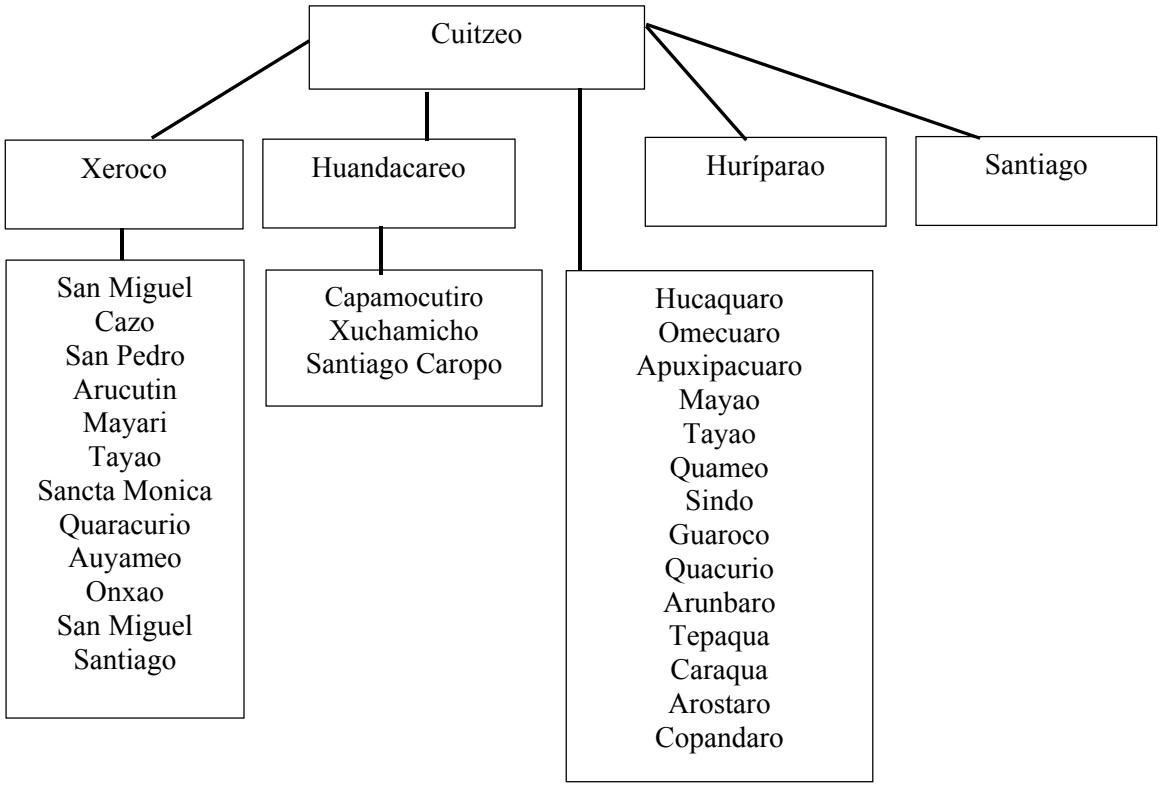


Figure 6.64. Diagram of proposed sociopolitical organization for Cuitzeo.

Cuitzeo was the *cabecera* of a complex political unit with multiple subordinate political centers and sociopolitical tiers. The ethnohistorical record suggests that the settlements of Xeroco, Huandacareo, and Huríparao were *subcabeceras* to Cuitzeo, thus occupying a second-tier position. The archaeological evidence from Huandacareo supports the interpretation that Huandacareo was a significant religious and political center (Macias Goytia 1990). The archaeological data are not as clear for Xeroco and Huríparao. Each settlement has its own set of *sujetos,* although Huríparao's subordinate *barrios* have not been identified. The archaeological sites near Cuitzeo are listed in Table 6.36.

Table 6.36. Archaeological sites near Cuitzeo.

No.	Name	Location	Source
29.26	Tres Cerritos		Macias Goytia et al. 1988
31.00	Huandacareo	Huandacareo	Macias Goytia 1990

Figure 6.65 depicts the locations of the archaeological sites of Tres Cerritos and Huandacareo.

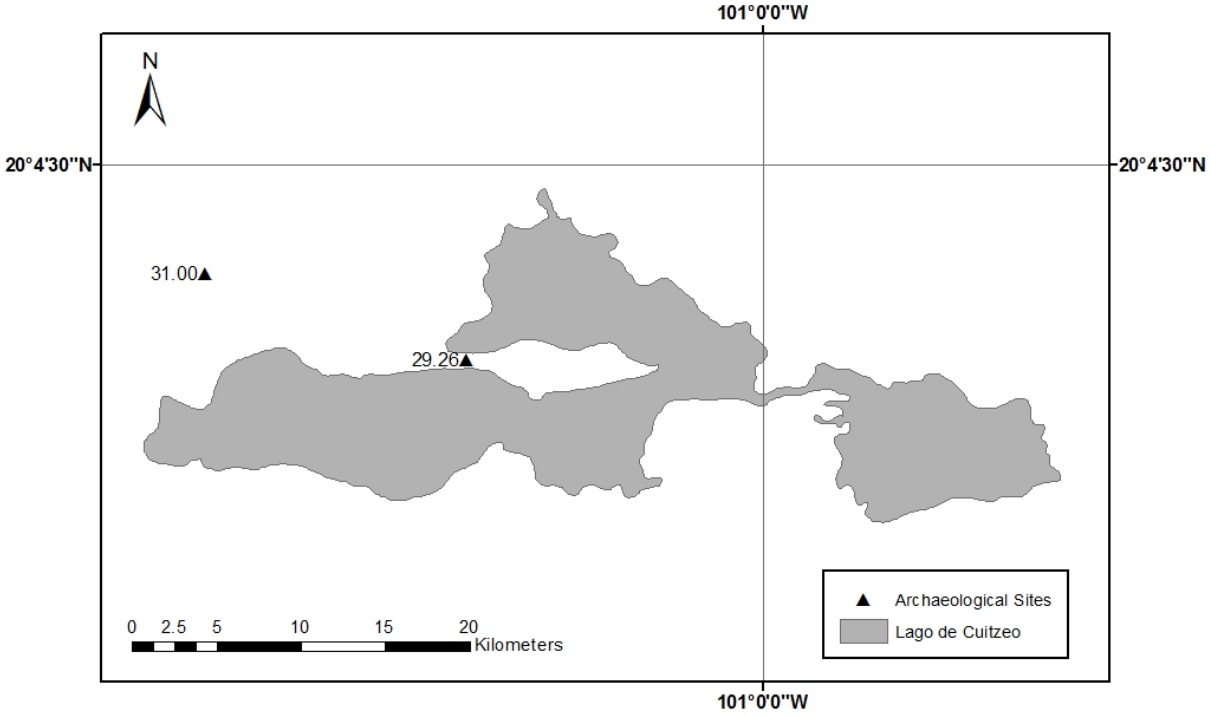


Figure 6.65. The archaeological sites of Tres Cerritos and Huandacareo (black triangles).

The Tres Cerritos site near Cuitzeo was established in the Classic period (A.D. 300–900) and remained inhabited into the Postclassic (A.D. 900–1500). The architectural features consist of three large mounds and two sunken plazas, with evidence of the distinctive talud-tablero style associated with Teotihuacan (Pollard 1993:7–8; Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:26). Mound 1 at Tres Cerritos consists of a quadrangular structure with three platforms superimposed in a north-south configuration, and no evidence of constructed stairways (Macias Goytia and Serret. 1988:162). Mound 2 has a rectangular plan with only one body consisting of a giant platform with six superimposed walls and talud-tablero architecture indicative of interactions with Teotihuacan (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:162). In the center of mound

2, archaeologists found a sealed tomb with funerary offerings placed at each of the cardinal directions (Macias Goytia and Serret1988:162).

During the second field season, the archaeologists excavated Mound 3 and found a tomb similar to Mound 2 with a rectangular vestibule and cut stone, and burials placed at each of the cardinal directions (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:163). To the south, they found five primary burials (four adults, one infant); in the west, were three burials (one primary, two secondary burials); in the east four primary burials with no attached crania; and many vase fragments in the north (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:163). Funerary offerings included biconical vases made of brown past with stucco; vases; ollas with negative decoration; 5000 pieces of shell, jade, bone, turquoise, and crystals (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:163). In the east, they found a tripod grinder, red with negative decoration, and other grinders with cylindrical supports (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:164). Excavations of a sealed tomb recovered an alabaster mask, also of Teotihuacan design (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:24). Evidence of Postclassic-period habitation includes the presence of Tarascan-style ceramic sherds, as well as complete ceramic vessels found in tombs and placed in the cardinal directions (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:55).

The archaeological site of Huandacareo is located on the hill known as "La Nopalera" (Macias Goytia 1990:22), northwest of the modern settlement. Archaeologists conducted several field seasons' worth of research at the site. The site has a ceremonial complex on the highest natural area of the site, similar to ceremonial constructions found at other sites like Comanja (See above), with mounded architecture and sunken plazas. Plaza 1 is a 29x25 meter sunken plaza that was modified from its original quadrangular design to create a space for human sacrifices (Macias Goytia 1990:33). North of the Plaza 1 sits a yacata with the same rectangular and conical plan found at Tzintzuntzan, attesting to a potential connection between the Tarascan capital and Huandacareo (Macias Goytia 1990:33). Mound 2 is another mound complex consisting of rectangular, scaled platforms, with talud-tablero architecture characteristic of interactions with Teotihuacan, although it may have been reinterpreted as a site dedicated to the goddess Xarátanga (Pollard 2012:141). The construction styles of the sunken plazas and architecture involve the use of wide lajas to face stairs, which is a known Tarascan architectural style (Macias Goytia 1990:38), as

is the use of red and white stone cut into rectangles for use in construction, which are similar to construction techniques found at Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan (Macias Goytia 1990:41).

Archaeological surveys of the southern edge of the Lake Cuitzeo basin recorded a large number of archaeological sites, including scatters of lithic and ceramic debris, habitation sites, and ceremonial structures (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996:36–40). This matches ethnohistorical descriptions of the region having extremely high population density (Macias Goytia 1990:7).

34) Yuríriapúndaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The *Chichimecs* and Islanders conquered Yuríriapúndaro during their campaigns of conquest (Alcalá 2000:524). Yuríriapúndaro bordered on the neighboring settlements of Acámbaro, Guango, Purúandiro, and Cuitzeo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:132). These are shown in Figure 6.66.

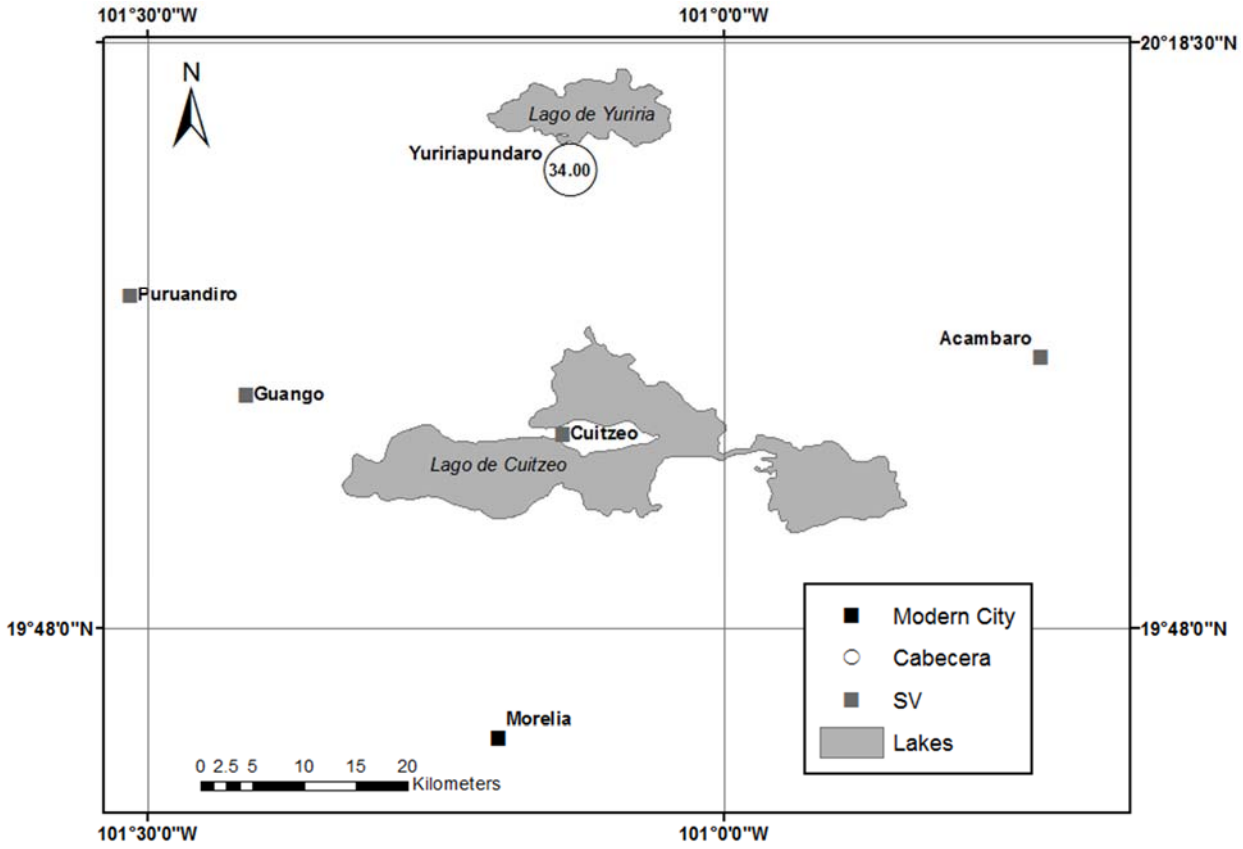


Figure 6.66. The cabecera *of Yuríriapúndaro (circle, #34) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Purúandiro, Guango, Cuitzeo, and Acámbaro (gray squares). The modern settlement of Morelia has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Yuríriapúndaro had four *subcabeceras* and eighteen subordinate *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:131). San Miguel had nine *barrios* of its own, while Tebequaro had three (Paso y Troncoso 1905:131). Guariscaro had seven *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:131). The four *subcabeceras* are listed in Table 6.37. Only one *subcabecera*, San Miguel, is identifiable and it is mapped in Figure 6.67.

Table 6.37. The cabecera of Yuríriapúndaro and its subcabeceras recorded in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:131).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
34.00	Yuríriapúndaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Cabecera*	Yuriria	Paso y Troncoso 1905:131
35.00	San Miguel	Yuríriapúndaro	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:131
36.00	Tebequaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:131
37.00	Guariscaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:131

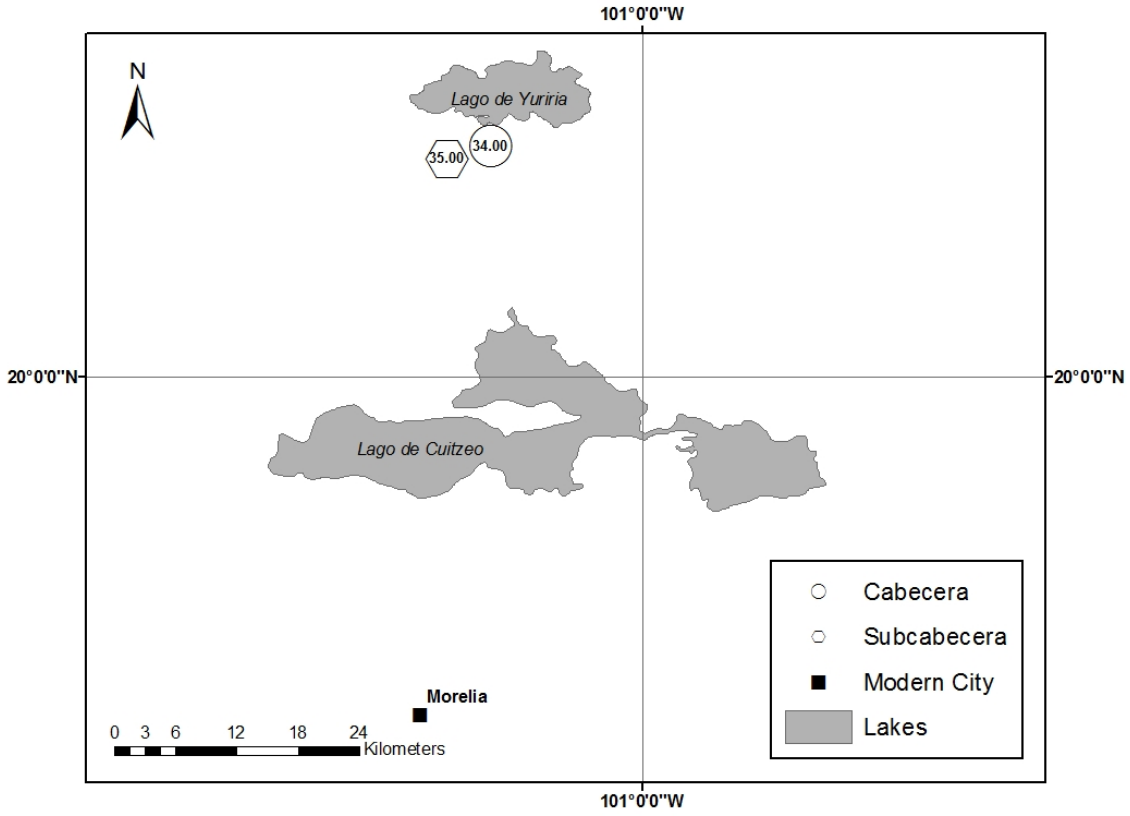


Figure 6.67. The cabecera *of Yuríriapúndaro (circle, #34) and its* subcabecera *of San Miguel (hexagon, #35) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:131).*

Table 6.38 lists the names of ten *barrios* under Yuririapundaro's control from the RO (García Pimentel 1904:.35–36).

Table 6.38. The cabecera of Yuríriapúndaro and its subordinate barrios as recorded in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:35–36).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
34.00	Yuríriapúndaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Cabecera*	Yuriria, Gto.	García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.01	Tarecato	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.02	Chumbo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.03	Quialoxo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*	Quiahuyo?	García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.04	Sorano	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*	Cerano?	García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.05	Emonguaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*	San Andrés Emenguaro?	García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.06	Sancta María	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel

					1904:35–36
34.07	Axichinao	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.08	Barrio de los Chichimecas	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35–36
34.09	Corao	Yuríriapúndaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:35–36

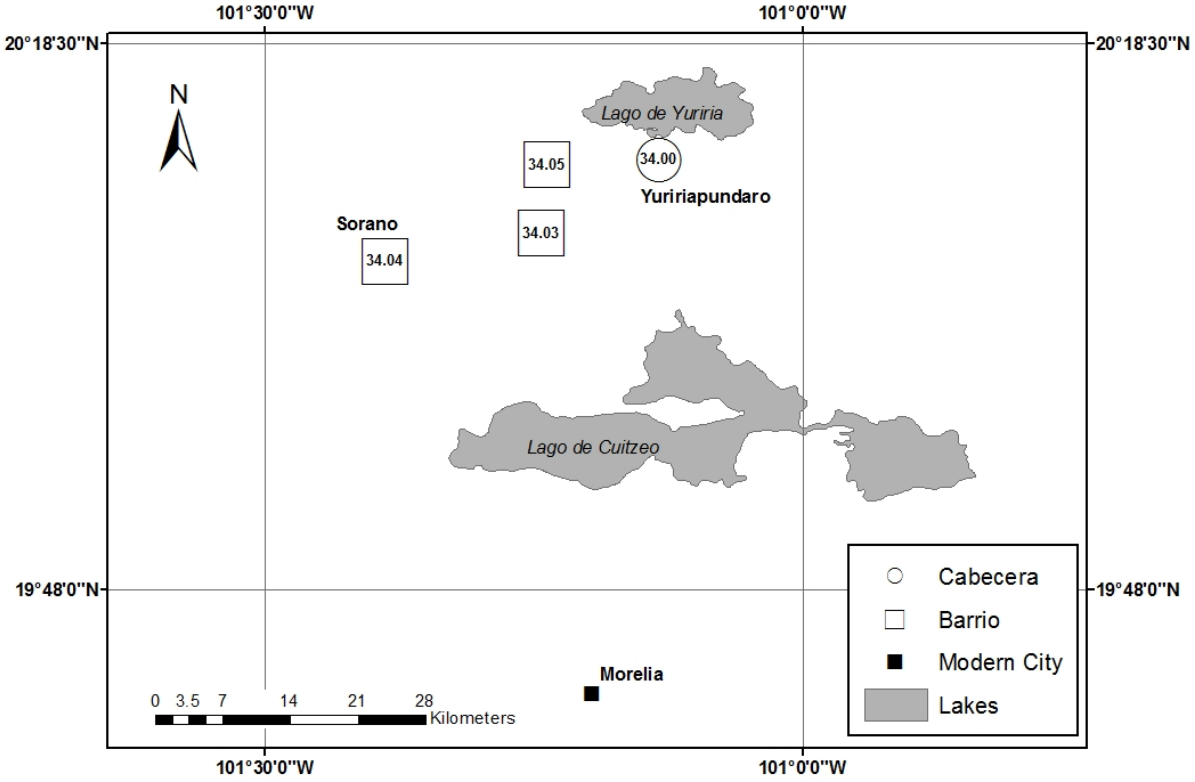


Figure 6.68. The cabecera *of Yuríriapúndaro (circle, #35) and the subordinate* barrios *(squares) of Quialoxo (Quiahuyo, #34.03), Emonguaro (San Andres Emenguaro, (#34.03), and Sorano (Cerano, #34.04) (Garcia Pimentel 1904:35–36). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

The *RG Yuríriapúndaro* contains additional references to subordinates (Acuña 1987:69–70) which are list in Table 6.39.

Table 6.39. The cabecera *of Yuríriapúndaro and its subordinates from the* RG Acámbaro *(Acuña 1987:69–70).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
34.00	Yuríriapúndaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Cabecera*	Yuriria	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.01	Turecato	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.05	Eménguaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	Emenguaro?	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.10	Charaquao	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.11	San Pedro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.12	Eménguaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	Emenguaro?	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.13	Zunbao	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.14	Quiyavio	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.15	Pamaceo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	Pamaseo	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.16	Charondeo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.17	Caranbatio	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.18	Huriangato	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	San Miguel Uriangato	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.19	Manonaqua	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.20	Queretaro	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.21	Araceo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	La Magdelena de Araceo?	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.22	Tararamuchao	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.23	Parasgueo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.24	Erajamaqua	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.25	Coracio	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.26	Santa Maria	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.27	Trieturangua	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.28	Zundeseo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.29	Estancia de Caracheo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.30	Quiripeo	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.31	Pajanutio	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:69–70
34.32	Cacaquaran	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	Cazacuaran	Acuña 1987:69–70
34.33	Marabatio	Yuríriapúndaro	*Sujeto*	Maravatio de Encinal?	Acuña 1987:69–70

Figure 6.69 shows the locations of the *sujetos* discussed in the *RG Yuríriapúndaro* (Acuña 1987:69–70).

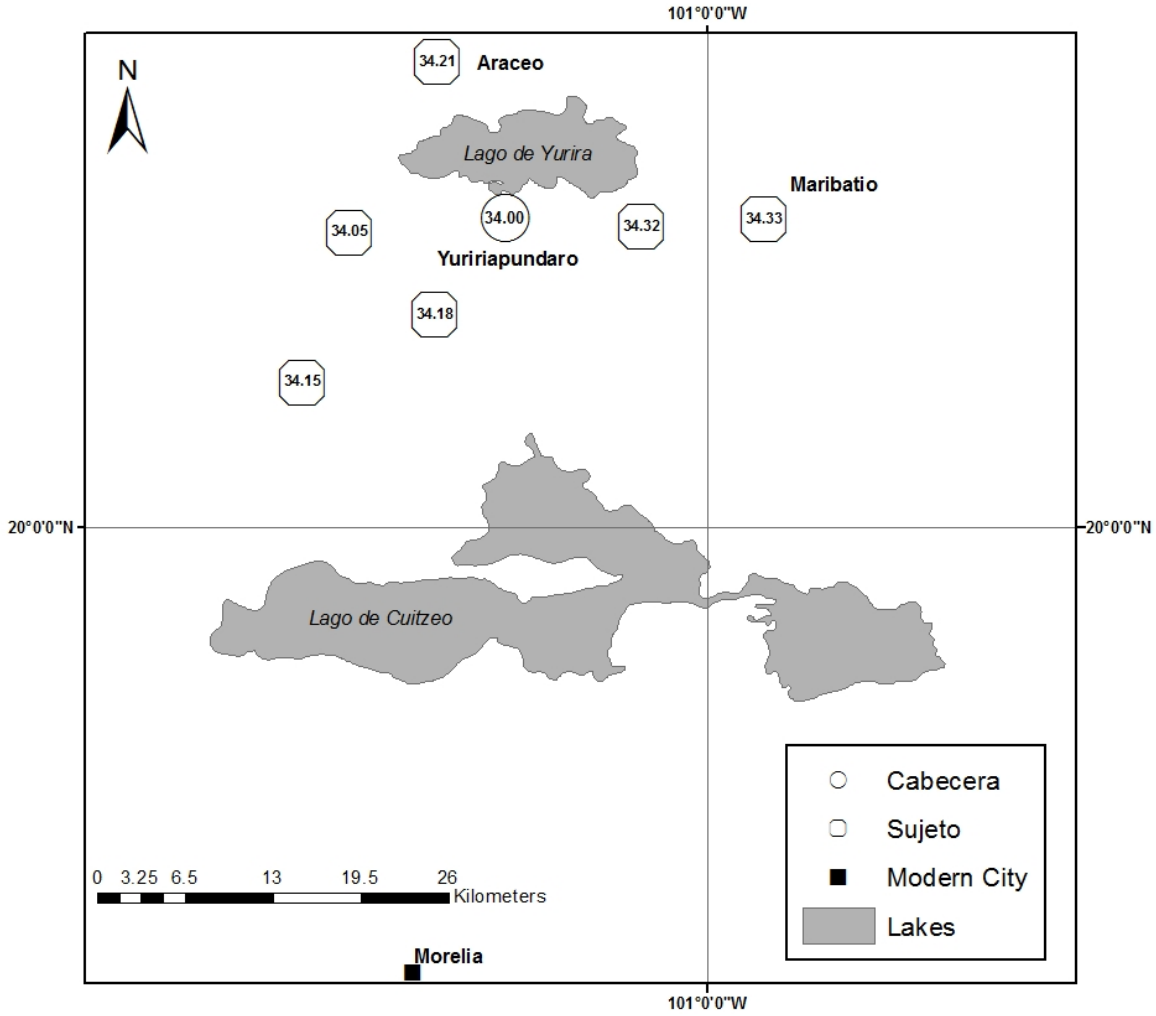


Figure 6.69. The cabecera *of Yuríriapúndaro (circle, #4) and its* sujetos *Emenguaro (truncated square, #34.05), Pamaceo (Pamaseo, #34.15), Huriangato (San Miguel Uriangato, #34.18), Araceo (Araseo, #34.21), Cacaquaran (Cazacuaran, #34.32), and Maribatio (Maravatio del Encinal, #34.33). Morelia has been added as a modern spatial referent (Acuña 1987:69–70).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.70 illustrates the organizational scheme for Yuríriapúndaro.

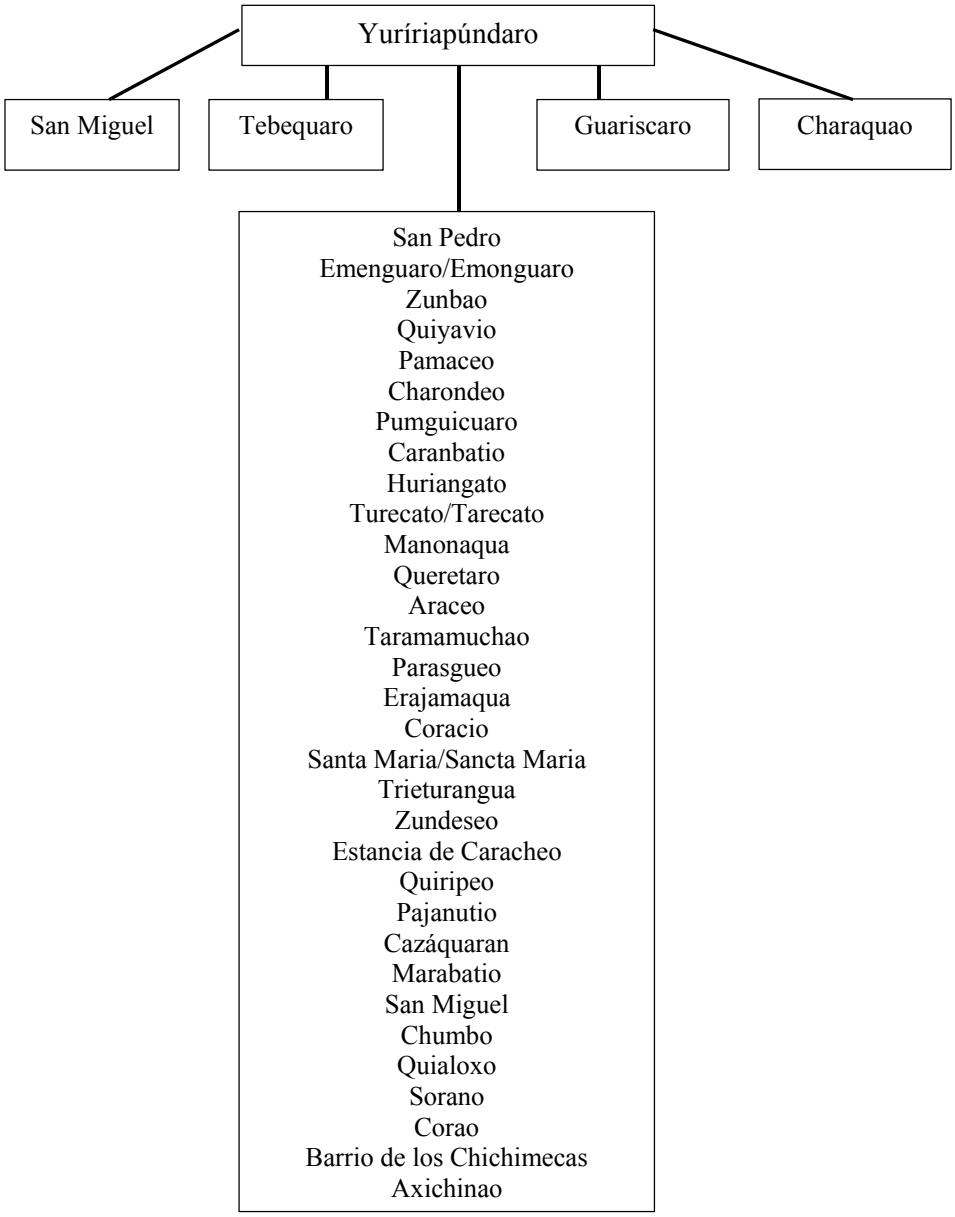


Figure 6.70. Diagram illustrating the proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Yuríriapúndaro and subordinates.

Yuríriapúndaro's sociopolitical hierarchy is at least three ranks, with Yuríriapúndaro as the *cabecera*, the settlements of San Miguel, Tebequaro, Guariscaro, and Charaquao as the subcabecera, and all of Yuríriapúndaro's subordinates occupying the second tier. Unfortunately, there are insufficient data to determine which settlements were subordinate to the *subcabeceras.*

Archaeological Evidence. To date, there are no published surveys or excavation reports for Yuríriapúndaro.

Colonial Era. Yuríriapúndaro has the distinction of being the northernmost settlement on the Tarascan frontier, but it actually only appears once in the RM as a conquest of the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524). After the Spanish conquest, Yuríriapúndaro became an encomienda of Juan de Tovar in the 1520s, but by 1545 it had escheated and become the property of the Spanish crown (Gerhard 1972:65).

38) Acámbaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The Chichimecs and Islanders conquered Acámbaro during the conquests of geopolitical expansion (Alcalá 2000:524). Acámbaro was bordered by the neighboring units of Zinapécuaro, Yuríriapúndaro and Cuitzeo to the west, Maravatio to the south, and Queretaro to the northeast (Paso y Troncoso 1905:33). This is shown in Figure 6.71.

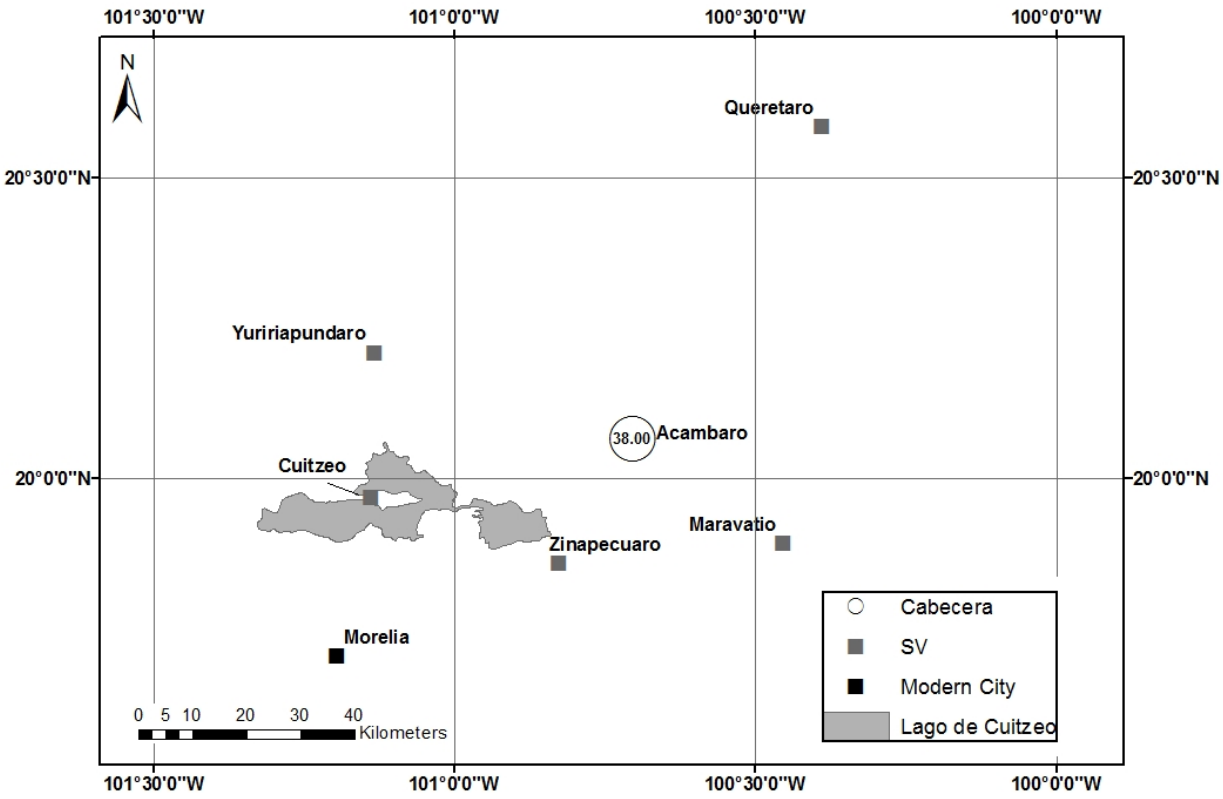


Figure 6.71. The location of the cabecera *of Acámbaro (circle, #38) in relation to other settlements mentioned in the RM conquest narrative (Alcalá 2000:524). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added for reference.*

Subject Towns. According to the SV, Acámbaro had four additional subject *cabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32), which are listed in Table 6.40.

Table 6.40. The cabecera *of Acámbaro and its subordinate* cabeceras *as recorded in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
38.00	Acámbaro	Acámbaro	*Cabecera*	Acámbaro, Guanajuato	Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33
39.00	Emenguaro	Acámbaro	*Subcabecera*	Emenguaro, Guanajuato	Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33
40.00	Atacorin/Arocutin?	Acámbaro	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33
41.00	Amocutin	Acámbaro	*Subcabecera*	Andocutin, Michoacán?	Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33
42.00	Iramuco	Acámbaro	*Subcabecera*	Iramuco, Michoacán	Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33

Figure 6.72 shows the locations of Acámbaro and its identifiable subcabeceras from Table 6.40.

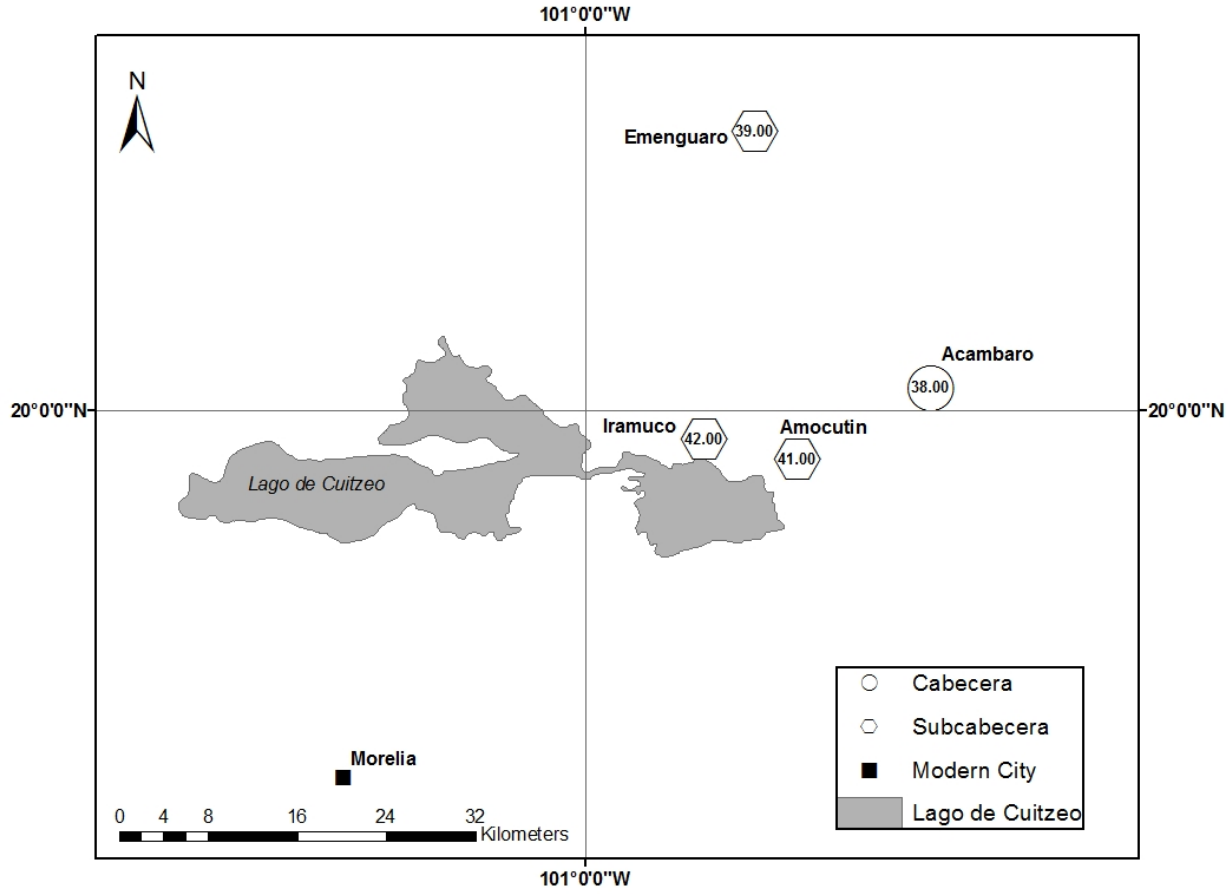


Figure 6.72. The cabecera *of Acámbaro (circle, #38) and its* subcabeceras *Emenguaro (#39) Iramuco (#42) and Amocutin (#41), as referenced in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added for reference.*

Acámbaro had thirteen *barrios*, while Iramuco had three (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32). In addition, Amocutin had two *barrios*, Atacorin had four, and Eménguaro had two *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:33). This makes a total of 29 subordinates under Acámbaro's control; however, beyond the names of the *subcabeceras* we have no specific information on Acámbaro's subordinates from this report.

In the RO, we see that Acámbaro is the *cabecera* of eight subordinates, shown in the following table (García Pimentel 1904:44).

Table 6.41. The subject towns of Acámbaro according to the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:44).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
38.00	Acámbaro	Acámbaro	*Cabecera*	Acámbaro, Guanajuato	García Pimentel 1904:44
38.01	Puricheo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
38.02	Curuneo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Xuruneo, Guanajuato	García Pimentel 1904:44
38.03	Xereq	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Xereq, Guanajuato	García Pimentel 1904:44
38.04	Tacámbaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Tacambarillo, Guanajuato?	García Pimentel 1904:44
38.05	Purumu	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
38.06	Apaceo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Apaseo, Guanajuato	García Pimentel 1904:44
41.00	Hamocutin	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Amocutin, Michoacán	García Pimentel 1904:44
42.00	Iramoco	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Iramuco, Michoacán	García Pimentel 1904:44

Figure 6.73 shows the locations of settlements listed in the table. Several settlements are recognizable, and Acámbaro probably held on to them throughout the colonial period.

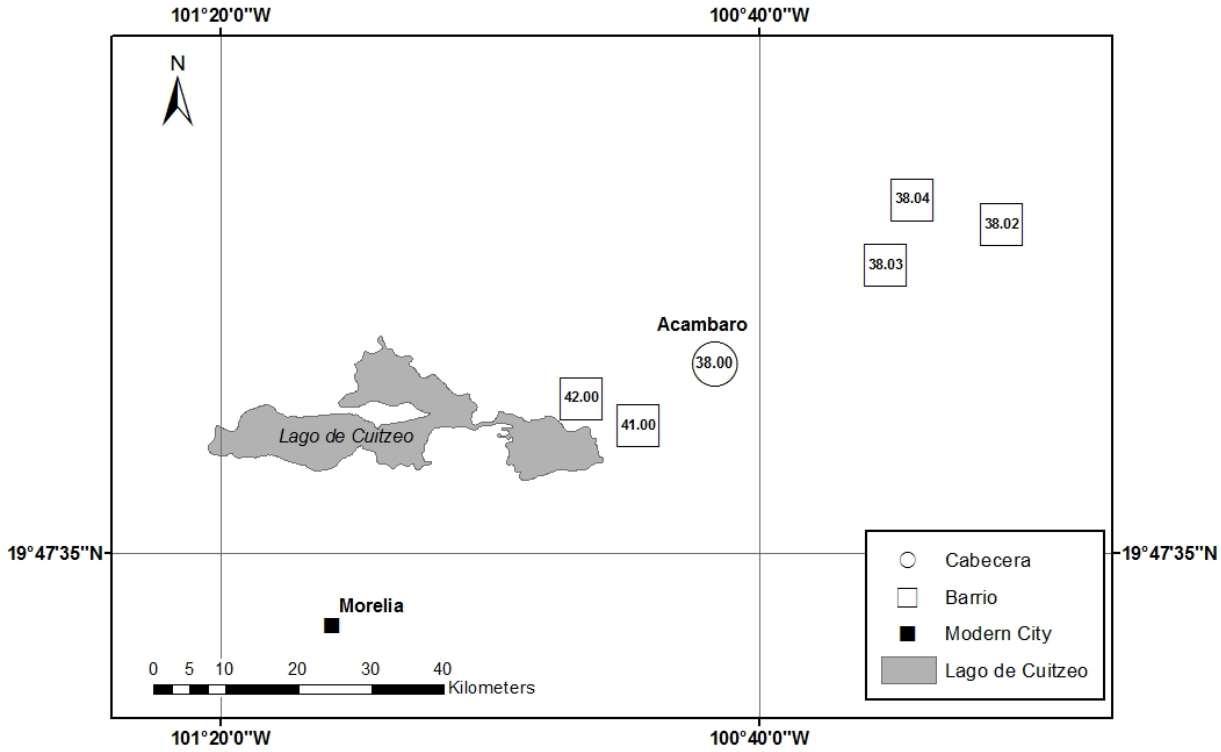


Figure 6.73. The location of Acámbaro and its barrios Iramuco, Amocutin, Xereq, Curuneo (Xuruneo), and Tacámbaro as referenced in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:44). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added for reference.

The RO list shows several identifiable towns, including the *subcabeceras* of Amocutin and Iramuco, but the Emenguaro and Arocutin are absent (García Pimentel 1904:44). In the *RG Acámbaro*, Acámbaro is the *cabecera* of over 45 different settlements in Michoacán and Guanajuato, although political changes may have led to a colonial-period increase in the number of subordinates (Acuña 1987:62). All four of Acámbaro's original *subcabeceras* are listed, as are several of the settlements that were listed in early entries like the RO (García Pimentel 1904:44). Table 6.42 lists the *cabeceras* and *sujetos* from the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1944:44).

Table 6.42. The cabecera *of Acámbaro and its subordinate* barrios *from the* RG Acámbaro (Acuña 1987:62).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
38.00	Acámbaro	Acámbaro	*Cabecera*	Acámbaro, Guanajuato	Acuña 1987:62
38.02	Coroneo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Xuruneo?	Acuña 1987:62
38.04	Tacámbaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Tacámbaro	Acuña 1987:62
38.06	Apatsio	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Apatzeo	Acuña 1987:62
38.07	Tarandaquao	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Tarandaquao	Acuña 1987:62
38.08	Tepaqua	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.09	Chamacuaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Chamacuaro	Acuña 1987:62
38.10	Puroagua	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Puroagua	Acuña 1987:62
38.11	Chupicuaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Chupicuaro	Acuña 1987:62
38.12	Piritzeo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.13	Urireo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Urireo	Acuña 1987:62
38.14	Cochones	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.15	Parequaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.16	La Barranca	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	La Barranca	Acuña 1987:62
38.17	Aguas Calientes	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.18	Augustin Apatzeo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.19	San Pedro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	San Pedro	Acuña 1987:62
38.20	San Miguel	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.21	Santiago	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.22	San Lucas	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	San Lucas	Acuña 1987:62
38.23	San Francisco	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	San Francisco	Acuña 1987:62
38.24	San Jerónimo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.25	San Pedro Huecoreo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.26	Labor de Apatzeo el Alto	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Labor de Apaseo el Alto	Acuña 1987:62
38.27	Acamaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.28	Toquaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Tocuaro	Acuña 1987:62
38.29	Los Pescadores	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.30	Navaztepeque	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.31	Pirihtsio	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.32	San Juan Tehpaqua	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62

38.33	Huatzaquao	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.34	Panaquao	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.35	Sirandaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.36	Caochandurio	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.37	Paraquaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Parácuaro	Acuña 1987:62
38.38	Santa María	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.39	La *Estancia* de Tarimoro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	La *Estancia* de Tarimoro	Acuña 1987:62
38.40	Huripitio	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.41	Cuhnio	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.42	Catsirehpeo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.43	San Pedro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
38.44	Villa de Celaya	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Celaya	Acuña 1987:62
38.45	Portezuelo	Acámbaro	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:62
39.00	Menguaro	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Emenguaro	Acuña 1987:62
40.00	Arocutin	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Arocutin	Acuña 1987:62
41.00	Andocutin	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Andocutin	Acuña 1987:62
42.00	Iramoco	Acámbaro	*Barrio*	Iramuco	Acuña 1987:62

Figure 6.74 illustrates the location of the identifiable *sujetos.*

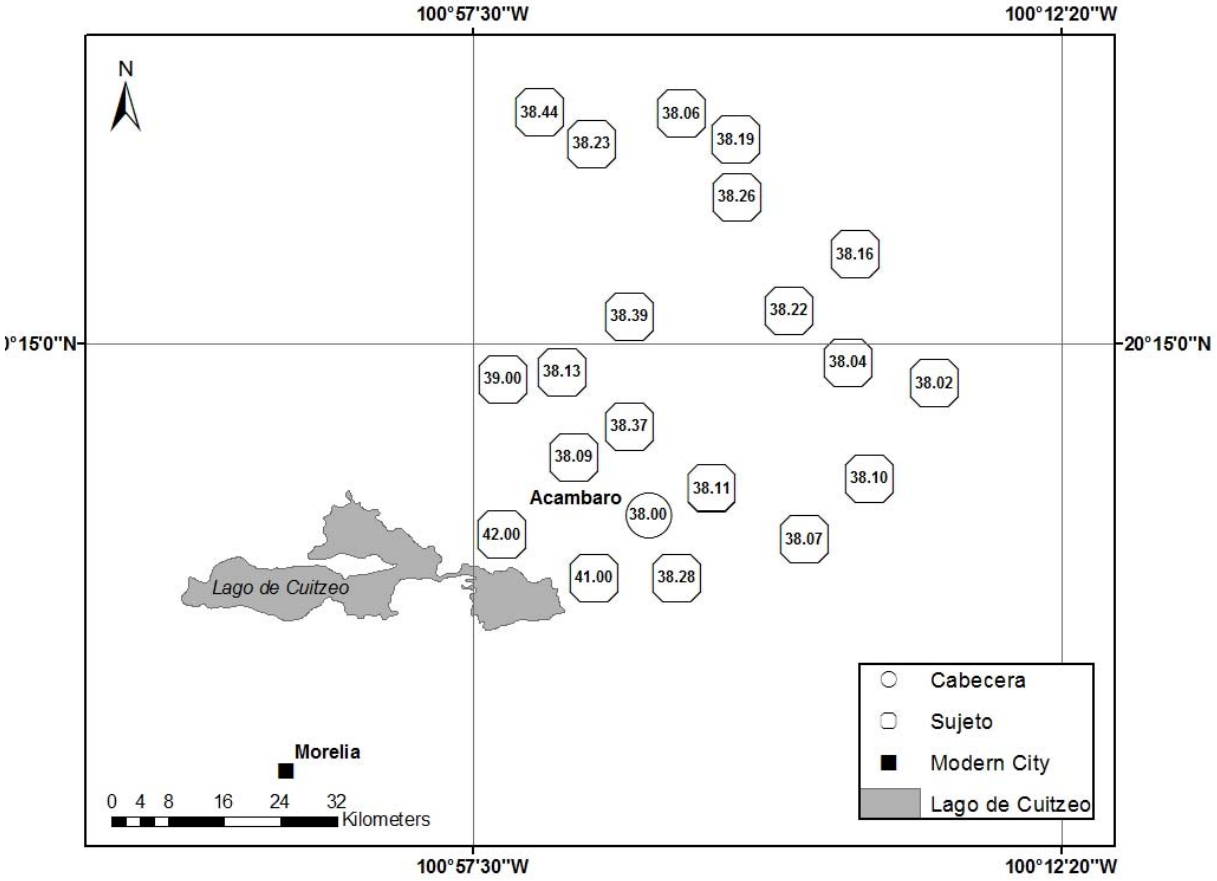


Figure 6.74. The cabecera *of Acámbaro (circle, #38) and its* sujetos *(truncated squares) referenced in Acuña (1987:62). The modern settlement of Morelia has been added for reference.*

The ethnic composition of Acámbaro consisted of separate contingents of Tarascans, Pame-speaking Chichimecs, and Otomis (Acuña 1987:63; Gerhard 1972:65; Gorenstein 1985a:9). The Otomis arrived in the area led by four *principales* and seventy Indians who had fled the Aztec-controlled territory of Xilotepeque near Hueychiapan (Acuña 1987:60–61). Although the ruler of Michoacán allowed the Otomies to settle in the Guayangareo Valley, they opted to relocate to the Lerma River Valley shortly thereafter (Acuña 1987:61). The Tarascans also sent four *principales* to settle in the area, followed by the Chichimecs (Acuña 1987:61).

Colonial records show that leadership among different ethnic groups continued after the conquest. In 1528, a *Cacique* named Don Martin Sinson was elected to the position of *alcalde* (López Sarrelangue

1965). The last name "Sinson" is a derivation of "Tzintzuntzan," used by Tarascan nobles in the Colonial period to denote a blood relation with the Tzintzuntzan lineage (López Sarrelangue 1965:163). However, Don Martin was not directly related to the ruling lineage because of his rank (*Cacique*), and the fact that he is not using the name of an ancestor, as other more closely related members did (López Sarrelangue 1965:163) A reference from 1555 also mentions the actions of Don Antonio Ycac, a *Cacique* and *principal* of the *pueblo* (López Sarrelangue 1965:163). "Ycac" is not a Purépecha name; rather, it appears to be Nahuatl (Simēon 1997:164).

The Tarascan contingent made fields of maize and other grains, which they gave to the Cazonci as gifts and services to his house (Acuña 1987:63). Agricultural production continued to be an important source of tribute during the colonial period (Paso y Troncoso 1905:33). They also gave blankets, although the quantities were limited (Acuña 1987:63). The people of Acámbaro also carried firewood to Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan (Zinzonza) (Acuña 1987:63). The Otomis and Chichimecs paid tribute through military service by guarding the frontier, although they occasionally sent gifts of prisoners and war booty to Tzintzuntzan (Acuña 1987:63). The *Tasación de Ortega* of 1528 lists Acámbaro's obligation to have two hundred men carry three hundred loads of maize to the mines (Warren 1977:421), and the SV reports that Acámbaro also paid with loaves of salt and clothing (e.g., shoes) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:33). Salt likely came from the towns of Iramuco or Andocutin because of their proximity to Lake Cuitzeo, which is a rich source for salt production today and in the pre-Hispanic past (Williams 1999:400, 2010:175).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Acámbaro's organizational structure is shown in Figure 6.75.

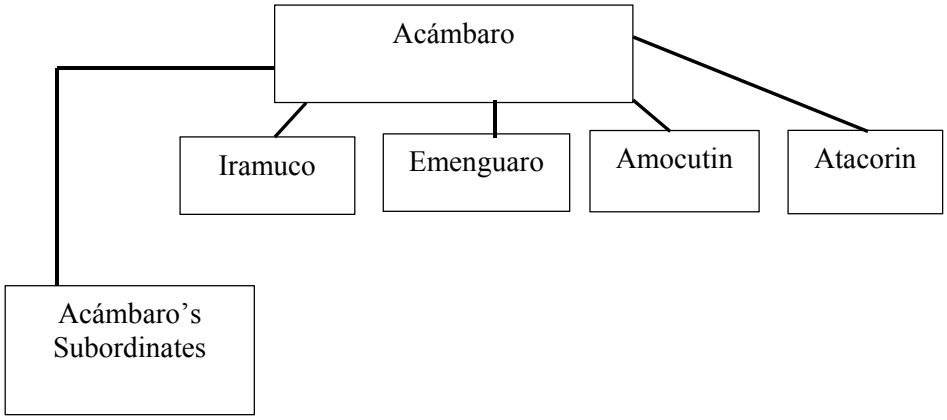


Figure 6.75. Acámbaro and its subcabeceras *of Iramuco, Emenguaro, Amocutin, and Atacorin.*

Acámbaro was *cabecera* over a large, complex political unit. Iramuco, Emenguaro, Amocutin, and Atacorin were *subcabeceras* according to sources like the SV and RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904; Paso y Troncoso 1905). The ethnohistorical record in the RG suggests that Acámbaro an important *cabecera* during the pre-Hispanic period but the number of subordinates listed in the RG is likely exaggerated due to political changes during the colonial period (Acuña 1987; Gerhard 1972).

Archaeological Analysis of Acámbaro. Table 6.43 lists a series of archaeological sites surveyed by Gorenstein (1985a) and her team.

Table 6.43. The cabecera *of Acámbaro and associated archaeological sites in Guanajuato.*

Number	Name	Type	Source
38.00	Acámbaro	Cabecera	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.46	AC CA	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.47	AC E	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.48	AC F	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.49	AC G	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.50	AC 2	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.51	AC 3	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.52	AC 4	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein

			1985a:52
38.53	AC 5	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.54	AC 7	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52
38.55	AC 8	Archaeological Site	Gorenstein 1985a:52

Figure 6.76 shows the locations of archaeological sites in the vicinity of Acámbaro.

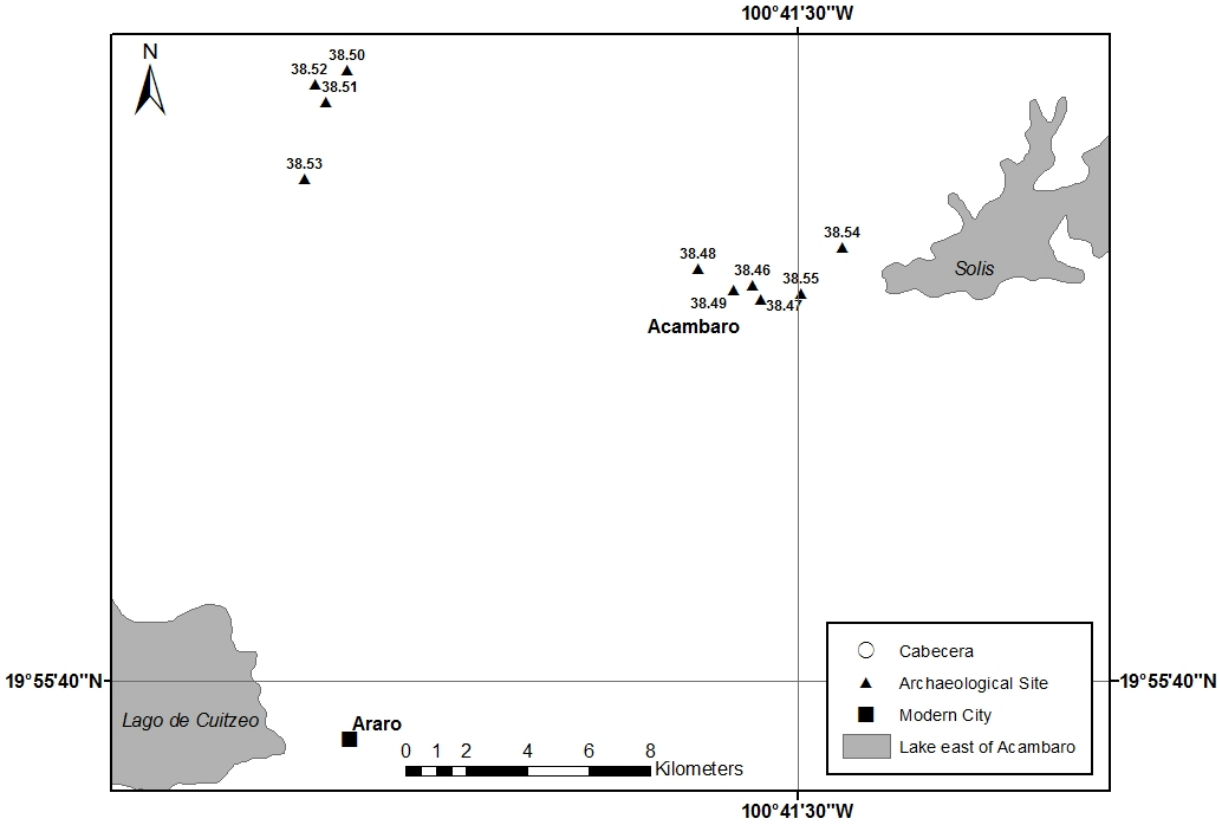


Figure 6.76. The cabecera *of Acámbaro (circle, #38) and nearby archaeological sites (black triangles). The settlement of Araro(black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Archaeological investigations were conducted around Acámbaro by Hugo Moedaño in 1931, Muriel Porter in 1956 (Porter 1956), and by a research team lead by Shirley Gorenstein in 1985 (Gorenstein 1985a). Moedaño and Porter recovered evidence about the early Formative Chupícuaro culture that lived along the Lerma River Valley, Cuitzeo basin, and the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. Gorenstein and her team

surveyed the area around modern Acámbaro, Chamaquero, and Inchamucquaro (Gorenstein 1985a:33). No sites were found in the vicinity of modern Acámbaro, although there is a possible ceremonial site located on Cerro El Chivo, consisting of monumental architecture that has rounded features similar to the yacatas at Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio (Gorenstein 1985a:76). Petroglyphs of similar styles to those found at Tzintzuntzan were also discovered (Gorenstein 1985a:87).

The ceramics recovered from excavations near Cerro el Chivo and surface collections at other sites point to a continuous occupation of the area from the Late Formative period to the end of the Postclassic (Gorenstein 1985a:46; Snarskis 1985:207). The lowest stratigraphic layers, which contained Chupícuaro ceramics, were radiocarbon dated to A.D. 315 (Gorenstein 1985a:46). Lerma Complex ceramics were recovered from strata dating to the Late Classic period, and all archaeological sites have ceramics dating to the late Postclassic Acámbaro phase (A.D.1450–1522). Postclassic ceramics, particularly from the area near Cerro el Chivo, included sherds from the Yaguarato and Ojo de Agua complexes which are also found at Tzintzuntzan (Gorenstein 1985a:45; Pollard 1993:202). These sherds were located at sites near the present-day settlement of Chamaquero and Inchamucquaro west of Acámbaro, and south of the Cerro el Chivo at sites AC 3, AC 4, AC 5, AC 8, AC G, and AC E (Gorenstein 1985a:45). In addition, another ceramic group found at Tzintzuntzan known as Ojo de Agua was found in these localities, but unlike Yaguarato Complex ceramics, Ojo de Agua has cultural antecedents in the region, which suggests that this was a locally developed ceramic type that was taken to Tzintzuntzan. These were found at AC 2, AC 3, AC 4, AC 5, AC 8, and AC E (Gorenstein 1985a:45).

The analysis of the recovered ceramics revealed few indicators of high-ranking Tarascan elites, which is consistent with the statements that lower-ranking Tarascan elites lived here (Gorenstein 1985a:13). Only one group, Bejuocos Coarse Ware from the Acámbaro Complex, had everted rim shapes, but none of the slip types or geometric designs consistent with the ceramics associated with Tarascan *señor*es living in Tzintzuntzan (Pollard 1993). Several ceramic types show evidence of complex incised geometric designs, but these do not appear to be consistent with Tarascan elites either. While polychrome pottery types were in evidence, they show little evidence of *señor*-rank officials. In addition, another

ceramic group found at Tzintzuntzan known as Ojo de Agua was found in these localities, but unlike Yaguarato Complex ceramics, Ojo de Agua has cultural antecedents in the region, which suggests that this was a locally developed ceramic type that was taken to Tzintzuntzan.

Lithic evidence consisted of cores, flakes, blades, and projectile points recovered from all archaeological sites (Gorenstein 1985a:47–52). Gray and black obsidian from the nearby Zinapecuaro and Ucareo obsidian outcrops were predominant, with only 13 flakes of obsidian. High-ranking elite zones in Tzintzuntzan typically had red, green, and gray/black obsidian in their assemblages, while in middle-ranking elite assemblages red and green obsidian was "rare" or "absent" (Pollard 1993:40). The cores were crudely shaped and consistent with Otomi or Chichimec production. Blades recovered from Acámbaro had a similar proximal (bulbar) end to the few blades recovered from Tzintzuntzan (Gorenstein 1985a:55).

Investigators cleared the monumental architecture on Cerro el Chivo but did not excavate (Gorenstein 1985a). The architecture consisted of low rectangular platforms, some supporting rounded structures. The styles and sizes are similar to architectural features found on the eastern border at Zitácuaro (Gendrop 1972), and in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. Gorenstein noted that the Tarascans had a strong tradition of monumental construction, while the Otomis and Chichimecs did not (Carrasco 1950 [Gorenstein 1985a]).

Acámbaro's sociopolitical organization is closest to what Lockhart (1992:20–21) calls a complex *altepetl*, which is made up of several constituent *altepetl* units headed by their own *Tlatoque*. These units are functionally separate, and constituent political leaders only receive the tribute from subordinates within their own *altepetl* unit (Lockhart 1992:21). The Tarascans sent their own leader and several families to Acámbaro to represent Tarascan interests in the region, and the Otomi and Chichimec contingents had their own *Señor*es as well (Acuña 1987:61). The *Señor*es handled all administrative matters of their respective units (Acuña 1987:61). The only circumstances where the Tarascans extended control were during times of conflict, but this behavior is consistent with the preparations for war discussed in the RM, where Tarascan elites became military leaders and the members of subordinate units followed their orders (Alcalá 2000:582).

Remote Sensing. The focus of Acámbaro is Cerro el Chivo, a large hill north of the modern town of Acámbaro that has monumental architecture such as platforms, walls and small structures (Gorenstein 1985a). A large ridge west of Iramuco supports potential architectural remains, including walls and several smaller constructions in a cleared area of the ridge.

Colonial Era. In 1528, Acámbaro became the encomienda of Gonzalo Riobo de Sotomayor, who held it until his death in 1538 (Gerhard 1972:65). The settlement stayed in the family until the middle of the sixteenth century, but by then half the tribute generated by Acámbaro and its subordinates went to the Spanish crown. The SV states that Acámbaro by the 1540s it had four subject cabeceras as well as 13 subordinate barrios (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32–33). By the time the *RG Villa de Celaya* was written in 1579, Acámbaro controlled 45 subordinates (Acuña 1987:62).

43) Araro and 44) Zinapécuaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Araro and Zinapécuaro were a single *encomienda* in the sixteenth century and this resulted in the ethnohistorical records describing them as a unit. Part One of the RM describes Araro as the site of a sacred spring where the Tarascans conducted a weather ceremony to bring the rains (Alcalá 2000:330). In Episode XXII, Taríacuri told his son and nephews the story of Chapa, the son of lord Chánshori of Curinguaro and a female slave, who conquered *pueblos* in eastern Michoacán in Curícaueri's name and then renounced the god (Alcalá 2000:460). Chapa used Araro as his *cabecera* until his death, after which his children fought over the right to succeed him, which invalidated their claims to be *Señor*es (Alcalá 2000:462). Zinapécuaro was the seat of the mother goddess Caueraperi and the site of a sacrificial ceremony during the festival of Sicuindiro (Alcalá 2000:331), and the source of a major obsidian outcrop. Just before the Spanish Conquest, Caueraperi took a woman from nearby Ucareo to a council of the gods, where the woman was told of the coming of the Spaniards (Alcalá 2000:642). Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje conquered Araro during the early expansionary campaigns, while Zinapécuaro was a later conquest of the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:519, 524).

Zinapécuaro borders on the units of Tarimbaro, Acámbaro, Indaparapeo, and Taimeo (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Paso y Troncoso 1905:77–78). Araro borders on Acámbaro, Taimeo, Ucareo and Indaparapeo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32). This is shown in Figure 6.77.

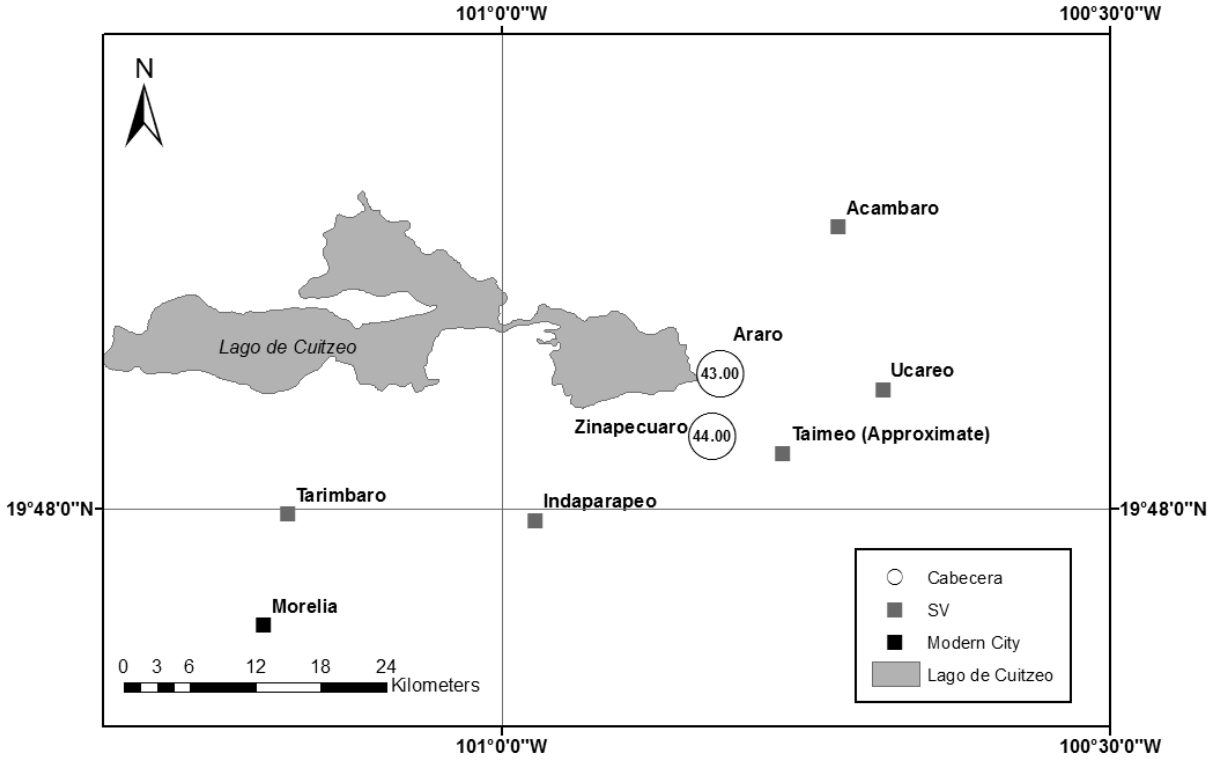


Figure 6.77. The cabeceras *(circles) of Araro (#43) and Zinapécuaro (#44) and the neighboring* cabeceras *(gray squares) of Acámbaro, Ucareo, Taimeo (location approximate), Indaparapeo, and Tarimbaro. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial reference point.*

Subject Towns. According to the SV, by the colonial period Zinapécuaro was the *cabecera* while Araro was a subject *cabecera* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:77). The SV entry for Zinapécuaro states that it had two *cabeceras* and four *barrios*, and since Araro and Zinapécuaro were given to Gonzalo Riobo de Sotomayor as a combined *encomienda* in 1528 (Gerhard 1972:318), the other *cabecera* was Araro (Mauricio Escobar 1984:219; Paso y Troncoso 1905:77–78). A separate SV entry for Araro lists three *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32), giving Araro and Zinapécuaro a combined total of seven subordinates. This number is very close to the RO list of 1571, which lists eight total subordinates;

although by this time Araro was a subordinate barrio to Zinapécuaro (García Pimentel 1904:45). The RO list of subordinates is shown in Table 6.44.

Table 6.44. The subordinates of the joint cabecera *of Araro and Zinapécuaro listed in the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45). Both* cabecera *numbers are assigned here because the assignment of subordinates is unclear at present.*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
43.00	Araro	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Cabecera*	Araro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
44.00	Zinapécuaro	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Cabecera*	Zinapécuaro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.01	Tzintzimeo	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.02	Barrio de la Laguna	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.03	Tzirio	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.04	Querendaro	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*	Querendaro	Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.05	Hixiagio	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.06	Hixago	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.07	San Pedro de los Pescadores	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45
43/44.08	Hireueo	Araro/Zinapécuaro	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:44–45

The locations of Araro, Zinapecuaro, and the *barrio* of Querendaro are shown in Figure 6.78. Querendaro is located southwest of Zinapecuaro

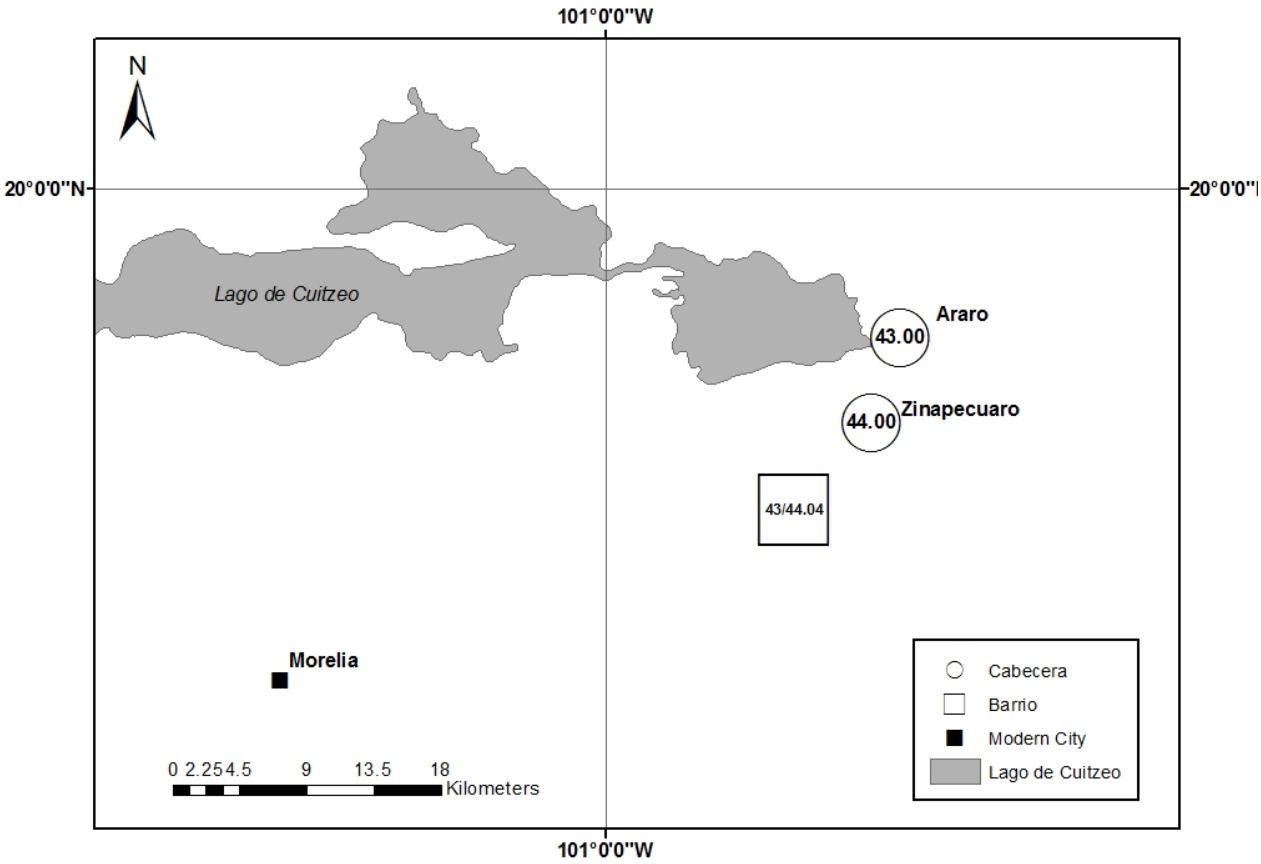


Figure 6.78. The cabeceras *(circles) of Araro (#43) and Zinapécuaro (#44) and the* barrio *of Querendaro (#43/44.04). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

An entry from 1567 names Don Alonso Huapean as the "*Cacique y gobernador*" of Zinapécuaro, with *principales* Don Marcos Cuyo and Don Mateo Cuiru filing suit against him for excessive tribute (López Sarrelangue 1965:288). Don Alonso Huapean is also the subject of the *Códice Huapean*, which describes the control of Araro and Zinapécuaro under his lineage (López Sarrelangue 1965:98–99). Later, Don Sebastian Tanga (derivation of Tangáxoan) served as *gobernador* in 1585 (López Sarrelangue 1965:288). Given that the names are derivations of members of the elite lineages, and these positions tended to be hereditary, it is likely that they are distant relatives of the ruling lineages (López Sarrelangue 1965:163).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The records are unclear if Araro and Zinapecuaro were joint *cabeceras* during the pre-Hispanic period. Araro was clearly a *cabecera* judging from the references in the RM which describe it as such, but Zinapecuaro is relatively unknown in the ethnohistory. Therefore, I suggest

that this was another unit where joint administration was the norm. Figure 6.79 shows the organizational structure. Araro and Zinapecuaro are positioned as *cabeceras* with eight subordinate *barrios* and *estancias*.

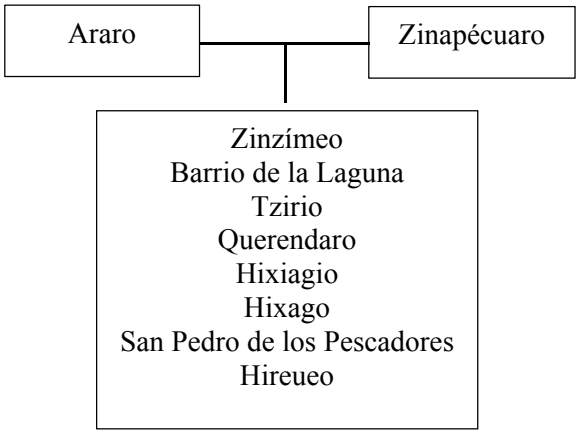


Figure 6.79. Sociopolitical hierarchy of Araro and Zinapecuaro, which may have ruled together.

Archaeological Analyses of Araro and Zinapécuaro. Table 6.45 lists the identifiable archaeological sites in the vicinity of Araro and Zinapecuaro.

Table 6.45. The archaeological sites near Araro and Zinapecuaro.

No.	Name	Location	Source
43/44.09	Araro (M-35)	Araro	Pulido Mendez et al. 1996
43/44.10	La Bartolilla	Zinapecuaro	Hernandez 2000:117

Figure 6.80 shows the locations of the archaeological sites in relation to the *cabeceras*.

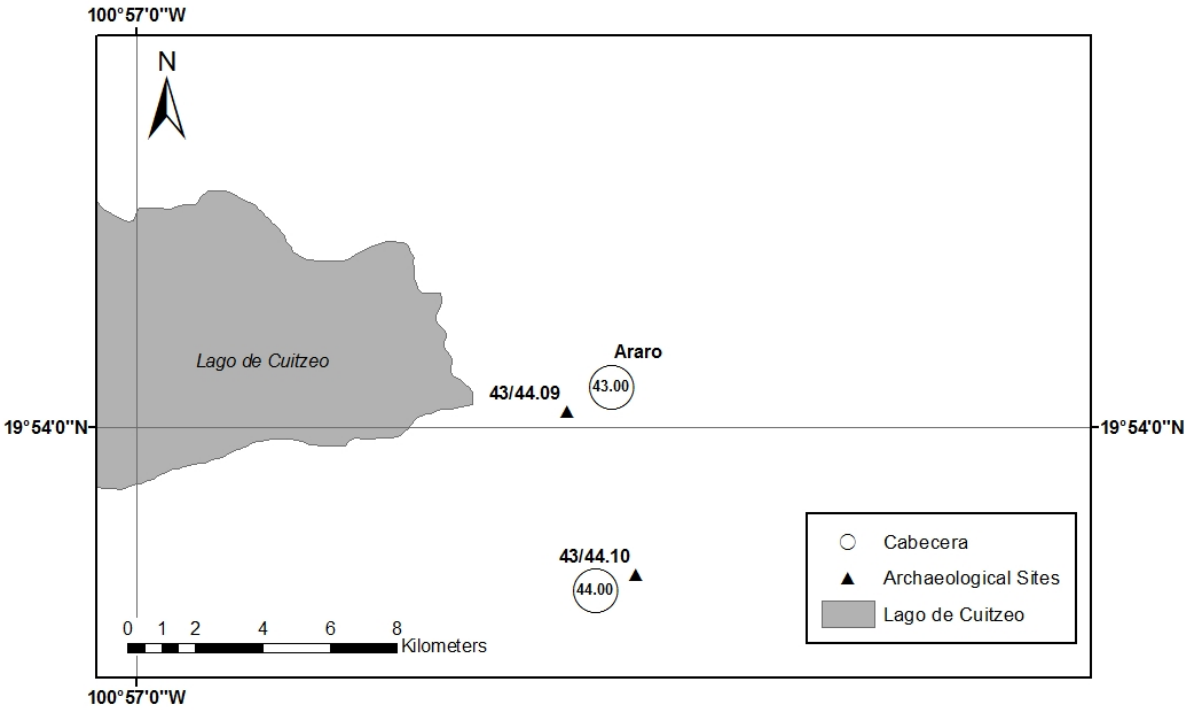


Figure 6.80. The archaeological sites (black triangles) near Araro and Zinapecuaro (circles).

An archaeological site sits at the top of a hill overlooking the modern settlement of Araro (Healan 1997:81; Hernandez 2000:117–118). The site's main feature is a 20-meter long plaza with several meter-high mounds located at different edges (Hernandez 2000:117). Excavations at the site uncovered evidence of long-term human habitation since the early Classic period, shown through the presence of four superimposed structures in one area of the site as well as the presence of ceramics cross-dated to the Classic and Postclassic periods with the chronology of nearby Acámbaro (Gorenstein 1985a:55). It is possible that this site is the pre-Hispanic Araro. However, there is no evidence of Early Acámbaro, a phase immediately preceding the Tarascan expansion found at Acámbaro by Gorenstein (1985a:55).

Zinapécuaro is located near an obsidian flow that was heavily utilized during the Postclassic period (Hernandez and Healan 1999, 2008:266; Pollard 1993; Pollard and Vogel 1994). Archaeological excavations revealed the existence of multiethnic barrios near Zinapécuaro that were established to extract obsidian and transport it into central Mexico (Hernandez and Healan 2008:280). Zinapécuaro-Ucareo obsidian is gray to gray-black and represents the majority of obsidian found at sites in Michoacán

(Pollard 1993:11; Pollard and Vogel 1994:440). The La Bartolilla site near Zinapécuaro has its own mound-plaza complex, although the site was heavily damaged by road construction in the 1960s (Hernandez 2000:115). Exploratory excavations found evidence of a multi-roomed stone structure with stratified cultural deposits sitting atop a low platform (Hernandez 2000:115). Other sites consist of habitation terraces and platform architecture, although these were not excavated (Pulido Mendez et al. 1996). The people of Araro and Zinapécuaro paid tribute in the form of maize, beans, and chilies during the early colonial period (Paso y Troncoso 1905:78). Other tribute included services, fowl, fish, salt, and services.

Colonial Era. In 1524, Cortes gave Araro and Zinapécuaro to encomendero Gonzalo Riobo de Sotomayor, who held the *encomienda* until his death in 1538 (Gerhard 1972:318). The *encomienda* escheated at that time, and became the property of the Spanish crown. Araro had three *barrios* in the 1540s, while Zinapécuaro had four *barrios* and two *subcabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:32, 77). However, Araro's political and economic authority began to decline. Araro and Zinapécuaro appear jointly in LT entries until 1546, after which Zinapécuaro is the only settlement mentioned as *cabecera* (Cossío 1952:50). Finally, the RO of 1570 lists Araro as a barrio of Zinapécuaro, along with eight other subordinates (García Pimentel 1904:44–45).

45) Maravatio

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Maravatio was a conquest of the *Chichimecs* and Islanders, and like Taximaroa its place in the narrative coincides with the geographic location on modern maps. Furthermore, Maravatio bordered on the neighboring units of Acámbaro (north), Taximaroa (south), Xocotitlan (east), and Ucareo (west) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:150). Maravatio served as a border province that defended against Aztec incursions (Gorenstein 1985a:7). Figure 6.81 shows the locations of neighboring settlements in relation to Maravatio.

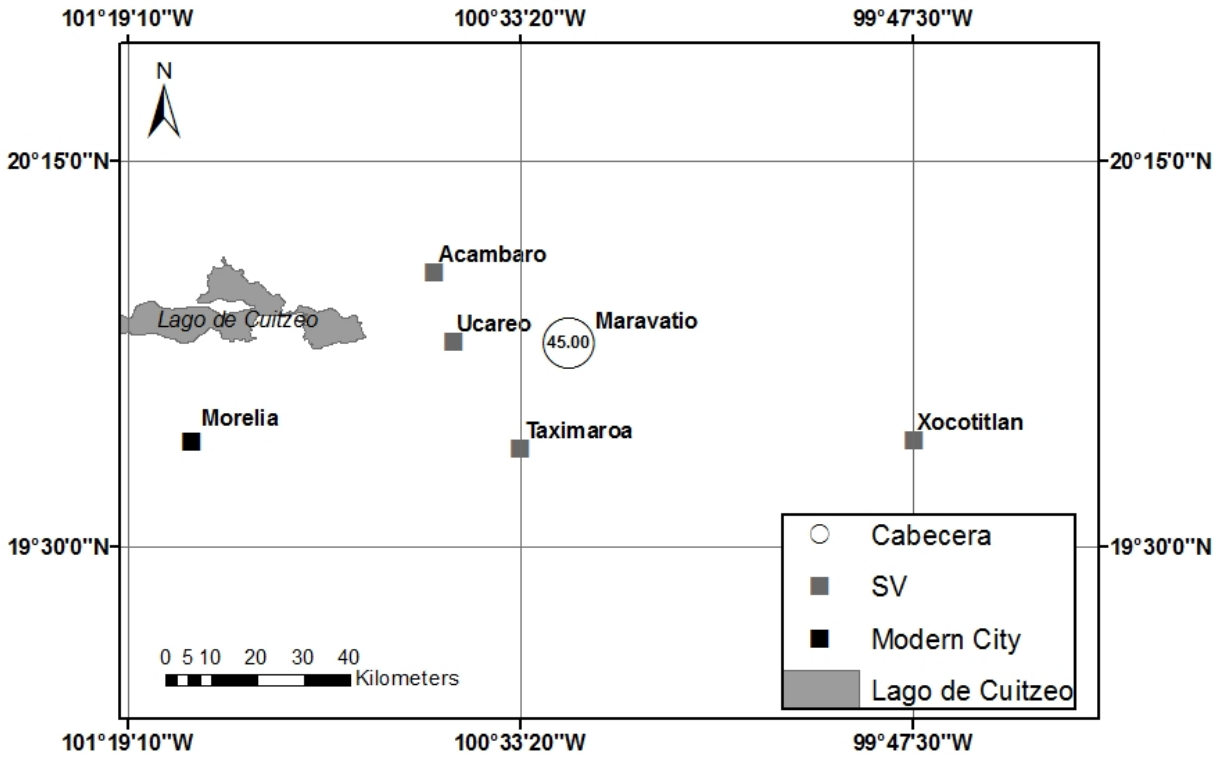


Figure 6.81. The cabecera *of Maravatio (circle, #45) and the* cabeceras *of neighboring units (gray squares) described in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:150).*

Subject Towns. The available information on Maravatio and its subjects is shown in Table 6.46. The RO lists six *sujetos* under Maravatio's control in 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:45–46). Most of these can be connected to existing locations in eastern Michoacán, as shown in Figure 6.82.

Table 6.46. The cabecera *of Maravatio and its subordinates according to the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
45.00	Maravatio	Maravatio	*Cabecera*	Maravatio	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.01	Pateo	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Pateo	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.02	Herinbo	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Irimbo?	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.03	Barrio del Rio	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Unknown	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.04	Senguio	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Senguio	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.05	Contepec	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Contepec	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46
45.06	Tlalpujahua	Maravatio	*Sujeto*	Tlalpujahua	Garcia Pimentel 1905:45–46

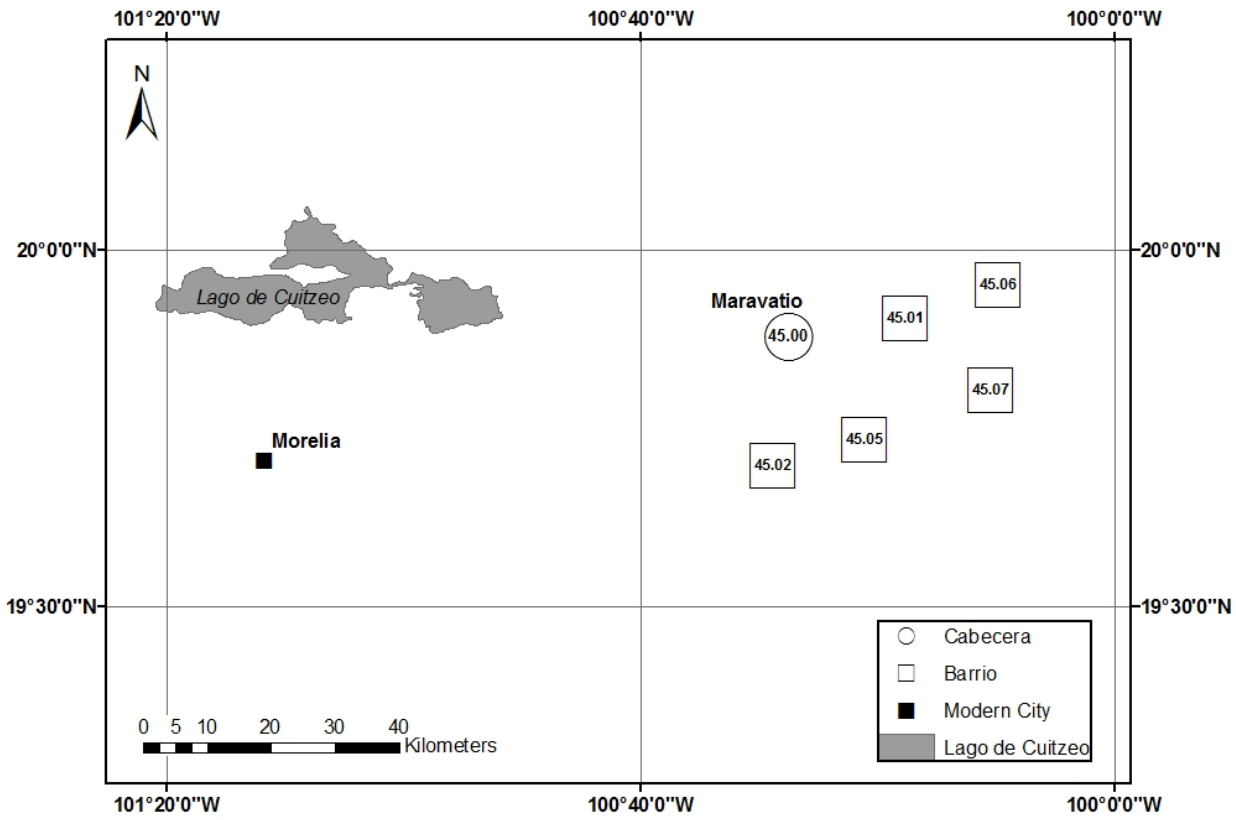


Figure 6.82. The cabecera *of Maravatio (circle, #45) and the subordinate* barrios *(squares) listed in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:45–46).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Maravatio is the *cabecera* of the unit and this is substantiated by the presence of a *Cacique* in the pueblo as of 1576 (López Sarrelangue 1965:246). The SV states that Maravatio had 6 *barrios* in the 1540s, but no names are given in the entry. The RO lists four *barrios* under its control; these are presented in the above table (Garcia Pimentel 1904). Barrio del Rio's location is not known. Pateo is a small settlement located approximately 2 leagues east of the modern town of Maravatio. If Herinbo is a derivation of Irimbo, then it is a settlement 2 leagues, or approximately 11 kilometers south of Maravatio near the modern town of Ciudad Hidalgo. Numbers 5–7 are listed as subordinate settlements during the colonial period (Pulido Solis 1984:300). Figure 6.83 shows a two-tiered political hierarchy for Maravatio as there are insufficient data to untangle the political and tributary links that held the unit together.

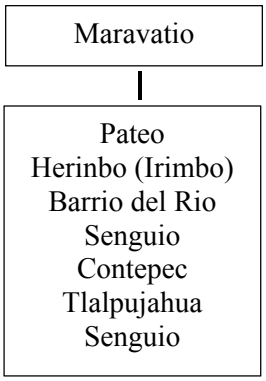


Figure 6.83. The cabecera *of Maravatio and its subordinates.*

Archaeological Analyses of Maravatio. Gorenstein (1985a:10) surveyed Maravatio as part of a regional investigation of the northern Tarascan frontier. No evidence of a pre-Hispanic site was found near the modern settlement of Maravatio, and residents had no knowledge of a site anywhere in the immediate vicinity (Gorenstein 1985a:10). The closest archaeological sites were located seven kilometers north of Maravatio on two hills, Cerro de la Campana and Cerro de Las Palmas that bracket the Lerma River (Gorenstein 1985a:10). Gorenstein reported finding a structure measuring 155 meters x 30 meters on Cerro de la Campana, but there is no evidence of ceramic types associated with the Tarascan elite or Tzintzuntzan (Gorenstein 1985a:10). However, the ceramics that were found are similar to those located at Acámbaro, Taximaroa, Zitácuaro, and Tuzantla, which suggests a form of regional interaction.

46) Taximaroa

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Taximaroa was an Otomi settlement conquered during the later sequence of Tarascan geopolitical expansion by the *Chichimecs* and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524). Taximaroa served as a key fortification against Aztec incursions (Pérez Escutia 1986:51; Pollard and Smith 2003:85). The Aztecs under Axayacatl attacked Taximaroa in the 1470s as part of a campaign to penetrate Tarascan territory (Alcalá 2000:542), and the attacks are corroborated in two Nahuatl sources, the *Historia de la Nación Chichimeca* and the *Cronica Mexicana* (Ixtlilchochitl 2000; Tezozomoc 2003). The Aztec emissaries journeyed to Taximaroa to seek an alliance with Zuangua shortly before the Spanish

entered Tenochtitlan (Alcalá 2000:651), and Cristobal de Olid pass through Taximaroa on his way to Tzintzuntzan (Alcala 2000:663). As a result of these sources, we know that Taximaroa sat at the edge of Tarascan territory on the mutual border with the Aztec Triple Alliance. Finally, the SV states that Taximaroa is bordered by Maravatio, Chilapa, and Zinapecuaro (Paso y Troncoso 1905:253). Taximaroa's location is shown in Figure 6.84.

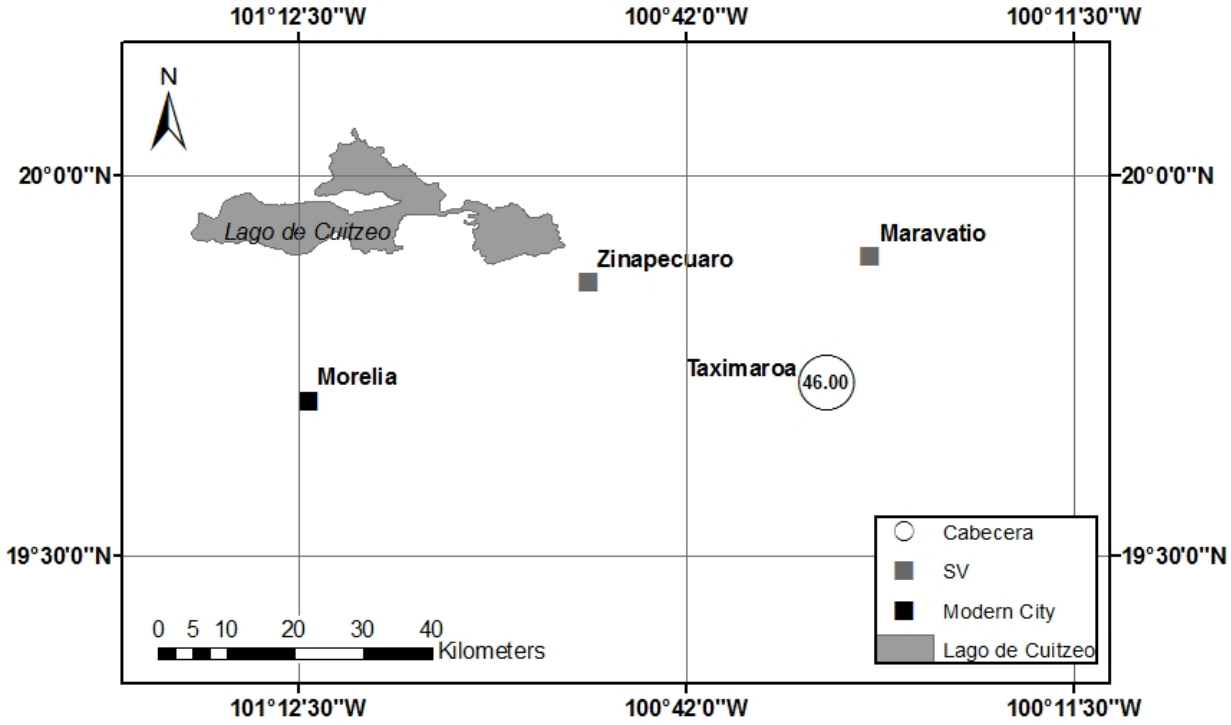


Figure 6.84. The cabecera *of Taximaroa (circle, #46) and the neighboring settlements of Zinapecuaro and Maravatio (gray squares). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added for modern spatial reference.*

Subject Towns. The colonial-period records provide the best information on the subject towns controlled by Taximaroa, as shown in Table 6.47.

Table 6.47. The subject towns of Taximaroa according to the Suma de Visitas *(Paso y Troncoso 1905).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
46.00	Taximaroa	Taximaroa	*Cabecera*	Ciudad Hidalgo	Paso y Troncoso 1905:253
46.01	Caerio	Taximaroa	*Estancia*	Unknown	Paso y Troncoso 1905:253
46.02	Cuzeo	Taximaroa	*Estancia*	Unknown	Paso y Troncoso 1905:253
47.00	Xaratangao	Taximaroa	*Subcabecera*	Unknown	Paso y Troncoso 1905:253
48.00	Banio	Taximaroa	*Subcabecera*	Unknown	Paso y Troncoso 1905:253

The RM states that Capacapecha was leader of Taximaroa, describing him variously as *Señor* and *Cacique* (Alcalá 2000:651, 653; López Sarrelangue 1965:271), making him a leader of high rank. According to the *altepetl* model, the *cabecera* is the place where the *Tlatoani* resides (Gutierrez 2009). Although there is no direct translation of the *Tlatoani* rank into the Purépecha language, we know that the Spanish recognized pre-Hispanic leaders by according them ranks like *Señores, Caciques, and Principales,* which stood in for the ranks of *Señor Universal* (i.e. equivalent to the *Huey Tlatoani* or *Cazonci*) and *Señor Principal* (i.e. roughly equivalent to political unit leaders) (López Sarrelangue 1965:17). Thus, the available ethnohistorical evidence suggests that Taximaroa was indeed a unit *cabecera.* These settlements include only those that have been specifically listed as subordinates of Taximaroa in the ethnohistory, but there may be more. Taximaroa itself was a *cabecera*, and with Xaratangao and Banio that includes the three *cabeceras* mentioned in the SV entry (Paso y Troncoso 1905). Caerio and Banio are each subordinate *estancias*, but it is not clear whether they are directly subordinate to Taximaroa or to one of the other *subcabeceras*. Figure 6.84 shows the sociopolitical hierarchy for Taximaroa.

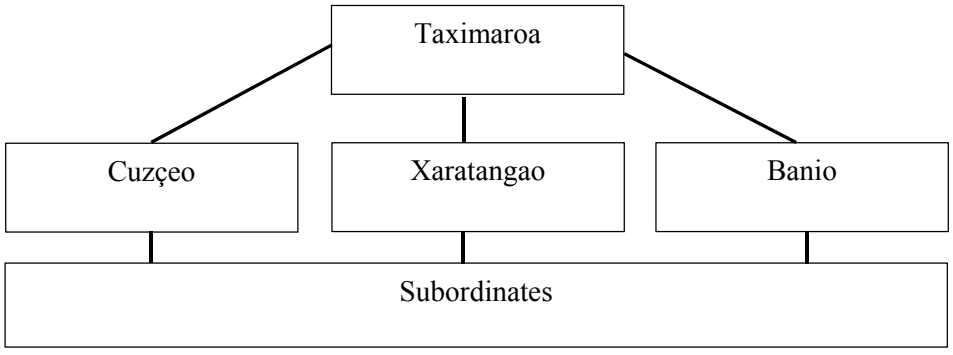


Figure 6.85. The cabecera of Taximaroa and it subordinates.

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Taximaroa was *cabecera* of a three-tiered unit in which Cuzçeo, Xaratangao, and Banio were *subcabeceras* and each had their own constituent units. Unfortunately, we know very little about the third-tier settlements.

Archaeological Evidence. Archaeologists have yet to locate the pre-Hispanic settlement of Taximaroa. Gorenstein (1985a:15) reported finding an outpost approximately 7.5 kilometers north of Ciudad Hidalgo, but aside from locating structures they did not find any evidence of a Tarascan presence in the vicinity.

49) Zitácuaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Zitácuaro is not mentioned in the RM (Alcalá 2000). Zitácuaro was stationed along the Tarascan-Aztec border to defend against Aztec incursions. According to La Rea (1643 [in Gorenstein 1985a:6]), the Aztecs attacked Zitácuaro during a major military campaign, which was probably Axayacatl's attempt to expand westward in the 1470s (Pollard 2000b:74). Ethnohistorical descriptions indicate that Zitácuaro was typical of Tarascan border settlements in that a diverse array of languages was spoken, including Tarascan (Purépecha), Otomi, Matlatzinca, and Mazahua (Gerhard 1972:173). Zitácuaro's location is shown in Figure 6.86.

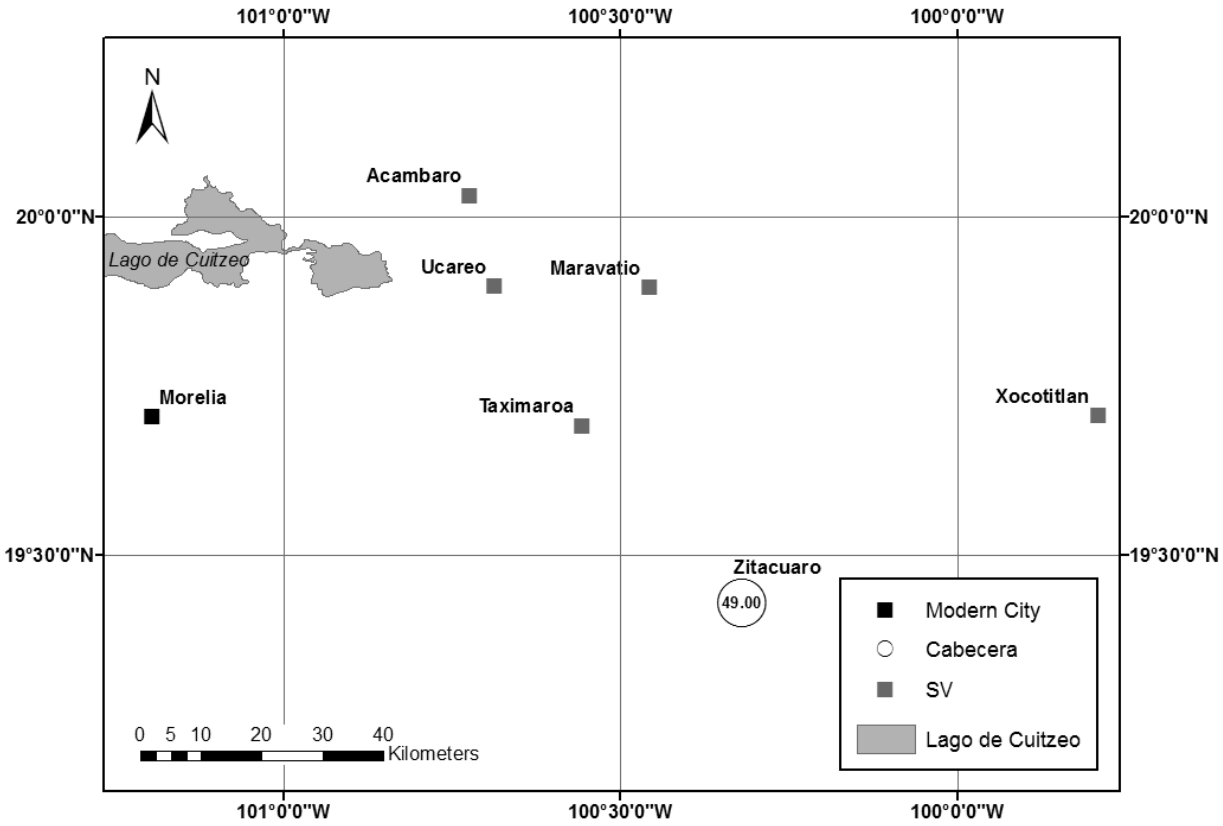


Figure 6.86. The cabecera *(circle) of Zitácuaro (#49) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Taximaroa, Ucareo, Acámbaro, Maravatio, and Xocotitlan on the Aztec side of the border (Paso y Troncoso 1905).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Thus far, Zitácuaro is the *cabecera* over one site, San Felipe de los Alzati.

Archaeological Analysis of Zitácuaro. Table 6.48 and Figure 6.87 show the locations of several archaeological sites in the vicinity of Zitácuaro.

Table 6.48. The archaeological sites of Zitácuaro.

No.	Name	Location	Source
49.00	Zitácuaro	Zitácuaro	Google Earth 2013
49.01	Zitácuaro Site 1	Zitácuaro	Google Earth 2013
49.02	Zitácuaro Site 2	Zitácuaro	Google Earth 2013
49.03	San Felipe de los Alzati	San Felipe de los Alzati	Gendrop 1972:1

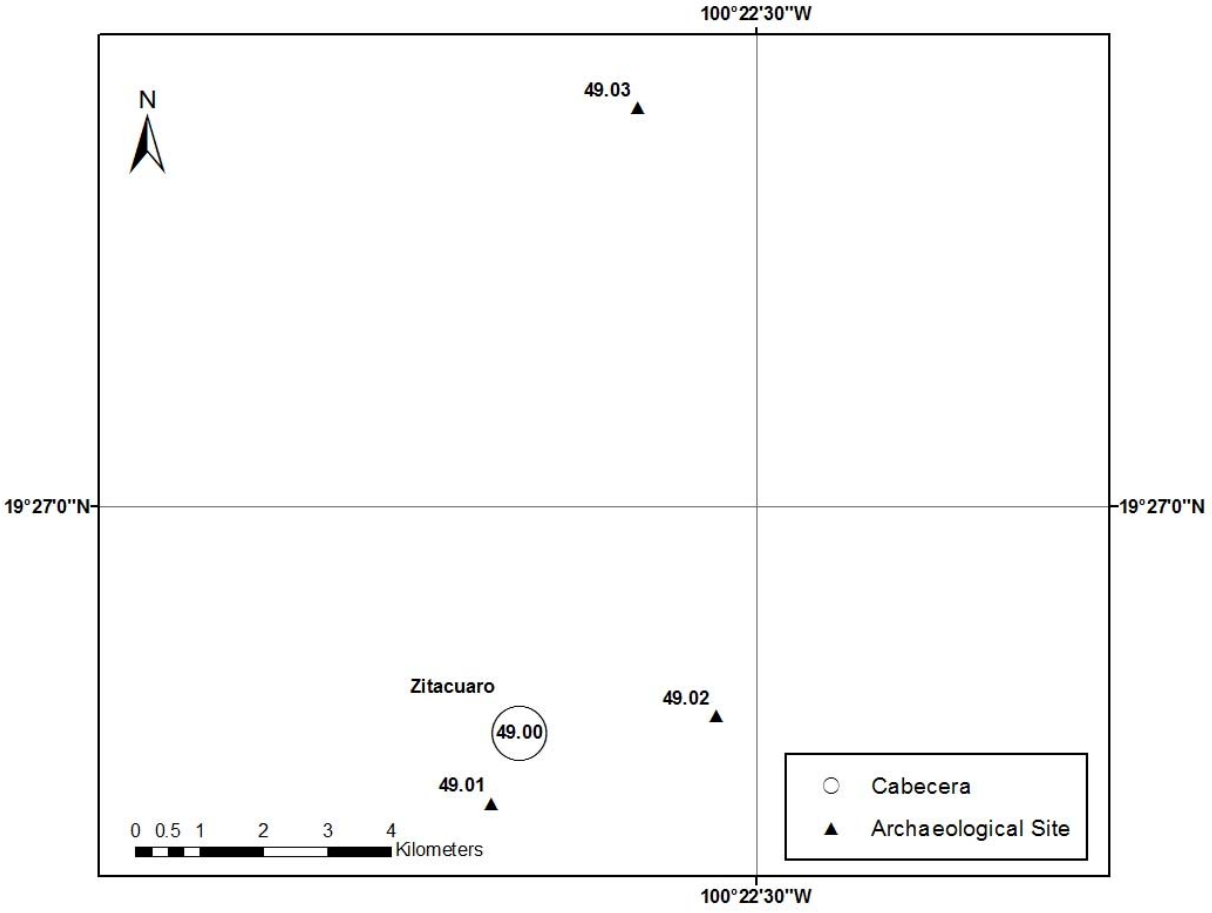


Figure 6.87. The cabecera *of Zitácuaro (circle, #49) and the neighboring archaeological sites (black triangles).*

Gorenstein found potsherds and lithics in an area 5km west-southwest of the modern settlement of Zitácuaro (Gorenstein 1985a:13), which I refer to as Zitácuaro Archaeological Site 1 (Figure 6.56). The potsherds consisted of Chupícuaro ceramics, which encompassed a wide geographic area of Michoacán during the Formative period, as well as ceramics of what Gorenstein classified as the Lerma and Acámbaro phases (Gorenstein 1985a:15). These are similar to those found at Acámbaro, Maravatio, Taximaroa, and Tuzantla, but had no connection to any Tarascan-style ceramics from Tzintzuntzan. The lithics consisted of flakes and blades (Gorenstein 1985a:15). Zitácuaro Archaeological Sites 2 and 3 represent further archaeological sites described by Gorenstein. The site referred to as Zitácuaro Archaeological Site 2 appears to be the remains of 10m-wide terraces located along the west-facing slope

of a hill near the El Bosque water source. A second set of terraces are located 3.6km east of Zitácuaro Archaeological Site 2, directly south of the modern Zitácuaro settlement.

A large elite center is located nine kilometers north of Zitácuaro near the settlements of San Felipe de los Alzati and Zirahuato, overlooking the Cerro el *Cacique*/Cerro el Huacal pass (Gendrop 1972:5; Gorenstein 1985a:13). The site was occupied by groups of Otomis, according to ethnohistorical documents. The site is oriented along the west-facing slope of the hill, toward Jungápeo approximately ten kilometers away. Gendrop (1972:5) first reported the existence of the site, and his description included the presence of a staircase, as well as a large rectangular structure with an attached circular feature. The design characteristics led him to conclude that the site dated to the Postclassic period and the presence of elaborate designs connecting the site to cultures in highland Mexico. Since 1972, excavators have slowly uncovered portions of the site, exposing several large, stepped structures, as well as several smaller, multi-room structures (Google Earth 2013). Expectations are that the site was fairly large; however, Gendrop's investigations indicated that the claims made by earlier investigators that the pyramid might be larger than the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan were found to be untrue. Soil discolorations visible in Google Earth imagery near the pyramid suggest that there may be more structures at the site.

San Felipe los Alzati was certainly an elite center during the Postclassic period, but the exact area and the settlement(s) it was associated with are unclear. Gorenstein (1985a:15) suggests that Jungápeo, another border settlement and Zitácuaro were connected, with both sites perhaps ruled by the same group of Otomis settled at the border, and later under the Tarascans.

50) Indaparapeo

Connections to the RM and Mapping. At Zinzicha Tangáxoan's order, Don Pedro Cuiniarangari gathered 8,000 men at Indaparapeo (Yndaparapeo) to oppose the Spanish invasion (Alcalá 2000:663). However, at the last moment Tangáxoan rescinded the order rather than risk conflict with the Spanish (Alcalá 2000:663). Indaparapeo bordered on four neighboring political units: Zinapécuaro,

Charo/Matalçingo, Tarimbaro, and Taimeo (Paso y Troncoso 1903:133). Moreover, there is a modern settlement located in eastern Michoacán. This is sufficient to fix Indaparapeo's location, shown in Figure 6.88.

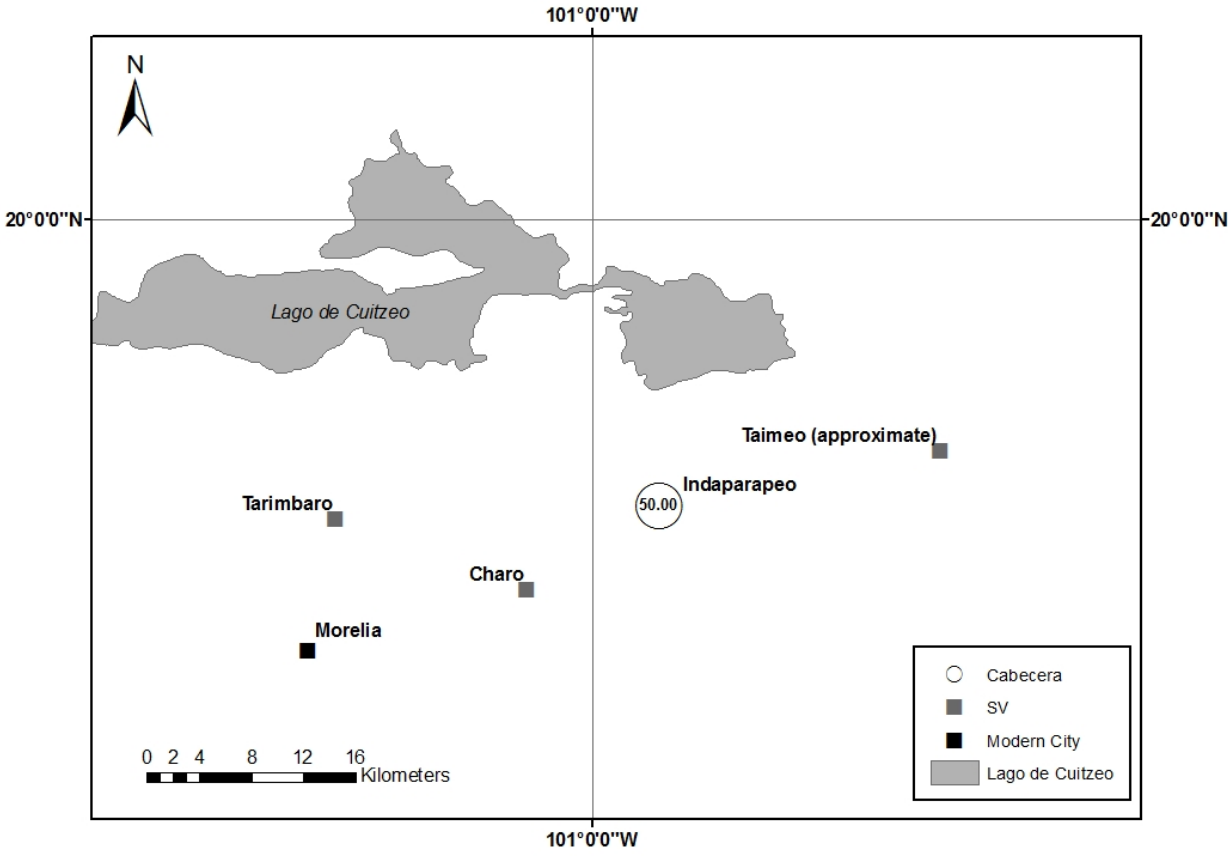


Figure 6.88. Map showing the location of Indaparapeo (circle, #50) and the neighboring settlements of Taimeo (approximate), Tarimbaro, and Charo (gray squares) as described in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:133). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

Table 6.49 lists the *barrios* of Indaparapeo from the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:38).

Table 6.49. The cabecera *of Indaparapeo and its subordinate* barrios *as listed in the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:38).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
50.00	Indaparapeo	Indaparapeo	*Cabecera*	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008; García Pimentel 1904:38
50.01	San Miguel Tarengoni	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.02	Joanbetancuro	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.03	Quengoyo	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.04	San Mateo	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.05	San Francisco	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.06	Santiago de los Pescadores Cingeo	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.07	San Bartolome	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38
50.08	San Juan Baptista	Indaparapeo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:38

Archaeological Analyses. There are four Postclassic archaeological sites in the vicinity of the modern settlement of Indaparapeo (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Three sites date to the Late Postclassic period and consist of low mounds and platforms, but there have been no excavations into these mounds to determine anything about them. The sites are shown in Figure 6.89.

Table 6.50. The archaeological sites near Indaparapeo.

No.	Name	Location	Source
50.00	Indaparapeo	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008; García Pimentel 1904:38
50.09	Indaparapeo Site 1	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008
50.10	Indaparapeo Site 2	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008
50.11	Indaparapeo Site 3	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008
50.12	Indaparapeo Site 4	Indaparapeo	Espejel Carbajal 2008

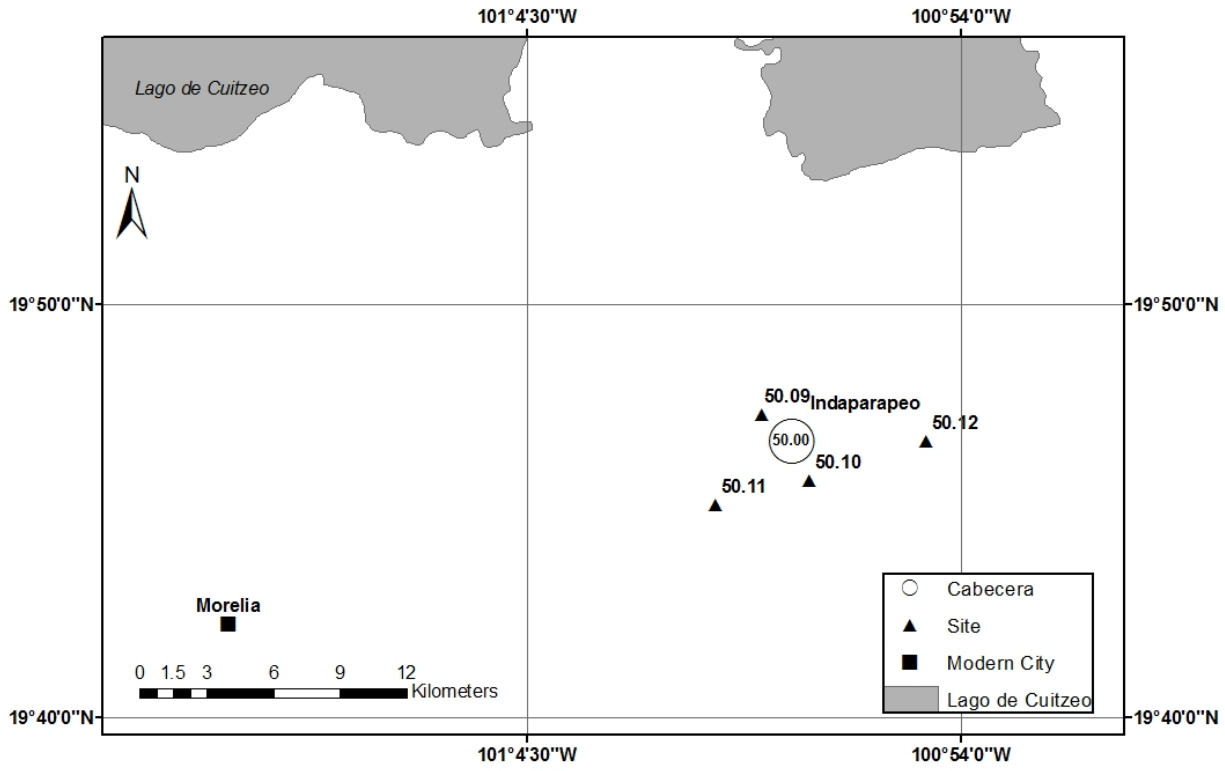


Figure 6.89. The cabecera of Indaparapeo (circle, #50), and four associated archaeological sites (Espejel Carbajal 2008).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.90 shows the political hierarchy of Indaparapeo.

Figure 6.90. Sociopolitical hierarchy of Indaparapeo.

Indaparapeo had a two-tiered political unit, with Indaparapeo serving as the *cabecera* while remaining settlements occupied subordinate positions in the second tier.

51) Charo/Matalçingo, 52) Necotlan/Santiago Undameo, 53) Taimeo

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Charo/Matalçingo was on the route that Cristobal de Olid took to reach Tzintzuntzan (Alcalá 2000:663). Charo was bordered by the neighboring units of Indaparapeo, Necotlan, Tarimbaro, and Taximaroa (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Paso y Troncoso 1905:150), which is similar to the modern distribution of settlements today. The sites are shown in Figure 6.91.

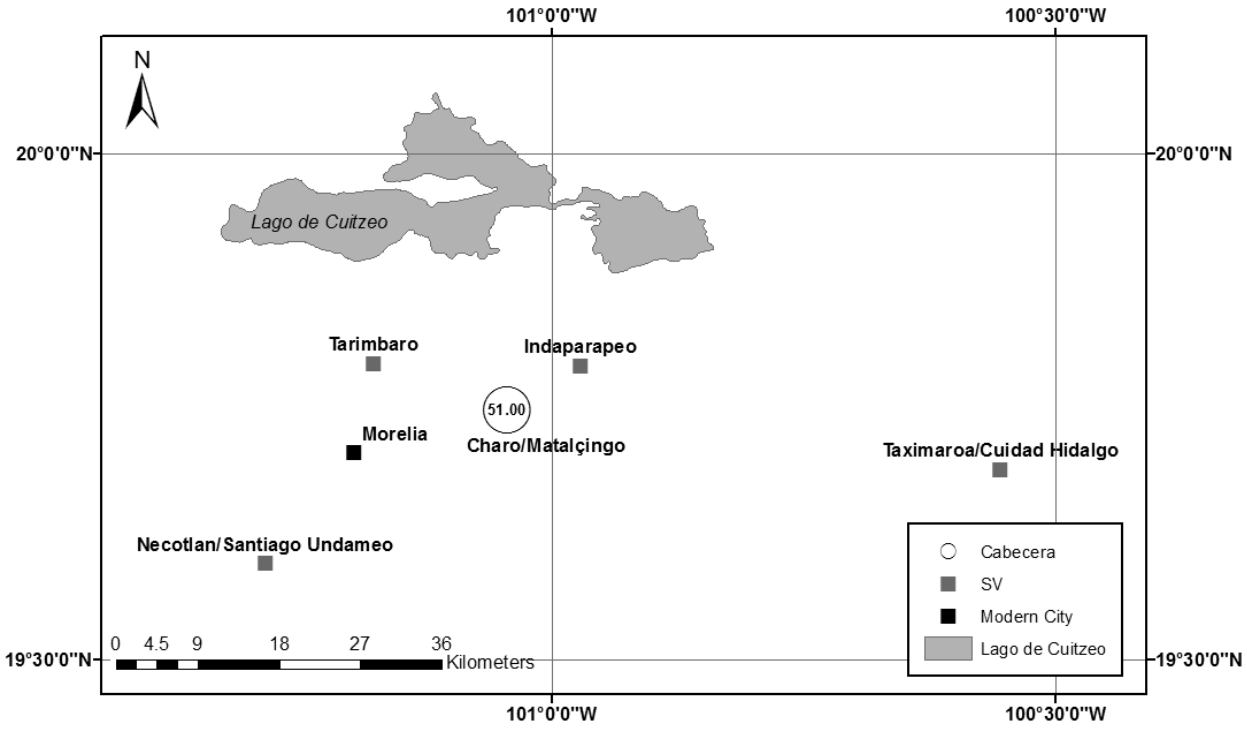


Figure 6.91. The cabecera *of Charo/Matalçingo (circle, #51) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Tarimbaro, Taximaroa, Necotlan, and Indaparapeo (gray squares). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Charo was *cabecera* of a sociopolitical unit that included the subordinate *cabeceras* of Taimeo in the east and Necotlan/Santiago Undameo in the west (Acuña 1987:186). The RG Necotlan states that Tarascan leader Zizispandaquare gave the Matlatzinca principal Ucelo Apanze lands in eastern Michoacán in exchange for his loyalties (Acuña 1987:186). The use of the term *principal* suggests that Ucelo Apanze was not recognized as a *Señor Particular* as a member of the Tarascan ruling lineages

might be. Despite this difference in rank, the Tarascan appear to have treated the Matlatzincas as "subject allies" rather than subjects because of their value as warriors (Pollard 1993:150). Taimeo was initially controlled a *principal* known as Timax, who was probably involved in the initial deal with Zizispandaquare to obtain lands in eastern Michoacán. The account of the deals made between Zizispandaquare, Timax, and Ucelo Apanze are nearly identical, except that the accounts do not mention the other *señores*. It is said that Necotlan was always a "small pueblo" that was subordinate to Charo/Matalçingo (Acuña 1987:186).

In the SV, Charo had six *barrios* although none are named and there is no mention of subject *cabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:150). It is not until the RO list of 1571 that any of Charo's subject towns receive mention, and by this time there are eight subjects (Garcia Pimentel 1904:42). The sites are shown in Figure 6.92.

Table 6.51. The cabecera *of Charo/Matalçingo and its direct subject towns as listed in the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:42).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
51.00	Charo	Charo	*Cabecera*	Charo	García Pimentel 1904:42
51.01	San Niculaus	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.02	San Miguel	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.03	Checheo	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.04	Patamoro	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.05	Queretaro	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.06	Urereo	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42
51.07	Irapeo	Charo	*Barrio*	Irapeo	García Pimentel 1904:42
51.08	Los Tres Reyes	Charo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:42

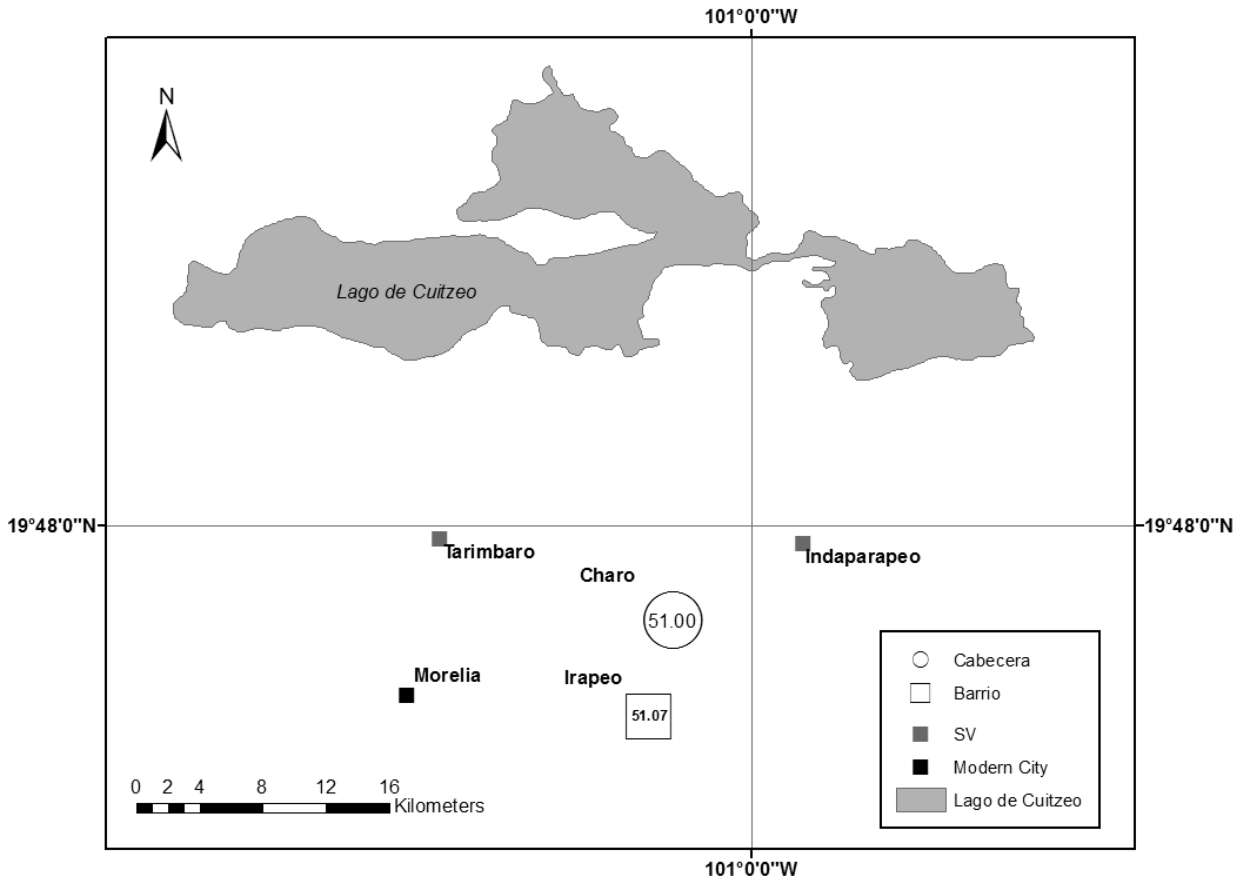


Figure 6.92. The cabecera of Charo (circle, #51), the barrio of Irapeo (square, #51.07), and the neighboring cabeceras of Tarimbaro and Indaparapeo (gray squares). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a spatial referent.

52) Necotlan/Santiago Undameo

Connections to RM and Mapping. Necotlan/Santiago Undameo is located several kilometers northeast of the modern town of Tirípitio. It receives no specific mention in the RM, but in the SV it is said that Necotlan is bordered by Tirípitio, Capula/Xénguaro, Tarimbaro, and Matalçingo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:163). The location of Necotlan is shown at Figure 6.93.

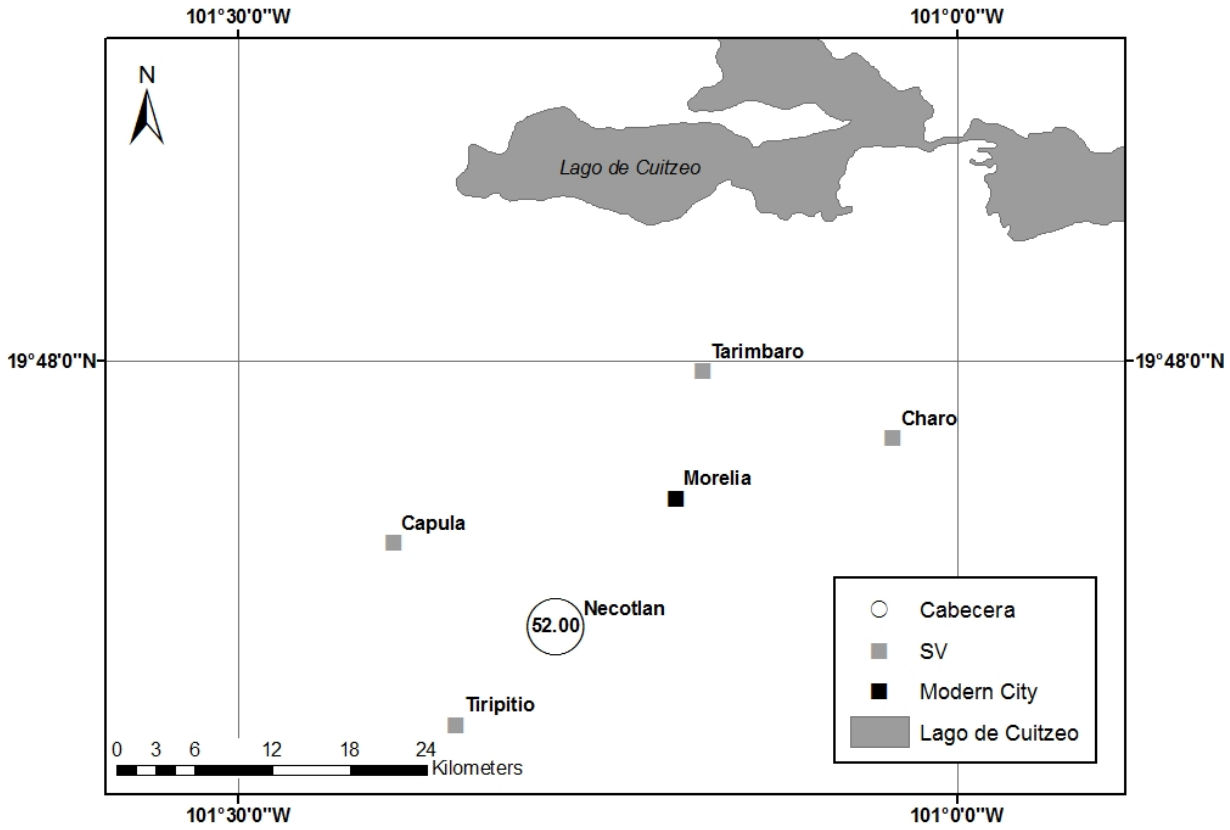


Figure 6.93 The cabecera *of Necotlan (circle, #52) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Capula/Xenguaro, Tirípitio, Charo, and Tarimbaro. The modern settlement of Morelia (black squares) has been added as a spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The SV states that Necotlan has six *barrios* but no names are mentioned. By 1571, this number increased to seven and names are finally given.

Table 6.52. The subcabecera *of Necotlan/Santiago Undameo and its subordinates listed in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:41).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
52.00	Necotlan	Charo	*Subcabecera*	García Pimentel 1904:41
52.01	Necotlantongo	Necotlan	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:41
52.02	San Josepe	Necotlan	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:41
52.03	La Madalena	Necotlan	*Barrio*	García Pimentel 1904:41

The *RG Necotlan* of 1579 mentions five additional subordinate *barrios* (Acuña 1987:185).

Table 6.53. Subordinates of Necotlan/Santiago Undameo recorded in the RG Necotlan *of 1579 (Acuña 1987:185).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
52.00	Necotlan	Charo	*Subcabecera*	Acuña 1987:185
52.04	Jesus	Necotlan	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:185
52.05	Santa Maria	Necotlan	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:185
52.06	San Josepe	Necotlan	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:185
52.07	San Salvador	Necotlan	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:185
52.08	San Bartolome	Necotlan	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:185

San Josepe may be the same *barrio* recorded in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:41), but all of the remaining settlements are new.

53) Taimeo

Connections to the RM and Mapping. There are no references to Taimeo in the RM (Alcalá 2000). In the SV, Taimeo is bordered by Zinapecuaro, Ucareo, Acámbaro, and Taximaroa (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252). Pulido Solis (1984: Mapa IV) places Taimeo approximately 7 kilometers southeast of Zinapecuaro and 10 kilometers southwest of Ucareo. On modern maps, there are several plots pertaining to a San Miguel Taimeo that is in the approximate location mentioned.

Subject Towns. Taimeo had ten *estancias* in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252). The RO list of 1571 gives the names of six subordinate *barrios* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:45). Taimeo's subordinates are shown in relation to Taimeo in Figure 6.94.

Table 6.54. The cabecera *of Taimeo and its subordinate* barrios *from the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:45).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
53.00	Taimeo	Charo	*Subcabecera*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.01	Herimbo/Irimbo	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.02	Cucumbo	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.03	Pio	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.04	Puzutlan	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.05	Tepetongo	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45
53.06	San Andres	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Garcia Pimentel 1904:45

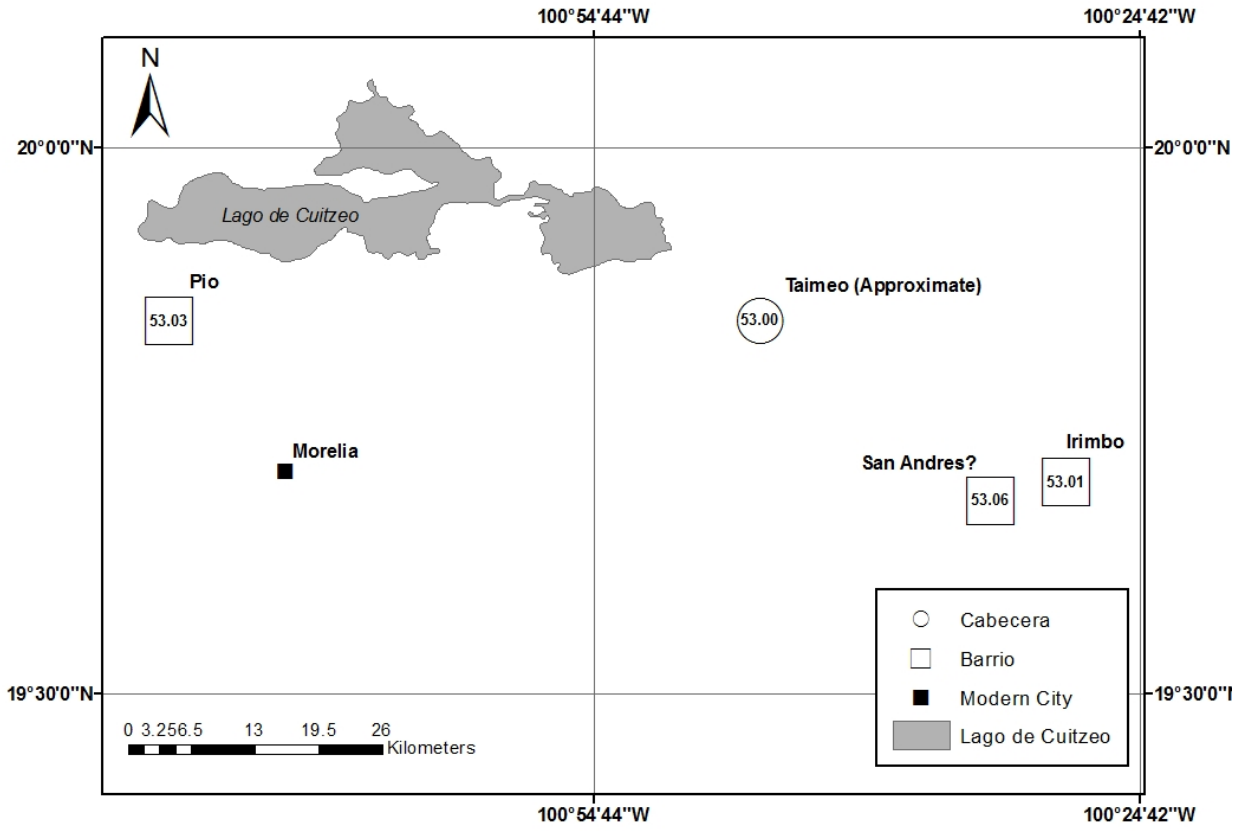


Figure 6.94. The cabecera *of Taimeo (circle, #53) and the subordinate* barrios *of Irimbo (#53.01), Pio (#53.04) and San Andres (#53.07). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

The *RG Taimeo* of 1579 adds four additional *barrios* to the list (Acuña 1987:275).

Table 6.55. The subcabecera *of Taimeo and its subordinate* barrios*, from the* RG Taimeo *(Acuña 1987:275).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
53.00	Taimeo	Charo	*Subcabecera*	Acuña 1987:275
53.06	San Andres	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:275
53.07	San Juan	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:275
53.08	San Marcos	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:275
53.09	Tlalpujahua	Taimeo	*Barrio*	Acuña 1987:275

Finally, a series of settlements are listed in colonial-era ethnohistorical documents from 1555 that describe Taimeo's political system under its *encomendero*, Francisco de Saavedra (Pulido Solis1984:331). However, the political changes brought about during the first 40 years of colonial rule

included the splitting of Taimeo into two separate encomiendas, which affected the initial distribution of settlements (Pulido Solis:331). Table 6.56 presents the *sujetos* of Taimeo from the data collected by Pulido Solis (1984:331). Their locations are shown in Figure 6.95.

Table 6.56. The cabecera *of Taimeo and its* sujetos *from Pulido Solis(1984:331).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
53.00	Taimeo	Charo	*Subcabecera*	Acuña 1987:275
53.03	San Lucas Pio	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.09	Tlalpuxhua (Tlalpujhua)	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.10	Yucaptaro	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.11	Ocucumatlan	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.12	Oritio	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.13	Cacalutla	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.14	Contepeque	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.15	Texcatitlan	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.16	Tlacotepeque	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331
53.17	Acatepeque	Taimeo	*Sujeto*	Pulido Solis1984:331

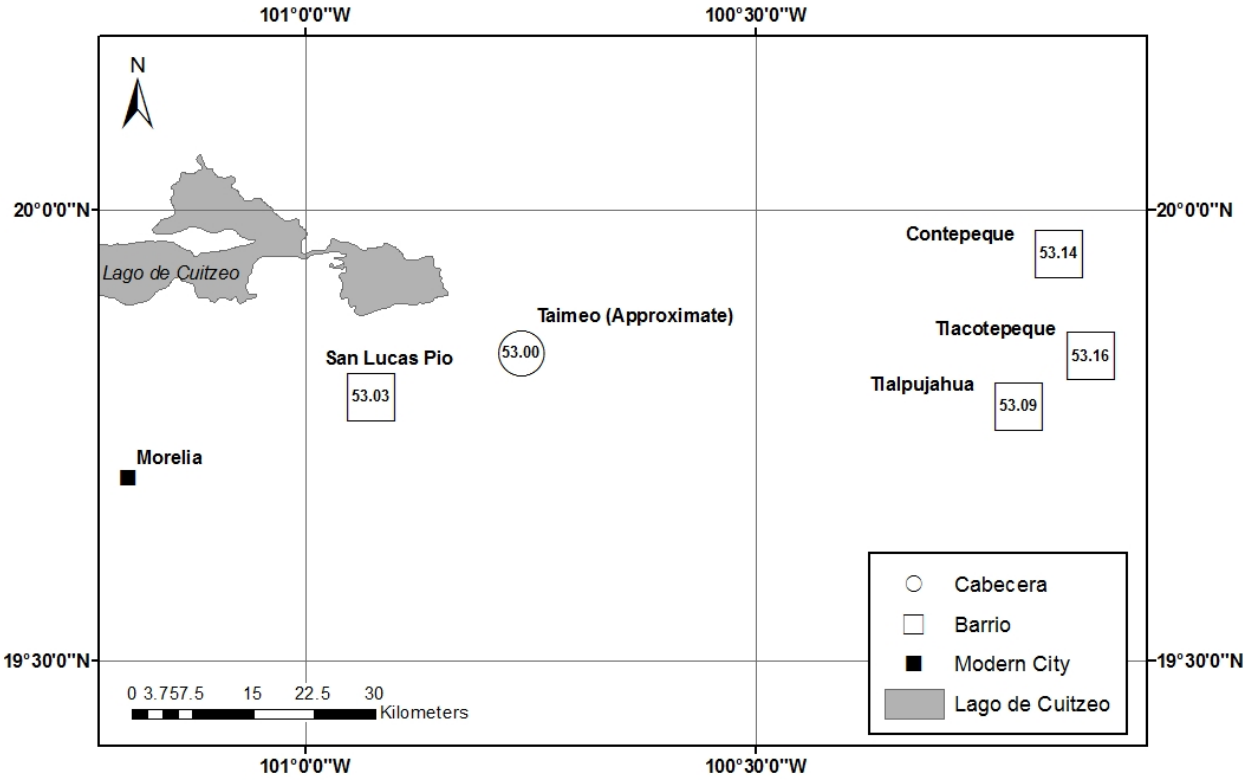


Figure 6.95. Map showing the cabecera *of Taimeo (circle, #53) and the subordinate barrios (squares)from documents analyzed by Pulido Solis (1984:331). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.96 shows the political structure of Charo and its subordinates, Necotlan and Taimeo.

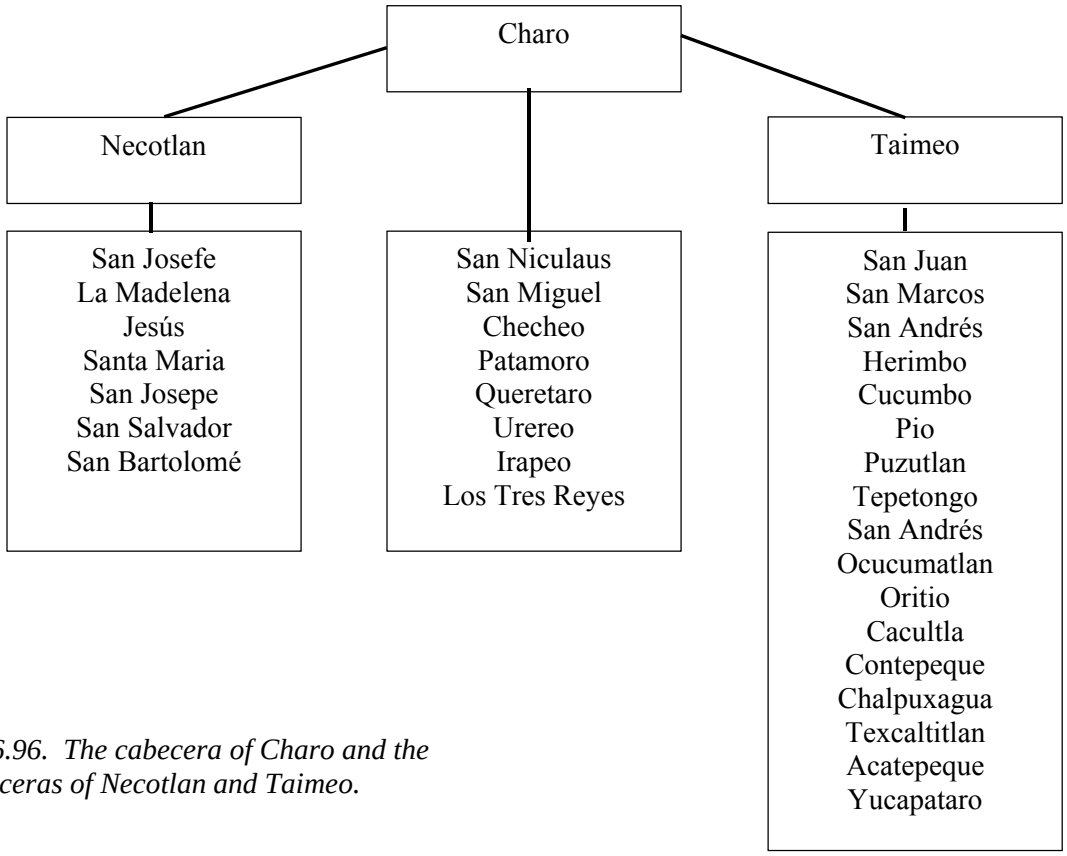


Figure 6.96. The cabecera of Charo and the subcabeceras of Necotlan and Taimeo.

Charo occupied the position as the superordinate *cabecera* of the unit and Necotlan and Taimeo were *subcabeceras*. Each settlement had its own constituent *barrios* and *sujetos* that reported to it and paid tribute. The Charo political unit is unique because it is a foreign political unit that was established within Tarascan territory.

54) Tirípitio

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Lord Chapa conquered Tirípitio during his campaigns of conquest (Alcalá 2000:461–462). Later, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje conquered Tirípitio during their first round of conquests (Alcalá 2000:519; Espejel Carbajal 2008). Other settlements conquered

during the first campaign included Hetúquaro (Tarimbaro), Hóporo, Xaso, and Chucándiro (Alcalá 2000:519). With the exception of Hóporo, these places have corresponding modern settlements. Tirípitio is also bordered by Xénguaro/Capula, Tacámbaro, Necotlan, Ystapa, and Apazcuaro (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252). Tiripitio's location in relation to these sites is illustrated in Figure 6.97.

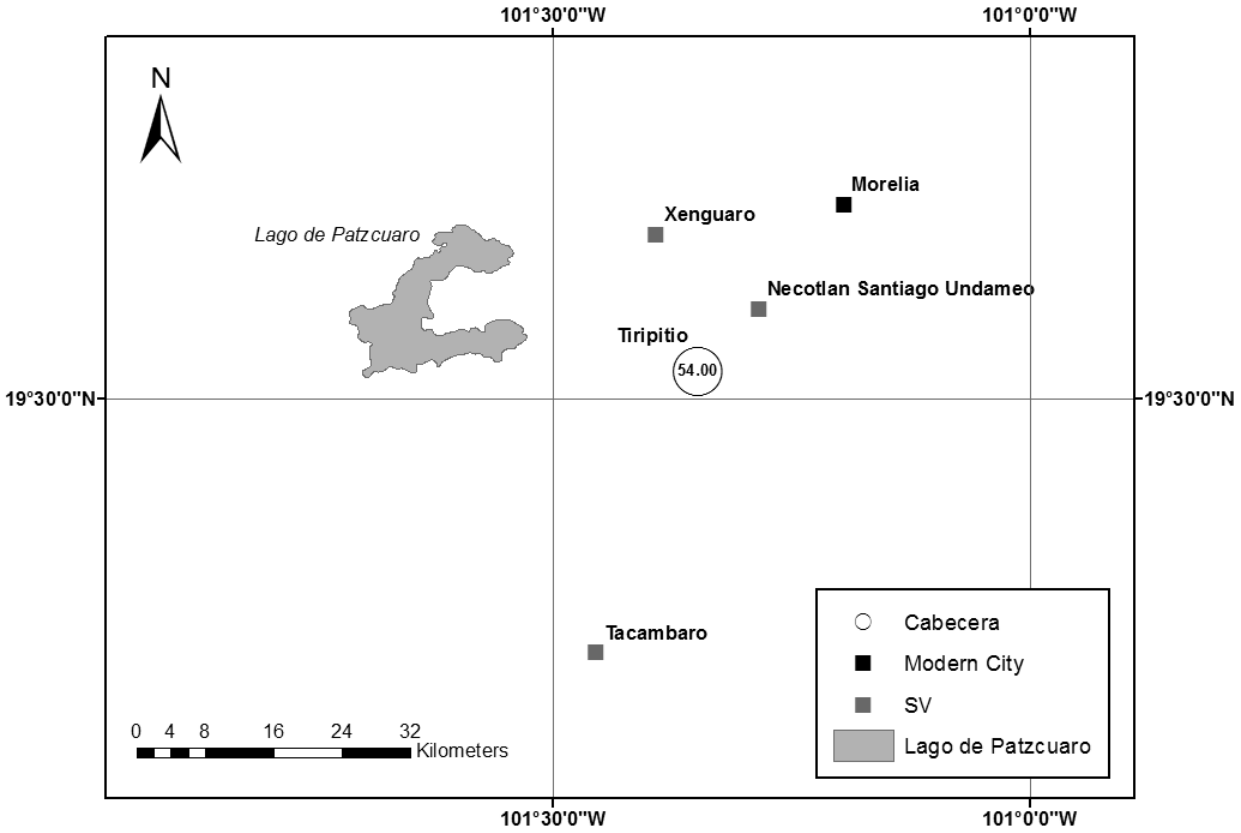


Figure 6.97. The cabecera *of Tirípitio (circle, #54) and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) of Tacámbaro, Xénguaro, and Necotlan/Santiago Undameo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:251). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tirípitio was the *cabecera* of eleven *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:251). The identifiable *barrios* of Tirípitio are listed in Table 6.57 and mapped out in Figure 6.98.

Table 6.57. The cabecera *of Tirípitio and its subordinate* barrios *from the RO (García Pimentel 1904:41).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
54.00	Tirípitio	Tirípitio	*Cabecera*	Tirípitio	García Pimentel 1904:41
54.01	Santa Catarina	Tirípitio	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
54.02	Corínguaro/ Curinguaro	Tirípitio	*Barrio*	San Simón Quríinguaro	García Pimentel 1904:41

54.03	Topátaro/ Tupátaro	Tirípitio	*Barrio*	Tupátaro	García Pimentel 1904:41
54.04	Óporo/ Hóporo	Tirípitio	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
54.05	Aquicec	Tirípitio	*Barrio*	Acuitzio del Grande?	García Pimentel 1904:41
54.06	Gangeo	Tirípitio	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
54.07	Guaximbo	Tirípitio	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41

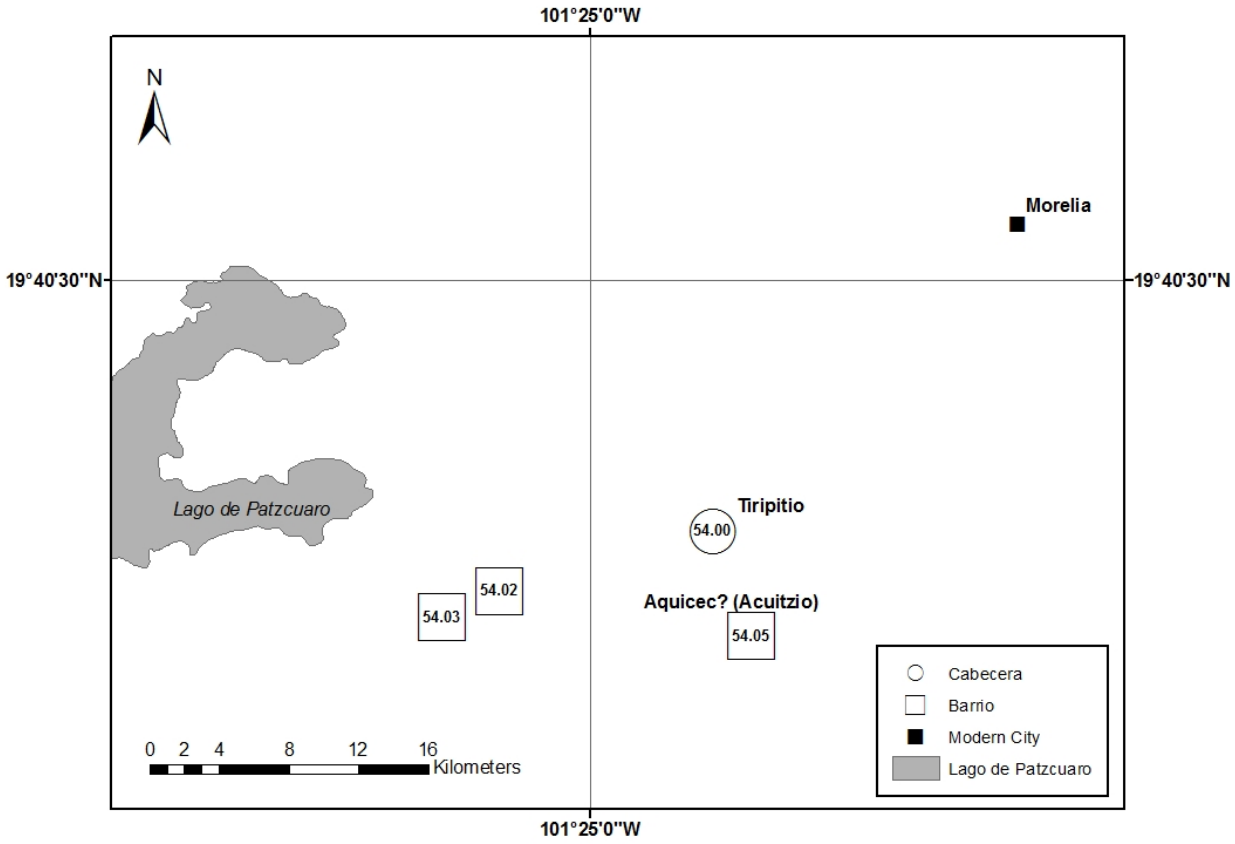


Figure 6.98. The cabecera *of Tirípitio (circle, #54) and its* barrios *(squares) (García Pimentel 1904:41). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

The *cabecera* of Tirípitio and the *sujetos* recorded in the *RG Tirípitio* (Acuña 1987:353). They are listed in Table 6.58. The settlements are the same as those listed in the RG (Acuña 1987:353).

Table 6.58. The cabecera *of Tirípitio and its* sujetos *from the* RG Tirípitio *(Acuña 1987:353).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
54.00	Tirípitio	Tirípitio	*Cabecera*	Tirípitio	Acuña 1987:353
54.02	Quríguaro	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*	San Simón Quríguaro	Acuña 1987:353; Espejel Carbajal 2008
54.03	Cupataro	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*	Tupátaro?	Acuña 1987:353
54.04	Óporo/Hóporo	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:353

54.05	Acutzeo	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*	Acuitzio del Grande	Acuña 1987:353
54.08	Iquajunbo	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:353
54.09	Ichaqueo	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:353
54.10	Chiquaquaro	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:353
54.11	Santa Catalina	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:353
54.12	Cutenbaro	Tirípitio	*Sujeto*	Condembaro?	Acuña 1987:353

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tirípitio's sociopolitical hierarchy is demonstrated in Figure 6.99.

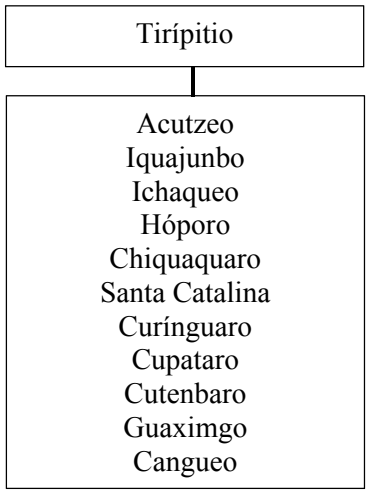


Figure 6.99. Diagram showing the two-level political organization of Tiripitio and its subordinate settlements. Tirípitio occupies the top level as the cabecera *of the political unit, while the remaining settlements occupy the second tier, which suggests that Tirípitio administered to its subordinate* barrios *and* sujetos *directly rather than through* subcabeceras*.*

Tiripitio had a two-tiered sociopolitical hierarchy, judging from the available records. The RG Tiripitio states that during the pre-Hispanic period each subordinate had its own ruler (Acuña 1987:353), but in the RM the three *Senores* conquered settlements and designated their own rulers for them. This suggests that the Tarascans were deliberately supplanting the earlier lineage ties in favor of a new sociopolitical system based out of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

Archaeological Analyses. During the period A.D. 1000–1350, settlement patterns shifted from dispersed settlements in low-lying areas to nucleated populations in higher defensive positions (Pollard 2008:224). The inhabitants of Tirípitio formed a 1,200-hectare settlement on the slopes of El Aguila, overlooking modern Tirípitio (Cerda-Farias [in Pollard 2008]).

Colonial Era. Cortes claimed possession of Tirípitio as part of his encomiendas between 1524 and 1528, when it was reassigned to another *encomendero*, Juan de Alvarado (Gerhard 1972:355).

Northwest Quadrant

The settlements from the northwest quadrant of the Tarascan polity are shown in Table 6.59. The locations are mapped out in Figure 6.100. The northwest quadrant includes much of the Tarascan Sierra (West 1948:5) and bordered on the Teco and Tecuexes territories in Guanajuato (Jiménez Moreno 1948:150)

Table 6.59. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *of northwest Michoacán.*

Number	Name	Type
55	Cheran	*Cabecera*
56	Pomacoran	*Subcabecera*
57	Aran	*Subcabecera*
58	Siuínan	*Subcabecera*
59	Zacapu	*Cabecera*
60	Uruapan	*Cabecera*
61	Xirosto	*Cabecera*
62	Xicalan	*Subcabecera*
63	Carapan	*Subcabecera*
64	Chilchota	*Cabecera*
65	Tlazazalca	*Cabecera*
66	Xacona	*Cabecera*
67	Pajacoran	*Subcabecera*
68	Ixtlan	*Subcabecera*
69	Tamandagapeo	*Subcabecera*
71	Guarachan	*Subcabecera*
72	Zenguayo	*Subcabecera*
73	Tarecuato	*Cabecera*
74	Xiquilpan	*Cabecera*
75	Tinguindin	*Cabecera*
76	Tamazula	*Cabecera*
77	Tuchpan	*Subcabecera*
78	Zapotlan	*Subcabecera*

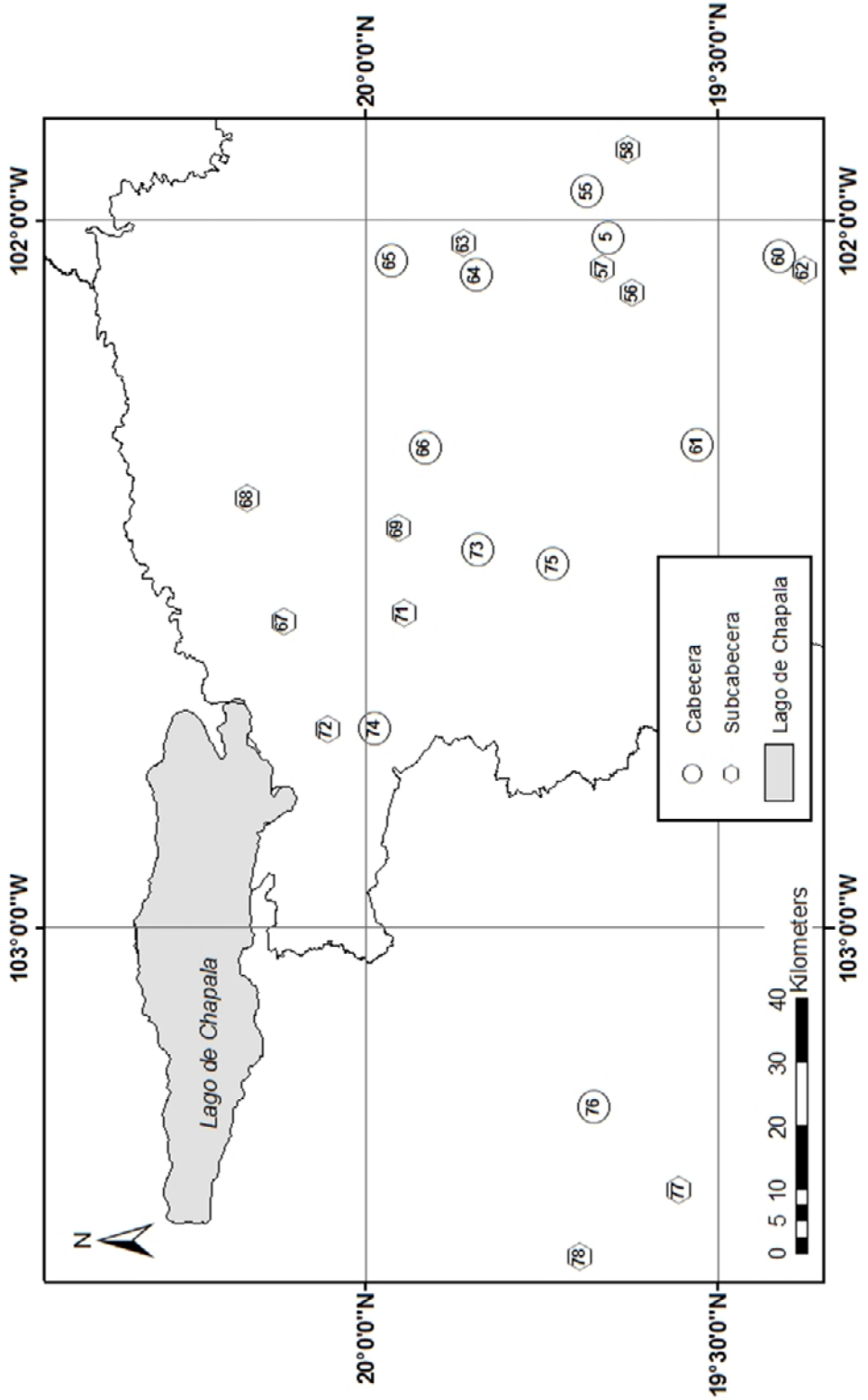


Figure 6.100. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *of northwest Michoacán.*

55) Cheran

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Hiripan and Tangáxoan visited Cheran after their flight from Vacananbaro in Episode XIV (Alcalá 2000). The three *Señores* conquered Cheran in Episode XXXI and designated it one of the three "*cabeceras* of the right hand" (Alcalá 2000:519, 523). During their conquests, the three lords conquered the neighboring settlements of Comanja, Naranjan, Zacapu, Siuínan, and Uruapan (Alcalá 2000:519). The sequence of the locations matches their geographic locations (Espejel Carbajal 2000, 2008). The location of Cheran is shown in Figure 6.101.

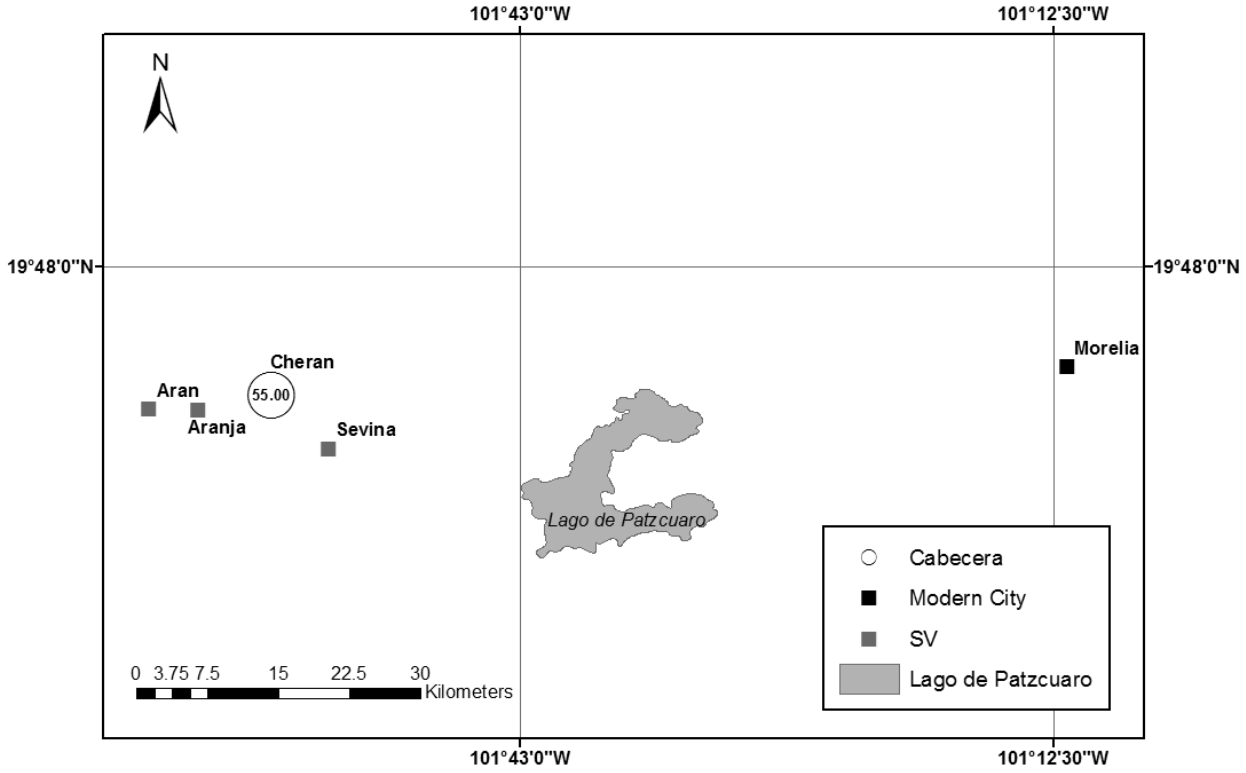


Figure 6.101. The cabecera *of Cheran (circle, #55) and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) of Aran, Aranja, and Sevina (Paso y Troncoso 1905*:180–181*). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Cheran's political status changed considerably from the pre-Hispanic to the colonial period and it is important to discuss these political changes using the available ethnohistorical evidence to do a thorough reconstruction. Eróngaricuaro's CV entry claims Cheran, Aran, Aranja, and Siuínan as subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias* and Cheran has no political subordinates on this list (Warren 1977:388–392). The subordinates are listed in Table 6.60, and mapped out in Figure 6.102.

Table 6.60. Selected entries from Eróngaricuaro's 1524 CV description (Warren 1977:388–392).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
4.00	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro	*Cabecera*	Eróngaricuaro	Eróngaricuaro
5.00	Aranja	Eróngaricuaro	*Subcabecera*	Aranja	Aranja
55.00	Charan/Cheran	Eróngaricuaro	*Sujeto*	Cheran?	Cheran
57.00	Aran	Eróngaricuaro	*Sujeto*	Aran	Aran
58.00	Se-vina?	Eróngaricuaro	*Sujeto*	Siuínan	Siuínan

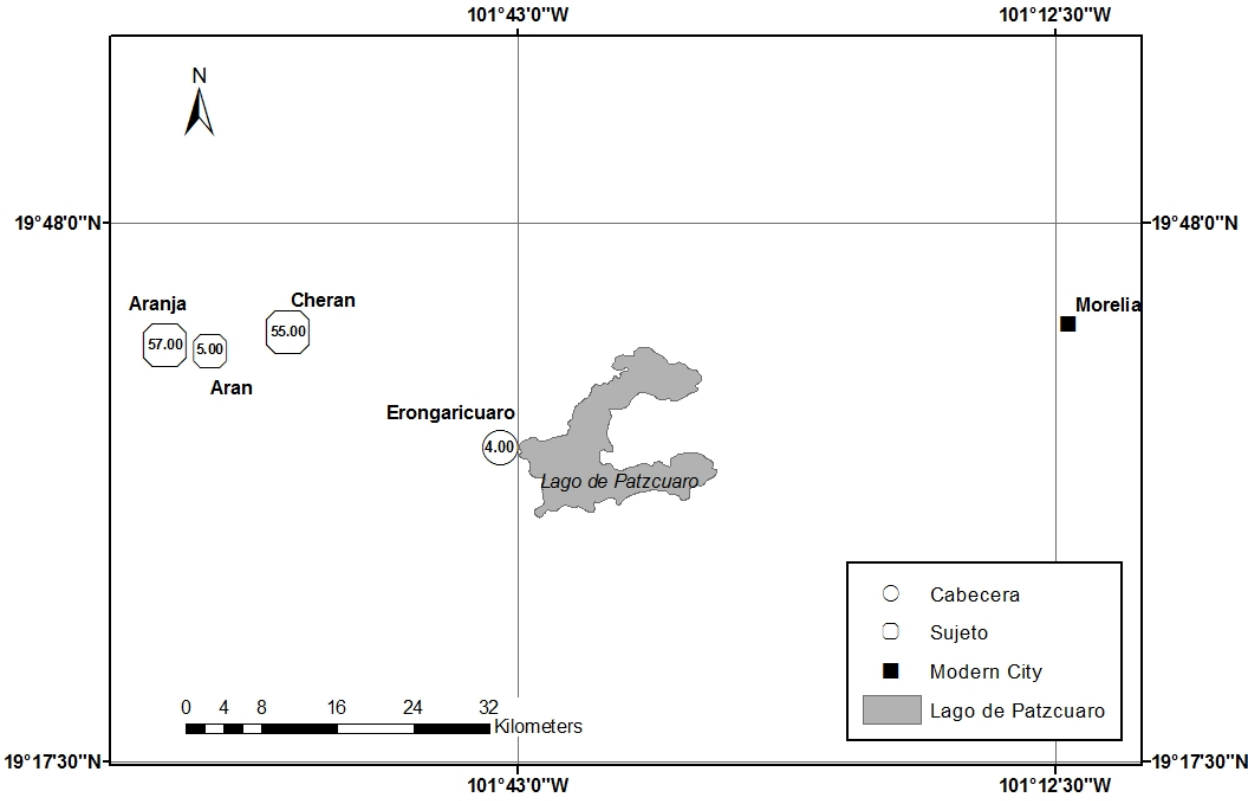


Figure 6.102. Map showing the locations of the cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro (circle, #4) in relation to the subordinate settlements (truncated squares) of Cheran, Aranja, and Aran (Warren 1977). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

The data from the table above suggest that Cheran's status was reduced sometime during the pre-Hispanic period because Cheran is listed as a subject of Eróngaricuaro rather than a subcabecera. Aranja, however, is a subcabecera and this may reflect political reorganization sometime during the pre-Hispanic period.

The political reorganization continued in the 1540s when Juan Infante created a new encomienda with Pomacoran as *cabecera* and Cheran, Siuínan, and Aranja as *subcabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:180), listed in Table 6.61. Their locations are shown in Figure 6.103.

Table 6.61. The cabecera of Pomacoran and its subordinate barrios of Aranja, Cheran, and Aran, from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:180–181).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
56.00	Pomacoran	Pomacoran	*Cabecera*	Pamacoran	Paso y Troncoso 1905:180–181
5.00	Aranja	Pomacoran	*Subcabecera*	Aranja	Paso y Troncoso 1905:180–181
55.00	Cheran	Pomacoran	*Subcabecera*	Cheran	Paso y Troncoso 1905:180–181
57.00	Aran	Pomacoran	*Subcabecera*	Aran	Paso y Troncoso 1905:180–181

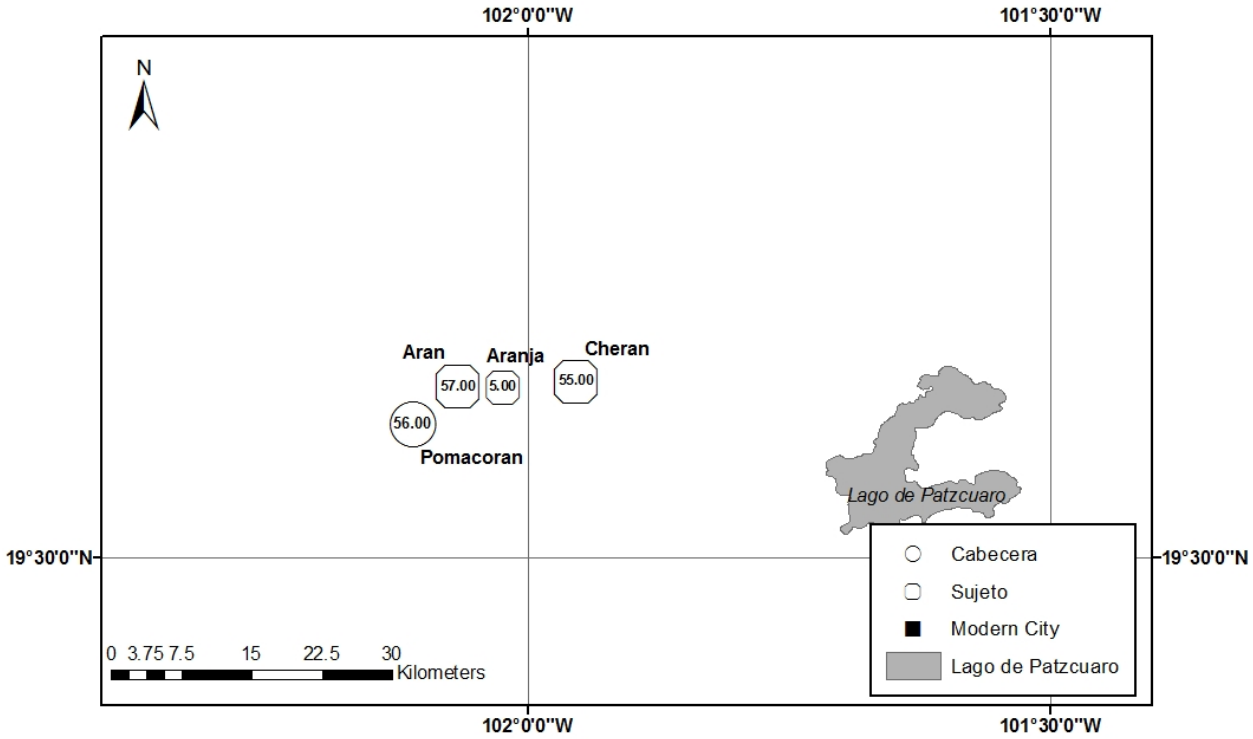


Figure 6.103. The cabecera *of Pomacoran (circle, #56) and the* sujetos *of Aran, Aranja, and Cheran. The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

The RO shows more reorganization during the latter half of the sixteenth century as Pomacoran lost *cabecera* status while Aranja and Siuínan became *cabeceras* (García Pimentel 1904:36). These settlements are listed in Table 6.62, and their locations mapped out in relation to Siuínan in Figure 6.104.

Table 6.62. The cabecera of Sevina/Siuínan and its subordinate barrios described in the RO (García Pimentel 1904).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
58.00	Sevina/Siuínan	Siuínan	*Cabecera*	Sevina	García Pimentel 1904:36
58.01	Naguatzen	Siuínan	*Barrio*	Nahuatzen	García Pimentel 1904:36
57.00	Aran	Siuínan	*Barrio*	Aran	García Pimentel 1904:36
58.02	Capaquaro	Siuínan	*Barrio*	Capacuaro	García Pimentel 1904:36
58.03	Santa Catarina	Siuínan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36

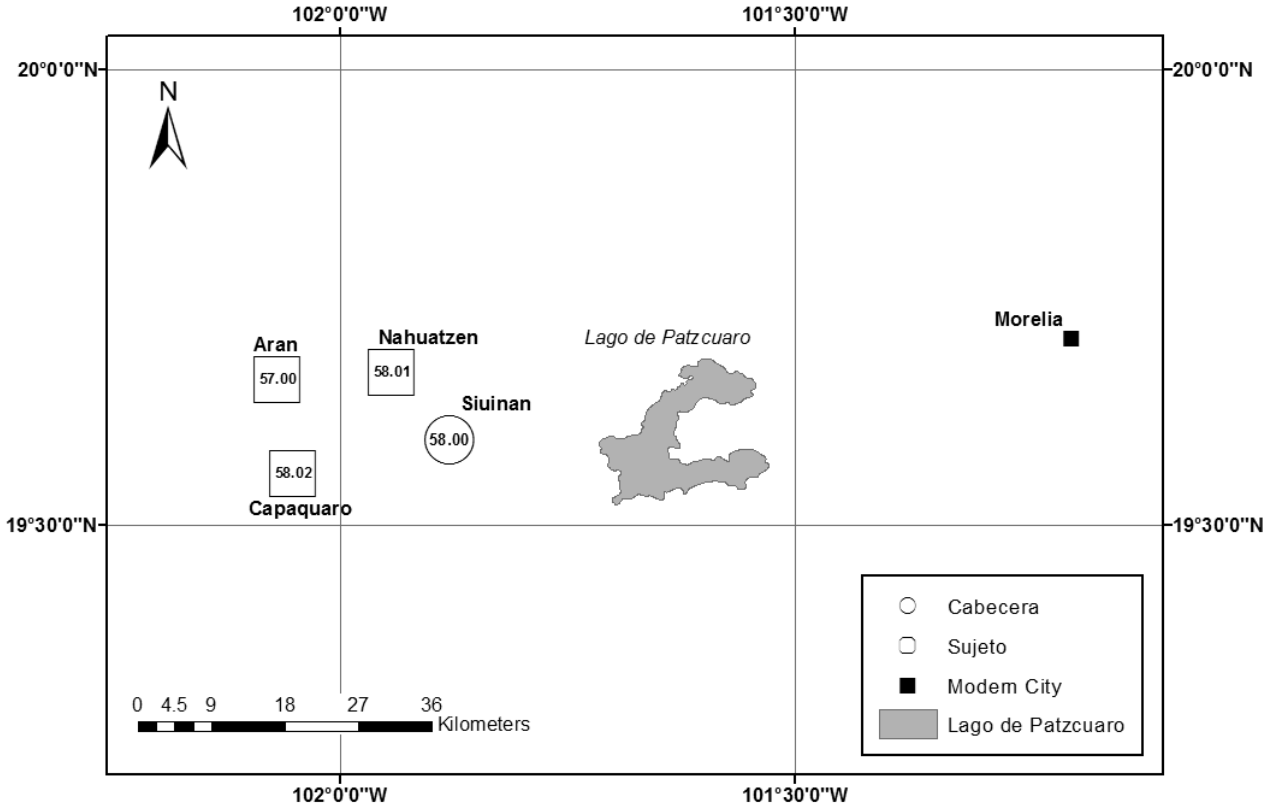


Figure 6.104. The cabecera *of Siuínan (circle, #58) and the subordinate* barrios *of Nahuatzen (square, #58.01), Capacuaro (square, #58.02), and Aran (Square, #57). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

Aranjan was also a *cabecera* but the exact nature of its political status in Michoacán is not clear. One entry in the ethnohistory states that the "Rey" (king) of "Arantzan," Pedro Xhamondague, "took a piece of land in the tradition of the Michuaque kings" (Lopez Sarrelangue 1965:235). This suggests that Xhamondague was an elite in Arantzan, but the statement about taking land may simply be a primordial

land title introduced to increase Aranjan's wealth and status. In the 1570s, Aranja was the *cabecera* over five subordinates which are listed in Table 6.63. Their locations are shown in Figure 6.105.

Table 6.63. The cabecera *of Aranjan and its subordinate* barrios*, as described in the RO (García Pimentel 1904).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
5.00	Aranja	Aranjan	*Cabecera*	Aranja	García Pimentel 1904:36
5.01	San Pedro	Aranjan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
5.02	Urapicho	Aranjan	*Barrio*	Santa Maria Urapicho	García Pimentel 1904:36
5.03	Santa Isabel	Aranjan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
5.04	Nurio	Aranjan	*Barrio*	Nurio	García Pimentel 1904:36
55.00	Cheran	Aranjan	*Barrio*	Cheran	García Pimentel 1904:36

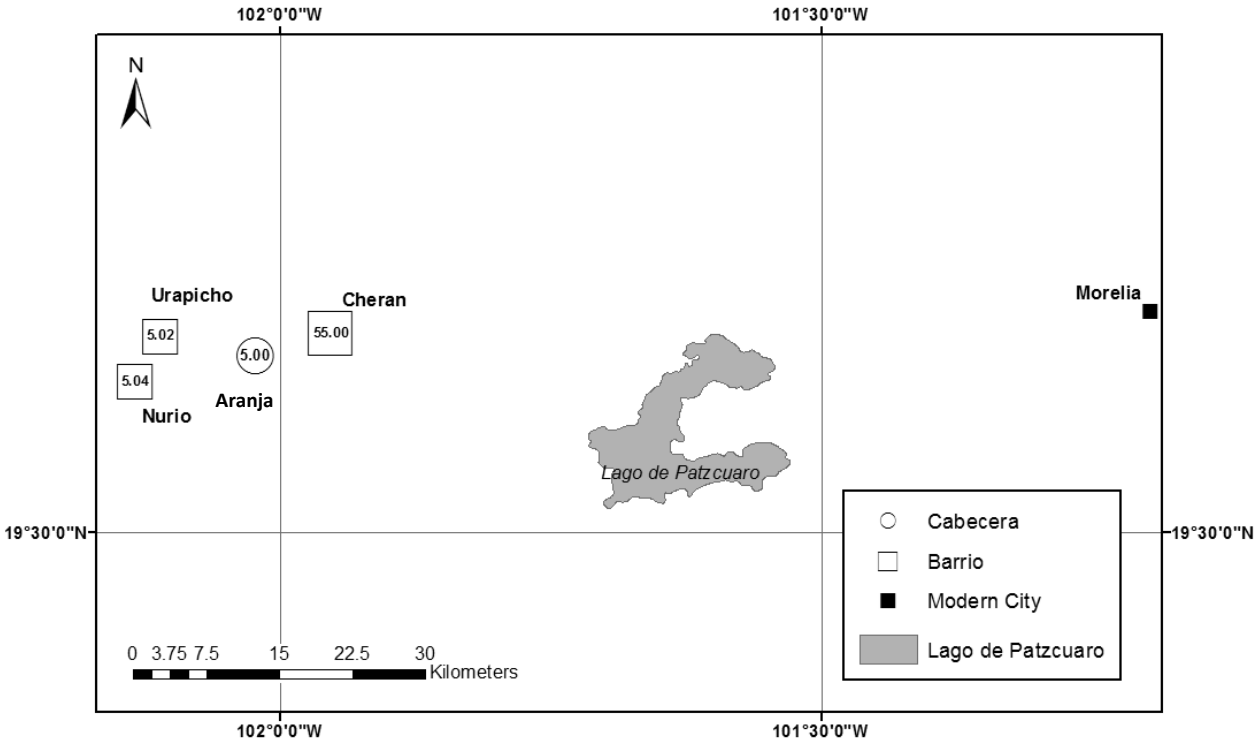


Figure 6.105. The cabecera *of Aranja (circle, #5) and its subordinate* barrios *of Urapicho (#5.02), Nurio (#5.04) and Cheran (#55). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been added as a spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The lists show that Cheran, Aranja, Aran, and Sevina/Siuínan are closely associated in the CV, SV, and RO documents. Given that Cheran was a *cabecera* of the pre-Hispanic

period and the Spanish tried to not make too many drastic alterations to the existing political structure, the pre-Hispanic political unit may have looked like the following table.

Table 6.64. The proposed political structure of Cheran's unit during the pre-Hispanic period.

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
55.00	Cheran	Cheran	*Cabecera*	Cheran
56.00	Pomacoran	Cheran	*Barrio*	Pamacoran
57.00	Aran	Cheran	*Barrio*	Aran
5.00	Aranja	Cheran	*Barrio*	Aranja
58.00	Siuínan	Cheran	*Barrio*	Sevina

These five settlements formed the core of Cheran's pre-Hispanic political unit, based on the available documentary evidence. In addition, Capacuaro may have been a political subordinate that was shared with the neighboring *cabecera* of Uruapan (Warren 1977:392). The organizational structure would look like Figure 6.106.

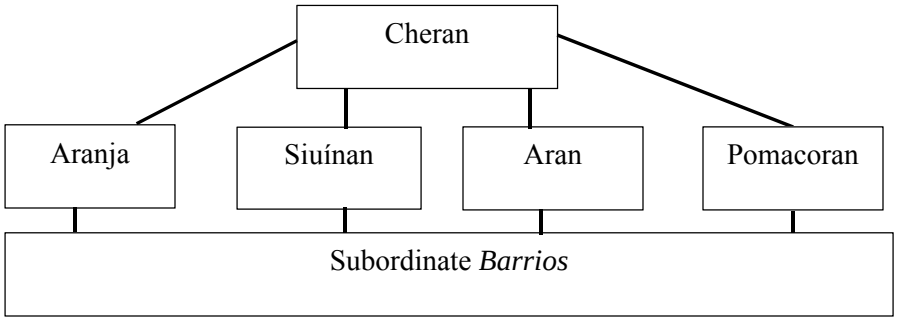


Figure 6.106. Diagram showing the organization of Cheran's political unit. Cheran, as cabecera *occupies the top tier while its* subcabeceras *of Aranja, Siuínan, Aran, and Pomacoran occupy the second tier. The ethnohistorical record suggests there were a number of subordinate* barrios *but we have no information on specific names.*

Archaeological Evidence. Archaeological data on Cheran are scarce, and the only report that suggests a Tarascan elite presence in Cheran is a site Lumholtz excavated in the late nineteenth century (Lumholtz 1905:394). He reported finding an archaeological site near the foot of a peak he called Cheran that consisted of a small keyhole-shaped yacata, two plazas or terraces 18 meters on a side, and a double wall extending away from the site (Lumholtz 1905:395). He excavated a burial located approximately 27

meters south of the terraces and recovered two red and white ceramic tripod bowls (Lumholtz 1905:394–395). The interior and exterior designs of the bowls are geometric shapes, panels and patterns painted white, with zoomorphic representations (AMNH 2013; Lumholtz 1905:394–395). The flared vessel supports and design motifs are very similar to other tripod vessels recovered at Tzintzuntzan (Castro-Leal 1986:112, 119; Pollard 1993:165) and Huandacareo (Macias Goytia 1990:Fig. 43). To date, this site has not been relocated either using remote sensing or ground surveys (Espejel Carbajal 2008).

Remote sensing analyses around Cheran using 1.8-meter resolution CORONA imagery and 14.25-meter resolution Landsat ETM+ Panchromatic imagery proved inconclusive. Sobel and Roberts edge-detection filters, which are typically used to detect pathways and walls (Parcak 2009:103; Richards and Jia 2006:135) failed to turn up any evidence of a double wall on either set of imagery. Band-ratio combinations did not reveal any discontinuities on the imagery. The distance of Pomacoran from Cheran suggests that it might be a subcabecera, yet there is no evidence of archaeological sites in the area.

59) Zacapu

Connections with the RM and Mapping. Episode II states that the *Chichimecs* settled on the mountain of Virguarapexo near the *pueblo*s of Zacapo Tacanendan and Naranjan (Alcalá 2000:341). In Episode III, the elites of Naranjan persuaded those of Comanja to help kill Hireti-Ticátame (Alcalá 2000:347). Later, in Episode XXXI, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje conquered Huániqueo, Comanja, Naranjan, Zacapu, Cheran, and Siuínan, which all correspond to modern settlements in northern Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:519). Figure 6.107 below shows the location of Zacapu in relation to other *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* mentioned in the RM (Alcalá 2000).

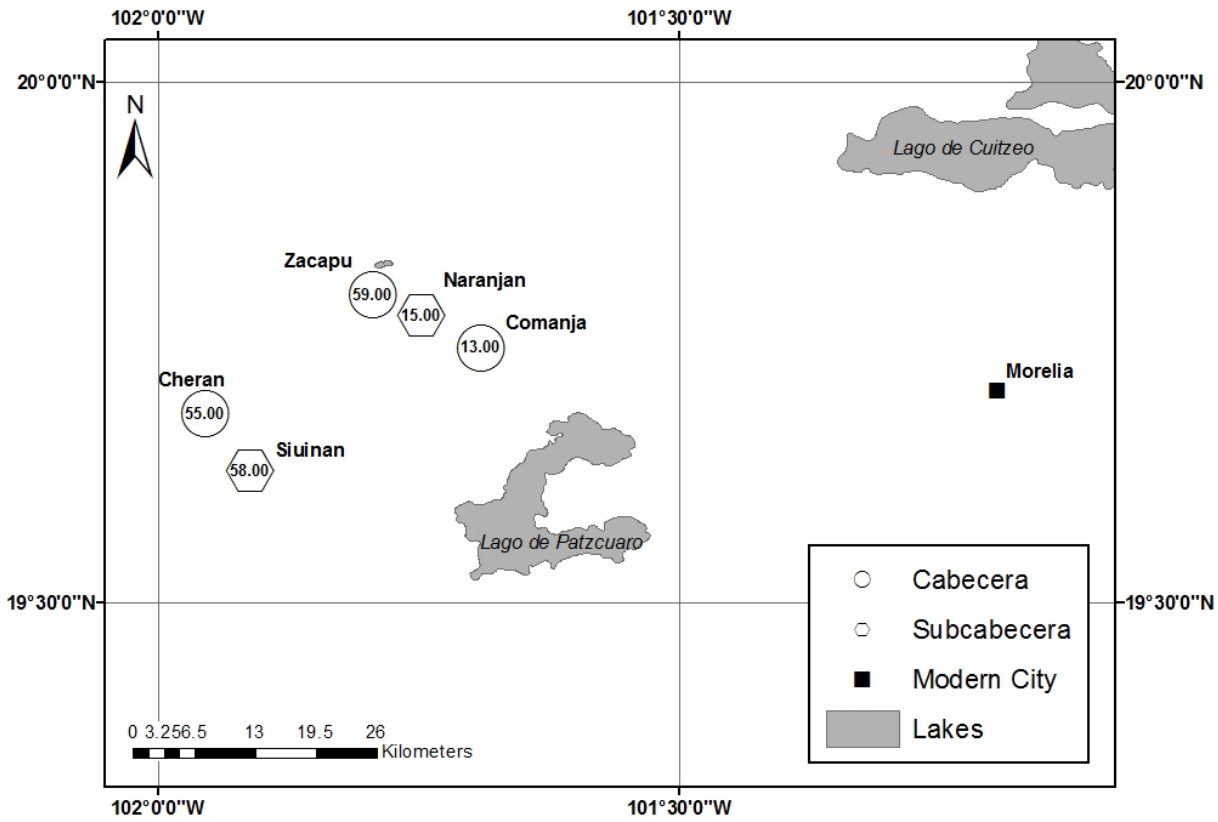


Figure 6.107. Map showing the location of Zacapu (circle, #59) in relation to the cabeceras *(circles) of Comanja (#13) and Cheran (#55), as well as the* subcabeceras *(hexagons) of Naranjan (#15) and Siuínan (#58). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Furthermore, the SV states the Zacapu is bounded by Guango, Comanja, Chilchota, Pomacoran, and Tlazazalca (Paso y Troncoso 1905:79). Zacapu's location in relation to other settlements is shown in Figure 6.108.

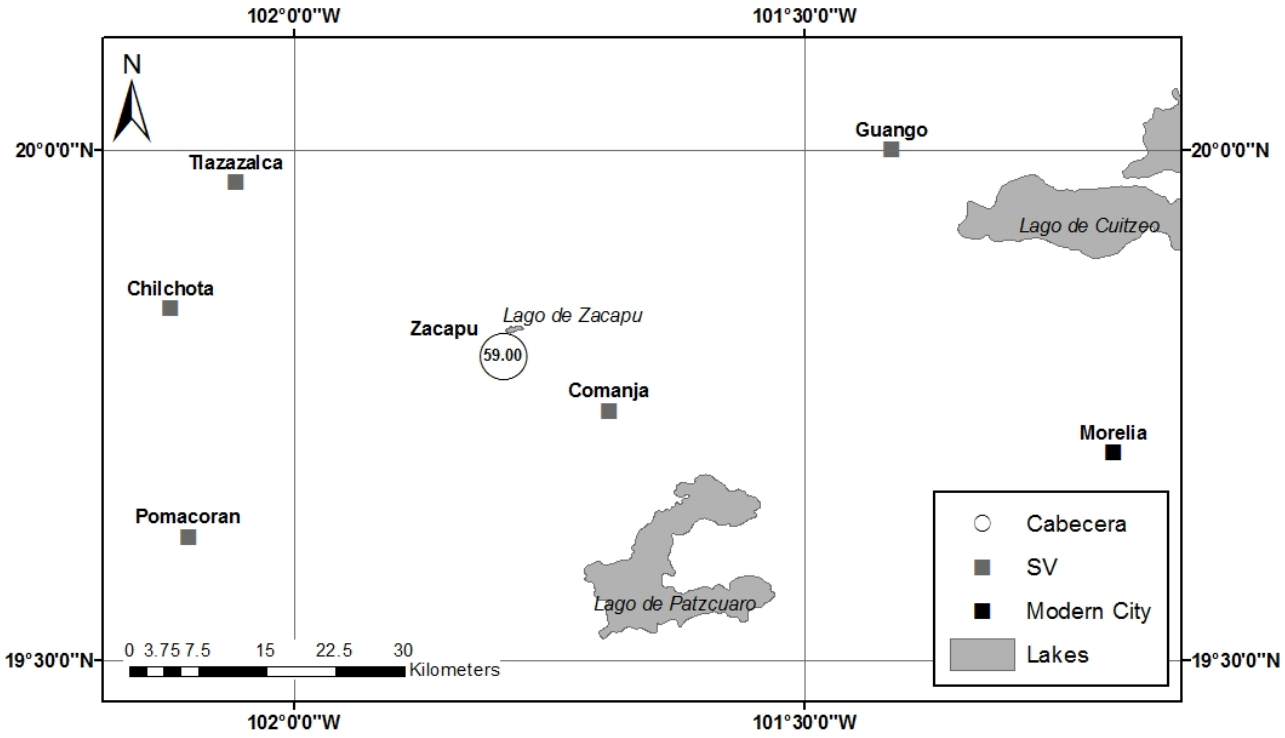


Figure 6.108. Map depicting the location of Zacapu (circle, #59) in relation to sites mentioned in the Suma de Visitas *(gray squares) (Paso y Troncoso 1905). The locations of the five sites in relation to Zacapu firmly place Zacapu in geographic space. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The RM does not provide information on Zacapu's subordinate towns (Alcalá 2000). Ethnohistorical documents like the LT (Cossío 1952), RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904), and the RG (Acuña 1987) provide little information on Zacapu. To determine the structure of the political unit controlled by Zacapu we must analyze data given in other colonial sources as well as scholarly analyses of colonial organization. Table 6.65 lists the available information on Zacapu's subject settlements.

Table 6.65. The subordinates of the cabecera *of Zacapu as reconstructed from court documents (Piñón Flores1984:150).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location
59.00	Zacapu	Zacapu	*Cabecera*	Zacapu
59.01	Enteparecutiro	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.02	Cuinoato	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.03	Unamuco	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.04	Atziracuaro	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.05	Urunbecuaro	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.06	Cachangueo	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown
59.07	Quesichigua's *Estancia*	Zacapu	*Estancia*	Unknown

Court documents from the sixteenth century name several subordinate settlements, which are number 31.01–31.07 in Table 6.65. Don Pablo Huitzimengari, grandson of the last Tarascan ruler Tangáxoan II, filed suit against the *Cacique* Don Pedro of Zacapu for his failure to properly maintain patrimonial lands located in the settlements shown in the table (Piñón Flores 1984:150). The presence of a *Cacique* supports the interpretation that Zacapu was a political unit head. It should also be noted Quesichigua's Estancia, belonged to the illegitimate son of Tangáxoan II, Don Quesuchigua (López Sarrelangue 1965; Piñón Flores1984:150). While we know the names of these *estancias*, the court documents do not provide any distances or bearing information to locate these sites.

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The ethnohistorical data suggest that Zacapu was the *cabecera* over a large area, but the data are unclear whether Zacapu had any *subcabeceras*. The only available data we have are on the *estancias* involved in Don Pablo Huitzimengari's lawsuit. It is likely that Zacapu was in charge of a larger area but without additional ethnohistorical evidence Zacapu's political structure remains tentative. The proposed sociopolitical structure is shown in Figure 6.109.

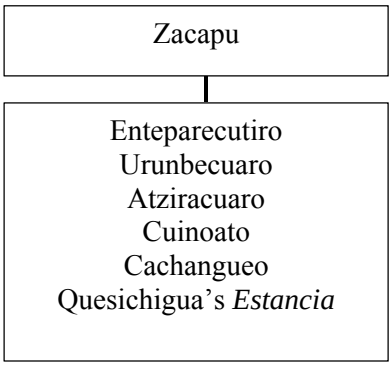


Figure 6.109. The proposed organizational structure of the Zacapu unit. Zacapu's placement at the top shows it status as cabecera *while its subordinates are shown below it.*

Archaeological Evidence. Zacapu was made into a Tarascan ceremonial center sometime after Tarascan geopolitical expansion and the *Cazonci* made annual pilgrimages to the site (Freddolino 1973:57). Archaeological surveys and excavations recovered evidence substantiating a Tarascan elite presence in the *malpaís* (volcanic highlands) overlooking the modern town of Zacapu (Freddolino 1973; Lumholtz 1905). The remaining paragraphs describe the results of research at the sites of El Palacio La Crucita, Escuela Agropecuaria, and Club Campestre. These sites are listed in Table 6.66 and their locations are shown in Figure 6.110.

Table 6.66. The archaeological sites near Zacapu that have evidence of a Tarascan presence.

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Distance (Leagues)	Distance (Kilometers)
59.08	Escuela Agropecuaria	Zacapu?	Site	.27	1.5
59.09	Club Campestre	Zacapu?	Site	.55	3.1
59.10	El Palacio La Crucita	Zacapu?	Site	.5	2.5

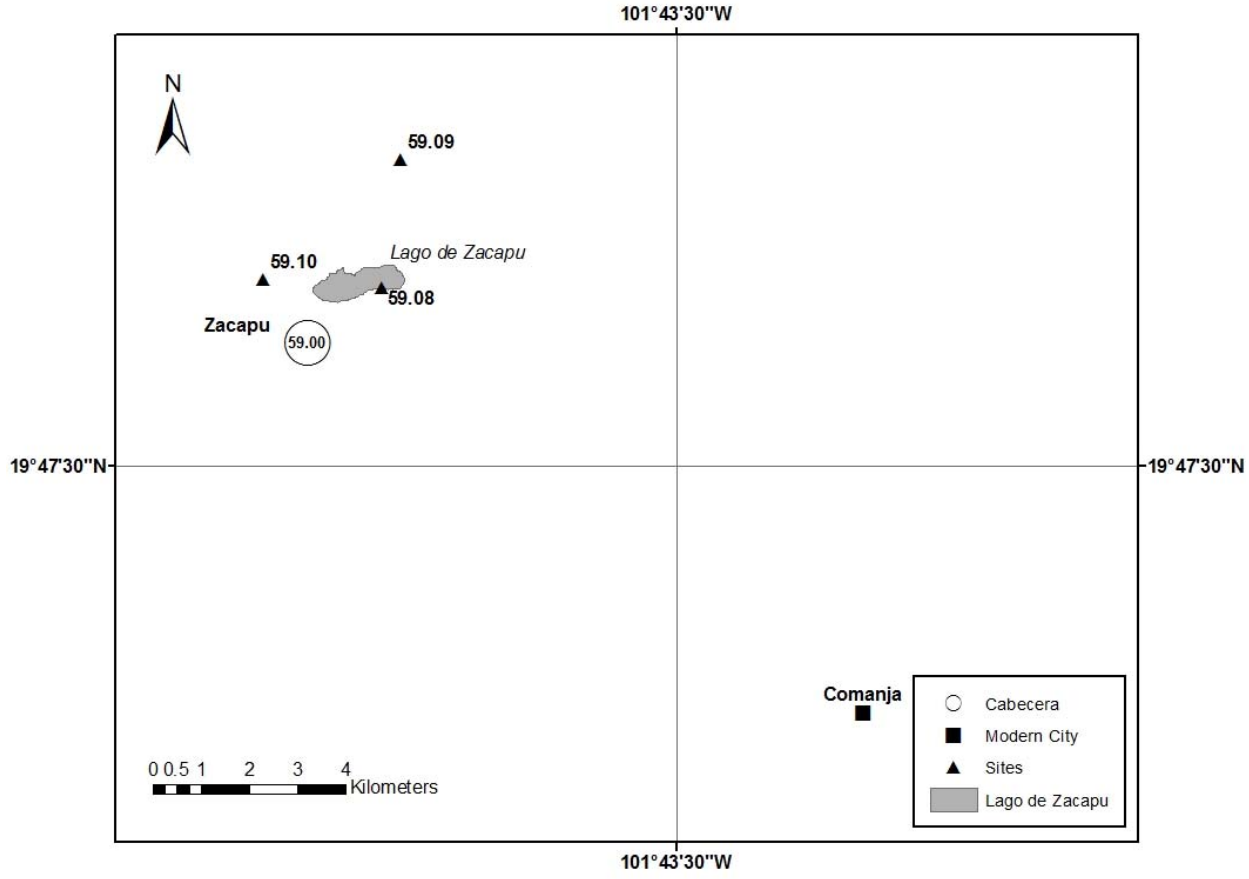


Figure 6.110. Map showing the locations of cabeceras *(circles), the archaeological sites of Escuela Agropecuaria (31.08), Club Campestre (31.09), and El Palacio La Crucita (31.10), shown as dark triangles.*

El Palacio/La Crucita has been the subject of investigations by Lumholtz (1905:426) and Freddolino (1973:192). Located in the *malpaís* directly overlooking Zacapu, the site consists of a large plaza formed by four pyramids and a large residential complex (Freddolino 1973:192). The site is named for the largest pyramid, El Palacio del Rey (Freddolino 1973:192). Lumholtz (1905:431) described El Palacio as a masonry structure approximately 130 yards (119 meters) in length made of volcanic stones joined without mortar and linked to an artificially extended esplanade. During excavations, he reported finding around a dozen small copper bells, several beads, a number of incised bones, and red-and-black decorated ceramics with zoomorphic shapes (e.g., snakes, birds) and complex geometric designs (Lumholtz 1905:427–431).

One of the more interesting finds was a sealed earthenware jar 91cm high and 2.25m in circumference containing the charred remains of a skeleton (Lumholtz 1905:427). The RM states that during the burial preparations, the deceased Cazonci or señor was decapitated and the head wrapped in blankets (Alcalá 2000:427). After the burial ceremony at the foot of the temple, the body was burned and the ashes placed in a ceramic vessel for interment. The similarities between the ethnohistorical description and Lumholtz's find could indicate the interment of a Tarascan elite. Caso uncovered multiple burials at El Palacio, including one individual buried in a flexed position with a pair of copper pincers underneath the skull, suggesting that the individual was wearing it at burial (Caso 1930[Freddolino 1973:195]). Caso also found an obsidian point in the individual's hand, along with several beads and a cache of obsidian scrapers (Freddolino 1973:195). The pincers, at least, suggest that the individual was a member of the elite because pincers were markers of elite status (Pollard 1987:741), but the lack of cremation argues against the individual being a high-ranking elite (Alcalá 2000:631; Espejel Carbajal 2008). The burial may have represented a member of the religious hierarchy (Freddolino 1973:195).

This method of burial could also be a regional tradition. Freddolino (1973:286) and Pollard (1993:175) note that creating a new polity during the Protohistoric period was an enormous challenge due the cultural and linguistic diversity of west Mexico. It would have required finding ways to weave many of the local and regional traditions together and reinterpret them in the context of the new political and cultural conditions. The Protohistoric Tarascan religious pantheon was an amalgamation of local gods and goddesses reinterpreted as relatives to Curícaueri, or representing different facets of the chief Tarascan gods' personalities (Pollard 1993:135). For example, the people of Zacapu worshiped Querenda Angapeti as the god of the sun, not Curícaueri, a fact that is noted in the RM when the *Señor* of Zacapu received a message from the deity (Alcalá 2000:464). This suggests that cultural practices were interpreted differently according to the local cultural background.

Freddolino (1973:227) found polychrome and unpainted ceramics from the Protohistoric Campestre Complex at the sites of Club Campestre, El Palacio, and the Escuela Agropecuaria. The polychrome ceramics include examples of slipped and unslipped varieties of white-on-red, black-on-red, red-on-

cream, black-on orange, red-on-buff, and orange-on-cream. These types are similar to ceramics recovered from Huandacareo, which contain a wide range of types (Macias Goytia 1990:54). They are described as highly polished, and many sherds are decorated with incisions or grooves (Freddolino 1973:239). In addition, a large number of sherds from El Palacio, Club Campestre, and Escuela Agropecuaria also exhibit decorative motifs including zig-zag patterns, colored panels, wavy lines, concentric circles, "V"-shapes, "X"-bands, triangles, and braids (Freddolino 1973:262–263). Rim sherds included flared rims, medially thickened rims, and rims with bosses (Freddolino 1973:272). The descriptions of the ceramic motifs, particularly the zig-zag patterns, wavy lines, and "X"-bands are similar to motifs on sherds recovered from Tzintzuntzan (Pollard 1993:223). Pyramids are large rectangular constructions similar to those found at Ihuatzio, which were dedicated to Xarátanga (Pollard 2012:141). In the RM, the goddess Peuame, who is the wife of Querenda Angapeti, is the individual who notices the coming of Carocomaco, the *señor* of Zacapu (Alcalá 2000:464). Peuame is considered the Zacapu equivalent of Xarátanga (Pollard 1993:137).

60) Uruapan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Uruapan was the home of Quenomen, a poor water-seller who eventually married *Señor* Carocomaco from Zacapu (see above) (Alcalá 2000:464). Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje conquered Uruapan during their first round of conquests (Alcalá 2000:519). During the first campaign, they also conquered the settlements of Cheran, Siuínan, and Hacáuato (Acáhuato), which have been linked to real-world locations by Espejel Carbajal (2000, 2007, 2008). Figure 6.111 shows the location of Uruapan.

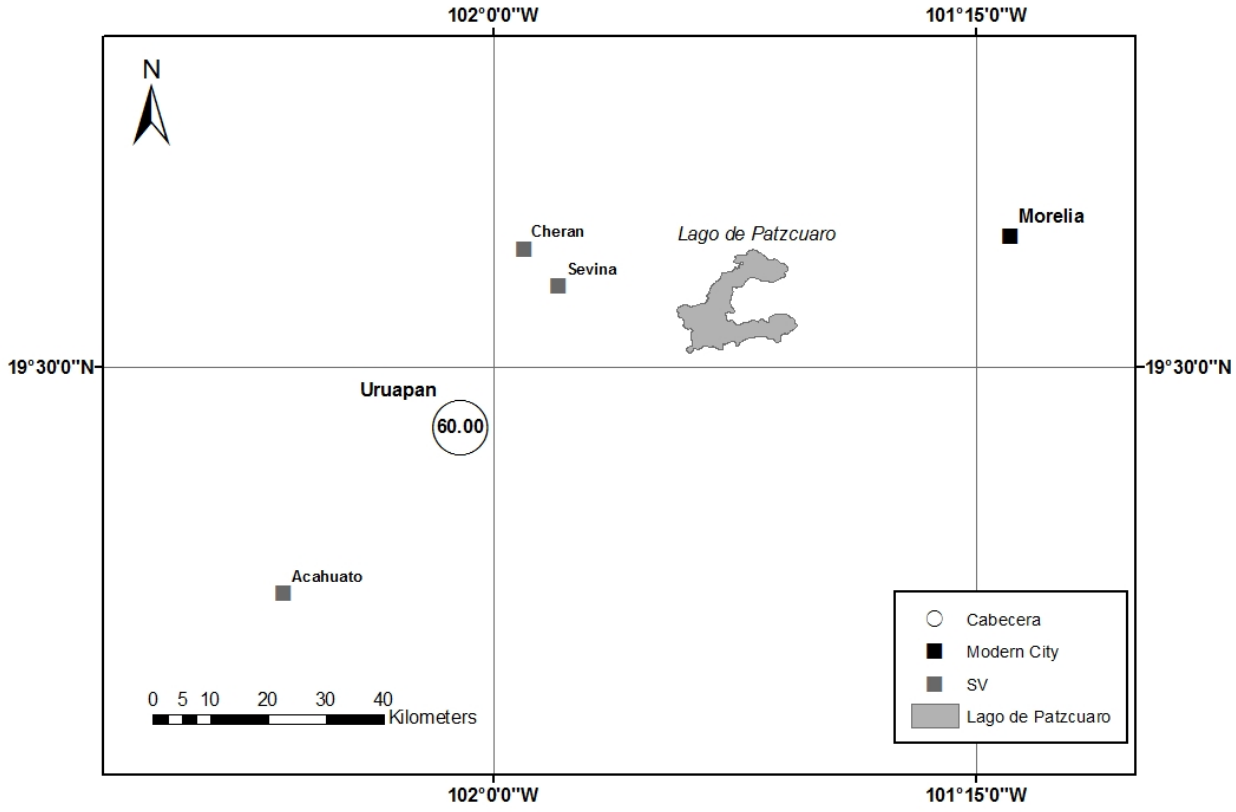


Figure 6.111. The cabecera *of Uruapan (circle, #60) and the neighboring settlements of Cheran, Sevina/Siuínan, and Acáhuato (gray squares). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Carvajal surveyed Uruapan in December 1523 by interviewing the local Señor, Hornaco, who outlined an area of control that extended from Uruapan to the neighboring settlements of Carana, Tumba, Chichangueto, and Chirapan (Warren 1977:392). The subordinates recorded by Carvajal are shown Table 6.67.

Table 6.67. The cabecera *of Uruapan from the CV entry of 1523 (Warren 1977:392). The numbers used in this analysis are at left. The CV lists settlements, superordinate centers, household size estimates, ranks, distances from superordinate centers, locations (if known). Geometric means have been added to provide a balanced estimate of house/household size. In this system, S = Señor, C = Calpixque.*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Native	Carvajal	Geometric	Rank	Distance (in leagues)	Source
60.00	Uruapan	Uruapan	30	115	59	S	15	Warren 1977:392
60.01	Cupacuaro	Uruapan	6	25	12		2.6	Warren 1977:392
60.02	Chichanguatiro	Uruapan	6	15	10		1	Warren 1977:392
60.03	Anguangua	Uruapan	10	55	23		3	Warren 1977:392
60.04	Chicaya	Uruapan	60	90	73	*C*	4	Warren 1977:392
60.05	Charangua	Uruapan	5	8	6		1.5	Warren 1977:392
60.06	Chire	Uruapan	3	7	5	*C*	1	Warren 1977:392
60.07	Quequecato	Uruapan	5	12	8	*C*	0.5	Warren 1977:392
60.08	Arenjo	Uruapan	7	15	10	*C*	0.25	Warren 1977:392
60.09	Cachaquaro	Uruapan	5	12	8		1	Warren 1977:392
60.10	Arechuel	Uruapan	3	8	5		1.5	Warren 1977:392
61.00	Xirosto	Uruapan	40	70	53	S	3	Warren 1977:392
61.01	Chirapan	Xirosto	5	30	12	*C*	0.5	Warren 1977:392

The table shows that Uruapan has ten direct subordinates, including four settlements that have their own calpixques located within .25–4 leagues (1.4–8.33 km) of Uruapan. The estancias of Quequecato, Arejo, and Chire are within one league (5.57 km) of the settlement, which creates one settlement cluster. The last settlement, Chicaya, is four leagues away (22.3 km). Notice that the geometric mean estimate of Uruapan's population size is 59 houses, while Chicaya has 73 houses. These adjusted estimates suggest that population size was not a factor for the placement of a *Señor* which is consistent with the *altepetl* model's assumptions.

Ururapan also has one *subcabecera* named Xirosto, shown in Figure 6.112. Xirosto has one listed subordinate, Chirapan, one of the settlements that marked the extent of Hornaco's influence (Warren

1977:392). Unlike other *subcabeceras*, Xirost also has *Señor* as a political leader. Unfortunately, we lack ethnohistorical records to determine if the *Señor* of Uruapan and the *Señor* of Xirosto are related. Yet, the rank suggests that Xirosto occupied an important place in Uruapan's hierarchy.

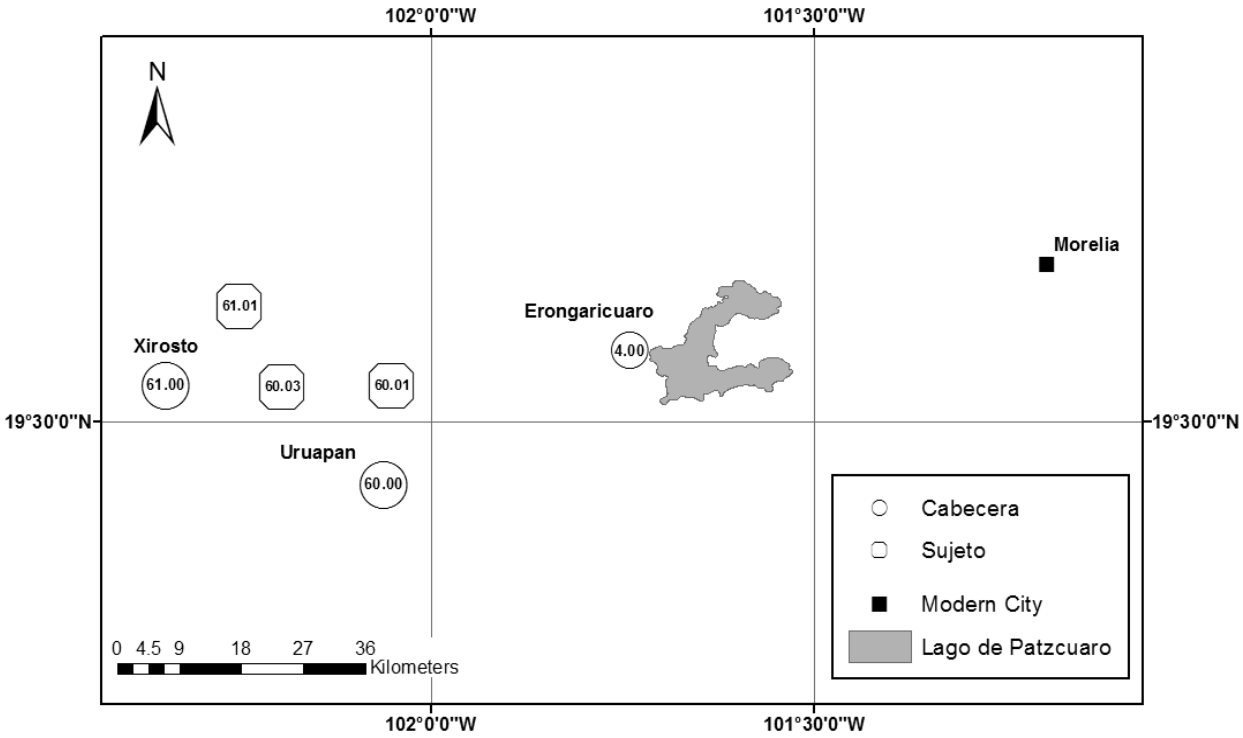


Figure 6.112. Map showing the location of the cabecera *of Uruapan and its sujetos (truncated squares) of Capaquaro (#60.01), Anguangua (#60.03), and Chirapan (#61.01), as described in the CV (Warren 1977). The modern settlements of Morelia (black square) and the* cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro(circle, #4) have been provided for spatial reference.*

Later colonial records show that Uruapan was the *cabecera* of seven *barrios* and two *subcabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:122). Table 6.68 lists the *cabecera* and *subcabeceras* for Uruapan. Their locations are mapped out in Figure 6.113.

Table 6.68. The cabecera of Uruapan from the SV entry (Paso y Troncoso 1905:122).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
60.00	Uruapan	Uruapan	*Cabecera*	Uruapan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:122
61.00	Xirosto	Uruapan	*Subcabecera*	Xirosto	Paso y Troncoso 1905:122
62.00	Xicalan	Uruapan	*Subcabecera*	Jicalan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:122

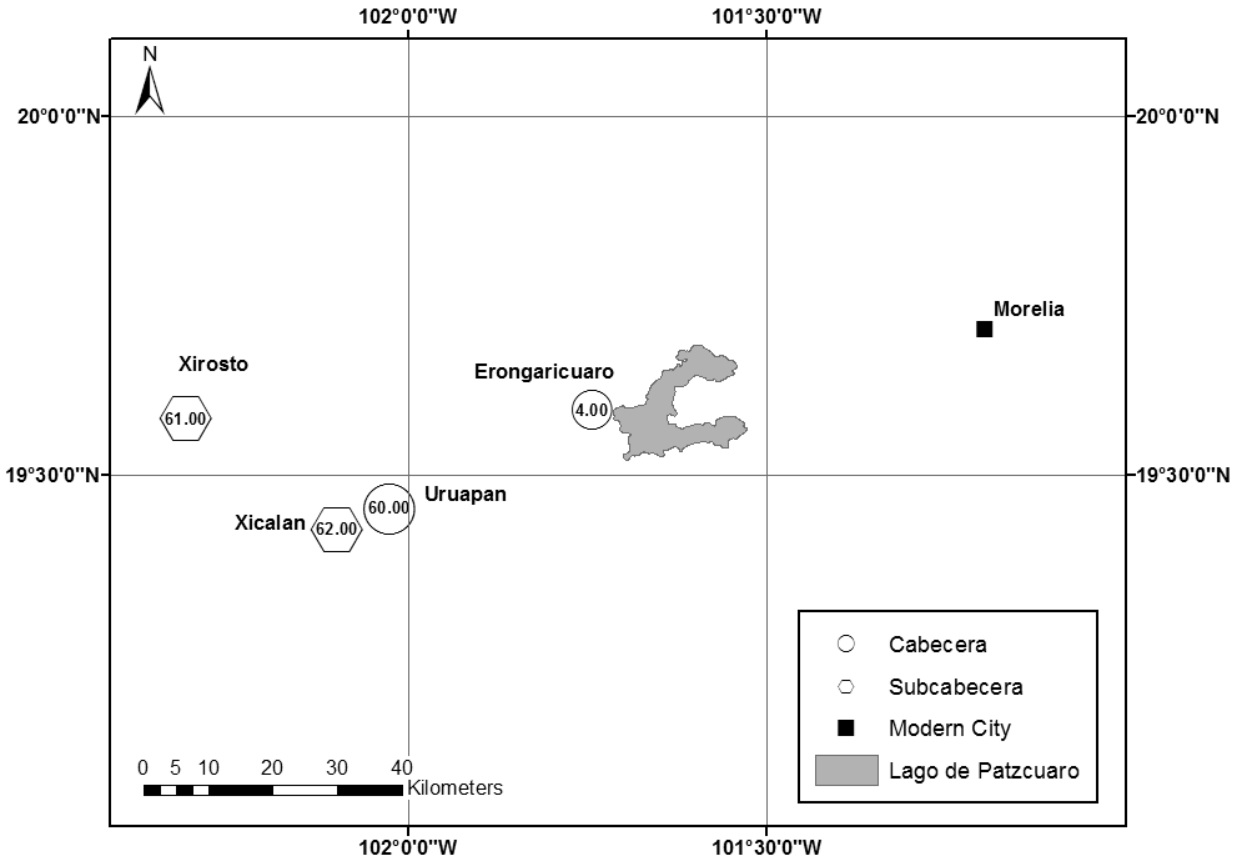


Figure 6.113. The cabecera *of Uruapan (circle, #60) and its subordinate* cabeceras *of Xirosto (hexagon, #61) and Xicalan (hexagon #62). The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) and the* cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro (circle, #4) have been provided for spatial reference.*

Table 6.69 lists the settlements under Uruapan's control according to the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:37–38). The RO settlements are shown in Figure 6.114.

Table 6.69. The cabecera of Uruapan from the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:37–38).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
60.00	Uruapan	Uruapan	*Cabecera*	Uruapan	García Pimentel 1904:37–38
60.11	San Lorenzo	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38
60.12	Sancta Catarina	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38
60.13	Taciran	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38
60.14	Corroi	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38
61.01	Churapan/Chirapan	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38
62.00	Xicalan	Uruapan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37–38

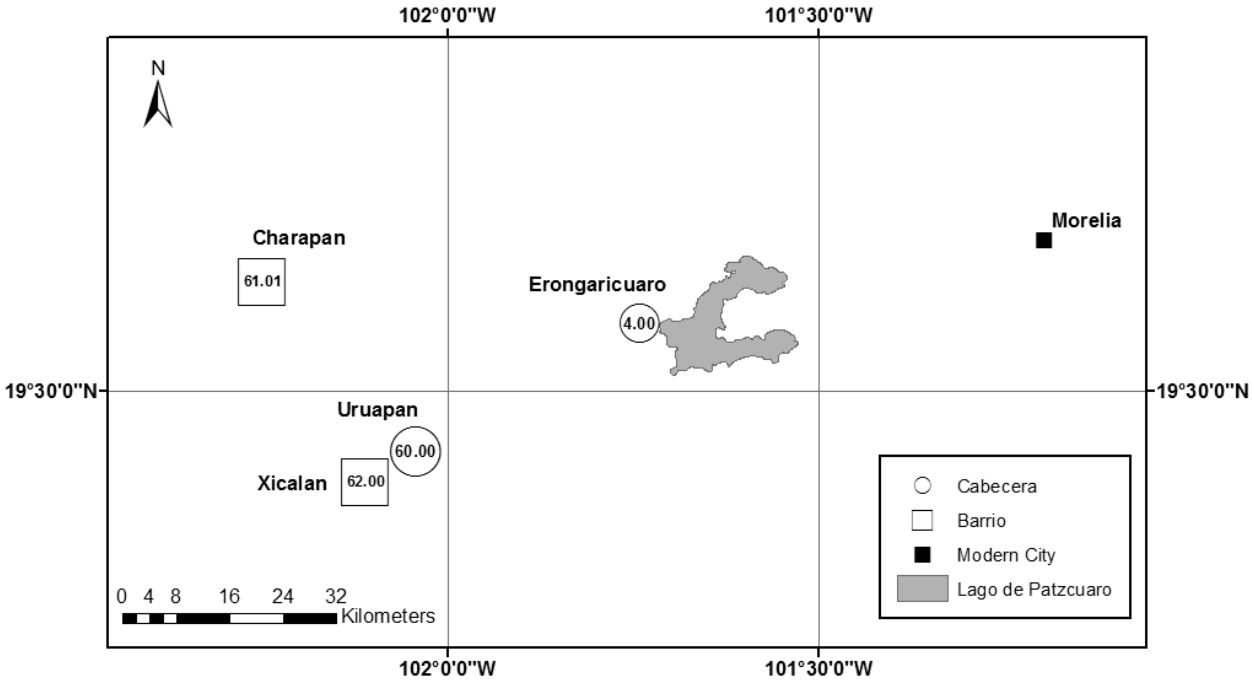


Figure 6.114. The cabecera *of Uruapan (circle, #60) and its subordinate* barrios*, as discussed in the RO* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:37–38). *The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) and the* cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro (circle, #4) have been provided for spatial reference.*

61) Xirosto

Xirosto is the *cabecera* 14 *barrios* and four *subcabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:310), listed in Table 6.70. The settlements are mapped in Figure 6.115.

Table 6.70. The cabecera *of Xirosto from the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:37).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
61.00	Cirosto/Xirosto	Uruapan	*Cabecera*	Xirosto	García Pimentel 1904:37
61.01	Charapan	Xirosto	*Barrio*	Charapan	García Pimentel 1904:37
61.02	San Pedro Tzacan	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.03	Santiago Parangaricotiro	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.04	Santa Catalina	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.05	Quanbocheo	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.06	Hapo	Xirosto	*Barrio*	Apo?	García Pimentel 1904:37
61.07	San Josefe	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.08	San Francisco	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.09	Nurio	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.10	Hapo	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.11	Tepachao	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37

61.12	Santangel	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.13	Santiago Tingambato	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.14	Curundahpan	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.15	Curu	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37
61.16	Taretan	Xirosto	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:37

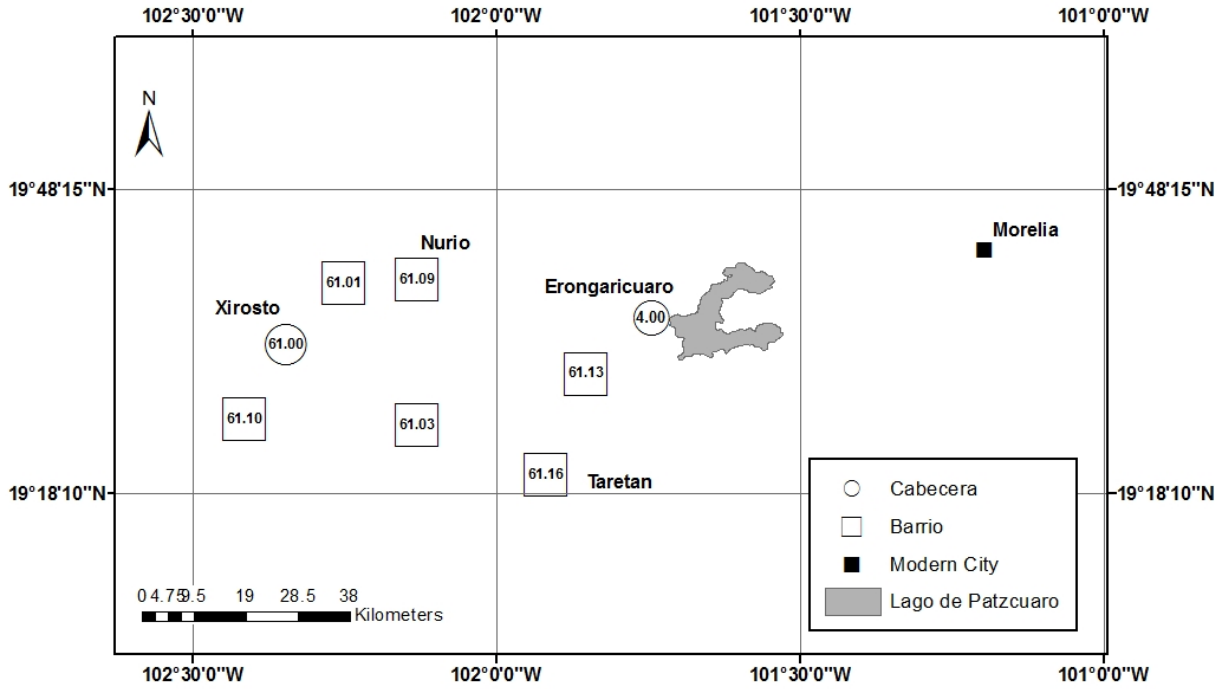


Figure 6.115. The cabecera *of Xirosto (circle, #61) and its subordinate* barrios *(squares), as discussed in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:37). The modern settlement of Morelia and the* cabecera *of Eróngaricuaro have been provided for spatial reference.*

Although Xirosto only has a single settlement listed in the CV, it deserves greater analysis because colonial-era documents suggest that Xirosto was the head of a sizeable population for a relatively long period of time, perhaps several decades before and after the conquest (Beltrán 1982: 117; Paso y Troncoso 1905:310). Cortes granted conquistador Francisco de Villegas the first *encomienda* grant for Uruapan in 1524, which included the settlements listed in the CV for Uruapan. Several settlements were split off and formed into a new encomienda in northwest Michoacán under Juan de Solis in 1528; these probably included Capacuaro, one of the northernmost settlements in Uruapan's possession (Warren 1985:250–251). When Francisco de Villegas died in 1550, his sons Francisco de Villegas II and Pedro de

Villegas split the encomienda between them, with Xirosto going to Don Francisco II, and Uruapan and Xicalan going to Don Pedro (Gerhard 1972:346). Don Francisco II held Xirosto until 1604 (Gerhard 1972:346). Despite changes in land ownership and tributary obligations during the sixteenth century, I can find no evidence that Xirosto's subordinates were part of another encomienda, leading me to conclude that the political unit remained intact. In addition, the number of subordinates is sufficiently large to warrant the presence of a *señor*, as opposed to a *Cacique*. Therefore, Xirosto's subordinates in Figure 6.78 are probably the same subordinates it had during the pre-Hispanic era.

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.116 shows the proposed political organization for Uruapan's political unit.

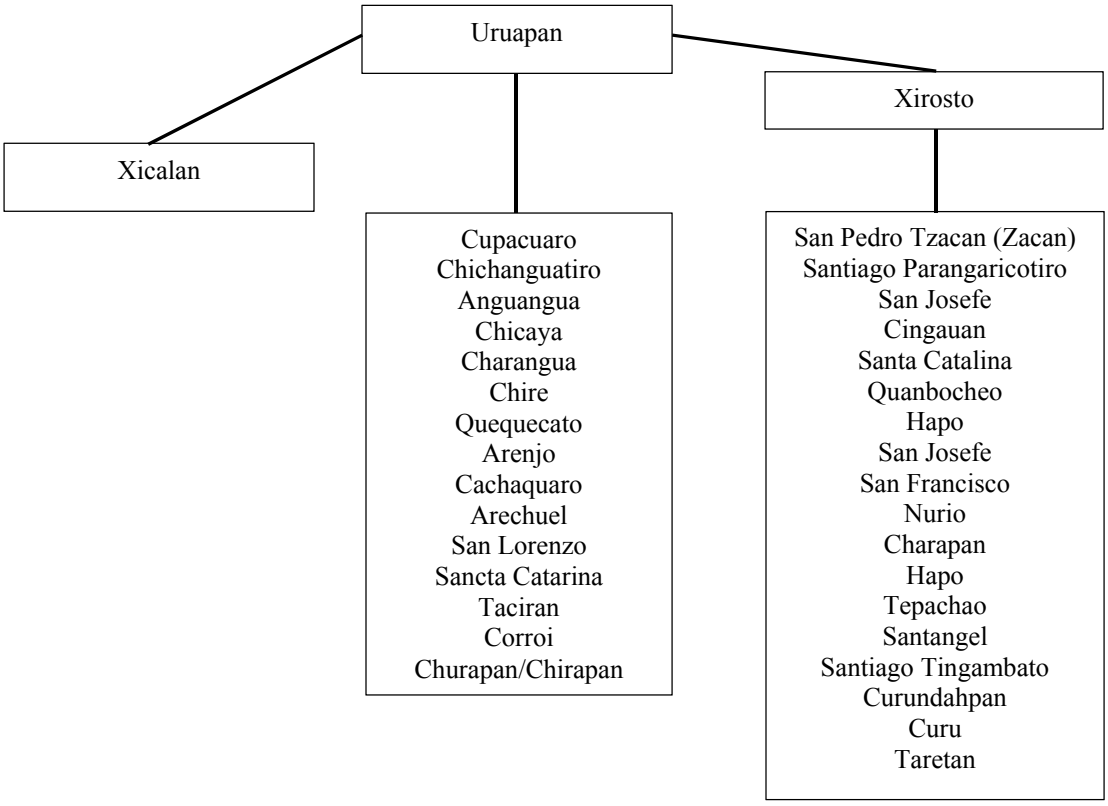


Figure 6.116. Diagram showing the proposed political organization for Uruapan and Xirosto.

In this diagram, Uruapan occupies the highest tier as the *cabecera* because it is has a *Señor* according to the CV, SV, and RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904; Paso y Troncoso 1905; Warren 1977). All of the ethnohistorical data indicate that Uruapan was the principal *cabecera* of the unit. Xirosto also has a

Señor, but the ethnohistorical record commonly places it under Uruapan's control rather than suggesting it was jointly administered. This is why Xirosto is presented at an intermediate rank somewhat below Uruapan but above its constituents. At the same time, Xicalan is a *subcabecera* although the information on its subordinates is not described in the ethnohistorical records, which is why there are no subordinate settlements shown in the third tier. Xicalan may have been a colonial *subcabecera*.

Archaeological Analyses. Remote sensing investigations are complicated by vegetation and modern settlement. The region between Uruapan and Xirosto is a major producer of avocados; indeed, along the districts of Periban and Tacámbaro in eastern Michoacán, this area of Mexico is responsible for over 80% of the avocados grown in the country, and Mexico accounts for 40% of world avocado production (Stanford 2002:293). Avocado orchards are common in the region, and have been for decades. The orchards obscure archaeological traces on the ground, and the widespread planting has undoubtedly led to the disturbance of soils by tree roots and human actions. Analysis of Google Earth imagery from the last ten years and high-resolution (1.6 m) CORONA imagery from 1972 shows high concentrations of orchards throughout the region. In addition to the man-made orchards, wild vegetation covers much of the area where archaeological sites are located; thus, it is nearly impossible to scan for archaeological features. In addition, many of the areas believed to have archaeological sites are surrounded by modern settlements, and have thus been subjected to change over the past several decades.

Archaeological investigations around Uruapan extend back as far as the 1920s (Ortiz Rubio 1920 [Goggin 1943:47]). Goggin (1943:47) mentioned the presence of cobble yacatas near Uruapan, consisting of earthen mounds faced with river cobbles that had no burials or structures in association. No details regarding structure locations and dimensions were given, limiting our ability to compare these with others from the central Tarascan zone. Goggin also reported the presence of Delicias Polychrome, a pottery type extending from Nayarit to Tzintzuntzan (Goggin 1943:51), and copper blades known as *tarequas*, which have been found in Colima, as well as 150 kilometers southeast in Huetamo (Goggin 1943:54).

In 1957, Eduardo Pareyon discovered an elite burial site near Uruapan with archaeological assemblages clearly associated with the Tarascan culture (Mendez et al. 2006). Mortuary goods included polychrome pottery; miniature tripod bowls decorated with a variety of geometric designs and shapes; and pipes decorated with lines of green, brown, and black (Mendez et al. 2006:138). The elite male was buried holding a wooden ax-handle, and wearing gold beads, copper rattles, gold and copper rings, and earrings. In addition, excavators recovered several bells, disks, a needle, and tweezers (Mendez et al. 2006:139). Proton-Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE) analyses determined that the metal objects were manufactured from alloys of copper-tin and copper-arsenic (Mendez et al. 2006:141), which were widely used by Tarascan metalworkers during the Postclassic period (Hosler 1988, 1994, 1995, 1999; Maldonado 2008; Maldonado and Engelhorn-Zentrum 2009:25; Maldonado and Rehren 2009).

The analyses revealed because of the absence of welding marks, a number of the pieces were manufactured from single pieces of metal. In addition, PIXE microphotography found evidence of small striations in the metal, indicating production by hammering the metal, as well as lost-wax production techniques, which introduced small bubbles from the release of carbon dioxide. These techniques are both hallmarks of Tarascan metal production (Hosler 1994:129; Mendez et al. 2006:5).

63) Carapan and 64) Chilchota

Connections to the RM and Mapping. One of Hiripan's sons, "another *Señor* son" of Hiripan was responsible for the conquest of Carapan (Alcalá 2000:525). This was probably Ticátame II, as he was the last *Señor* of Ihuatzio to command the coalition (Espejel Carbajal 2008). The neighboring settlement of Chilchota is not mentioned in the RM (Alcalá 2000), but sixteenth-century records show that Carapan and Chilchota shared a number of the same settlements as *cabeceras* and therefore they should be analyzed in this context. The SV entry describes Chilchota as the *cabecera*, bordering on Zacapu, Tlazazalca, and Xacona (Paso y Troncoso 1905:78). In addition, it bordered on the *Pueblos de Juan Infante* which means Infante's *Pueblos de la Sierra* (Paredes Martinez 1984). Their locations are shown in Figure 6.117.

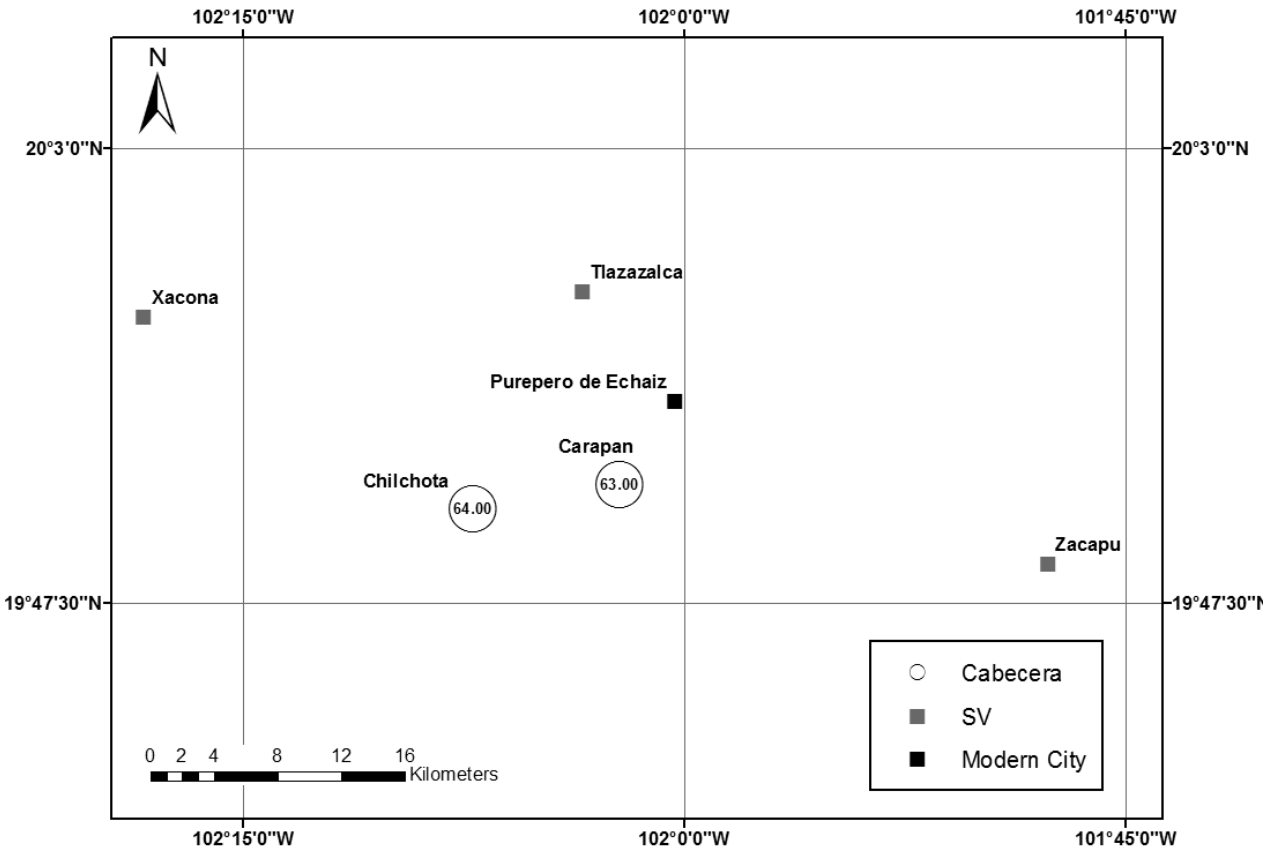


Figure 6.117. The cabeceras *(circles) of Carapan (#63) and Chilchota (#64) and the neighboring settlements (gray squares) of Zacapu, Tlazazalca, and Xacona (Paso y Troncoso 1905). The modern settlement of Purepero de Echaiz (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. The history of these units is one of great complexity as each is noted as a *cabecera* at one point or another during the colonial period and the lists of subordinate towns often overlap. For example, Chilchota's entry in the SV suggests it controlled a single *barrio*, but Carapan is not mentioned. However, around the same time, the leaders of Carapan issued a document known today as the *Códice Plancarte*, a "primordial land title" used to establish Carapan's political authority and its ancient claims to lands and people (León 1968 [1891]:43). Primordial titles were a mechanism of legitimation during the colonial period, but the lack of standards regarding the manner of documents and the use in Spanish courts and the attempts by native to gain advantage means that these documents were sometimes forged or manipulated.

The *Códice Plancarte* is the story of several elites who were directed to settle in this region at the command of Taríacuri (León 1968 [1891]:43). In the common style of these documents, the local

leaders' ancestors were the first to settle here and their ancestors were closely associated with the *Uacúsecha* lineage, thus bolstering their claims. The document ends with a statement in which the elites of the several towns accept Carapan's authority and these claims are recognized by Don Antonio Huitzimengari, the son of Zinzicha Tangáxoan and the indigenous *gobernador* of Michoacán in the 1540s (León 1968 [1891]:56). The entry for Ichan in 1545 states that Don Pedro Lazaro and Don Pedro Zacarias accept obedience to the *cabecera* of Carapan (López Sarrelangue 1965:244). A similar entry for Uren states that Don Pedro Cuiyas and Don Gregorio Valiente accepted Carapan as *cabecera* (López Sarrelangue 1965:285). For Anzitacuaro, Don Nicolas Cuira, Don Francisco Spiricua, and Don Pedro Zacarias refused to respond to Don Antonio Huitzimengari's summons (López Sarrelangue 1965:234). Don Miguel Jerónimo and Marcos Tzira of Acarhuen swear to obey Carapan (López Sarrelangue 1965:232). Don Juan Miguel and Don Alonso Tzurequi undertake the obedience of Carapan. Don Juan Buenaventura and Don Marcos Irepan accept that they must obey Carapan (López Sarrelangue 1965:284). Don Mateo Gregorio recognizes Carapan as the *cabecera* (López Sarrelangue 1965:238). Don Miguel Cuini and Don Diego Tzacari accept Carapan as the *cabecera* (López Sarrelangue 1965:241).

The list of *barrios* is in Table 6.71 and their locations are in Figure 6.118.

Table 6.71. The cabecera *of Carapan and its subordinate* barrios *according to the Códice Plancarte, a primordial land title that established Carapan's ancient claim (León 1968[1891]:43–56).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
63.00	Carapan	Carapan	*Cabecera*	Carapan	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.01	Etúcuaro	Carapan	*Barrio*	Etúcuaro	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.02	Tzitzanbasiro	Carapan	*Barrio*		León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.03	Cuispatazario	Carapan	*Barrio*		León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.04	Uecato	Carapan	*Barrio*		León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.05	Anzitacuaro	Carapan	*Barrio*		León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.06	Acahuen	Carapan	*Barrio*	Acarhuen	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.07	Tzopoco	Carapan	*Barrio*	Zopoco	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.08	Thatzicuararo	Carapan	*Barrio*	Taciguararo	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.09	Tucuro	Carapan	*Barrio*	Tocuaro	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.10	Ichan	Carapan	*Barrio*	Ichan	León 1968[1891]:43–56
63.11	Uren	Carapan	*Barrio*	Uren	León 1968[1891]:43–56

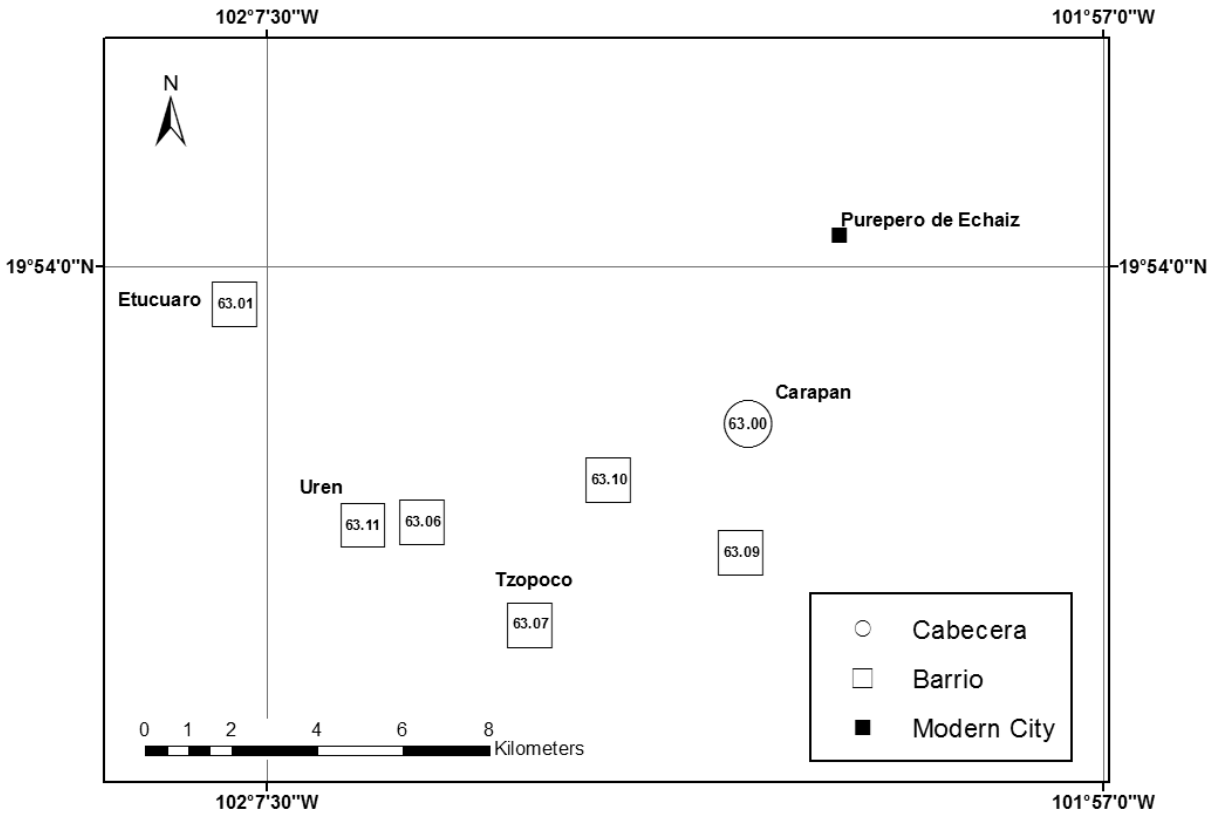


Figure 6.118. The cabecera *of Carapan (circle, #63) and the subordinate* barrios *(squares). The modern settlement of Purepero de Echaiz (black square) has been provided as a modern referent.*

The RO of 1571 presents a different picture of organization, with Chilchota as the *cabecera* and Carapan as a subordinate *barrio* (García Pimentel 1904). Uren and Tocuaro are known settlements and San Pedro may be Sopoco or Anzitacuaro, as these were named later (Acuña 1987). This arrangement suggests that Carapan's original claims were either invalidated, or Carapan was named as a subordinate of Chilchota during the pre-Hispanic period. Table 6.72 lists Chilchota's subordinates. Their locations are shown in Figure 6.119.

Table 6.72. The cabecera *of Chilchota and its subordinate* barrios *listed in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:43–44). Note that Carapan has changed from* cabecera *to* barrio.

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
63.00	Carapan	Chilchota	*Barrio*	Carapan	García Pimentel 1904:43–44
63.09	Tucuro	Chilchota	*Barrio*	Tocuaro	García Pimentel 1904:43–44
63.11	Uren	Chilchota	*Barrio*	Uren	García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.00	Chilchota	Chilchota	*Cabecera*	Chilchota	García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.01	San Pedro	Chilchota	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43–44

64.02	Tunaquaro	Chilchota	*Barrio*	Tenaco?	García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.03	San Sebastian	Chilchota	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.04	Istapa	Chilchota	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.05	Cucupo	Chilchota	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43–44
64.06	Apecharapo	Chilchota	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43–44

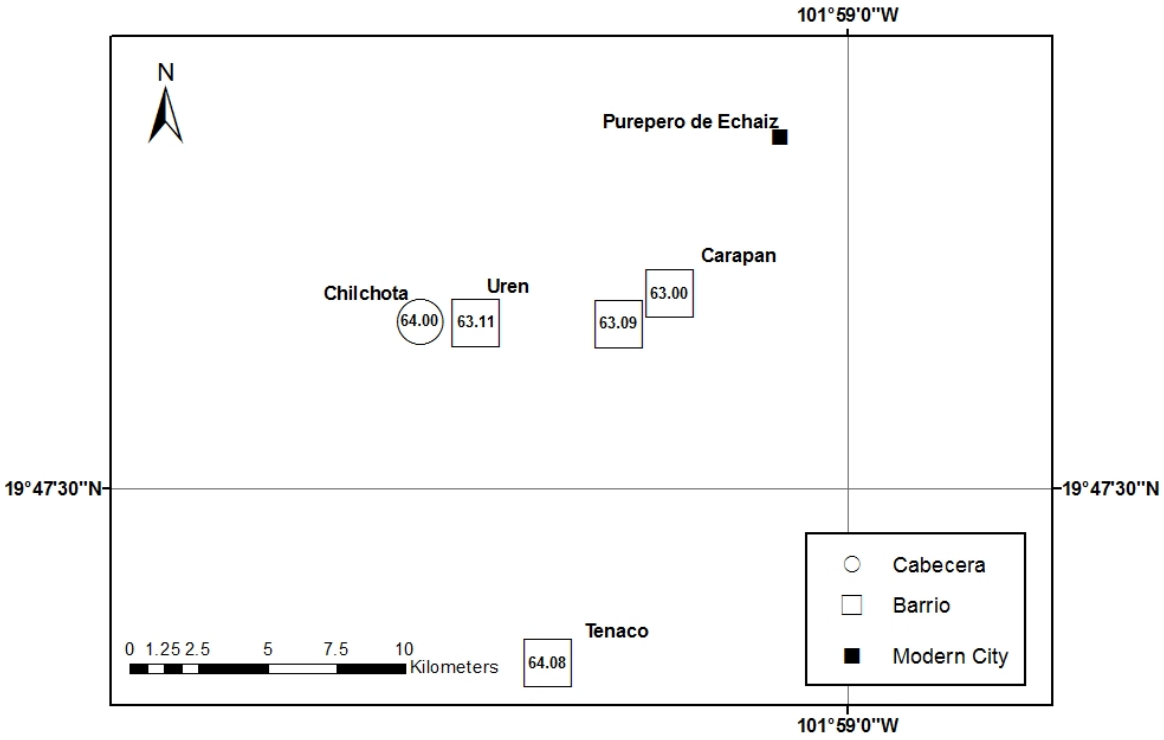


Figure 6.119. The cabecera *of Chilchota (circle, #64) and its subordinate* barrios *(squares). The modern settlement of Purepero de Echaiz (black square) has been provided as a modern referent.*

The *RG Chilchota* names fifteen settlements as *sujetos* of Chilchota (Acuña 1987:99–101), listed in Table 6.73 and mapped in Figure 6.120.

Table 6.73. The cabecera *of Chilchota/Zirapo and its* sujetos *as recorded in the* RG Chilchota *(Acuña 1987:99–101).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
64.00	Chilchota/Zirapo	Chilchota	*Cabecera*	Chilchota	Acuña 1987:99–101
63.00	Carapa	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Carapan	Acuña 1987:99–101
63.01	Etúcuaro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Etúcuaro	Acuña 1987:99–101
63.05	Anzitacuaro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101
63.06	Acarhuen	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Acarhuen	Acuña 1987:99–101
63.07	Socopo/Tzopoco	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Sopoco	Acuña 1987:99–101
63.10	Ichan	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Ichan	Acuña 1987:99–101

63.11	Oren	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Uren	Acuña 1987:99–101
64.02	Tocuro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Tocuaro	Acuña 1987:99–101
64.06	Tasiguararo	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101
64.08	Tenaco	Chilchota	*Sujeto*	Tanaco	Acuña 1987:99–101
64.09	Cuzunducuaro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101
64.10	Guanastao	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101
64.11	Mascuaro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101
64.13	Cheraquaro	Chilchota	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:99–101

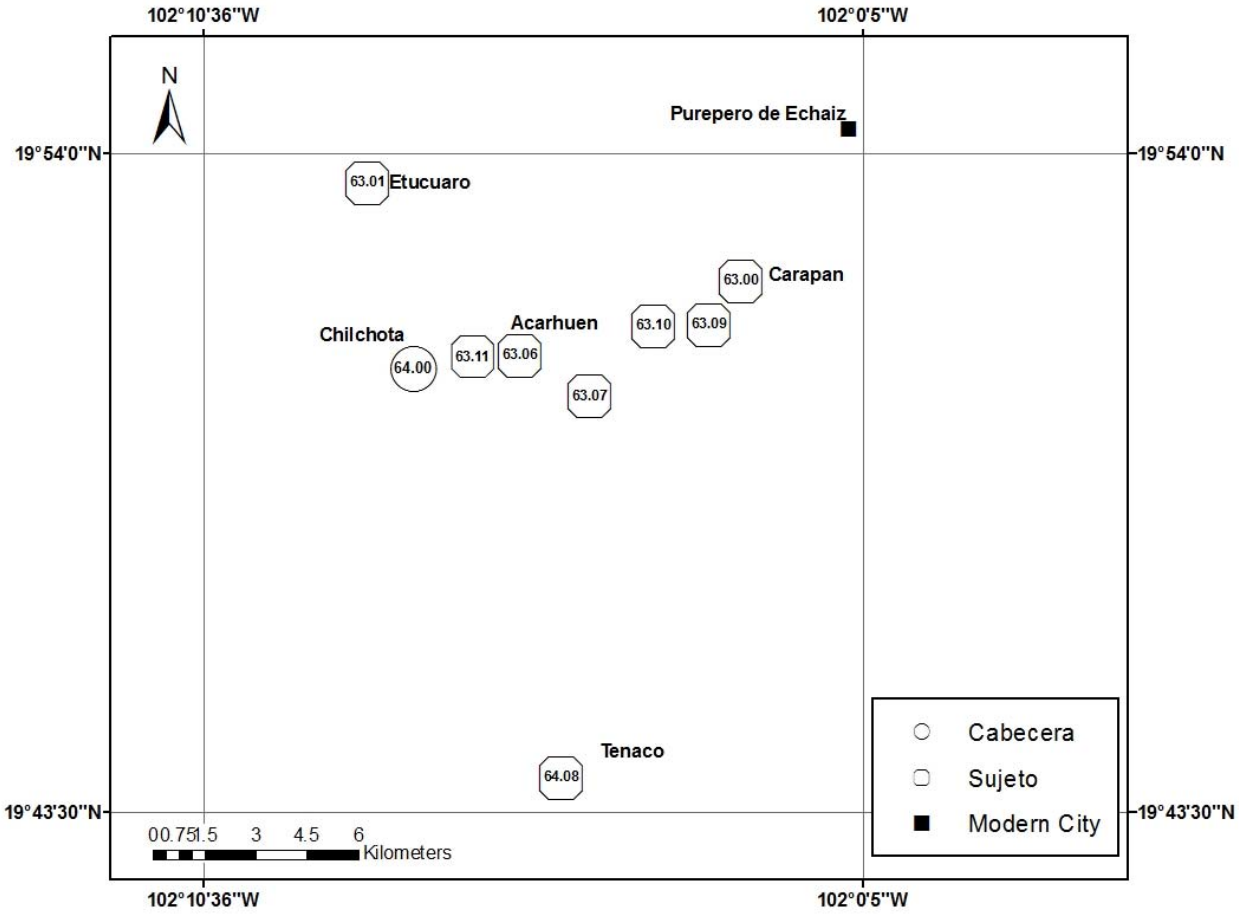


Figure 6.120. The cabecera *of Chilchota (circle, #64) and its* sujetos *from the* RG Chilchota (Acuña 1987). *The modern settlement of Purepero de Echaiz (black square) has been provided as a modern referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Figure 6.121 shows the proposed organizational structure for Carapan and Chilchota. As *cabeceras*, Carapan and Chilchota occupy the highest tier because they administer the

settlement, but since Chilchota's status as *cabecera* during the pre-Hispanic period has not been ascertained there is a dashed line indicating a tentative structure. Furthermore, the primordial land title supporting Carapan's status may not be accurate even though it was witnessed by a number of local elites (Leon 1968[1891]). The subject towns are listed in the second tier because it does not appear that there were any *subcabeceras*.

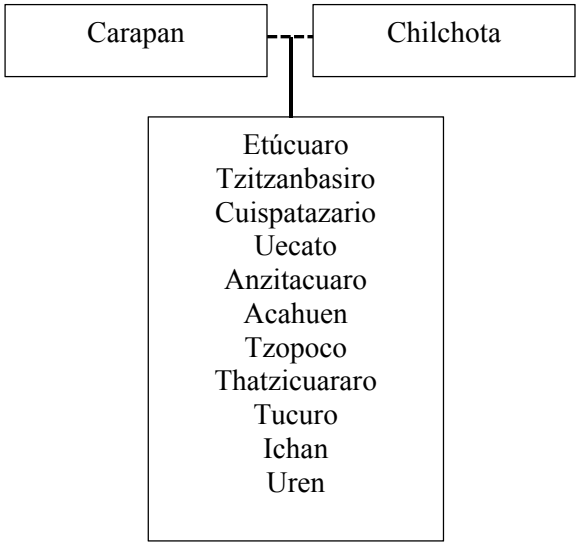


Figure 6.121. Diagram showing the political organization of the unit controlled by Carapan and Chilchota. Carapan and Chilchota occupy the first tier as cabeceras*. The dashed line indicates a tentative relationship because Chilchota's pre-Hispanic status has not been fully ascertained. The other settlements show the* sujetos *and* barrios.

Archaeological Analyses. Carapan adopted the red-on-cream ceramic style found in Michoacán that signaled the beginning of a common "Tarascan" style during the Postclassic (Pollard 1997). Surveys near Chilchota showed evidence of Postclassic period agricultural terracing (Donkin 1979:56).

Colonial Era. Carapan and Chilchota receive relatively little attention in the ethnohistory. After the Spanish conquest, Chilchota became the *encomienda* of Juan de Sámano, but escheated sometime between 1536 and 1542 (Gerhard 1972:327). Carapan's status is unknown, but it may have been a subordinate within the Chilchota encomienda. The SV states that in the 1540s, Chilchota had only one *barrio* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:78). As I discussed above, Carapan reasserted its position as *cabecera* in

1545 with the submission of the *Codice Plancarte* (León 1968[1891]:43–56); however, Carapan's authority appears to have been short-lived, as the *RG Chilchota* of 1579 claims Carapan and its subordinates as its own (Acuña 1987: 99– 101).

65) Tlazazalca/Tlazazalca/Uralca

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Tlazazalca/Uralca is not mentioned as part of the RM's conquests, but it is bordered by the settlements of Guango, Cuitzeo, Chilchota, Xacona, and Chyna (Paso y Troncoso 1905:253). Figure 6.122 shows the locations of several identified settlements.

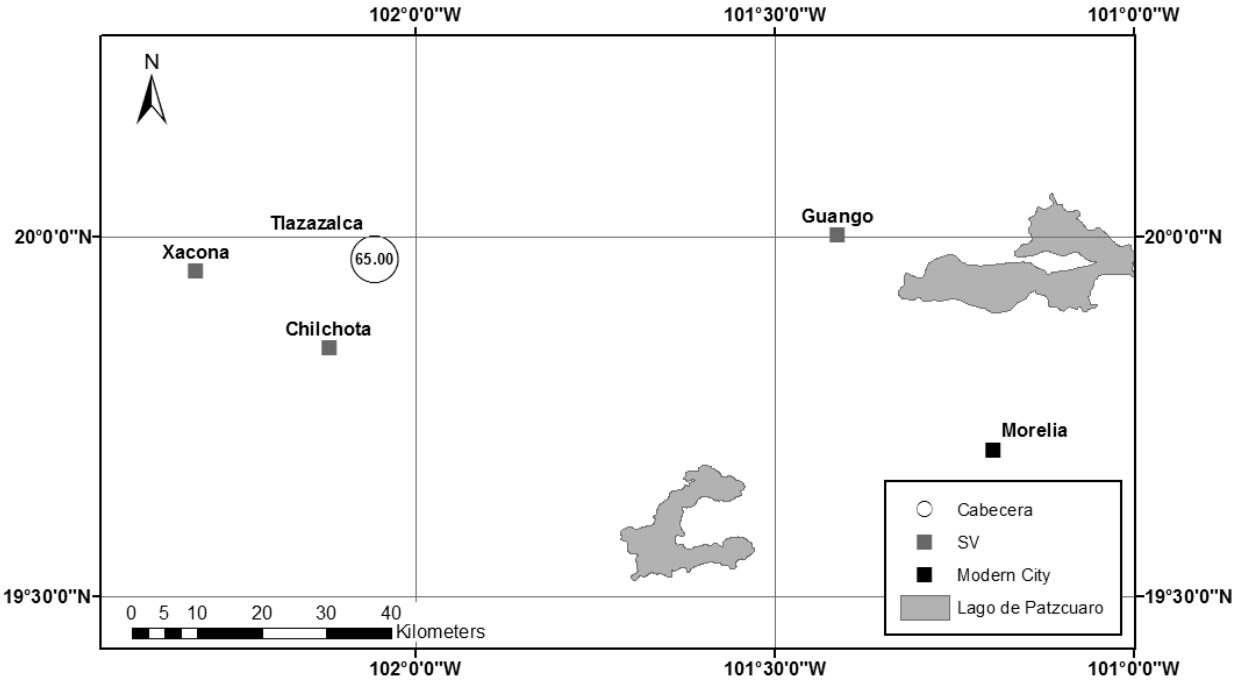


Figure 6.122. The cabecera *of Tlazazalca (circle, #65) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Chilchota, Xacona, and Guango (Paso y Troncoso 1905:253). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tlazazalca was *cabecera* of seven *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:253), which is the same number of *barrios* listed in the RO of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:44). These are listed in Table 6.74.

Table 6.74. The cabecera *of Tlazazalca and its subordinate* barrios *according to the RO (García Pimentel 1904:44).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
65.00	Tlazazalca	Tlazazalca	Cabecera	Tlazazalca	García Pimentel 1904:44
65.01	Yurego	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
65.02	Tauengauto	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
65.03	Casguareo	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
65.04	Henguandario	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
65.05	Guacuxubato	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
65.06	Axahe	Tlazazalca	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44

There are no other sources of data on Tlazazalca or its subordinates. Tlazazalca, then known as Uralca, probably served as an outpost on the northern frontier (Gerhard 1972:327). By 1524, Tlazazalca was an encomienda under Anton Arriaga (Gerhard 1972:327; Piñón Flores 1984:172). It escheated in 1534 (Cossío 1952:363). Documents from 1555 show that Tlazazalca was populated by *principales* who were distant relatives to the Tarascan nobility: the names "Guaca" and "Tari" are derivations of known Tarascan figures like Zuangua and Taríacuri (López Sarrelangue 1965:163).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tlazazalca's political structure is illustrated in Figure 6.123. I believe that Tlazazalca had a two-tiered political structure because there are no data indicating Tlazazalca had any *subcabeceras*; therefore, Tlazazalca administered to its subordinates directly.

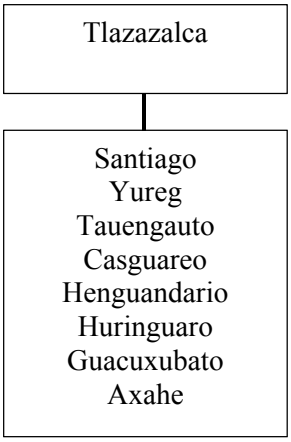


Figure 6.123. The proposed sociopolitical organization for Tlazazalca and its subordinates.

Archaeological Evidence. To date, there have been no archaeological excavations conducted at the site.

66) Xacona

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Xacona is not part of the conquests of the *Señores* or the Chichimecs and Islanders described in Part Two (Alcalá 2000). However, in Part Three there is a description of a pre-war ceremony in which the *Señores* of Ihuatzio, Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, and Xacona address the assembled warriors, telling them to be brave and obedient during the battle (Alcalá 2000:583). The presence of a *Señor* implies that Xacona was an important Tarascan site and scholars have suggested that Xacona was one of the capitals of the four *señores muy principales* discussed at the beginning of Part Three (Alcalá 2000:558). Xacona is located in northwestern Michoacán, bordered by Chilchota, Tlazazalca, Xiquilpan, Tequitlatlan, Tarecuato, and Cuseo in Nueva Galicia (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). Figure 6.124 illustrates the location of Xacona in relation to these other *cabeceras*.

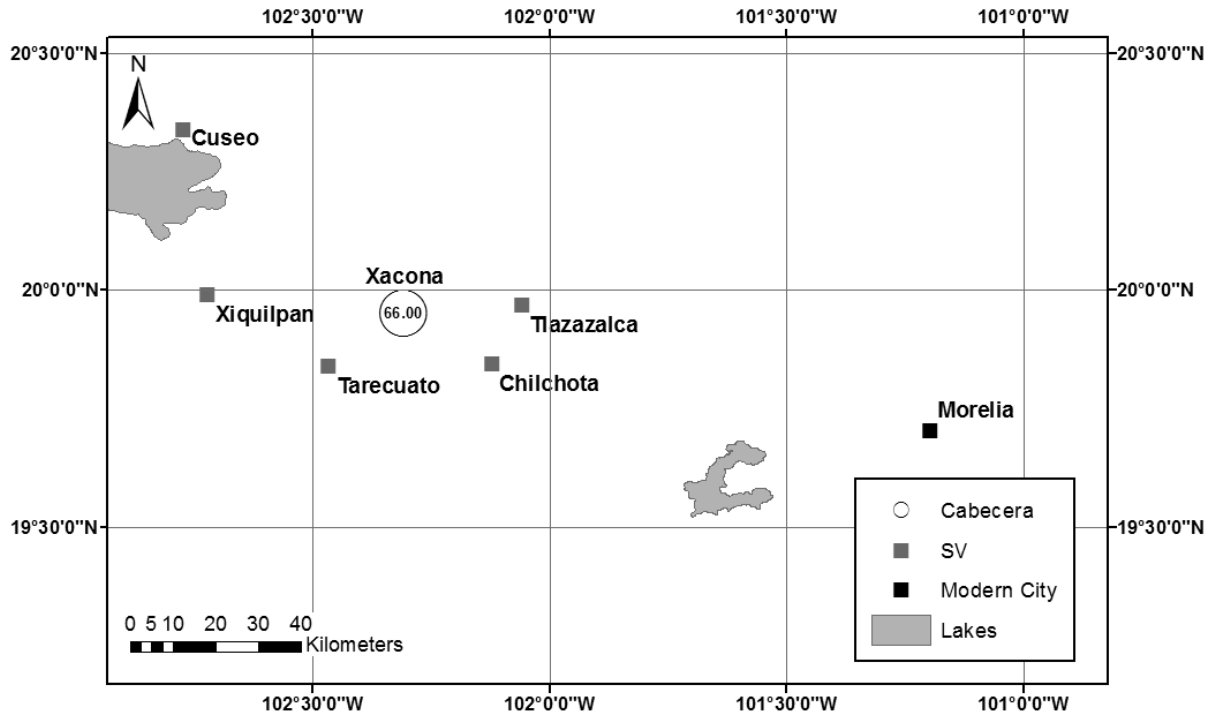


Figure 6.124. The cabecera *of Xacona (circle, #66) and the* cabeceras *of neighboring units as described in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302).The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided for spatial reference.*

The SV lists Xacona as the *cabecera* of five subordinate *cabeceras* (Paso y Troncoso 105:302): Tamandagapeo, Chicharapo, Ystlan (Ixtlan), Pajacoran, and Cuarachan. These settlements have been identified by locating their modern counterparts, shown in Table 6.75. Tamandagapeo may have been the site of pre-Hispanic Xacona because during *congregación* in the colonial period the population of Tamandagapeo was relocated near the modern settlement of Xacona de Plancarte. The locations of the settlements are in Figure 6.125.

Table 6.75. The cabecera *of Xacona and its subordinate* cabeceras *from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
66.00	Xacona	Xacona	*Cabecera*	Xacona	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
67.00	Pajacoran	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Pajacoran	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
68.00	Ystlan	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Ixtlan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
69.00	Tamandagapeo	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Santiago Tangamandapio	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
70.00	Chicharapo	Xacona	*Subcabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
71.00	Cuarachan	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Guarachan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
72.00	Zanguayo	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Sahuayo	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302

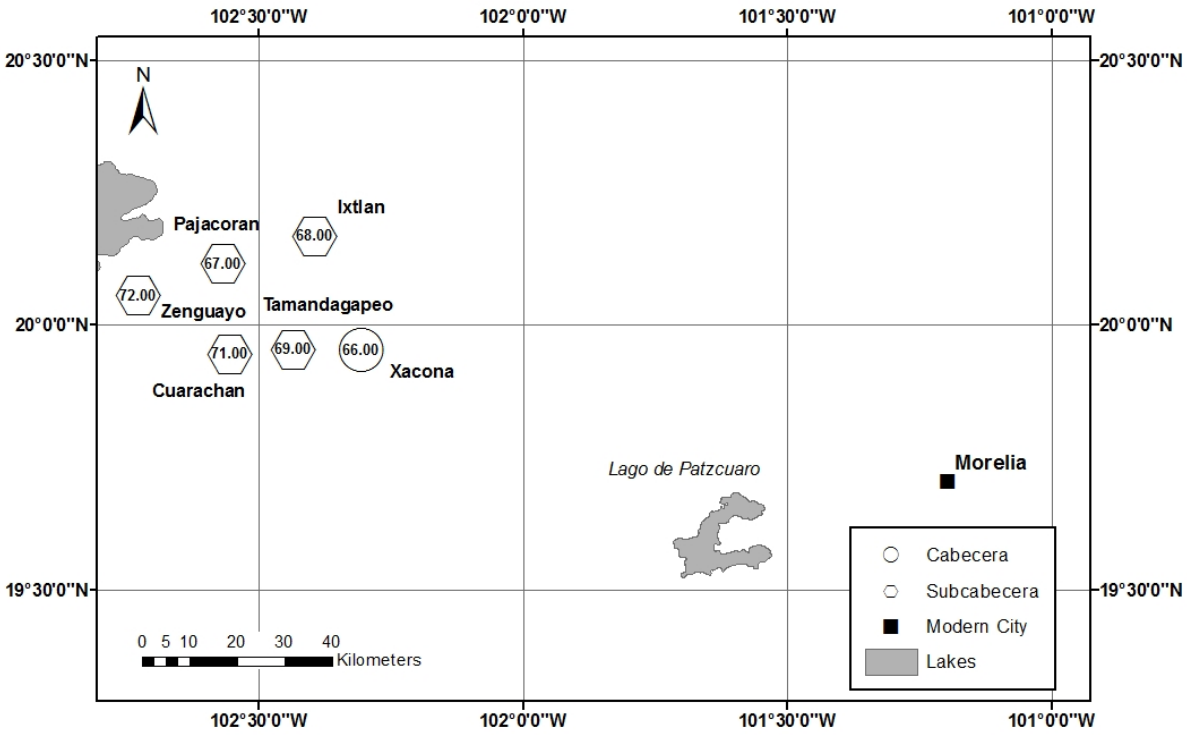


Figure 6.125. The cabecera *of Xacona (circle, #66) and its* subcabeceras *(hexagons) recorded in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

In addition, the SV contains an entry for the *subcabecera* of Pajacoran, naming its single subordinate *barrio* of Carao (Paso y Troncoso 1905:178), shown in Table 6.76, and mapped in Figure 6.126.

Table 6.76. The subcabecera *of Pajacoran and its subordinate, Carao (Paso y Troncoso 1905:178).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
67.00	Pajacoran	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Pajacoran	Paso y Troncoso 1905:178
67.01	Carao	Pajacoran	*Barrio*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:178

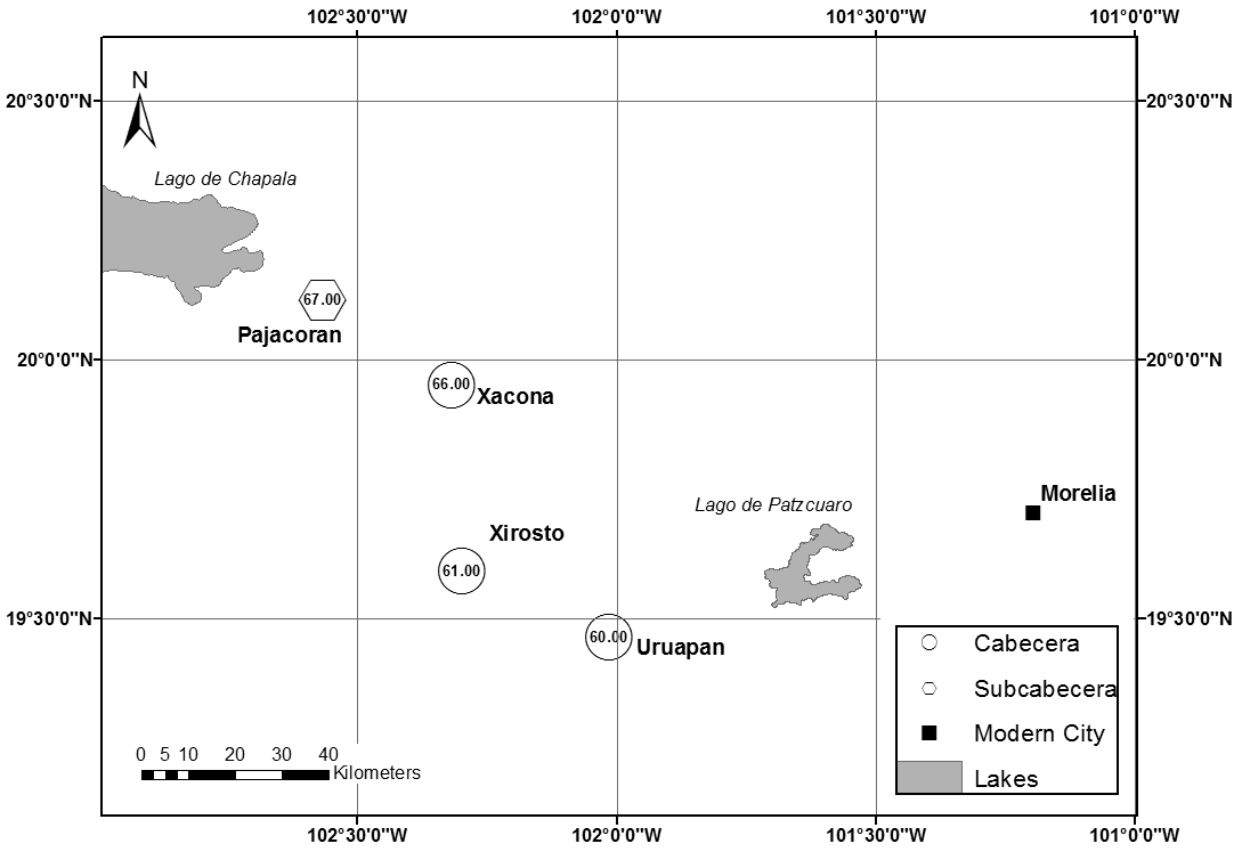


Figure 6.126. The cabecera *of Xacona (circle, #41) and its* subcabecera *of Pajacoran (hexagon, #67) as recorded in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:178). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

In the RO, Xacona is the cabecera of three *barrios* (García Pimentel 1904), and it appears that Santiago may in fact be Santiago Tamandagapeo, which was originally a *subcabecera* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). These are listed in Table 6.77, and mapped out in Figure 6.127.

Table 6.77. The cabecera *of Xacona and its subordinate* barrios *from the RO (García Pimentel 1904:44).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
66.00	Xacona	Xacona	*Cabecera*	Xacona	García Pimentel 1904:44
66.01	Tangacecuaro	Xacona	*Barrio*	Tangacicuaro	García Pimentel 1904:44
66.03	Istapa	Xacona	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
69.00	Santiago	Xacona	*Barrio*	Santiago Tamandagapeo?	García Pimentel 1904:44

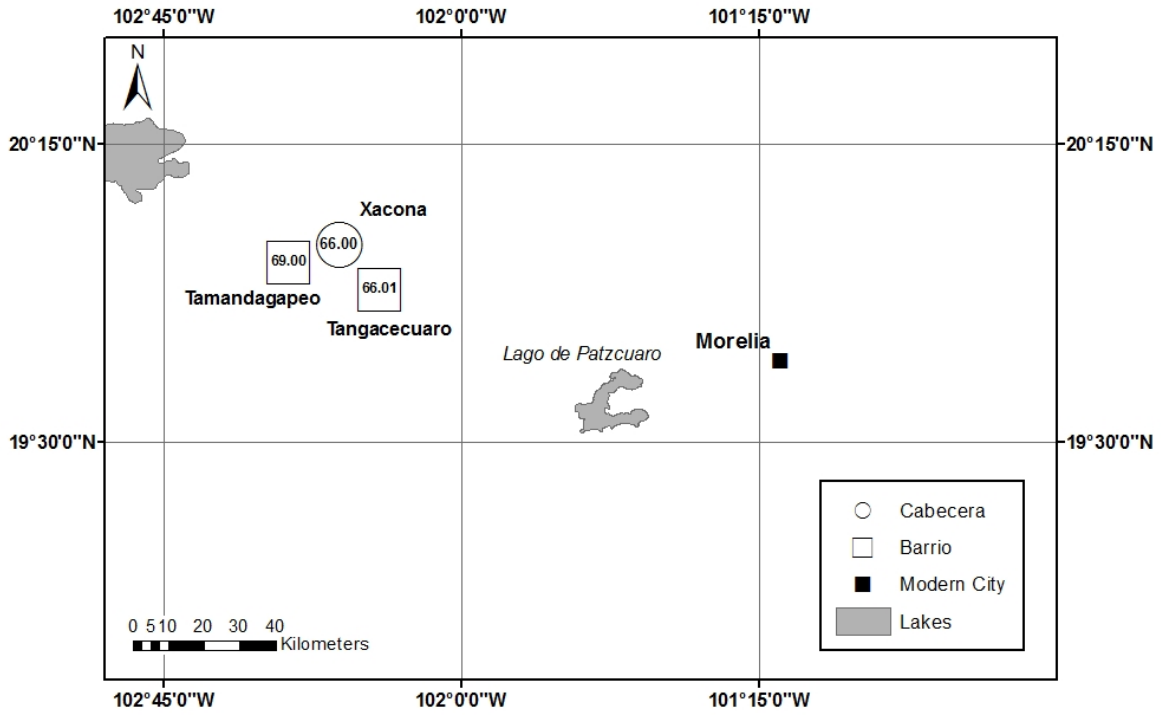


Figure 6.127. The cabecera *of Xacona (circle, #41) and the* barrios *(squares) described in the RO (García Pimentel 1904:44).*

The RO also makes reference to Ixtlan, stating that it is a "*cabecera* and subject to" Xacona (García Pimentel 1904:44). The settlements of Pajacoran and Guarachan were *subcabeceras* during the first half of the sixteenth century, and the shift in administration means a minor change. Table 6.78 shows the list of RO settlements under Ixtlan.

Table 6.78. The subcabecera *of Ixtlan and its subordinate* barrios *as recorded in the RO (García Pimentel 104:44).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
68.00	Ixtlan	Xacona	*Subcabecera*	Ixtlan	García Pimentel 1904:44
67.00	Pajacoran	Xacona	*Barrio*	Pajacoran	García Pimentel 1904:44
68.01	Xururuneo	Xacona	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
68.02	Cio	Xacona	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
68.04	Clarapacua	Xacona	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:44
71.00	Guarachan	Xacona	*Barrio*	Guarachan	García Pimentel 1904:44

Figure 6.128 shows the locations of these settlements from Table 6.78.

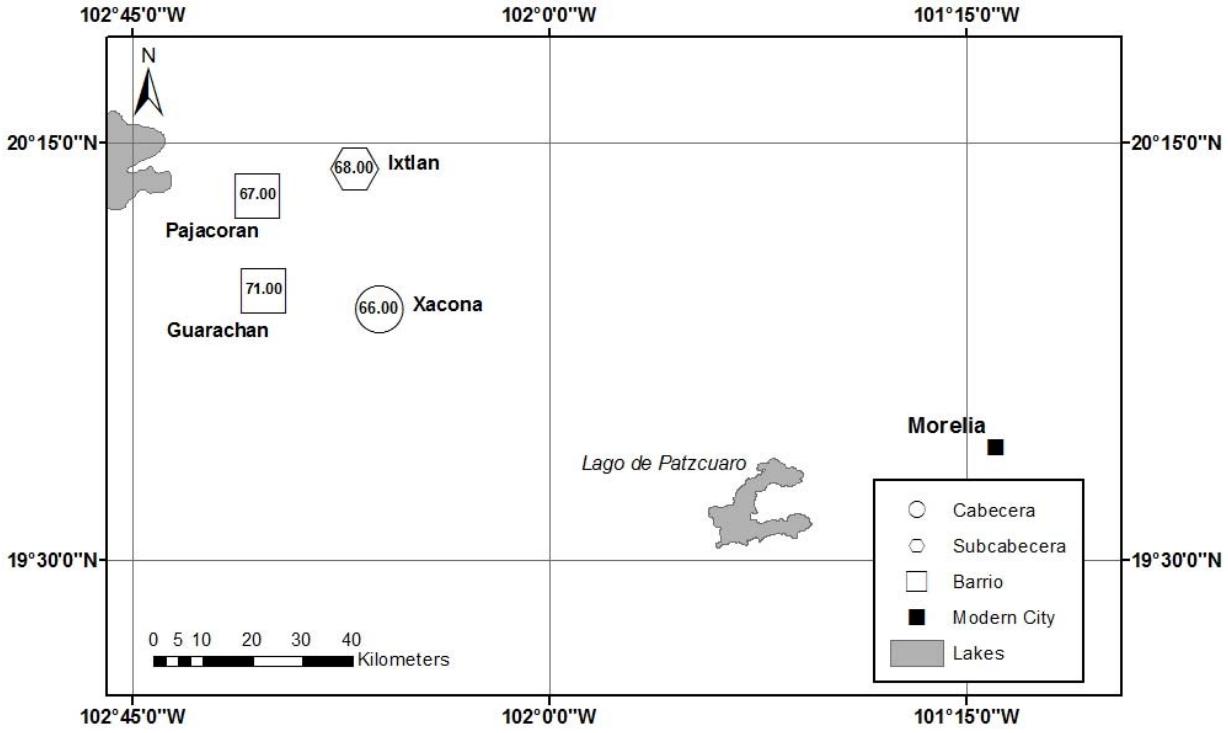


Figure 6.128. The subcabecera *of Ixtlan (hexagon, #68) and its subordinate* barrios *(squares) of Pajacoran (#67) and Guarachan (#68). The* cabecera *of Xacona (circle, #66) and the modern settlement of Morelia (black square) have been added for spatial reference.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The sociopolitical hierarchy during the pre-Hispanic period probably looked like Figure 6.129 below.

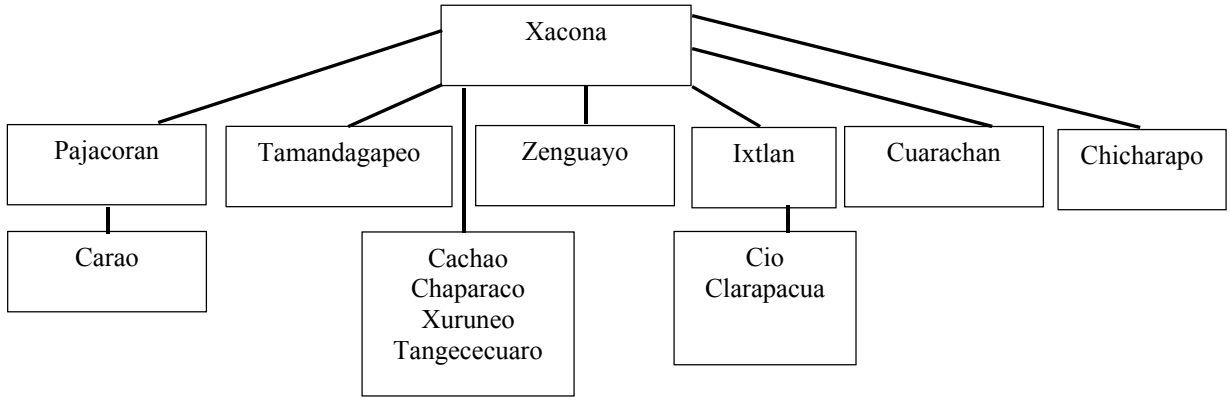


Figure 6.129. The proposed organizational structure of Xacona during the pre-Hispanic period.

In Figure 6.129, Xacona sits in the top tier while below it sit the six *subcabeceras* described in the ethnohistory. The third level consists of the subordinate *barrios* and *sujetos* listed in other sources. The structure of Xacona's political unit appears to have been relatively stable, albeit with some transfers of subordinate settlements to other *subcabeceras*.

Archaeological Investigations. Plancarte (1893:79) excavated a site on the larger of two hills known as "Los Gatos," approximately 6 km west of the current settlement of Xacona; unfortunately, the site's location is unknown. However, the site consisted of a yacata, what Plancarte describes as a "conical tumulus" (pyramid) 4.5 – 5m high and 8m wide near an "embankment with another elevation of square form having a base equal to the diameter of the cone and of the same height" (Plancarte 1893:79). Plancarte found evidence of several human burials that had been burned prior to interment, along with artifacts like copper implements, gilded materials, and a tripod vessel. He also found a clay pipe, musical instruments, figurines, and necklaces of marine shells and iron pyrites. The architectural style is common to west Mexico, particularly during the Late Postclassic period when the Tarascan polity came to power. The mortuary rituals, which included adorning the body, burning it and finally interring it within the yacata, are described in the RM as part of the ceremony for the Cazonci (Alcalá 2000:626). Furthermore, similar burials were recovered during excavations of the yacatas at Tzintzuntzan, which shows that the ethnohistorical descriptions agree with the available archaeological data.

I was unable to locate the structure described by Plancarte that is near the modern site of Xacona de Plancarte, but using Landsat ETM+ and Google Earth imagery near Tangamandapio, the pre-Hispanic site of Xacona, I located another site approximately 386 hectares in size (See Figure 6.130). The site sits on small rise south of Tangamandapio, with a large central plaza area. South of the plaza, there are two structures with rounded sections oriented to the northwest, with their rear sections oriented toward a smaller plaza. The structures measure 56 meters long at the rear edge, which is approximately the same length as the yacatas on the Tzintzuntzan Great Platform (See Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.130. Monumental architecture at the site south of modern Tangamandapio. Data: DigitalGlobe, Google Earth.

73) Tarecuato

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Tarecuato is not mentioned in the RM (Alcalá 2000). However, it shared borders with Xacona and Tinguindin (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254). The site's location is shown in Figure 6.131.

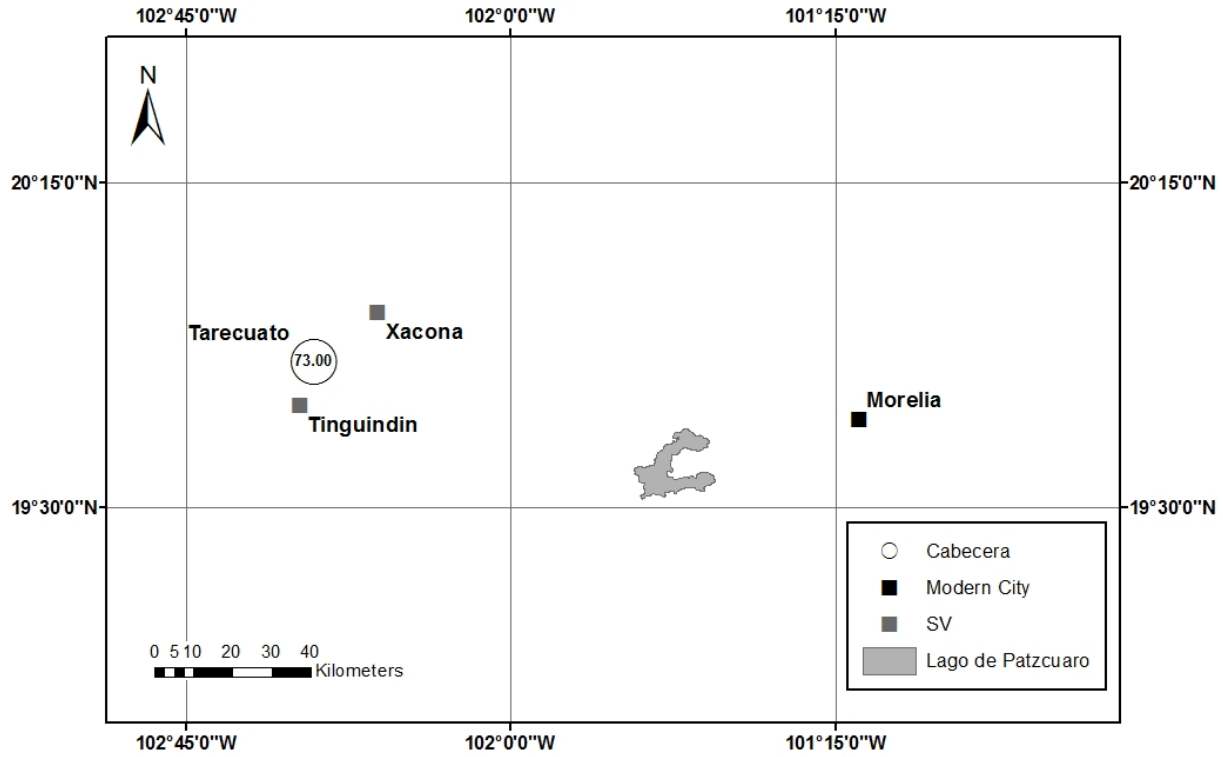


Figure 6.131. The cabecera *of Tarecuato (circle, #73) and the neighboring* cabeceras *(gray squares) of Tinguindin and Xacona (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tarecuato had two *barrios* in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254), and the RO lists the name of Santangel as a subordinate *barrio* (García Pimentel 1904:48). These are listed in Table 6.79.

Table 6.79. The cabecera *of Tarecuato and its subordinate* barrio, *Santangel, as recorded in the RO (García Pimentel 1904:48).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
73.00	Tarecuato	Tarecuato	Cabecera	Tarecuato	García Pimentel 1904:48
73.01	Santangel	Tarecuato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:48

Tarecuato was founded at the order of the Tarascan ruler by a *principal* known as Guatando (Acuña 1987:425). The respondent of the *RG Tarequato* answers in response to the question of leadership during the pre-Hispanic period (their "gentility") that they were subjects to the "Cazoncin" (Cazonci), "*rey* de Pátzcuaro" (Acuña 1987:426), which was a name that became synonymous with the combined unit of Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro after Hiquíngaje's death (Alcalá 2000:542). Tarecuato was *cabecera* over three units by the late sixteenth century, listed in Table 6.80.

Table 6.80. The cabecera *of Tarecuato and its subordinate* barrios *as recorded in the RG Tarequato (Acuña 1987:425).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
73.00	Tarecuato	Tarecuato	*Cabecera*	Tarecuato	Garcia Pimentel 1904:48; Acuña 1987:425
73.01	Santangel/San Angel	Tarecuato	*Barrio*		Garcia Pimentel 1904:48
73.02	San Juan	Tarecuato	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:425
73.03	Santa Maria	Tarecuato	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:425

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tarecuato's sociopolitical structure is shown in Figure 6.132.

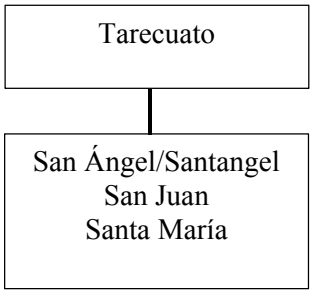


Figure 6.132. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Tarecuato and its subordinates.

Tarecuato controlled at least three *barrios*, which is the extent of the information about Tarecuato given in the ethnohistory (Acuña 1987:425). Since it was a relatively small unit we may assume that Tarecuato interacted directly with its subjects rather than through *subcabeceras*. Furthermore, the presence of a *principal* suggests that this was a lower-ranking site in the Tarascan polity.

74) Xiquilpan/Xiquilpa

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Around A.D. 1513, the Tarascan leader ordered a noble named Noxti from the province of Amula to move east to found a settlement (Acuña 1987:411; Gerhard 1972:386). Xiquilpan was bordered by Xacona, Mazamitla and Tarecuato (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). The location of Xiquilpan is shown in Figure 6.133.

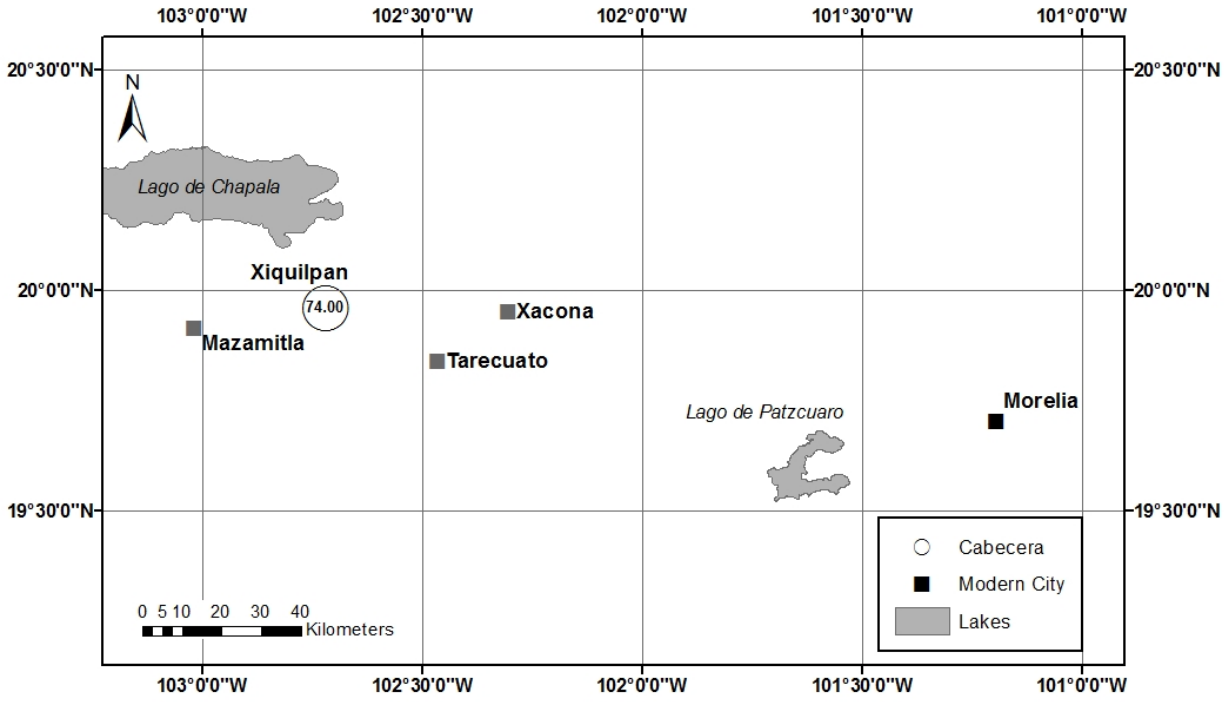


Figure 6.133. The cabecera *of Xiquilpan (circle, #74)and the neighboring settlements of Tarecuato, Xacona, and Mazamitla (gray squares). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Xiquilpan had two *barrios* in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). These are probably the *barrios of* Ocumicho and Tzaquicho from the RO and RG lists (Acuña 1987:413; Garcia Pimentel 1904:48). Xiquilpan and its subordinate *barrios* are listed in Table 6.81 and shown in Figure 6.134.

Table 6.81. The cabecera *of Xiquilpan and its subordinate barrios.*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
74.00	Xiquilpan	Xiquilpan	*Cabecera*	Xiquilpan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
74.01	Ocumicho	Xiquilpan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:48
74.02	Tzaquicho	Xiquilpan	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:48

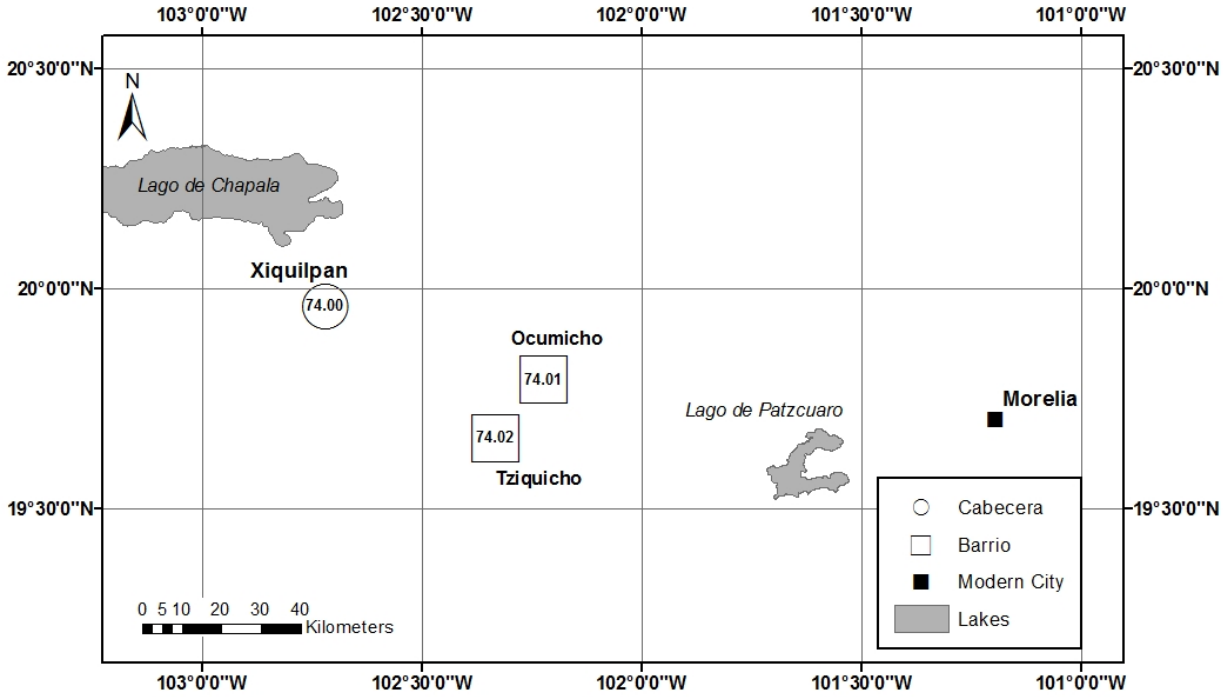


Figure 6.134. The cabecera *of Xiquilpan (circle, #74)and its* barrios *(squares) from the RO* (García Pimentel 1904:48) . *The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

In addition, Xiquilpan was *cabecera* over Patanban, Yopen, and Los Cepines (Acuña 1987:413), which are listed in Table 6.82.

Table 6.82. The cabecera *of Xiquilpan and its subordinate* barrios.

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
74.00	Xiquilpan	Xiquilpan	*Cabecera*	Xiquilpan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:302
74.03	Patanban	Xiquilpan	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:413
74.04	Los Cepines	Xiquilpan	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:413
74.05	Yopen	Xiquilpan	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:413

They had already lost settlements west of Lake Chapala near Amula and Ameca due to military incursions from outside groups (Acuña 1988:28). Xiquilpan had two *barrios* named Ocumicho and Tzaquicho (García Pimentel 1904:48; Paso y Troncoso 1905:302). Xiquilpan's other subjects included Patanba, Yopen and Los Cepines (Acuña 1987:412). The locations of Patanban, Yopen, and Los Cepines are unusual because they are approximately 8–13 leagues (44.56–72.41 km) from Xiquilpan, far beyond the normal spatial distribution of sites in political units. One possible explanation is that Xiquilpan became *cabecera* over these settlements during the colonial period, but actually controlled a much smaller area in the pre-Hispanic period. There is one reference to a local *principal* named Don Francisco Gomez from 1591, but his surname implies that he was not a member of the local elite (López Sarrelangue 1965:245).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Xiquilpan was a relatively small unit and it appears that it had a two-tiered political system, shown in Figure 6.135.

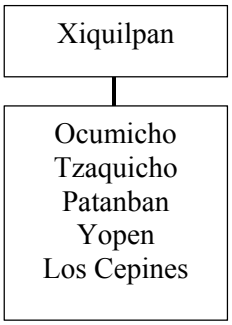


Figure 6.135. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Xiquilpan and its subordinates.

Xiquilpan was a relatively small political unit that formed late in the pre-Hispanic era and many of its political links were probably shifted from neighboring political units when the *cabecera* was founded.

Archaeological Evidence. Noguera (1948:38) excavated at a site near Xiquilpan in the 1940s. The site had several structures which Noguera described as a fusion of architectural features from cultures of Jalisco, Colima, and Michoacán. This would seem to agree with the ethnohistorical statement regarding Noxti's origin in Amula. A worked slate bar was also found at Xiquilpan (Goggin 1943:55).

Remote Sensing. Remote sensing analysis with Landsat and Google Earth imagery in the vicinity of Xiquilpan identified a number of linear features on a hill northeast of the modern settlement. Google Earth imagery in Figure 6.136 shows most of the hill is covered in terraces approximately 10–15 meters wide on the south-facing hill and 7 meters on the northwest side. These may have been agricultural and residential terraces during the pre-Hispanic period because societies in this area commonly constructed terraces on small hills adjacent to settlements (Lister 1955:16). Terraces of similar size (10–20 m) dating from the Epiclassic to the Postclassic have been found in the Zacapu Basin (Darras 2009:97), and on the lower slopes of Cerro Taríacuri in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Pollard 1993). Furthermore, the modern development seen in the figure cuts through the terracing on the hillside and historical imagery from Google Earth shows that the terraces were not being used in the modern era. Although ground-truthing is necessary to accurately date these terraces, the available evidence suggests these could be pre-Hispanic terraces.

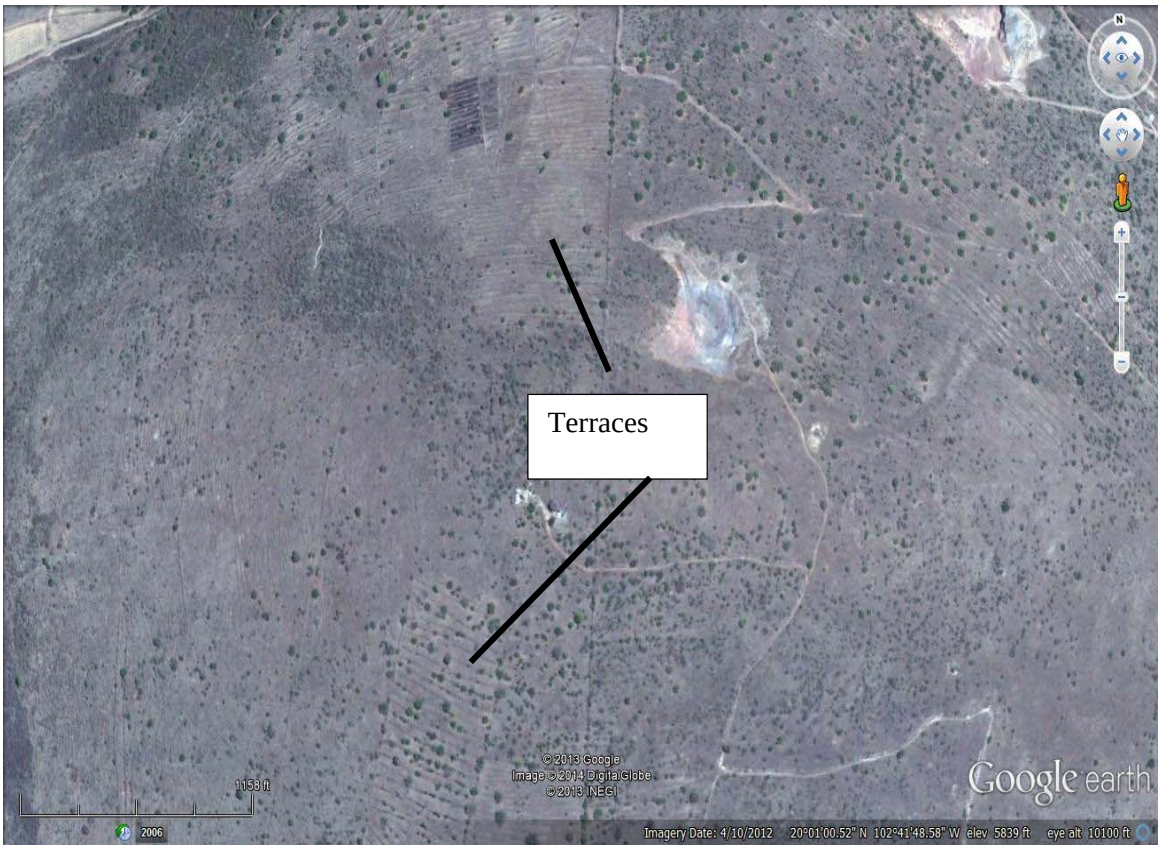


Figure 6.136. Xiquilpan terraces. Data: Google, Digital Globe, INEGI.

Colonial Era. Xiquilpan was held briefly after the Spanish Conquest by an encomendero named Leonardo; however, the encomienda escheated between 1536 and 1545 (Gerhard 1972:387). According to the SV, Xiquilpan had two constituent barrios (Paso y Troncoso 1905:302), and the RO of 1571 lists two names, Ocumicho and Tzaquicho (García Pimentel 1904:48). By 1579, Xiquilpan was *cabecera* over four settlements (Acuña 1987:412).

75) Tinguindin/Chocándiro Tinguindin

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Tinguindin receives no mention in the RM (Alcalá 2000). Tinguindin borders on Periban (Paso y Troncoso 1905:180), Chilchota, Xiquilpa, Tamazula, and Tarecuato (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254). This is sufficient to fix the settlement's location, shown in Figure 6.137.

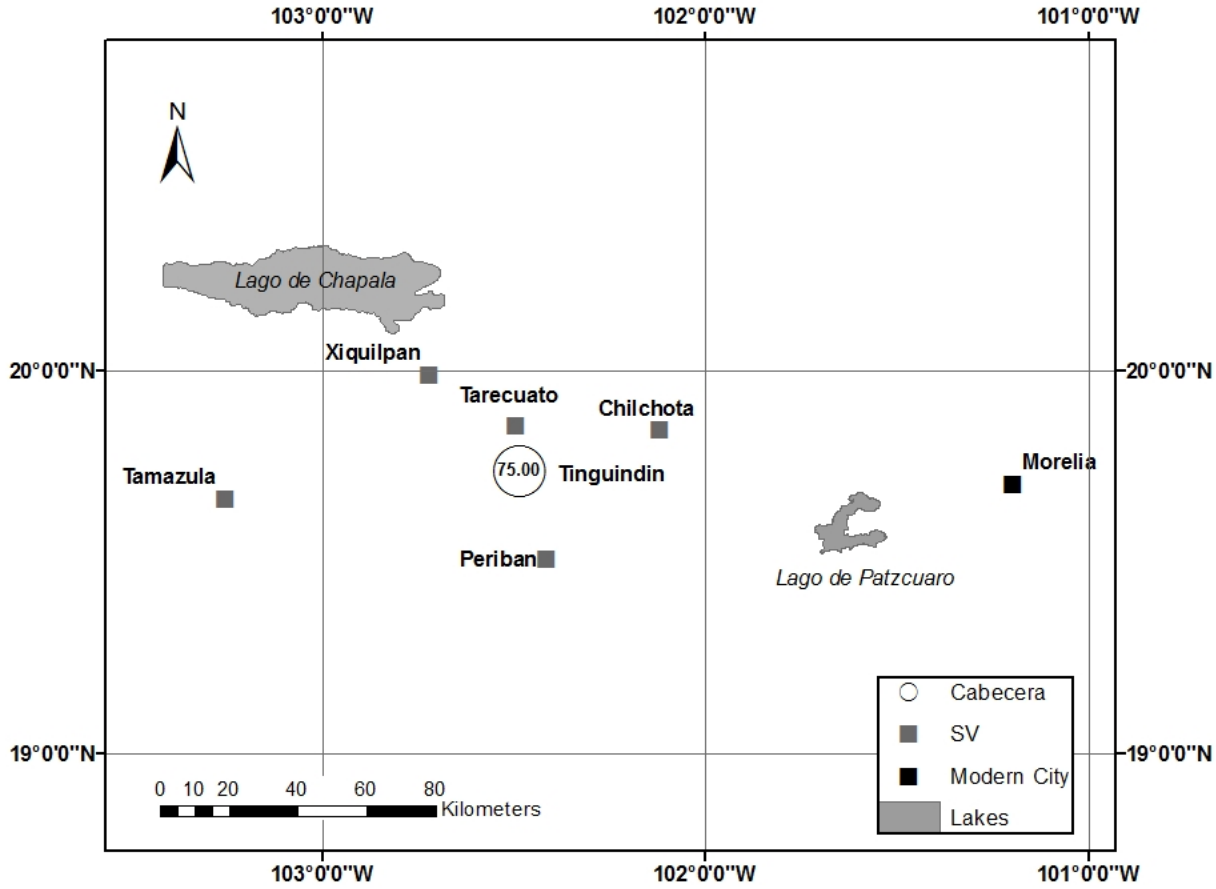


Figure 6.137. The cabecera *of Tinguindin (circle, #75) and the* cabeceras *of neighboring units (gray squares) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

None of the inhabitants remembered who founded Tinguindin or why (Acuña 1987:321), but it may have been to establish a Tarascan presence in the region and displace the local rulers at Tucumbo, which is mentioned as an "ancient *cabecera*" (Acuña 1987:322). This implies political reorganization to supplant earlier sociopolitical structures.

Subject Towns. Tinguindin had one *barrio*, Tacuazucuaro, in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254) (see Table 6.83).

Table 6.83. The cabecera *of Tinguindin and its subordinate* barrio *of Tacuazucuaro from the Suma de Visitas* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
75.00	Tinguindin	Tinguindin	*Cabecera*	Tinguindin	Paso y Troncoso 1905:254
75.01	Tacuazucuaro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Tacatzcuaro	Paso y Troncoso 1905:254

The RO lists eight *barrios* under Tinguindin in the 1570s, which are listed in Table 6.84. Tacasquaro is probably a derivation of the name "Tacuazucuaro" from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254). Figure 6.138 shows the settlement locations.

Table 6.84. The subordinate barrios *of Tinguindin from the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:43).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
75.00	Tinguindin	Tinguindin	Cabecera	Tinguindin	Paso y Troncoso 1905:254
75.01	Tacasquaro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Tacatzcuaro	García Pimentel 1904:43
75.02	Caropo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43
75.03	Guachanbo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43
75.04	San Juan	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43
75.05	Querendani	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Querendan	García Pimentel 1904:43
75.06	Ciquicho	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Sicuicho	García Pimentel 1904:43
75.07	Xandundan	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43
75.08	Uretereo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:43

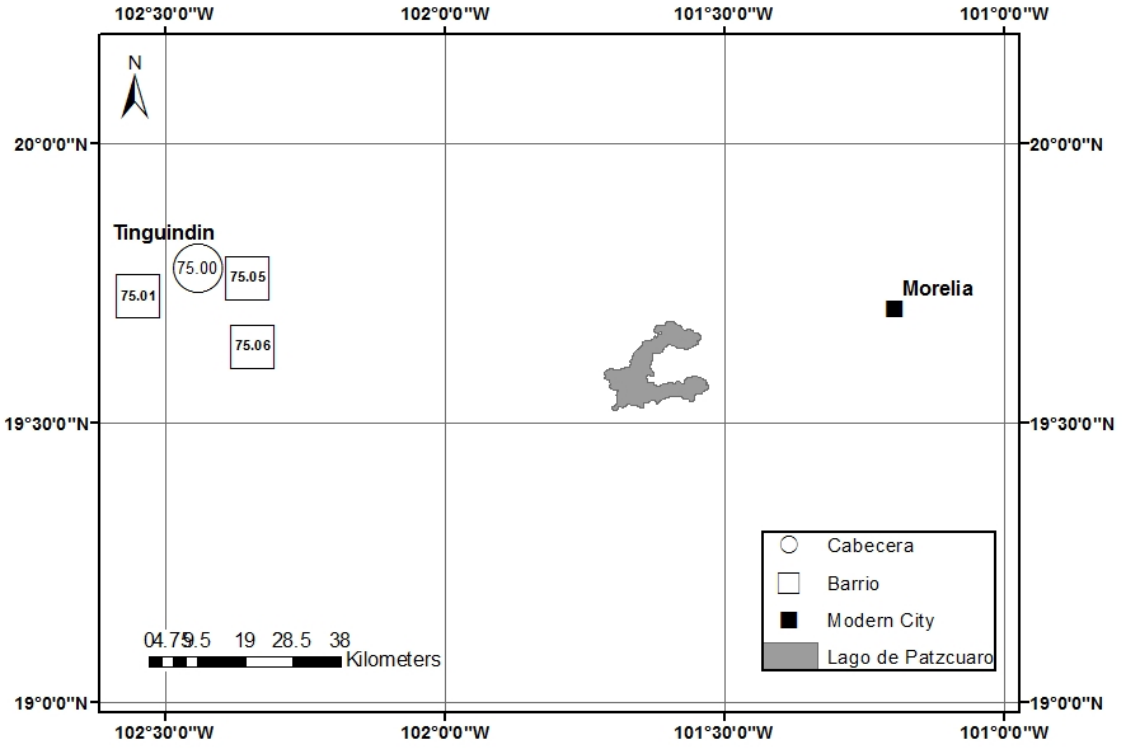


Figure 6.138. The cabecera *of Tinguindin (circle, #71) and its subordinate* barrios *according to the RO (García Pimentel 1904:43). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

The *RG Chocándiro Tinguindin* lists nineteen subject settlements, although the first five settlements that have already been listed in the RO (Garcia Pimentel 1904:43). Table 6.85 names these settlements and their locations are shown in Figure 6.139.

Table 6.85. The subordinate barrios *of Tinguindin from the* RG Tinguindin *(Acuña 1987:322–324).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
75.00	Tinguindin	Tinguindin	*Cabecera*	Tinguindin	Paso y Troncoso 1905:254
75.01	Tacazquaro/Tacatacangario /Tacuazucuaro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Tacatzcuaro	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.02	Carapa/Caropo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.03	Guazambo/Guachanbo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.05	Querendan/Querendani	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Querendaro?	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.06	Sicuicho/Ciquicho	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Sicuicho	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.09	Quanimo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.10	Jantumbo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.11	Pamataquaro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Pamatacuaro	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.12	Ziriu	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.13	Charato	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.14	Tucumbo/Guaguapo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Tocumbo	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.15	Zumbimite	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.16	Chumbimitiro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.17	Carijo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.18	Caringarao	Tinguindin	*Barrio*	Querenguaro?	Acuña 1987:322–324
75.19	Huretiro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.20	Ziuritiro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.21	Jacuripo	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324
75.22	Carcoricaro	Tinguindin	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:322–324

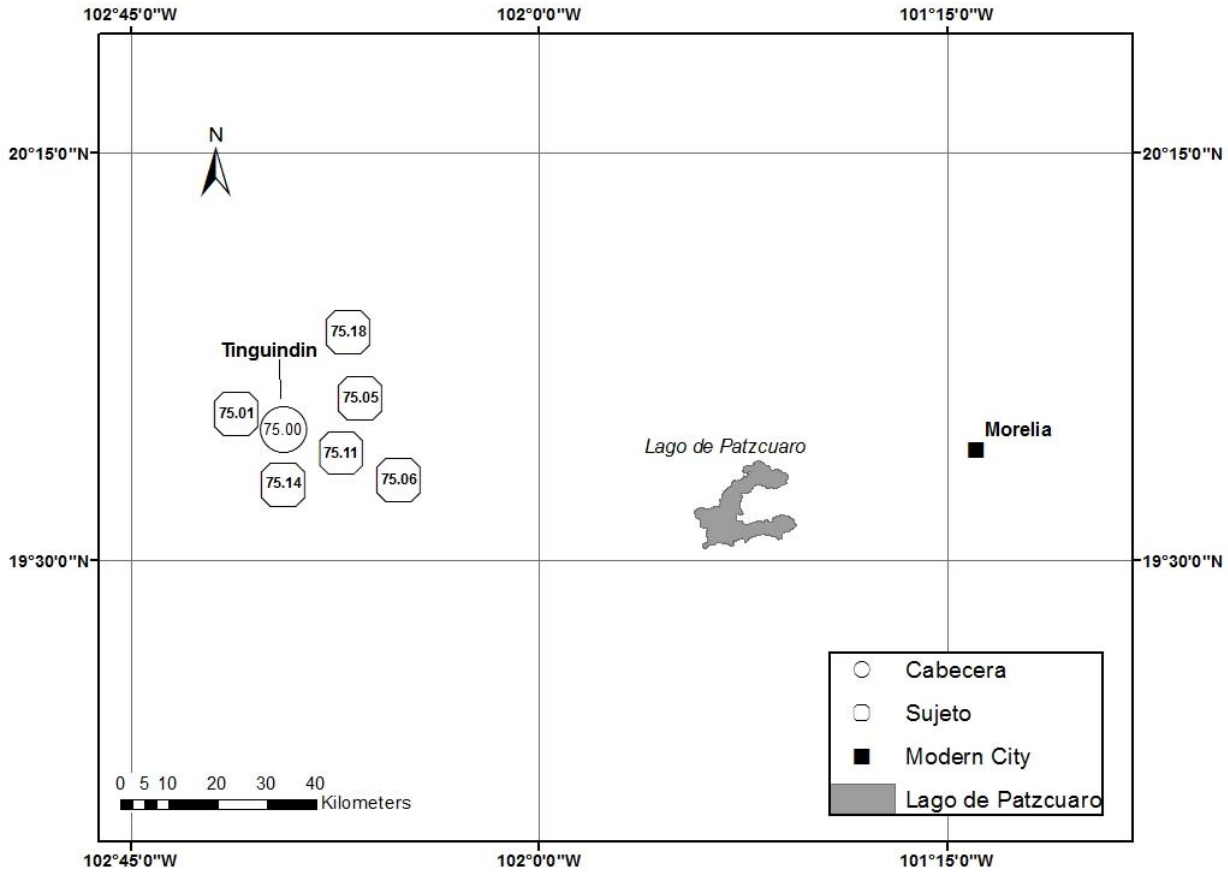


Figure 6.139. The cabecera *of Tinguindin (circle, #71) and its* sujetos *(truncated squares) as described the RG Chilchota (Acuña 1987:322–324). The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tinguindin controlled at least a two-tiered political system, shown in Figure 6.140 below.

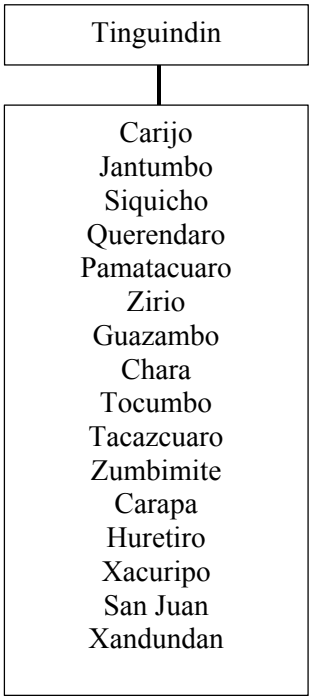


Figure 6.140. Diagram of the proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Tinguindin.

Tinguindin became a *cabecera* sometime after Tarascan geopolitical expansion, and I have already suggested that the intention was to deliberately displace the ancient *cabecera* of Tucumbo (Acuña 1987). It is not clear whether the Tarascans conquered Tucumbo or established peaceable control over its territories; indeed, it may be that Tinguindin simply inserted into the hierarchy above Tucumbo and relied on the older settlement to administer to its subordinates. One settlement, Siquicho, is probably the same settlement named "Tzaquicho" that was subordinate to Xiquilpan (see above). Xiquilpan and Tinguindin are neighboring political units and they may have shared subordinates. However, it is unclear if Siquicho/Tzaquicho was shared by the two units during the pre-Hispanic period or if it was shared during the colonial period.

Archaeological Evidence. To date, there have been no published investigations of archaeological research around Tinguindin.

76) Tamazula, 77) Tuchpan, and 78) Zapotlan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Zizispandaquare and Zuangua conquered Tamazula, Zapotlan, and Tux pan during the later expansionary campaigns to the west (Alcalá 2000:525, 543; Espejel Carbajal 2008). Episode IV from Part Three includes individuals from these three settlements as part of an attacking force against an enemy (Alcalá 2000:591). According to the SV, Tamazula shared borders with Zapatlan (Zapotlan), Tuchpan, Xilutlan, and Mazamitla (Paso y Troncoso 1905:221). Figure 6.141 shows their locations.

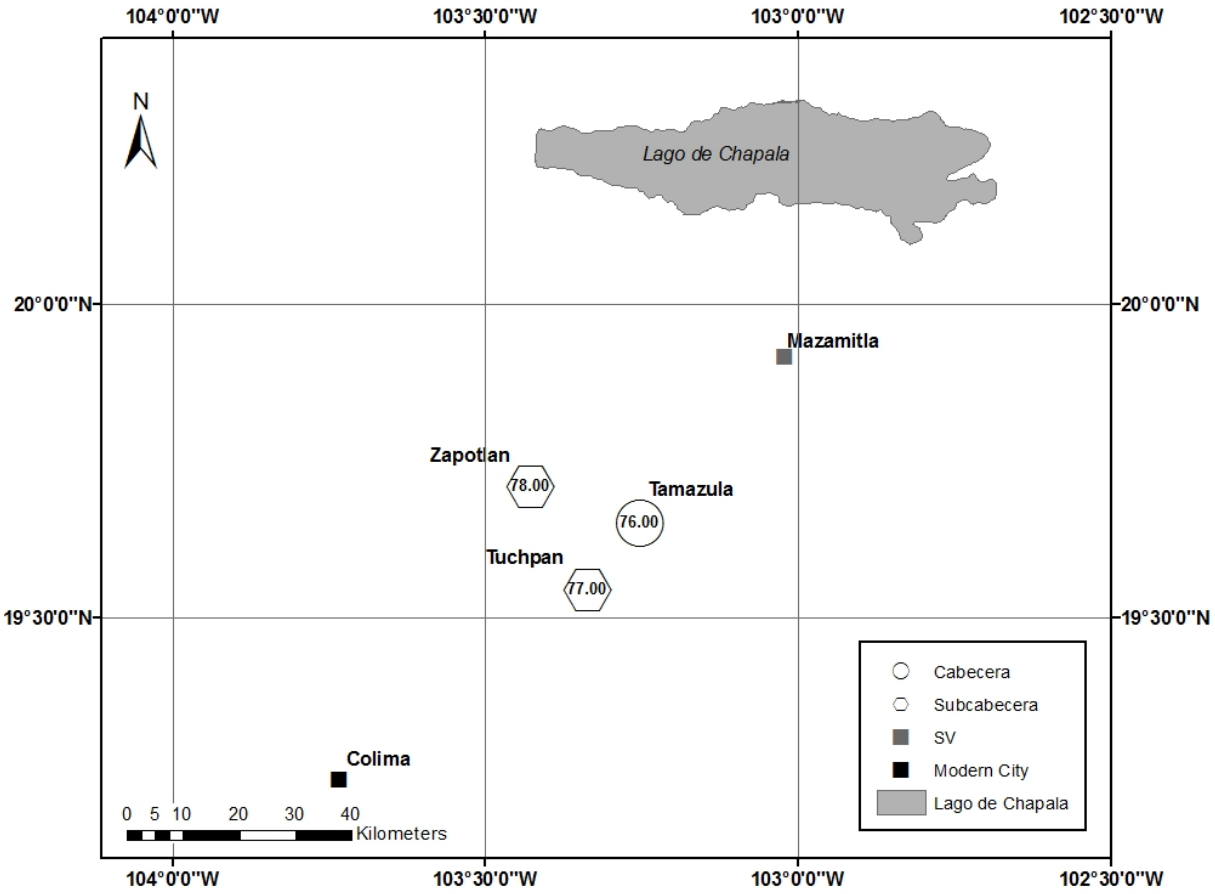


Figure 6.141. The cabecera *of Tamazula (circle, #76) and the* subcabeceras *(hexagons) of Tuchpan (#77) and Zapotlan (#78), as well as the* cabecera *of Mazamitla (gray square) from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:221). The settlement of Colima (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tamazula was the original *cabecera* of the region before the Spanish conquest and Tuchpan and Zapotlan were *subcabeceras* (Acuña 1987:396). Tamazula had five *estancias* named Puctlan, Yztepula, Mechuacán, Mazamitla, and Quitupán (Paso y Troncoso 1905:221), listed in Table 6.86. Figure 6.142 shows the locations of the sites listed in Table 6.86.

Table 6.86. The cabecera *of Tamazula and its* estancias *from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:221).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
76.00	Tamazula	Tamazula	*Cabecera*	Tamazula	Paso y Troncoso 1905:221
76.01	Puctlan	Tamazula	*Estancia*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:221
76.02	Yztepula	Tamazula	*Estancia*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:221
76.03	Mechuacán	Tamazula	*Estancia*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:221
76.04	Mazamitla	Tamazula	*Estancia*	Mazamitla	Paso y Troncoso 1905:221
76.05	Quitupan	Tamazula	*Estancia*	Quitupan	Paso y Troncoso 1905:221

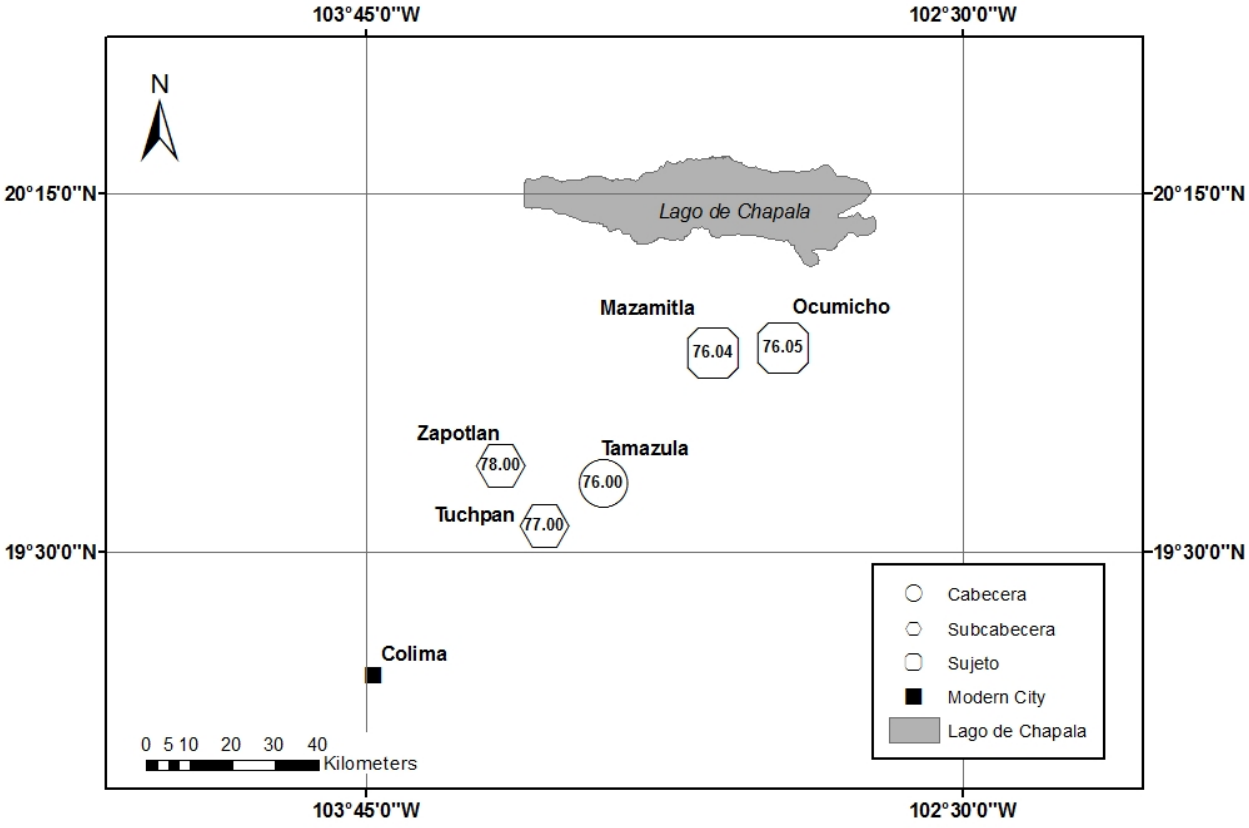


Figure 6.142. The cabecera *of Tamazula (circle, #76) and its* subcabeceras *(hexagons) of Tuchpan (#77) and Zapotlan (#78), as well as the subject* estancias *(truncated squares) of Mazamitla(#76.04) and Quitupan (#76.05) listed in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:221).*

Table 6.87 lists the locations of Tuchpan and its subordinate, Amatitlan (Paso y Troncoso 1905:220).

Table 6.87. The SV entry for Tuchpan (Paso y Troncoso 1905:220).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
77.00	Tuzpa/Tuchpan	Tuzpa/Tuchpan	*Cabecera*	Tamazula	Paso y Troncoso 1905:220
77.01	Amatitlan	Tuzpa/Tuchpan	*Estancia*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:220

Table 6.88 contains the names of Tamazula's sujetos listed in the *RG Tuchpan y su Partido* (Acuña 1987:396–397). The locations are mapped in Figure 6.143.

Table 6.88. The cabecera *of Tamazula and its* sujetos *from the* RG Tuchpan y su Partido *(Acuña 1987:396–397).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
76.00	Tamazula	Tamazula	*Cabecera*	Tamazula de Gordian	Acuña 1987:396–397
76.04	Mazamitla	Tamazula	*Sujeto*	Mazamitla	Acuña 1987:396–397
76.05	Quitupa/Quitupán	Tamazula	*Sujeto*	Quitupan	Acuña 1987:396–397
76.06	Zapotitlique	Tamazula	*Sujeto*	Zapotiltic	Acuña 1987:396–397
76.07	San Bartolomé	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.08	Tetlan	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.09	Puctlan	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.10	Mechoacán	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.11	San Lázaro	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.12	Santiago	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397
76.15	Yztepula	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:396–397

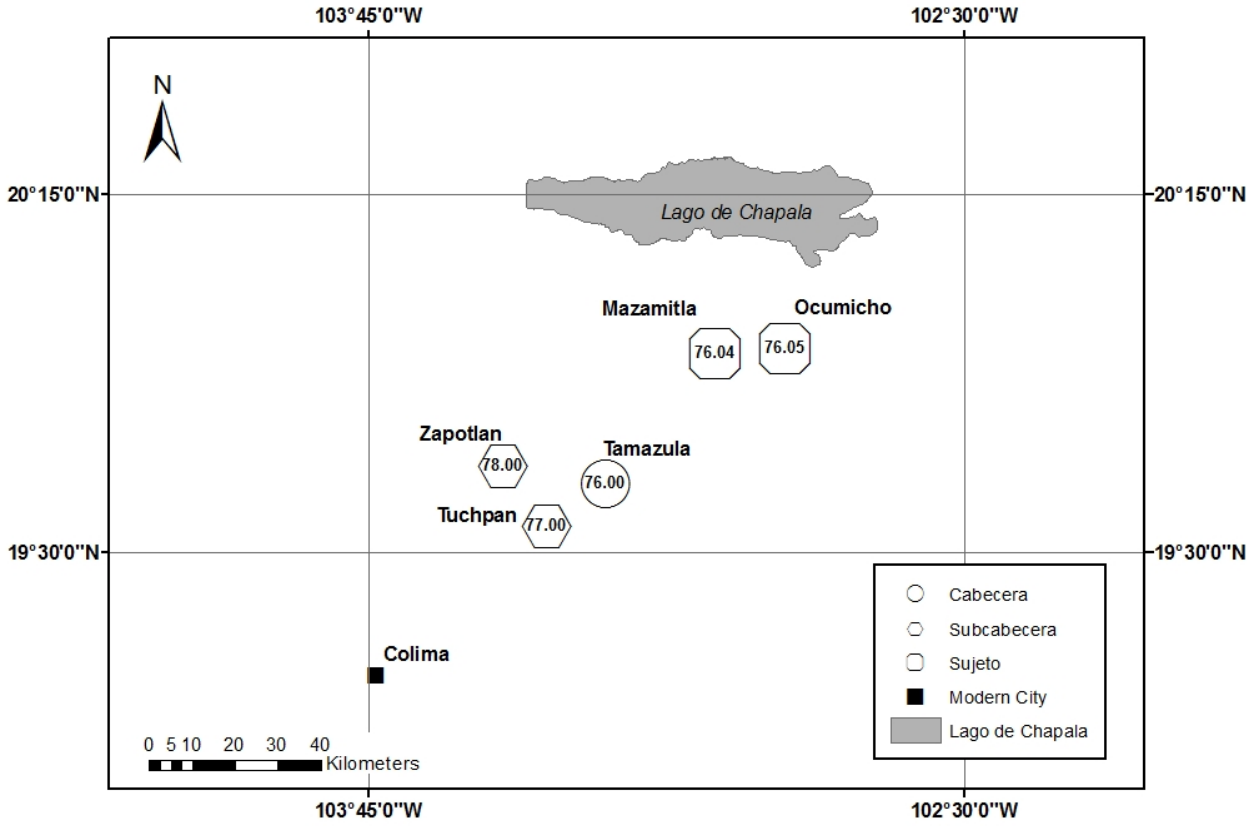


Figure 6.143. The cabecera *of Tamazula and its* subcabeceras *of Zapotlan and Tuchpan, as well as the sujetos of Mazamitla and Ocumicho from the* RG Tuchpan *(Acuña 1987:385). The settlement of Colima (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

The RG entry for Tuchpan and its subordinates are shown in Table 6.89; however, the sites' locations cannot be determined.

Table 6.89. The RG Tuchpan y su Partido *entry for Tuchpan (Acuña 1987:385).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
77.00	Tuchpan	Tamazula	*Subcabecera*	Tuxpan	Acuña 1987:385
77.02	Tonantla	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:385
77.03	Tusistlan	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:385

Table 6.90 lists the names of Zapotlan's subordinates but like Tuchpan the locations have not been identified.

Table 6.90. The RG Tuchpan y su Partido *entry for Zapotlan (Acuña 1987:392).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
78.00	Zapotlan	Tamazula	*Subcabecera*	Ciudad Guzmán	Acuña 1987:392
78.01	Cua[uh]teponahuaztitlan	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:392
78.02	Istlan	Tamazula	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:392

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tamazula was the *cabecera* of a complex political unit, shown in Figure 6.144 below.

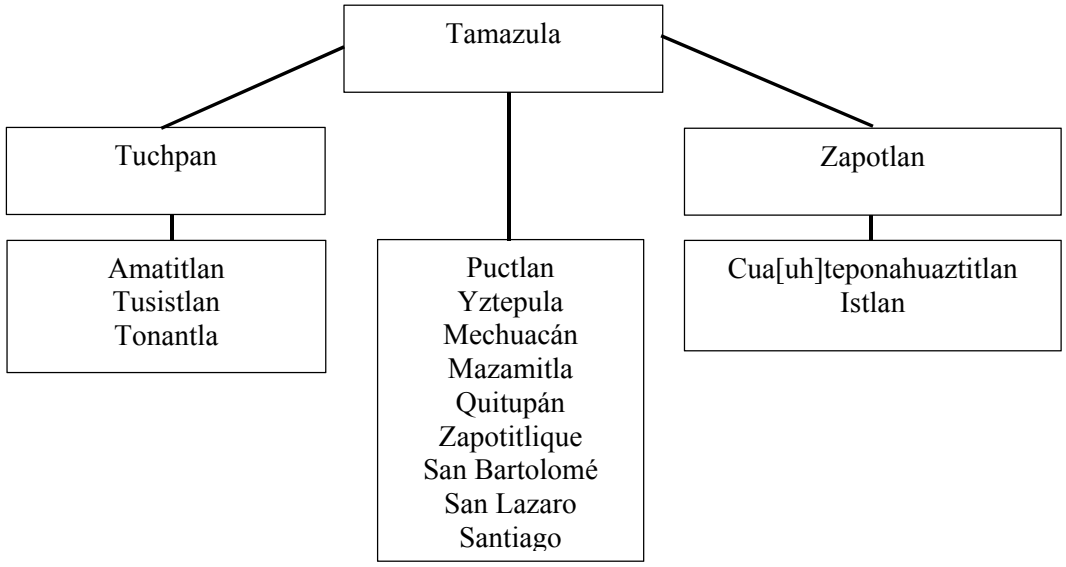


Figure 6.144. The proposed sociopolitical structure for Tamazula, Zapotlan, and Tuchpan. Tamazula occupies the top rank as cabecera *because of supporting ethnohistorical evidence (Acuna 1987:385), while Tuchpan and Zapotlan are* subcabeceras*. Third-tier settlements are the* sujetos *listed in the RG (Acuna 1987).*

Tamazula occupies the highest tier since the ethnohistorical record states that it was originally the *cabecera* even though that role shifted to Tuchpan during the colonial era (Acuña 1987:385). Tuchpan and Zapotlan occupied roles as *subcabeceras* and each ranking settlement had its own third-tier subordinates. Thus, this political unit can be conceptualized as a three-part unit, with the *altepetl*-analogue of Tamazula encompassing all of the settlements, as well as a number of subordinate *barrios* and *sujetos.* Tuchpan and Zapotlan were subunits within the *altepetl*-analogue, and the third-tier settlements consisted of *barrios* and *sujetos* within the units.

Archaeological Analyses of Tamazula, Tuchpan, and Zapotlan. Archaeological investigations by Schöndube (1987) recovered information on the cultural development of the area. There were three distinct ceramic phases in the area, based on ceramic and radiocarbon dating, shown in Table 6.91.

Table 6.91. Cultural phases in Jalisco according to ceramic and settlement data.

Phase Name	Period
Terla Complex	1200 – 1523 A.D.
Laurel Complex	900 – 1200 A.D.
Nogales Complex	600 – 900 A.D.

The Tarascans under either Zizispandaquare or Zuangua successfully conquered Tamazula, Tuchpan, and Zapotlan in the 1470s, which would place the conquest right at the end of the Terla ceramic complex (Schöndube 1987). Four sites have Terla Complex ceramics: Terla, Nogales, Mesa de San Francisco, and Escuela Moises Saenz (Schöndube 1987:44–73). Their locations could not be determined with confidence using Schöndube's maps and Google Earth (2013). However, Terla and Nogales appear to be ceremonial centers, judging by the presence of mound and plaza architecture at the two sites (Schöndube 1987:42–44, 46–48). Investigators also found evidence of terraces, retention walls, and house foundations at the Terla site. The ceramics at Terla included polychromes contemporaneous with the Autlan complex in neighboring Jalisco, as well as Terla Edged White and Tuchpan ceramics (Schöndube 1987:46–48). Nogales has two different mound groups, the North Group and the Arroyo Group (Schöndube 1987:46–49). The Arroyo Group is more ornate, with evidence of several plazas and plazuelas and mounds oriented to the cardinal directions (Schöndube 1987). The North Group is much small, although Schöndube states that there were only two mounds here; one is circular while the other is elongated (Schöndube 1987:47).

Southwest Quadrant

The southwest quadrant included a small number of *cabeceras* that secured access to the Balsas River as well as vital resources in the Motines del Oro of southwestern Michoacán (Acuña 1987). In this section I look at the *cabeceras* in this area and their roles as described in the RM (Alcalá 2000). The ethnohistorical data for this region is not as extensive as it is for others, and the data we do have focuses on conquest and control at very broad scales; thus we have to be careful in how we interpret the data. Table 6.92 lists the *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras* in the region. The region is shown in Figure 6.145.

Table 6.92 Cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *of the southwestern Quadrant.*

No.	Name	Type
79	Quacoman	*Cabecera*
80	Tancitaro	*Cabecera*
81	Tepalcatepeque	*Cabecera*
82	Hurapan	*Cabecera*
83	Paracho	*Cabecera*
84	Curupu Hucazio	*Subcabecera*
85	Hurecho	*Cabecera*

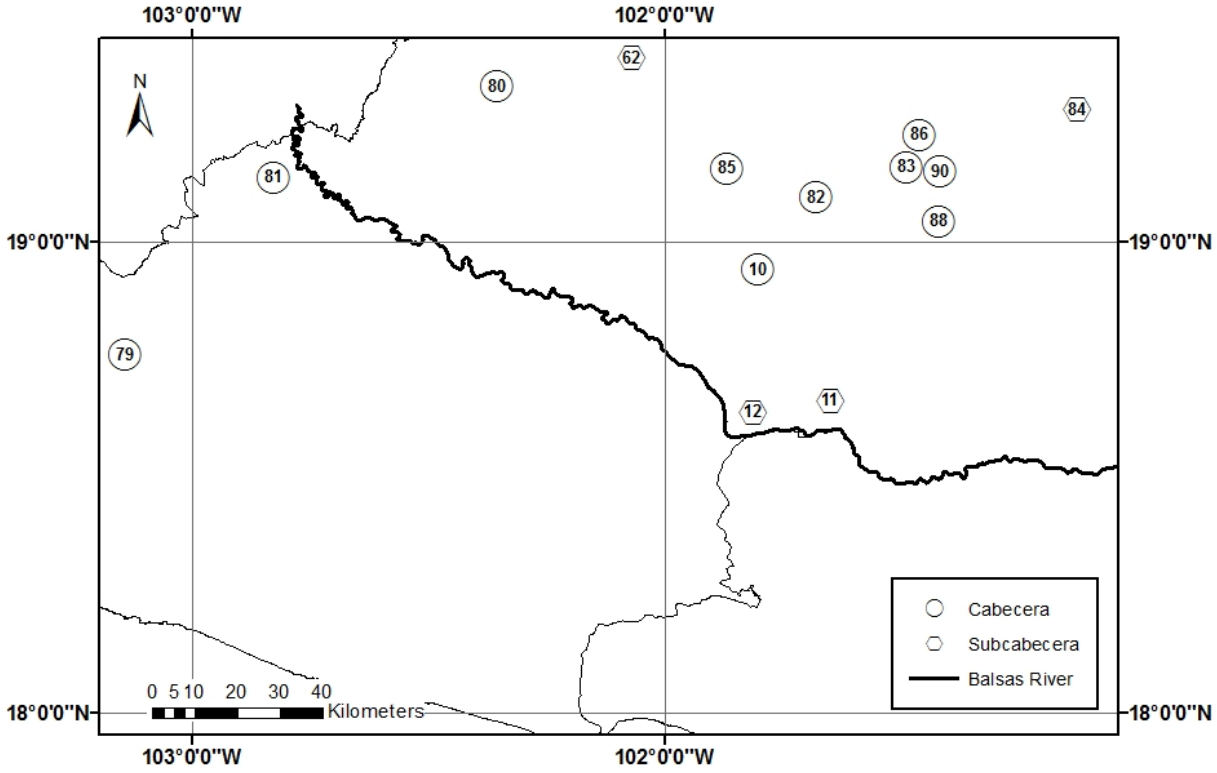


Figure 6.145. Map depicting the locations of cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *in southwest Michoacán.*

79) Quacoman

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Quacoman receives no mention in the RM (Alcalá 2000). Quacoman borders on Tepalcatepeque, Amatlan, and Apapatlan (Paso y Troncoso 1905:188). Tarascan ruler Zizispandaquare conquered Quacoman and the *Motines del Oro* to gain control of the precious metals in the region (Hosler 1994:28; Jiménez Moreno 1948:150). The *RG Quacoman* acknowledges the authority of the Tarascan Cazonci over them and that they paid him tribute (Acuña 1987:140). Quacoman's location is shown in Figure 6.146.

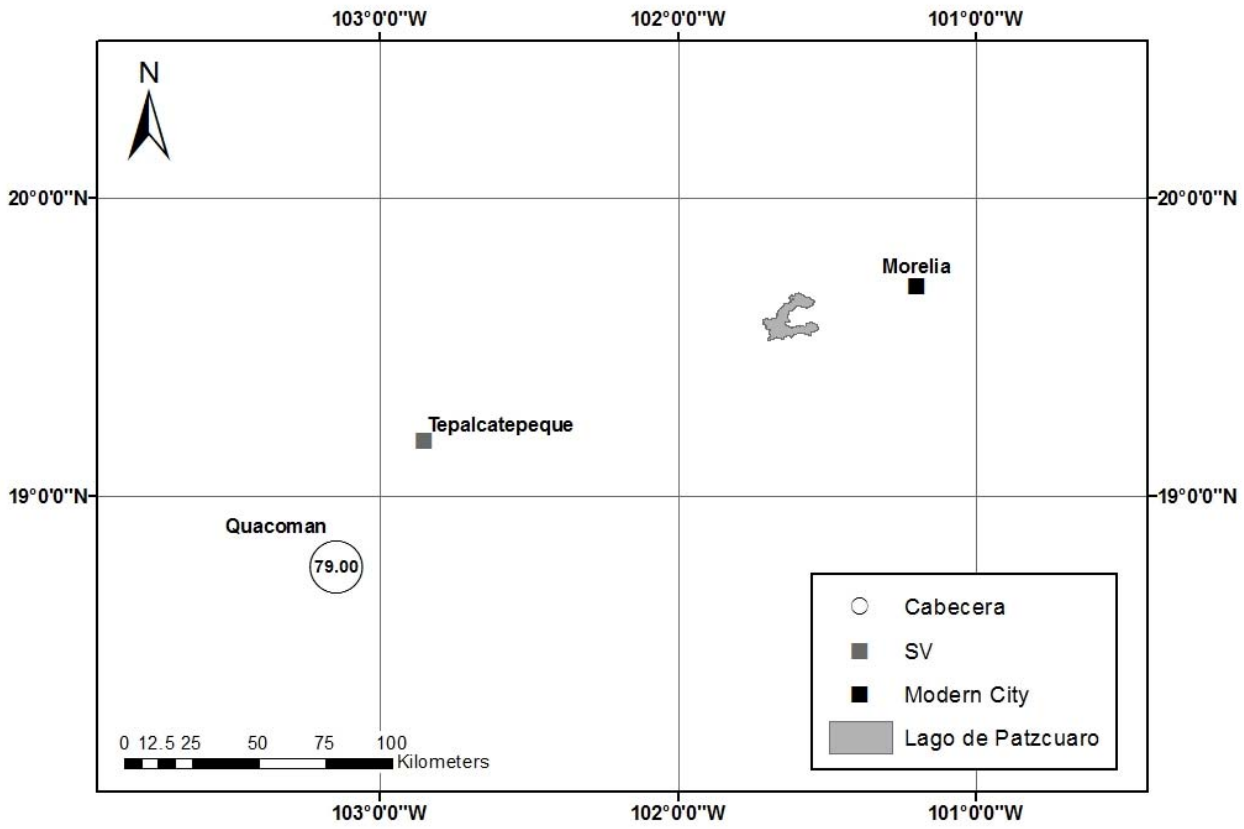


Figure 6.146. Map depicting the cabecera *of Quacoman (circle, #75) in relation to the neighboring unit* cabecera *of Tepalcatepeque (square) in southwestern Michoacán. The modern city of Morelia has been inserted to provide a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. There is no mention of subject towns in the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:188) or the RO (García Pimentel 1904). The only source to specifically mention any subordinates is the *RG Quacoman* (Acuña 1987:138), and the settlements are listed in Table 6.93, and shown in Figure 6.147.

Table 6.93. The cabecera *of Quacoman and its subordinates listed in the* RG Quacoman *(Acuña 1987: 138).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
79.00	Quacoman	Quacoman	*Cabecera*	Quacoman	Acuña 1987:138
79.01	Vitontlan (Huitontlan)	Quacoman	*Sujeto*	Huitontlan	Acuña 1987: 138
79.02	Teqiliucan	Quacoman	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987: 138
79.03	Tequantepeque	Quacoman	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987: 138
79.04	Tzinacomitlan	Quacoman	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987: 138
79.05	Cochiztlan	Quacoman	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987: 138
79.06	Ocotlanan	Quacoman	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987: 138

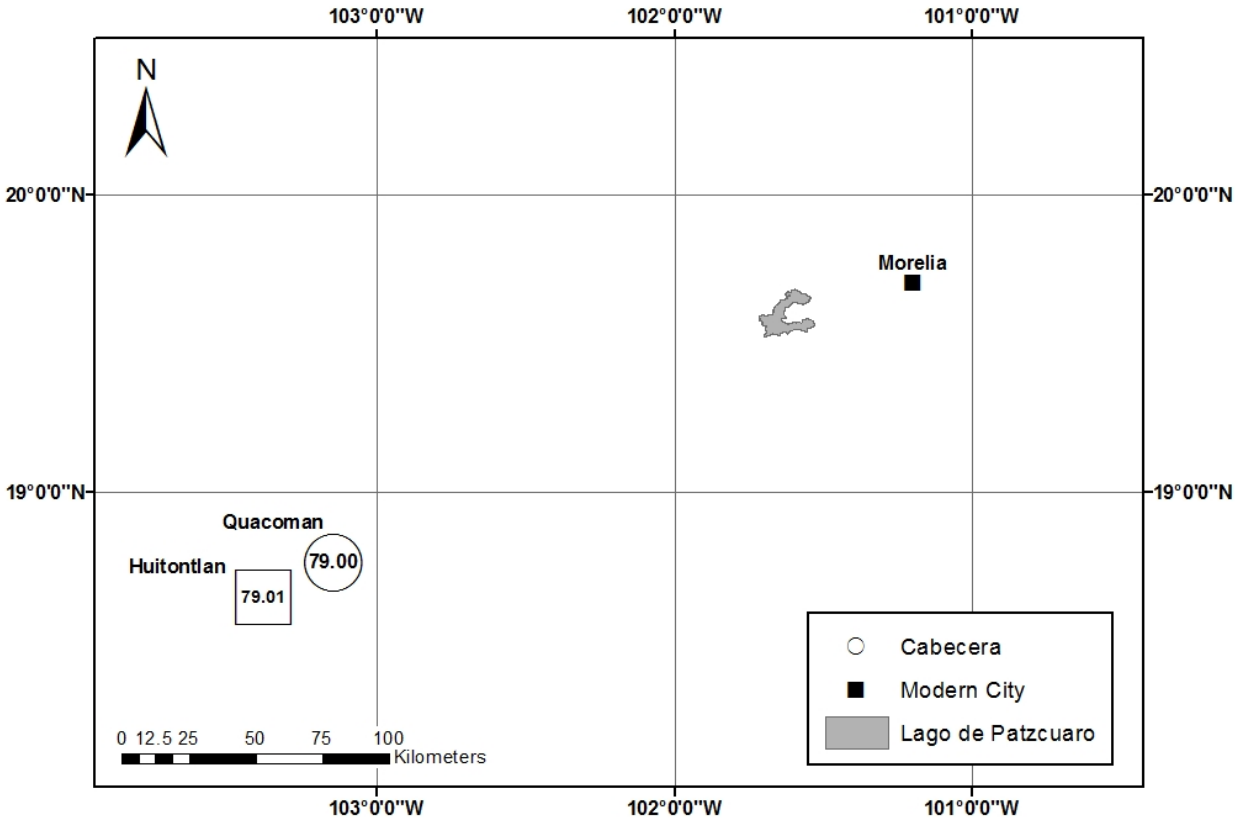


Figure 6.147. The cabecera *of Quacoman (circle, #75) and its subordinate Tecuantepec (square, #75.01). The city of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Quacoman's sociopolitical structure is vague in the ethnohistorical record, making any list of subordinate settlements tentative, as shown in Figure 6.148 below. There are no references to *barrios*, *estancias* or *sujetos* in either the SV or LT (Cossío 1952; Paso y Troncoso 1905:188), and there is only one reference to Quacoman as a subordinate to "Cuycoran" shortly after the conquest (Gerhard 1972:193). As a result, I believe it is safe to assume that the subordinates listed under Quacoman's authority in the *RG Quacoman* were pre-Hispanic subordinates.

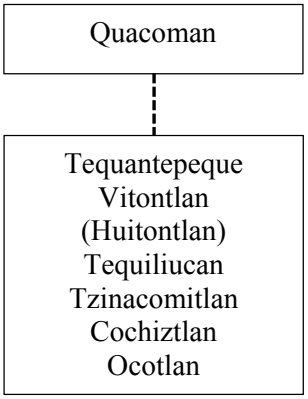


Figure 6.148. Diagram of the proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Quacoman.

Figure 6.148 shows that Quacoman had a two-tiered political unit, with Quacoman as the *cabecera* of the unit and the six subordinates listed in the second tier subject to Quacoman. The political system for Quacoman is vague since the ethnohistory insists they recognized no one else but the Cazonci, but there had to be some type of system to enable tributary extraction and administration.

Archaeological Studies. There are no published archaeological studies describing any resources in Quacoman.

80) Tancitaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Vtúcuma also conquered Tancitaro during his expansion campaigns (Alcalá 2000:524). According to SV, Tancitaro bordered on Uruapan, Periban, Arimao, and La Huacana (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254–255). The site's location is shown in Figure 6.149.

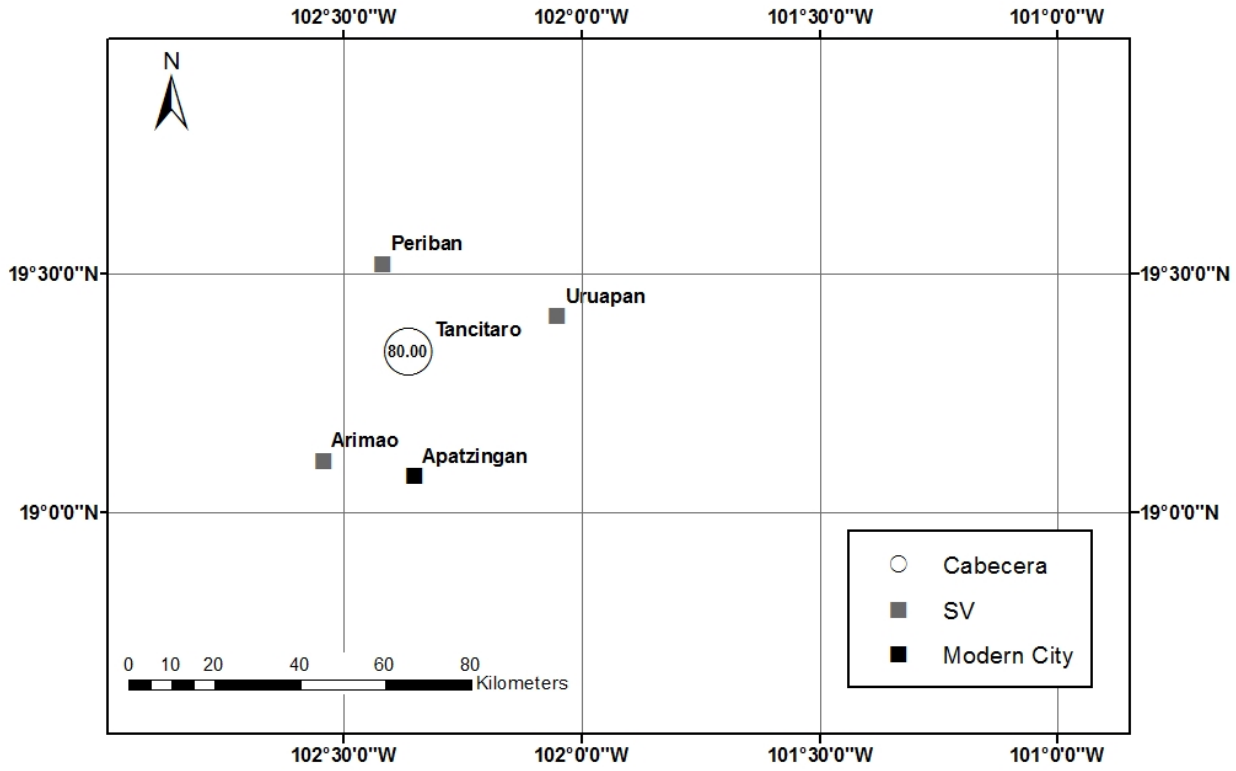


Figure 6.149. Map depicting the location of the cabecera *of Tancitaro (circle, #80) and the colonial* cabeceras *of the neighboring units of Arimao, Periban, Uruapan (squares, gray). The town of Apatzingan de la Constitución has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Tancitaro was the *cabecera* of three *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254) in the SV.

The RO states that Tancitaro was the *cabecera* over nine *barrios* shown in Table 6.94.

Table 6.94. The cabecera *of Tancitaro and it subordinate* barrios *from the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:38)*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
80.00	Tancitaro	Tancitaro	*Cabecera*	Tancitaro	García Pimentel 1904:238
61.06	Hapo	Tancitaro	*Barrio*	Apo?	García Pimentel 1904:238
80.01	Urunduco	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.03	Santiago	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.04	San Gregorio	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.05	Apacingan	Tancitaro	*Barrio*	Apatzingan	García Pimentel 1904:238
80.06	Tendechutiro	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.07	Acáuato	Tancitaro	*Barrio*	Acáhuato	García Pimentel 1904:238
80.08	Picho	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.09	Querendaro	Tancitaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:238
80.10	Puraquaro	Tancitaro	*Barrio*	Paracuaro	García Pimentel 1904:238

Figure 6.150 shows the locations of the *barrios* from the RO list (Garcia Pimentel 1904:238).

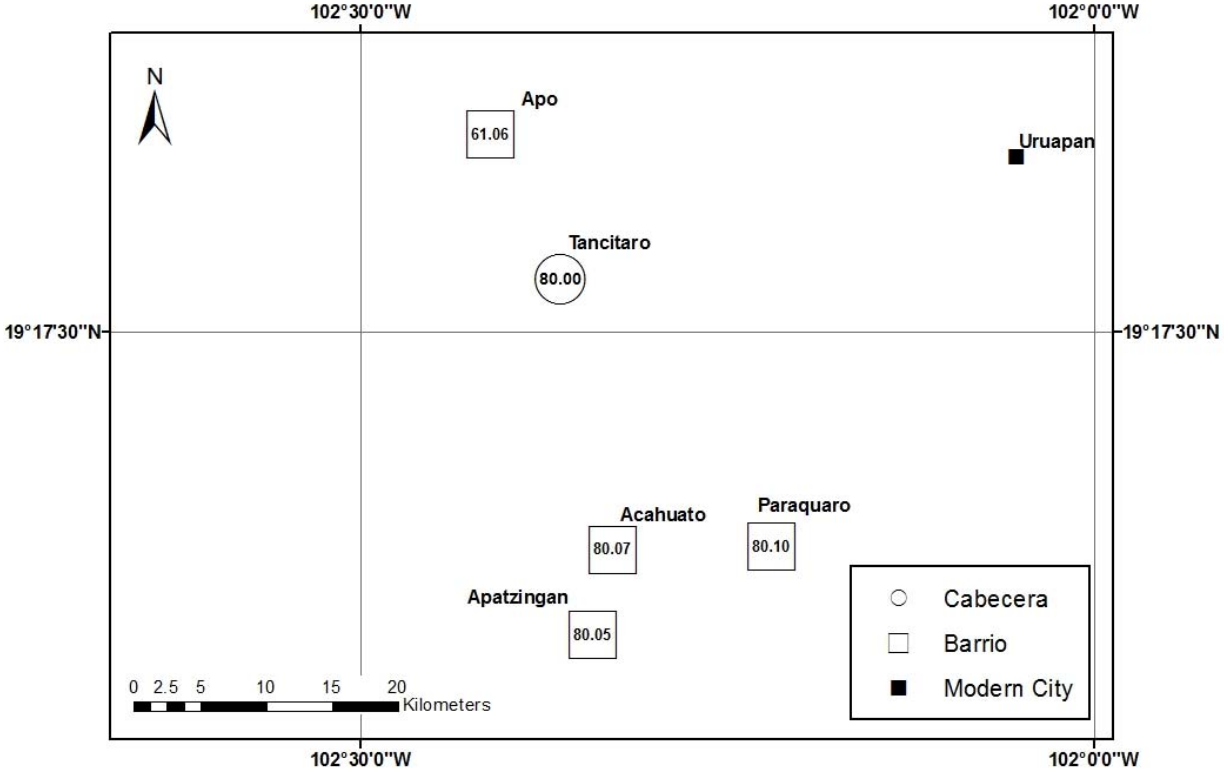


Figure 6.150. The cabecera *of Tancitaro (circle, #80) and the subordinate* barrios *(squares) of Apo (#61.06), Apatzingan (#80.05), Acáhuato (#80.07) and Paráquaro (#80.10). Apo was also a subordinate town of Uruapan. The town of Uruapan (black square) is shown as a modern spatial referent.*

Tancitaro was the *cabecera* of a political unit during the colonial period and Table 6.95 lists the settlements (Acuna 1987:413). Figure 6.151 shows the locations.

Table 6.95. The cabecera *of Tancitaro and its listed subordinates from the* RG Tancitaro *(García Pimentel 1904:253–254).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
80.00	Tancitaro	Tancitaro	*Cabecera*	Tancitaro	Acuña 1987
80.05	Apatzingan	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*	Apatzingan de la Constitución	Acuña 1987
80.07	Santiago Acáuato	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*	Acáhuato	Acuña 1987
80.10	Paracuaro	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*	Paracuaro	Acuña 1987
80.11	San Miguel Irependo	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987
80.12	Araparicuaro/Los Tres Reyes	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987
80.13	San Juan Urapu	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987
80.14	Santo Antonio Tamatacuaro	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987

80.15	San Pedro Uaninba	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987
80.16	San Francisco Uario	Tancitaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987

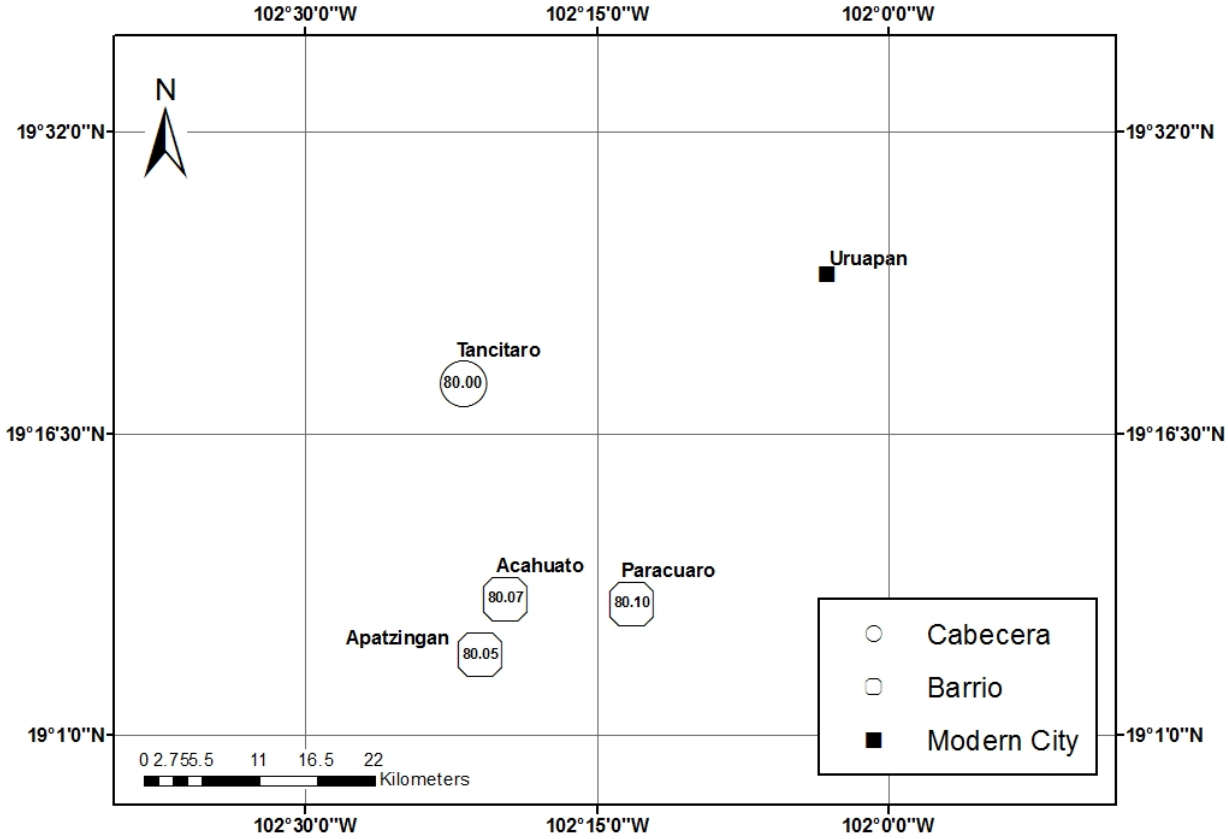


Figure 6.151. The cabecera *of Tancitaro (circle, #80) and its subordinate* barrios *(hexagons) from the RG Tancitaro (Acuña 1987). The modern settlement of Uruapan (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Table 6.96 shows the names of Tancitaro's proposed subordinates.

Table 6.96. Subordinates of Tancitaro.

Tancitaro
Urunduco
Hapo
Santiago
San Gregorio
Apacingan
Tendechutiro
Acáuato
Picho
Querendaro
Paráquaro

Archaeological Analyses of Tancitaro. Only one site is associated with Tancitaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Santa Catarina is an early Postclassic site with mounded architecture, but no indications of habitation during the Late Postclassic. Like Uruapan, the area around Tancitaro is filled with avocado orchards, making identification of further archaeological sites difficult.

Colonial Era. The *encomenderos* Pedro de la Isla and Domingo de Medina became *encomenderos* of Tancitaro in 1528, but Isla lost his part to escheatment three years later (Gerhard 1972:250). Medina held his half until 1569, after which it became the property of his son. Tancitaro became a *corregimiento* in 1531 (Gerhard 1972:250). In the 1540s, Tancitaro had three *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:254), but by 1570 it had ten (García Pimentel 1904:38). Most of these ten come from other *encomiendas*, such as Parácuaro, which was initially part of Uruapan's sphere of control. Apatzingan was also a subordinate of Tancitaro, but there is no ethnohistorical evidence suggesting that the Tarascans were at this site.

81) Tepalcatepeque/Eruzio

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The *principal* Vtúcuma conquered Tepalcatepeque/Eruzio as part of his expansionary campaign in southwest Michoacán (Alcalá 2000:524). Gerhard (1972; Espejel Carbajal 2008) made the connection between Eruzio and Tepalcatepeque.

Subject Towns. Tepalcatepeque does not appear in the CV or SV; rather, it is not until the RO of 1571 that there are any entries pertaining to this unit (García Pimentel 1904:43). Its subordinate *barrios* are in Table 6.97 and Figure 6.152.

Table 6.97. The cabecera *of Tepalcatepeque and its* barrios *from the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:43).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
81.00	Tepalcatepeque	Tepalcatepeque	*Cabecera*	Tepalcatepeque	García Pimentel 1904:40
81.01	Santa Ana	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
81.02	Chilatlan	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40
81.03	Cocqueo	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:40

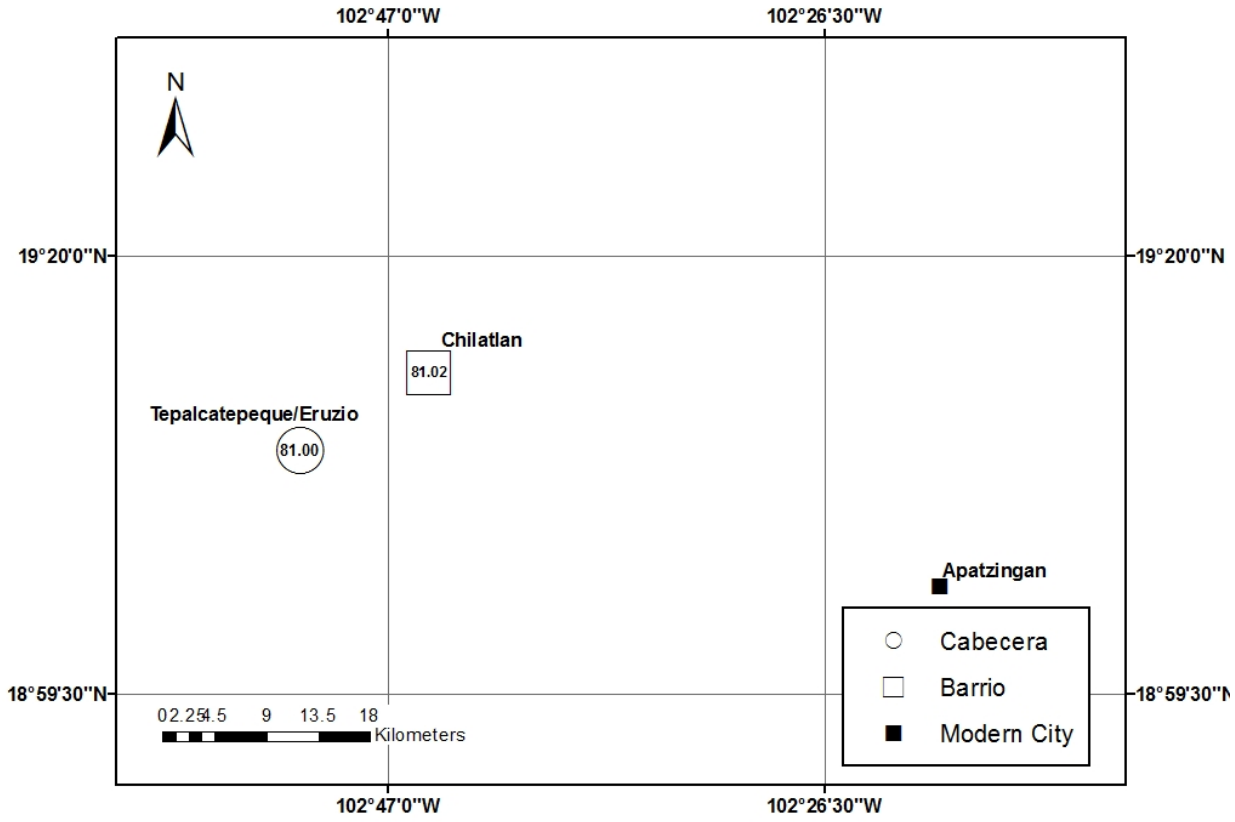


Figure 6.152. The cabecera *of Tepalcatepeque (circle, #81) and the* barrio *of Chilatlan (square, #81.02). The modern settlement of Apatzingan de la Constitución (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Tepalcatepeque also appears in the *RG Tancitaro* (Acuña 1987:299), and the subordinates are in Table 6.98.

Table 6.98. The cabecera *of Tepalcatepeque and its* barrios*, from the RG Tepalcatepeque (Acuña 1987:299).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
81.00	Tepalcatepeque	Tepalcatepeque	*Cabecera*	Tepalcatepeque	Acuña 1987:299
81.02	Chilatlan	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*	Chilatlan	Acuña 1987:299
81.04	Tetlaman/Santa Ana?	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:299
81.05	Tamazulapan	Tepalcatepeque	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:299

The *RG Tlapalcatepeque* says that Tepalcatepeque was ruled by two different governors during the pre-Conquest period (Acuña 1987:299). The first *gobernador* was named Tlazutzin, and the second was known as Francisco Coma; both were native to Tepalcatepeque (Acuña 1987:299; López Sarrelangue 1965:275).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tepalcatepeque's political hierarchy is tentatively listed in Table 6.99 below.

Table 6.99. The cabecera *of Tepalcatepeque and its list of subordinate* barrios*.*

Tepalcateque
Santa Ana Tetlaman
Tamazulapan
Chilatlan
Cochqueo

Archaeological Analyses of Tepalcatepeque. Archaeological investigations of the Tepalcatepec basin were conducted by Pepper (1916) and Goggin (1943), but there are no specific archaeological data in relation to the site of Tepalcatepec.

Other Cabeceras: 82) Hurapan; 83) Paracho; 84) Curupu Hucazio; 85) Hurecho

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The settlements of Hurapan, Hurecho, Paracho, and Curupu Hucazio were cabeceras during the very earliest days of Tarascan geopolitical expansion, but their settlement hierarchies remain virtually unknown in the ethnohistorical record (Alcalá 2000:524). Chupingoparápeo and Curupu Hucazio became a subordinate of other cabeceras sometime during the fifteenth century (Warren 1977:407). The locations of these settlements are depicted in Figure 6.153.

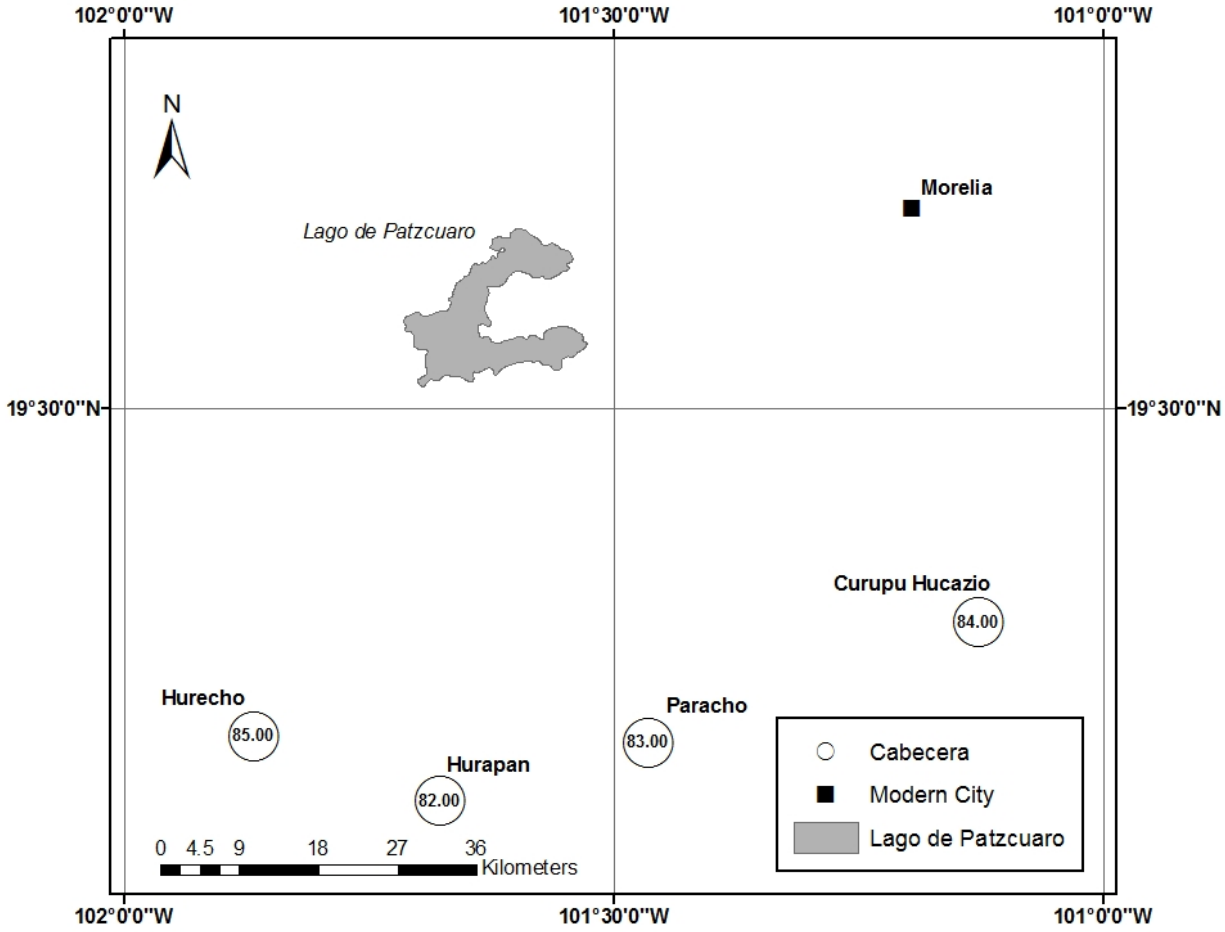


Figure 6.153. The cabeceras *(circles) of Hurapan (#82), Paracho (#83), Curupu Hucazio (#84), and Hurecho (#85). These were Chichimec and Islander* cabeceras *whose political systems are not known. The settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Table 6.100 lists the subordinates of Paracho.

Table 6.100. The cabecera of Paracho and its subordinate of Apánoato (Alcalá 2000:524).

No.	Name	Location	Source
83.00	Paracho	Paracho	Alcalá 2000:524
83.01	Apánoato		Alcalá 2000:524

Southeast Quadrant

Table 6.101 lists the *cabeceras* and *subcabeceras*, and their locations are illustrated in Figure 6.154. The southeast includes much of the *tierra caliente*, as well as the Balsas River basin.

Table 6.101. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *in the southeast quadrant of the Tarascan polity.*

Number	Name	Type
86	Tacámbaro	*Cabecera*
88	Turicato	*Cabecera*
90	Chupingoparápeo	*Cabecera*
92	Tuzantla	*Cabecera*
93	Cuseo	*Cabecera*
94	Huetamo	*Cabecera*
95	Sirandaro	*Cabecera*
96	Cutzamala	*Cabecera*
97	Pungarabato	*Cabecera*
98	Coyuca	*Cabecera*
99	Ajuchitlan	*Cabecera*

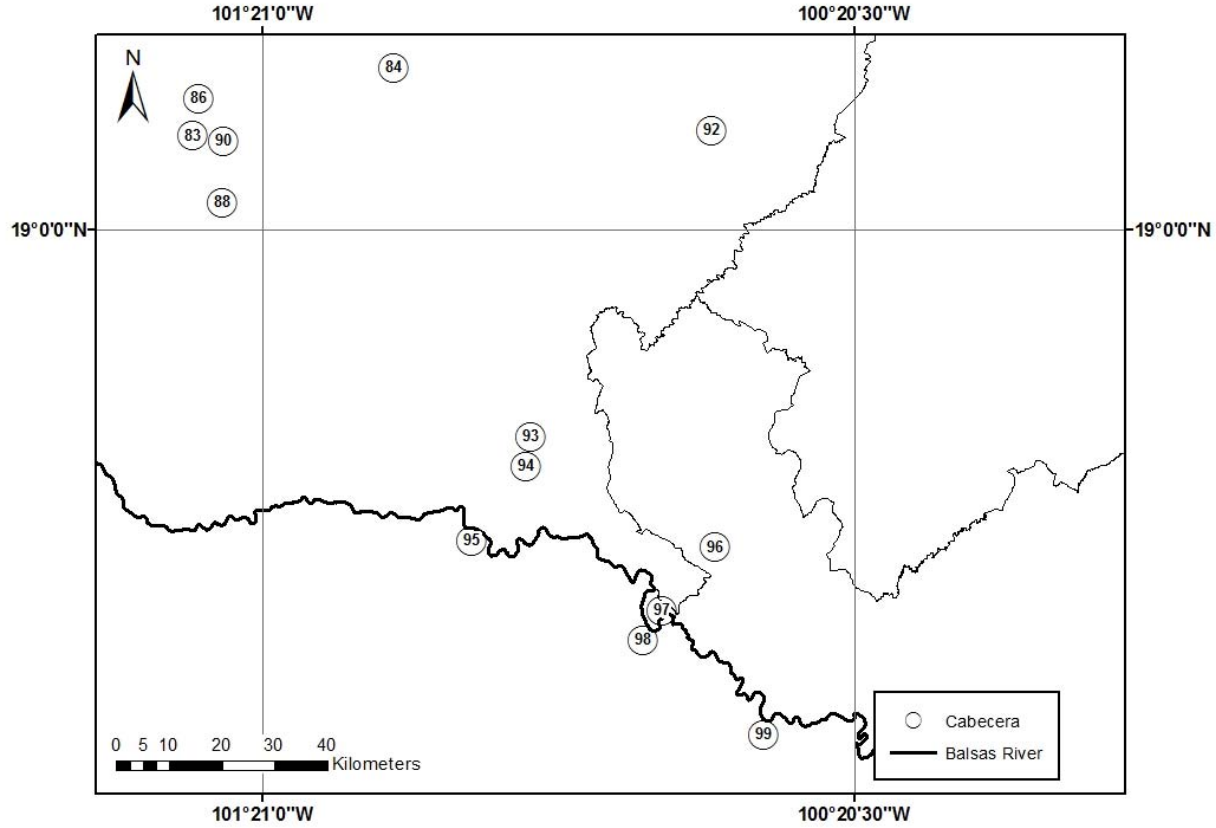


Figure 6.154. The cabeceras *and* subcabeceras *of the southeast quadrant.*

86) Tacámbaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Taríacuri declared that Cauiyancha would be the last *señor* of Tacámbaro, and that Cauiyancha's sons Tarando and Horohta would not rule (Alcalá 2000:467). In Episode XXXI, Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje conquered Tacámbaro as part of their fourth and final conquest campaign (Alcalá 2000:523). Tacámbaro may have been a rally point for troops embarking on further campaigns of conquest by the Chichimecs and Islanders (Pollard 1993:88). Tacámbaro was bordered by Tirípitio, Turicato, Ystapa and Guanaxo (Guanajo) (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252). The location of Tacámbaro has been confirmed through the use of modern maps and the work of Espejel Carbajal (2008), as shown in Figure 6.155.

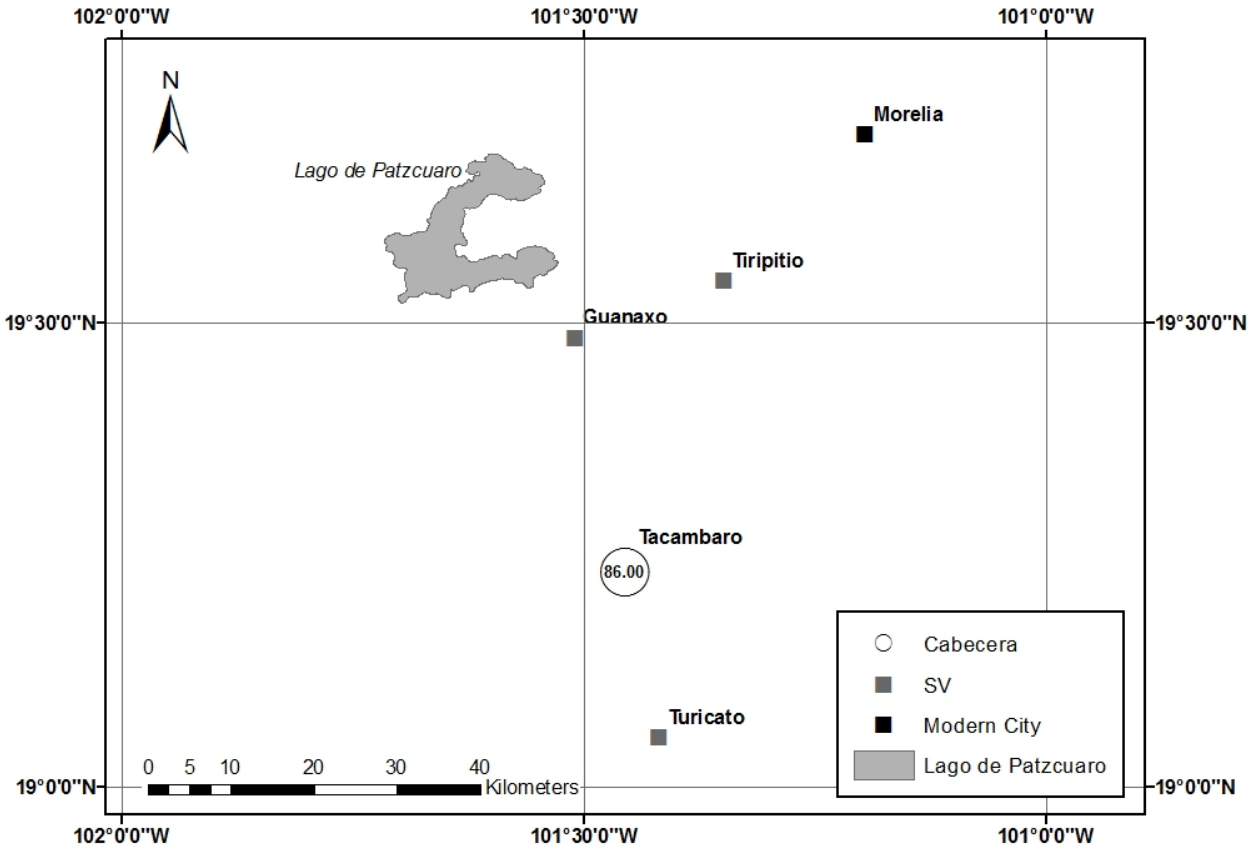


Figure 6.155. The cabecera *of Tacámbaro and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Turicato, Guanxo/Guanajo, and Tirípitio. The modern settlement of Morelia has been included for spatial reference.*

Subject Towns. Tacámbaro was one of two *cabeceras* within its unit; Cuzaronde was the other (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252). Tacámbaro and Cuzaronde are shown in the table.

Table 6.102. The cabeceras *of Tacámbaro and Cuzaronde from the* Suma de Visitas *(Paso y Troncoso 1905:252).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
86.00	Tacámbaro	Tacámbaro	*Cabecera*	Tacámbaro de Codallos	Paso y Troncoso 1905:252
87.00	Cuzaronde	Tacámbaro	*Cabecera*		Paso y Troncoso 1905:252

According to the SV, Tacámbaro had eight *barrios* while Cuzaronde had five *barrios* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:252), but no names are given. The subordinates are not named until the RO list (Garcia Pimentel 1904:41). These are listed in Table 6.103.

Table 6.103. The cabecera *of Tacámbaro according to the RO list of 1571 (Garcia Pimentel 1904:41).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
86.00	Tacámbaro	Tacámbaro	*Cabecera*	Tacámbaro de Codallos	García Pimentel 1904:41
86.01	Cutzaro	Tacámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
86.02	Yurirepacutio	Tacámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
86.03	San Miguel	Tacámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
86.04	Hureo	Tacámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41
86.05	Cucuropo	Tacámbaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:41

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The sociopolitical hierarchy for Tacámbaro is shown in Figure 6.156 below.

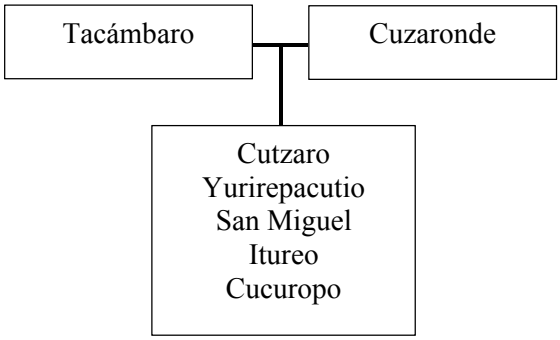


Figure 6.156. Tacámbaro, Cuzaronde, and their subordinates.

Tacámbaro was probably a jointly administered political unit with Tacámbaro and Cuzaronde occupying the positions of *cabeceras*. Below them were several subordinate *barrios* and *sujetos* in the second tier, but we are unclear whether the subordinates reported to one or both *cabeceras*.

Archaeological Analyses. There are no reported archaeological sites in the region; however, one archaeologist did report locating a coyote statue in Tacámbaro (Espejel Carbajal 2008).

88) Turicato

Connections to the RM and Mapping. There is no mention of Turicato under this name or any other derivation in the RM. This settlement may have been founded sometime after the Tarascan expansion. Turicato bordered on the neighboring units of Tacámbaro, Sinagua, Istapa, Ocomo (Hucumu – Tuzantla?), and Cutzamala (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Paso y Troncoso 1905:256). Turicato's location is shown in 6.157.

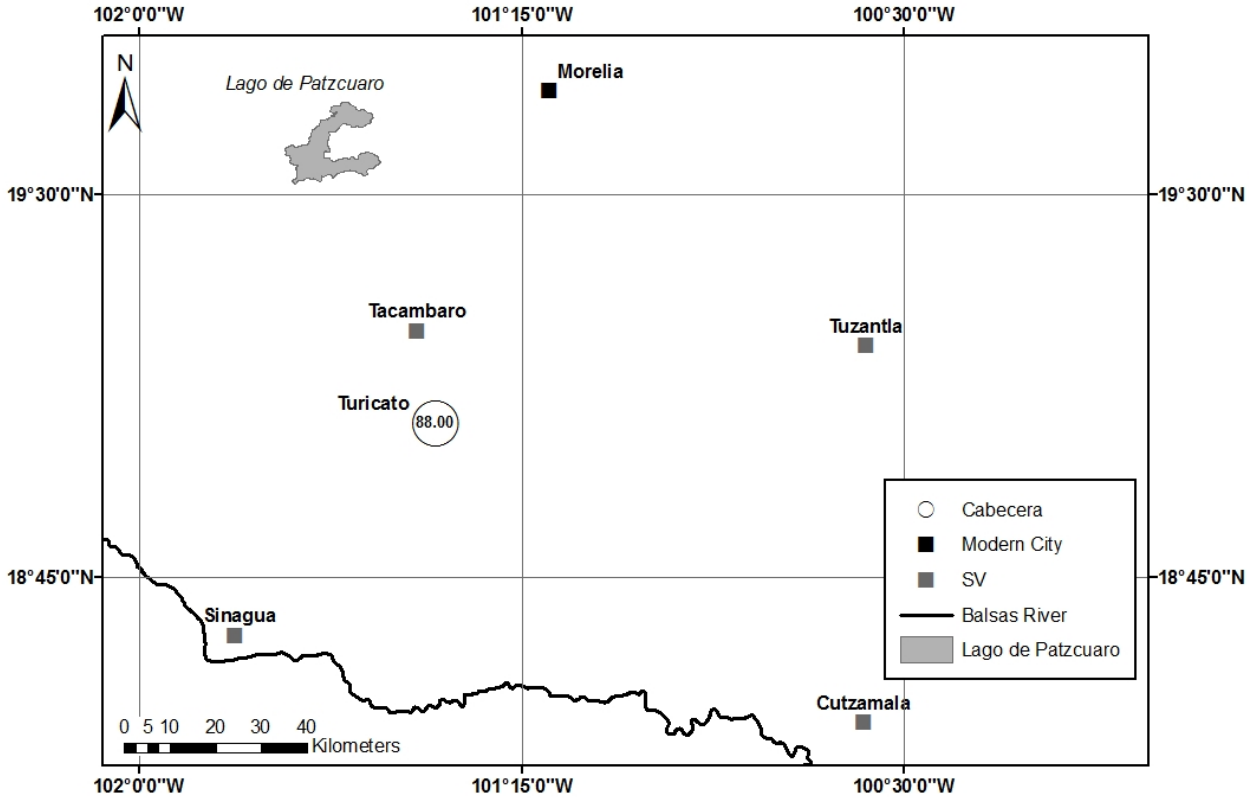


Figure 6.157. The cabecera *of Turicato and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Tacámbaro (circle, #84), Tuzantla, Sinagua, and Cutzamala. The modern settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Antonio de Carvajal surveyed Turicato in 1524 (Warren 1985:252), and the results are shown in Table 6.18. The *Calpixque,* Yoste, stated that he controlled Turicato and the *pueblos* of Icharo, Papaseo, Paracasihico, and Pincaneo (Warren 1977:394). The results of the survey are in Table 6.104.

Table 6.104. The cabecera *of Turicato, its* subcabeceras*, and* sujetos *as recorded in the CV (Warren 1977:252).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
88.00	Turicato	Turicato	*Cabecera*	Turicato	Warren 1977:252
88.01	Cuzengo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.02	Hinchameo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.03	Papaseo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.04	Ycharo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.05	Macada	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.06	Hurutaquaro	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.07	Acuychapepo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.08	Uranapeo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
88.09	Tetenxeo	Turicato	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
89.00	Catao	Turicato	*Subcabecera*		Warren 1977:252
89.01	Vapanio	Catao	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
90.00	Chupingoparápeo	Turicato	*Subcabecera*		Warren 1977:252
90.01	Casindagapeo	Chupingoparápeo	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
90.02	Cuzingauro	Chupingoparápeo	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
90.03	Corinquaro	Chupingoparápeo	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
90.04	Unguacaro	Chupingoparápeo	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252
91.00	Tocumeo	Chupingoparápeo	*Sub-Subcabecera*		Warren 1977:252
91.01	Aroaquaro	Tocumeo	*Sujeto*		Warren 1977:252

The *Carvajal Visita* lists eleven subjects for Turicato (Warren 1977:394). Most of these are classified as *estancias* with the possible exception of the "*pueblo*" of Papaseo, and most are located within .5–3 leagues of Turicato. Three *estancias* (Icharo, Macada, and Harutaquaro) had resident *Calpixque*s, and were located within one league of Turicato.

The *Calpixques* of Chupingoparápeo and Catao, which were *subcabeceras* under Turicato, controlled several additional tiers. Catao had a single *sujeto,* Vapanio, while Chupingoparápeo controlled five additional subordinates (Warren 1977:252). Chupingoparápeo is noteworthy because it was described in the RM as a place where *principales* "took their seats" (Alcalá 2000:524), as well as the fact that it has a *subcabecera* of its own. Cartoque was a second *estancia* with a number of subordinates, but its circumstances within the hierarchy are unique. The discussion about Cartoque came out at the Cazonci's

1530 trial, when several indigenous nobles gave testimony that the Cazonci had instructed Carvajal's native guides to avoid showing the conquistador Cartoque or any of its dependencies because their tribute belonged to him (Warren 1985).

In the SV, Turicato is *cabecera* of eight *estancias* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:256). In the RO, Turicato/Toricato is *cabecera* of six *barrios* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:39). The names of the subordinates are in Table 6.105.

Table 6.105. The cabecera *of Turicato and its subordinate* barrios *as described in the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:39).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
88.00	Turicato	Turicato	*Cabecera*	Turicato	García Pimentel 1904:39
88.10	Paroche	Turicato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:39
88.11	Paracacho	Turicato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:39
88.12	Tentegeo	Turicato	*Barrio*	Tetengueo? Tetenexo?	García Pimentel 1904:39
88.13	Yurequaro	Turicato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:39
88.14	Pintzan	Turicato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:39
88.15	Pahpahtzio	Turicato	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:39

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. The sociopolitical hierarchy for Turicato is shown in Figure 6.158.

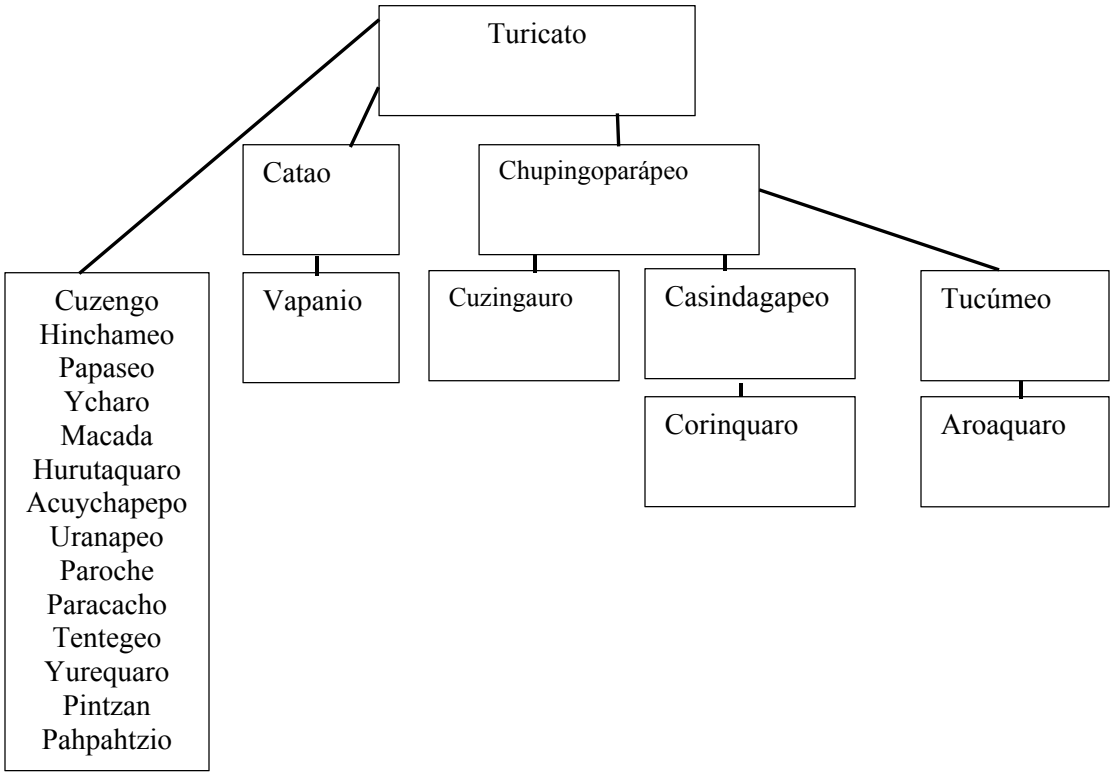


Figure 6.158. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Turicato and its subordinates.

Of all the units, Turicato has one of the most unusual systems because it has a four-tiered political hierarchy. As the *cabecera*, Turicato occupied the superordinate position while Catao and Chupingoparápeo occupied *subcabecera* positions. The third tier is those settlements that are directly subordinate to the *cabecera* or *subcabeceras*; however, there also appear to be *sub-subcabeceras* at Casindagapeo and Tucúmeo, because they have subjects of their own that paid tribute to them.

Colonial Era. Several years after Carvajal completed his survey, Turicato was given over to the encomendero Antonio de Oliver, who held the complete encomienda until encomendero Diego Hernandez Nieto filed suit, claiming Turicato as his own (Gerhard 1972:74). As a result of the court cases, Turicato was split into two separate encomiendas, run by Oliver and Nieto, respectively. However, elements of the pre-Hispanic system persisted: for example, Juan de Catao, the *principal* of Catao, retained the position he held during the pre-Hispanic period, for he was called on to give testimony against the Cazonci at his trial (Warren 1985:206).

92) Tuzantla

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Tuzantla (Hucumu – [Espejel Carbajal 2008]) was a conquest of the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524).

Subject Towns. Information on Tuzantla's sociopolitical organization comes from court documents as well as the *RG Tuzantla* (Acuña 1984:150; Hedberg 1994:35; Warren 1985:213). In 1528, Bachiller Juan de Ortega heard a lawsuit against encomendero Alonso de Mata because of heinous crimes he had committed against the people of Tuzantla (Hedberg 1994:35; Warren 1985:213). Two *principales* named Canoazi and Xavaco gave testimony that Mata demanded additional tribute and "beautiful" female elites, and when his demands were not met he tortured them. Three years later, Mata brought forth his own suit to accuse Ortega of ruling against him to gain control of the *pueblo*, citing that the nobles' testimonies had been manipulated. While Mata used a number of fellow *encomenderos* as witnesses, Ortega assembled the two *principales* Canoazi and Xavaco from the 1528 trial as well as several additional witnesses including Agrianaxo, the *Cacique* of Mamasco, and Cique, a *principal* of Tuzantla (Hedberg 1994:85). The new witnesses detailed the murder of Ocozetequitato, another *principal* of Tuzantla. The testimonies from Mata's trials come from six *principales* of Tuzantla, plus a *Cacique* of the *estancia* of Mamasco (Hedberg 1994; Warren 1985). Table 6.106 lists Tuzantla and its subordinate *barrios*.

Table 6.106. The cabecera *of Tuzantla and its subordinate* barrios*, from the RO list of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:46).*

No.	Name	Hierarchy	Rank	Location	Source
92.00	Tuzantla	Tuzantla	*Cabecera*	Tuzantla	García Pimentel 1904:46
92.01	Tiquichio	Tuzantla	*Barrio*	Tichiqueo	García Pimentel 1904:46
92.02	Zucaro	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
92.03	Tzinapan	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
92.04	Uruato	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
92.05	San Antonio	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
92.06	Aruchao	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
92.07	Guaraco	Tuzantla	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46

Figure 6.159 shows the location of Tuzantla and Tiquicheo.

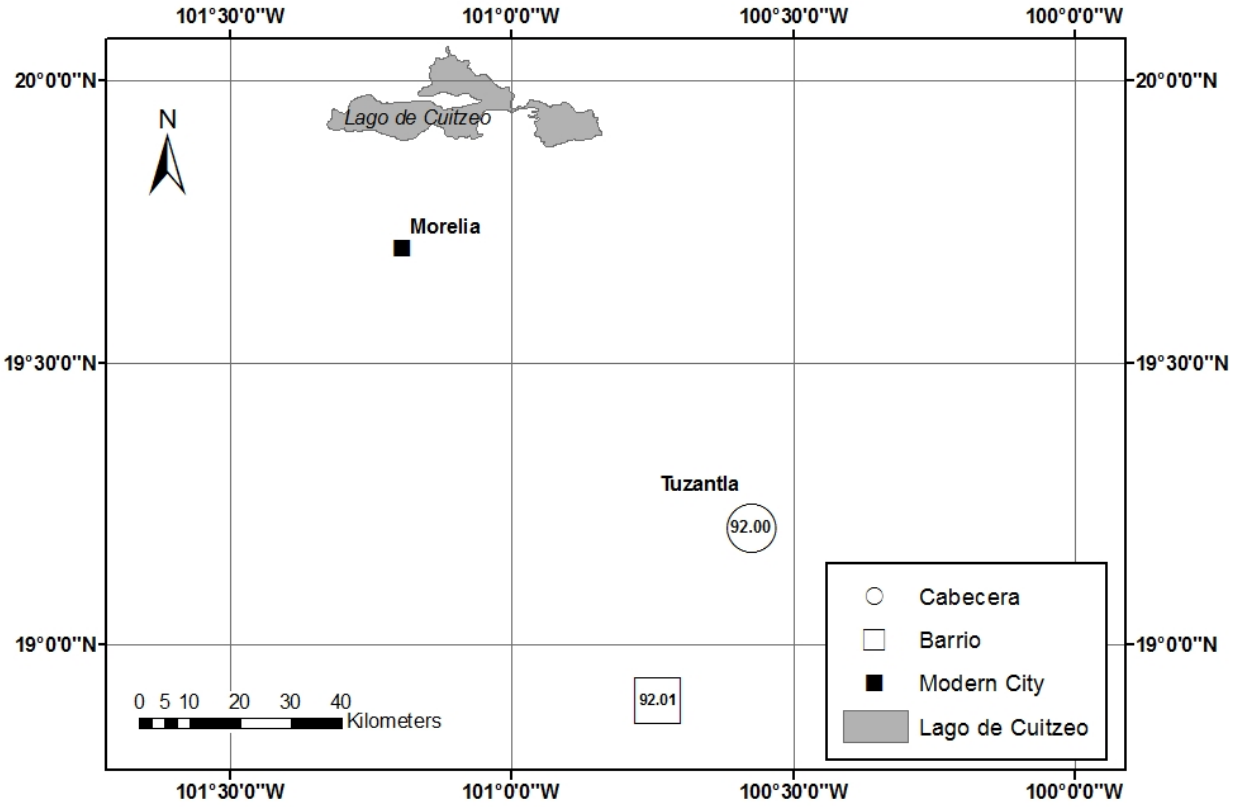


Figure 6.159. The cabecera *of Tuzantla (circle, #92), and its subordinate* barrio *of Tiquicheo (square, #92.01). The neighboring modern settlement of Morelia (black square) has been provided for spatial reference.*

The *RG Tuzantla* lists fourteen subordinates, shown in Table 6.107 and Figure 6.160.

Table 6.107. The cabecera *of Tuzantla and its* sujetos *from the* RG Tuzantla *(Acuña 1987:155).*

No.	Name	Hierarchy	Rank	Location	Source
92.00	Tuzantla	Tuzantla	*Cabecera*	Tuzantla	Acuña 1987:155
92.01	Tiquicheo	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.08	Cuchao	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.09	Curoxeniro	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.10	Aparuato	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.11	Sacapichameo	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.12	Tzitziapuato	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.13	Puacuayo	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.14	Auhirichuato	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.15	Tzirapitzio	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.16	Tecinapan	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.17	Orocuti	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.18	Cupandaro	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*	Cupandaro	Acuña 1987:155
92.19	Tinbineo	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155
92.20	San Pablo	Tuzantla	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:155

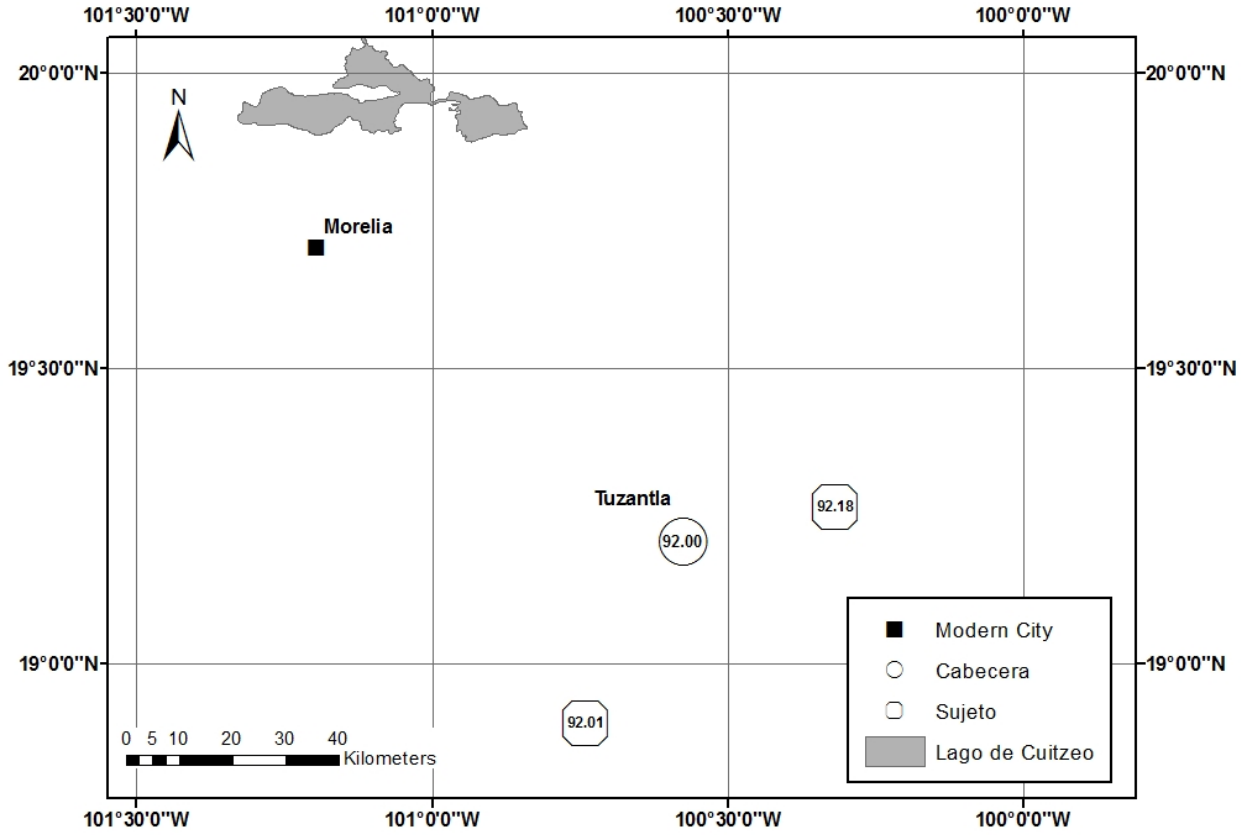


Figure 6.160. The cabecera *of Tuzantla (circle, #92) and its* sujetos *(truncated squares) of Tichiqueo (#92.01) and Cupandaro as recorded in the RG Tuzantla (Acuña 1984:157).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Tuzantla had a two-tiered political hierarchy where it served as the *cabecera* over a large number of subject towns. The proposed sociopolitical structure is shown in Figure 6.161.

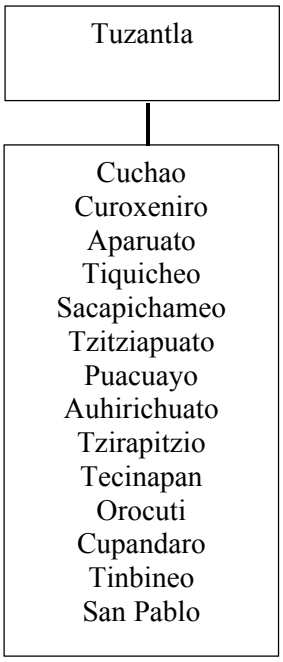


Figure 6.161. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Tuzantla and its subordinates.

Archaeological Analyses. Gorenstein (1985a:13) reported finding a structure near the confluence of the Rio Patambaro and another river running to the east. The site is located along the west bank of the Rio Tuzantla, and consists of a structure 40 meters in diameters, as well as several smaller circular structures three meters in diameters that are set in pairs around the main structure (Gorenstein 1985a:15).

93) Cuseo and 94) Huetamo

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Espejel Carbajal (2000, 2008) has traced the location of Cuseo to Cutzio in southeastern Michoacán. The SV states that "Cuyseo" borders on Turicato, Sirandaro, Genuato, Coyuca, Pungarabato, and Cutzamala (Paso y Troncoso 1905:81). The site's location is shown in Figure 6.162.

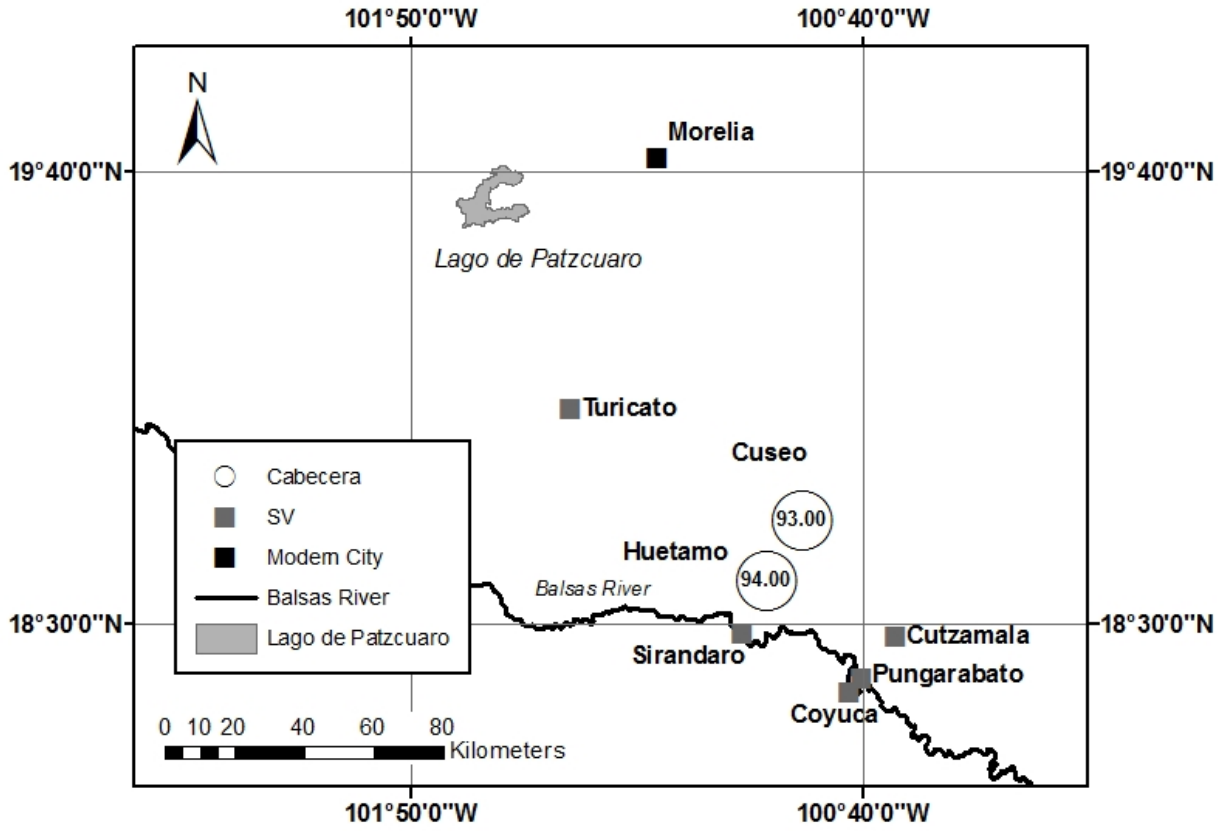


Figure 6.162. The cabeceras *(circles) of Cuseo (#93) and Huetamo (#94) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Cutzamala, Pungarabato, Coyuca, Sirandaro, and Turicato (Paso y Troncoso 1905:80). The settlement of Morelia (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Cuseo had 10 *estancias* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:80). The RO from 1571 mentions the names of eight *barrios*, shown in Table 6.108.

Table 6.108. The RO entry of 1571 for Cuseo (Garcia Pimentel 1904:36).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
93.00	Cuseo	Cuseo	*Cabecera*	Cuseo	García Pimentel 1904:36
93.01	Quetama	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.02	Guarapato	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.03	Sancta Catalina	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.04	Barrio de los Otomies	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.05	Uruetaro	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.06	Barrio del Rio Grande	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36
93.07	Cimitaro	Cuseo	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:36

Table 6.109 lists the *barrios* under Cuseo and Huetamo and they are mapped in Figure 6.163.

Table 6.109. The RG Cuseo *description for Cuseo (Acuña 1987:269).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
93.00	Cuseo	Cuseo	*Cabecera*	Cuseo	Acuña 1987:269
94.00	Güetamo/Huetamo	Cuseo	*Subcabecera*	Huetamo de Nunez	Acuña 1987:269
93.08	La Asunción de nuestra Señora	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.09	San Lorenzo	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.10	San Anton	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.11	San Francisco	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.12	San Cristobal	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.13	San Lucas	Cuseo	*Barrio*	San Lucas	Acuña 1987:269
93.14	La Purificación	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.15	Santa Catalina	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.16	La Natividad	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.17	San Jusepe	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.18	San Agustin	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.19	Santiago	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.20	San Lucas	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.21	San Marcos	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.22	San Anton	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.23	San Pedro	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.24	San Jerónimo	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.25	Santa Maria	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
93.26	Natividad II	Cuseo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269

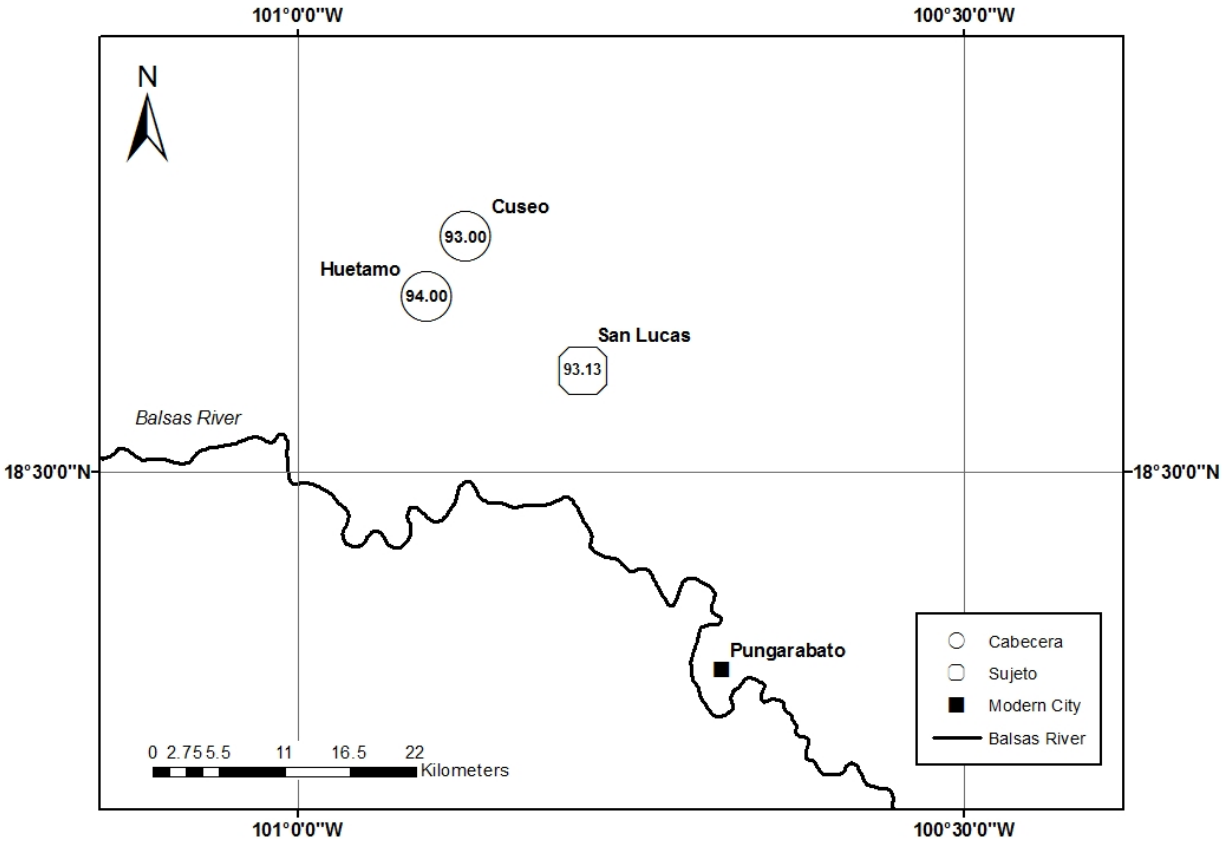


Figure 6.163. The cabeceras *(circles) of Cuseo (#89) and Huetamo (#90) and Cuseo's* barrio *of San Lucas (truncated square, #89.13). The settlement of Pungarabato (black square) is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Table 6.110 lists Huetamo's *barrios* (Acuña 1987:269).

Table 6.110. The RG Cuseo *description for Huetamo (Acuña 1987:269).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
94.00	Huetamo	Cuseo	*Barrio*	Huetamo de Nunez	Acuña 1987:269
94.01	San Juan	Huetamo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
94.02	San Pablo	Huetamo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
94.03	Carapuato	Huetamo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269
94.04	San Andres	Huetamo	*Barrio*		Acuña 1987:269

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Cuseo and Huetamo appear to have jointly administered a political unit; thus, I believe it was a two-tiered political hierarchy like the one shown in Figure 6.164 below.

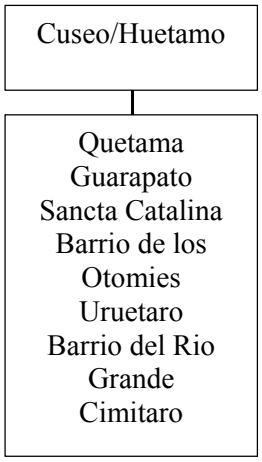


Figure 6.164. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Cuseo/Huetamo and their subordinates.

There were a small number of subjects that reported to Cuseo/Huetamo as *sujetos*.

Archaeological Analyses. In the 1930s and 1940s, archaeological site surveys focused on the Balsas and Tepalcatepec basins in southern Michoacán and northern Guerrero. Surveys in the southeast near Huetamo and Cuseo located archaeological sites with monumental architecture (e.g., pyramids, platforms), decorated polychrome pottery, and terraces (Lister 1947:69; Osborne 1943:62). Several sites have stelae with central Mexican design characteristics (e.g., Tlaloc masks), suggesting that this area was first inhabited by groups from that area (Osborne 1943: Plate II). Surveys in the Tepalcatepec basin revealed the existence of agricultural and habitation terraces, as well as pottery types similar to those found in the southeast (Goggin 1943:46). In addition, Goggin's survey found evidence of Tarascan-style pipes and metal ornaments, supporting statements of a Tarascan elite presence found in the ethnohistory (Acuña 1987:269).

95) Sirandaro

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Sirandaro was part of the conquests of the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524). It is bordered by Turicato, Cuseo, and Papahuacan (Paso y Troncoso 191–192). Sirandaro's location is mapped in Figure 6.165.

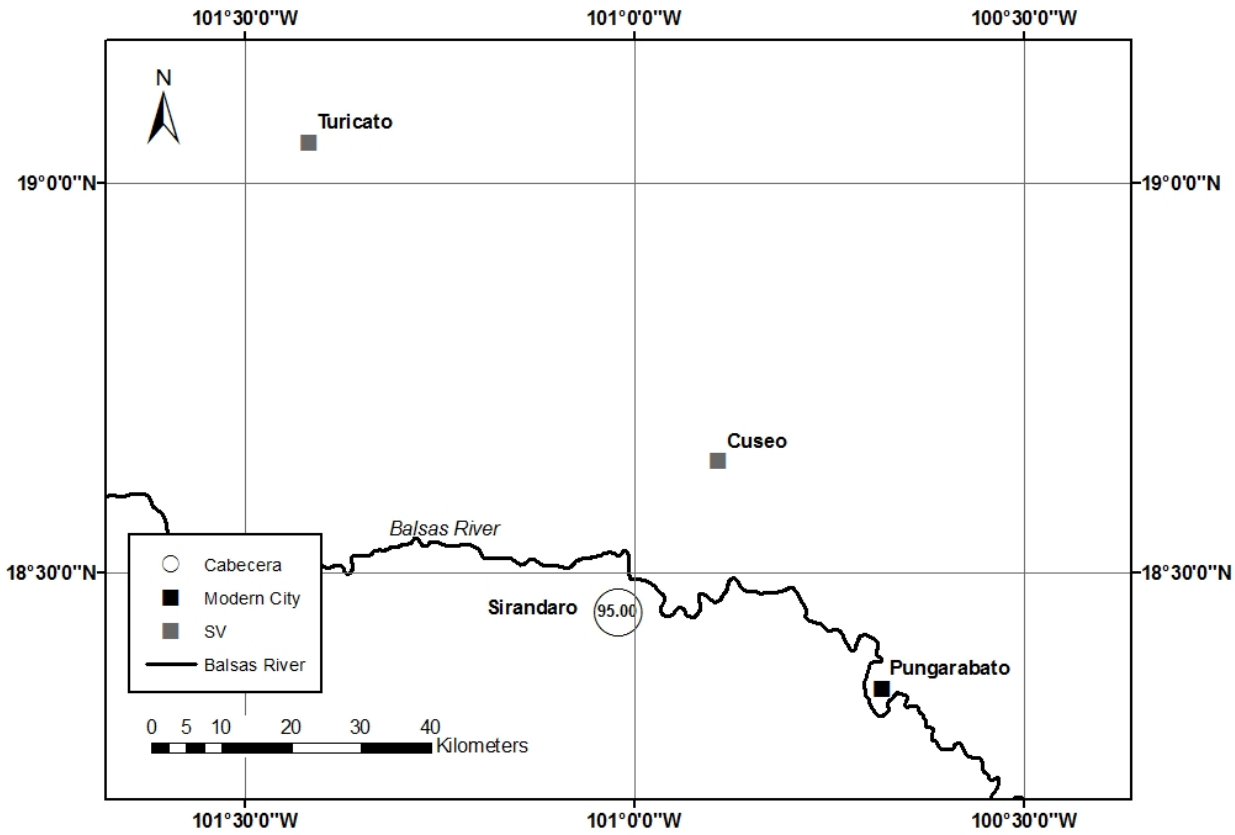


Figure 6.165. The cabecera *of Sirandaro (circle, #91) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Cuseo and Turicato (Paso y Troncoso 1905:191–192). The modern settlement of Pungarabato, also known as Ciudad Altamirano, is provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Subject Towns. Sirandaro had five *estancias* in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:191–192). This is the same number of subordinates listed in the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:47), shown in Table 6.111.

Table 6.111. The cabecera *of Sirandaro and its subordinate* barrios *as described in the RO of 1571 (García Pimentel 1904:47).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
95.00	Sirandaro	Sirandaro	Cabecera	Sirandaro, Gro.	García Pimentel 1904:47
95.01	Tinguisban	Sirandaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:47
95.02	Santa Ana	Sirandaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:47
95.03	San Gregorio	Sirandaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:47
95.04	Siquitaro	Sirandaro	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:47

Table 6.112 lists Sirandaro's subordinates from the RG Sirandaro (Acuña 1987:263).

Table 6.112. The cabecera *of Sirandaro and its* sujetos *as recorded in the RG Sirandaro* (Acuña 1987:263).

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
95.05	Guayámeo	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.06	San Nicolas	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.07	Santiago	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.08	San Jerónimo	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.09	San Bartolome	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.10	San Miguel	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.11	San Juan Etúcuaro	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.12	San Pedro Pitacoran	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.13	La Ascensión	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.14	La Magdalena	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263
95.15	San Jerónimo II	Sirandaro	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:263

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Sirandaro had a two-tiered political hierarchy, shown in Figure 6.166 below.

Figure 6.166 . The proposed two-tiered sociopolitical hierarchy for Sirandaro and its subordinates.

Archaeological Analyses of Sirandaro. There is one recorded archaeological site known as San Augustin (Espejel Carbajal 2008).

Colonial Era. Sirandaro became a crown possession in 1566 (Gerhard 1972:347).

96) Cutzamala/Hapázingani

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Cutzamala is known as "Hapázingani" in the RM (Alcalá 2000:524). It was conquered by the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524). The unit bordered on Tuzantla, Coyuca, Cuseo, Ajuchitlan, and Pungarabato (Paso y Troncoso 1905:81). Cutzamala's location is shown in Figure 6.167.

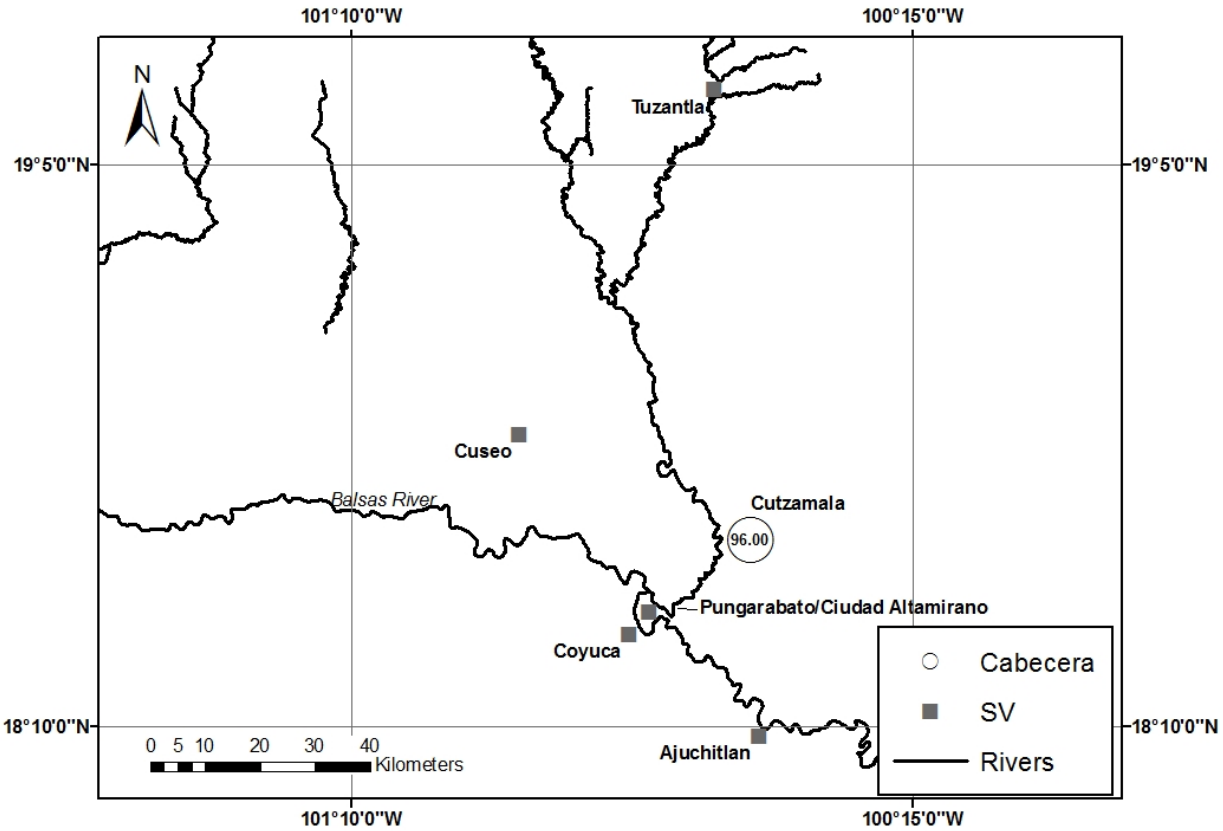


Figure 6.167. The cabecera *of Cutzamala (circle, #92) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Ajuchitlan, Coyuca, Pungarabato/Ciudad Altamirano, and Cuseo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:81).*

Subject Towns. Cutzamala had thirteen *estancias* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:81). By the 1570s, it controlled six *barrios* (Garcia Pimentel 1904:46), shown in Table 6.113.

Table 6.113. The cabecera *of Cutzamala and its* sujetos *from the RO (García Pimentel 1904:46).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
96.00	Cutzamala	Cutzamala	*Cabecera*	Cutzamala	García Pimentel 1904:46
96.01	Compaceo	Cutzamala	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
96.02	Cutzaro	Cutzamala	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
96.03	Xalpa	Cutzamala	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
96.04	Quaotitlan	Cutzamala	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46
96.05	Tzacango	Cutzamala	*Barrio*	Zacango	García Pimentel 1904:46
96.06	Santa Catalina	Cutzamala	*Barrio*		García Pimentel 1904:46

The *RG Ajuchitlan* lists eighteen subordinates in addition to the subject towns of Conpaseo and Tzacongo that were already recorded. These are featured in Table 6.114, and mapped in Figure 6.168.

Table 6.114. The cabecera *of Cutzamala and its* sujetos, *from the* RG Ajuchitlan *(Acuña 1987:34).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
96.00	Cutzamala	Cutzamala	*Cabecera*	Cutzamala	Acuña 1987:34
96.01	Conpaseo/Compaceo	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.03	Jalpa	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.05	Sacango/Tzacongo	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	Zacango	Acuña 1987:34
96.07	Tupátaro	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	Tupátaro	Acuña 1987:34
96.08	Arocutin	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.09	Tetilican	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.10	Cuaulutitlan	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.11	Punguario	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.12	Tecomatlan	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	San Miguel Tecomatlan?	Acuña 1987:34
96.13	Pacapetaro	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.14	Quataseo	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	Cuataceo	Acuña 1987:34
96.15	Tinguisman	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.16	Santo Andres	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.17	San Agustin	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.18	Jacona	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.19	Tupatarillo	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	Tupatarillo	Acuña 1987:34
96.20	Las Salinas	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.21	Sacapuato	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*	Zacapuato	Acuña 1987:34
96.22	Copuyo	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.23	Copuamuato	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
96.24	Huitziltepec	Cutzamala	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34

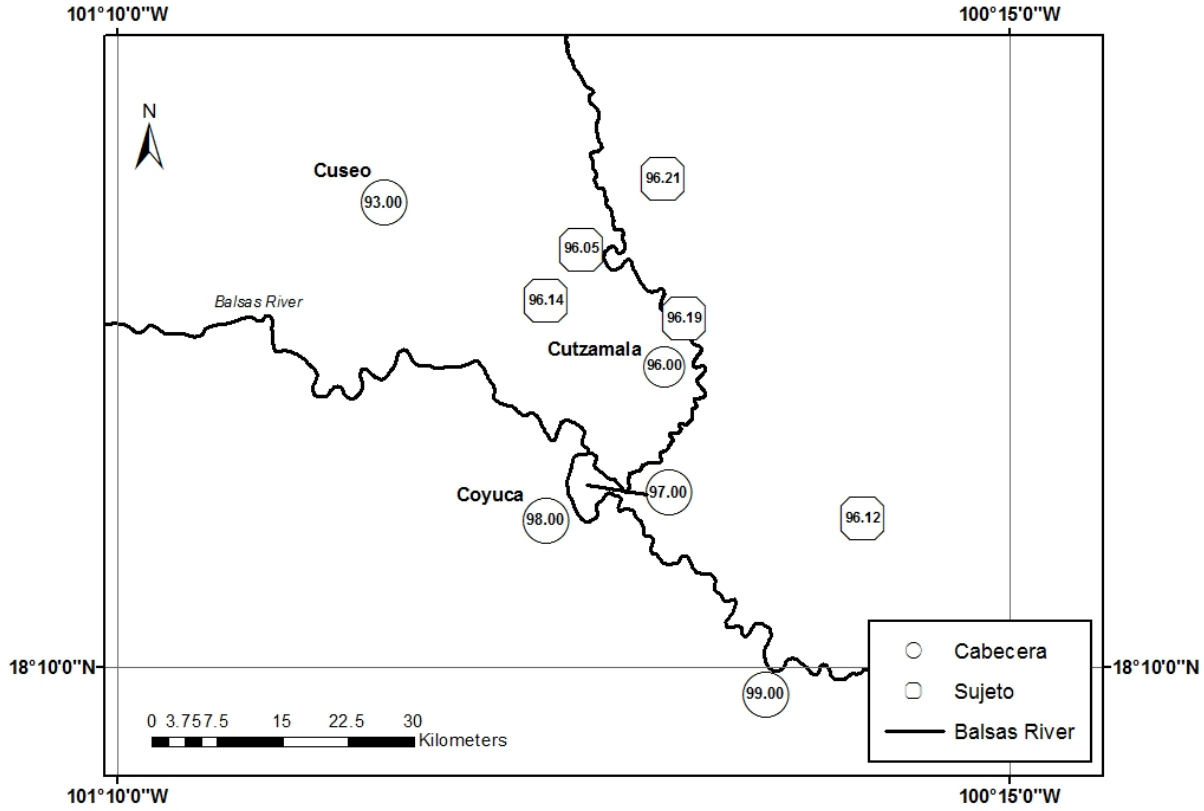


Figure 6.168. The cabecera *of Cutzamala and its sujetos as described in the* RG Ajuchitlan (Acuña 1987:34).

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Cutzamala had a two-tiered political hierarchy, shown in Figure 6.169 below.

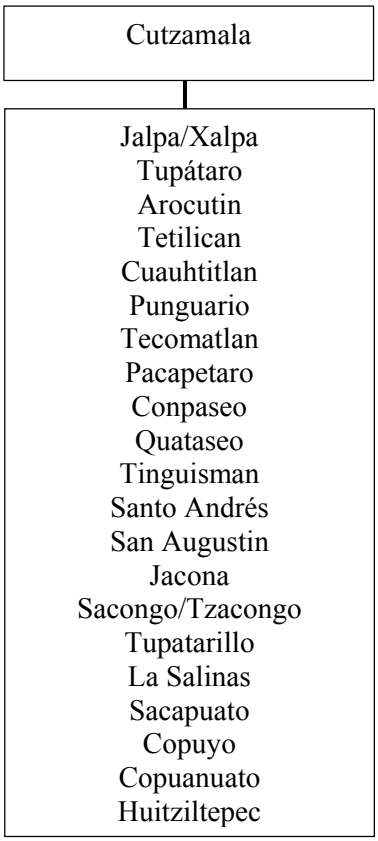


Figure 6.169. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy of Cutzamala and its subordinates.

Archaeological Analyses. Surveys around the modern settlement located seven different archaeological sites (Silverstein 2000:255–256). Three sites are located in the hills to the north and northwest of the town that may have a Formative period association as surveyors found no evidence of Postclassic ceramics (Silverstein 2000:255). The other four sites are south of Cutzamala and consist of mounds and platforms located along the riverbank. Surveyors found evidence of pipes, Fine Polished pottery, and gray and black obsidian (Silverstein 2000:256). The pipes are nearly identical to others recovered by Hugo Moedaño at Tzintzuntzan in the 1930s (Silverstein 2000:256). Two additional sites on the eastern bank of the Rio Cutzamala also had Postclassic ceramics, as well as relatively high concentrations of obsidian (Silverstein 2000:257).

The four sites south of Cutzamala appear to have housed members of the nobility who either were ethnic Tarascans related to the nobility at Tzintzuntzan, or had access to elite items. The *RG Ajuchitlan*

states that the Tarascans sent *gobernadores* to command the contingents on the mutual border with the Aztecs, and this may be the area where Tarascan officials lived. The RG also states that there were 10,000 warriors stationed at the site, which would require numerous habitation structures scattered throughout the area, as well as areas to manufacture weaponry and grow foodstuffs for the town.

Colonial Era. In the first 15 years after the conquest, Cutzamala had several encomenderos, until it finally ended up in the hands of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, whose family kept possession of the encomienda until the end of the sixteenth century (Gerhard 1972:291). In the 1560s, Cutzamala was placed under the *corregimiento* of Ajuchitlan, which explains why Cutzamala appears as Ajuchitlan's subordinate in the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Acuña 1987:33).

97) Pungarabato

Connections to the RM and Mapping. The Chichimecs and Islanders conquered "Pungari hoato" during the expansionary campaigns (Alcalá 2000:524). The settlement borders on Cutzamala, Coyuca, Ajuchitlan, and Cuseo (Paso y Troncoso 1905:182), as shown in Figure 6.170.

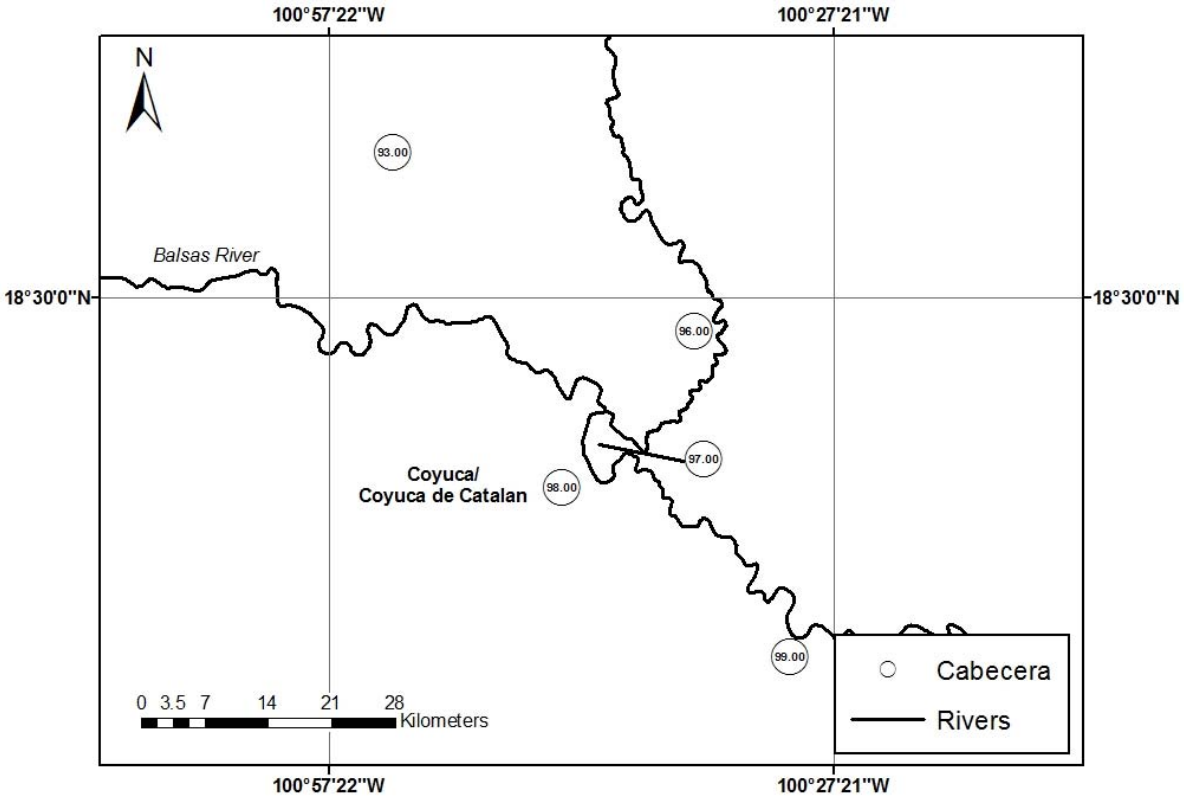


Figure 6.170. The cabecera *of Pungarabato and its neighboring* cabeceras *from the SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905:182).*

Subject Towns. In the 1540s, Pungarabato was the *cabecera* of fifteen *estancias* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:181). In 1579, Pungarabato was in charge of seven *sujetos* (Acuña 1987:34), which are listed in Table 6.115 and depicted in Figure 6.171.

Table 6.115. The cabecera *of Pungarabato and its* sujetos*, from the* RG Ajuchitlan *(Acuña 1987:34).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
97.00	Pungarabato	Pungarabato	*Cabecera*	Ciudad Altamirano	Acuña 1987:34
97.01	San Jerónimo	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*	San Jerónimo	Acuña 1987:34
97.02	Tiríngueo	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*	Morelita y Tiringueo?	Acuña 1987:34
97.03	Santa Catalina	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
97.04	Ziringueo	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
97.05	Acasequaro	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
97.06	Sirandarillo	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
97.07	Amaquareo	Pungarabato	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34

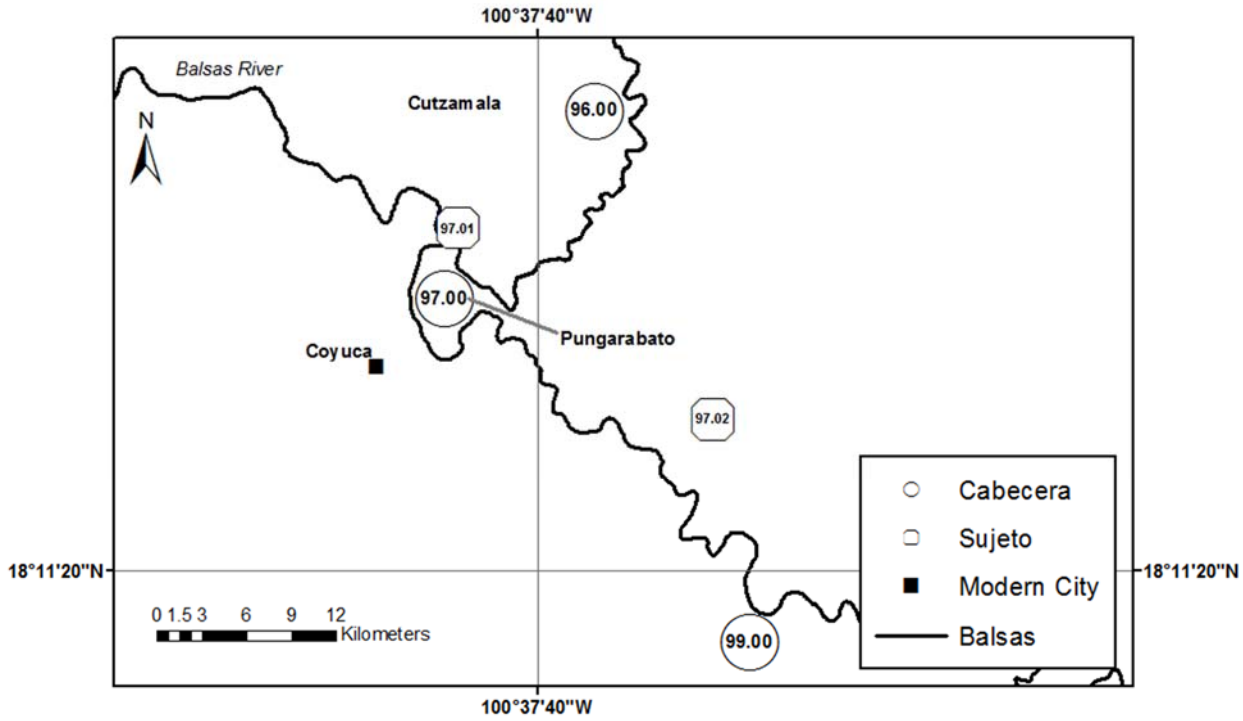


Figure 6.171. The cabecera *of Pungarabato (circle, #97) and its neighboring* cabeceras *of Cutzamala (#96), Coyuca (#98), and Ajuchitlan (#99).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Pungarabato had a two-tiered political hierarchy, shown in Figure 6.172 below.

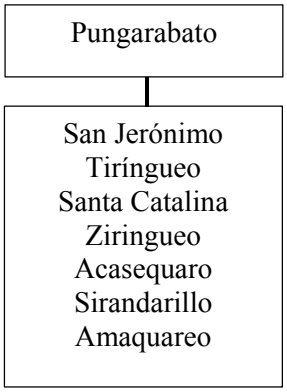


Figure 6.172. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Pungarabato and its subordinates.

Archaeological Analyses. Site 98-110 is a Late Postclassic site that consists of a single large mound on a small rise overlooking the modern town of Ciudad Altamirano (Silverstein 2000:264–265). The site is heavily disturbed from modern habitation and construction, but Silverstein collected artifacts from

surface surveys and viewed artifacts collected by area residents. The obsidian assemblage consists almost entirely (94%) of gray obsidian, and the majority of the ceramic assemblage consists of Fine Polished ceramics. The site was dated to the Late Postclassic by the presence of a figurine wearing cotton armor (Silverstein 2000:224, 265).

The available archaeological evidence presented above is insufficient to truly evaluate whether this was a Tarascan *cabecera*. The Zinapecuaro-Ucareo obsidian outcrops in northern Michoacán are a known source of gray obsidian for Michoacán, but there are other sources (e.g., Zinaparo) that produce similar colors. Furthermore, the figurine is not sufficiently described in the text to make an assessment of whether this was a Tarascan warrior.

Colonial Era. Cortes handed the encomienda of Pungarabato over to Juan de Velazquez around 1524, but by 1528 the encomienda was split among two encomenderos, Fernando Alonso and Pedro Bazán (Gerhard 1972:135–136). According to Gerhard, Alonso was executed because of his status as a relapsed Jew, leaving Bazán to claim the entire encomienda for himself. The encomienda eventually became the property of the crown in 1579 (Gerhard 1972:136).

98) Coyuca

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Coyuca is located on the opposite side of the Balsas River, across from Pungarabato. It was a conquest of the Chichimecs and Islanders (Alcalá 2000:524). It is bordered by Cutzamala, Pungarabato, Cuseo, and Sirandaro (Paso y Troncoso 1905:76). Its location is shown in Figure 6.173.

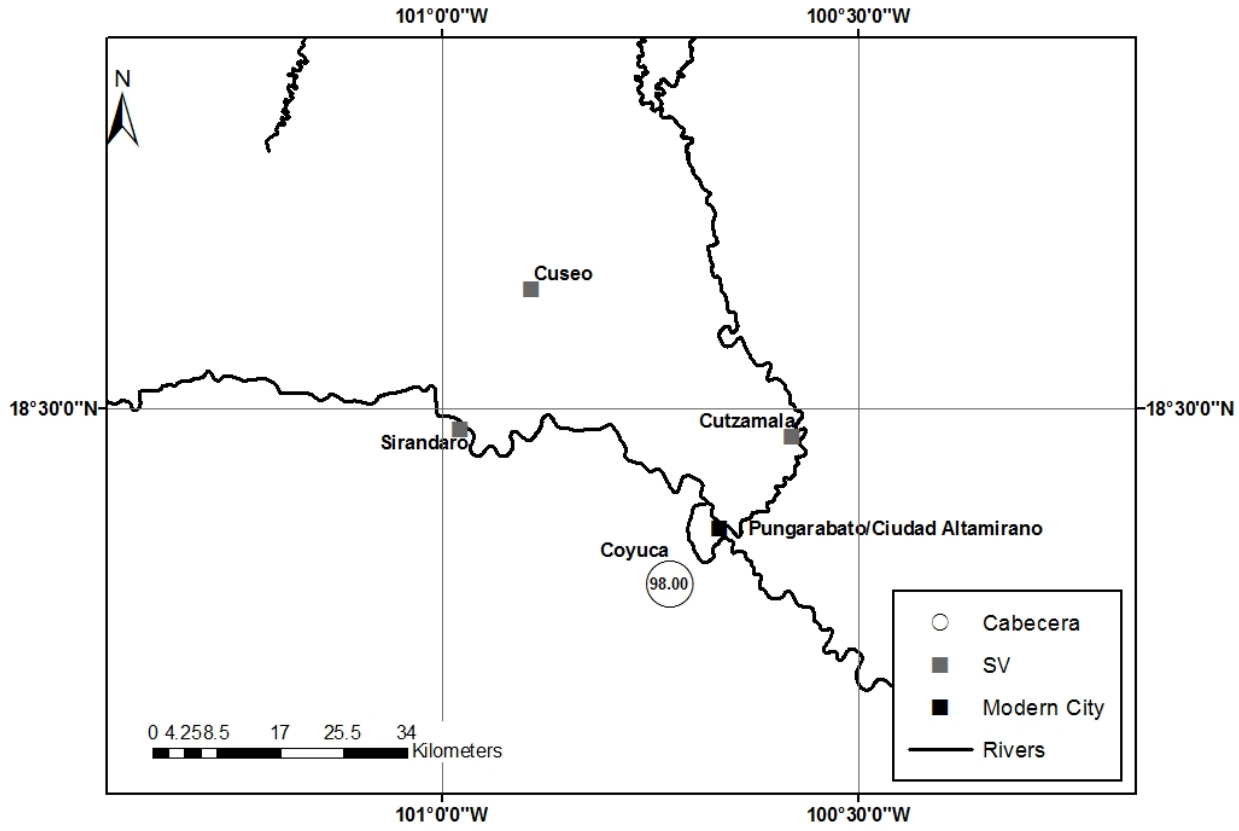


Figure 6.173. The cabecera *of Coyuca (circle, #98) and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Sirandaro, Cuseo, and Cutzamala (gray squares). Pungarabato was a* cabecera *during the colonial period and its modern counterpart of Ciudad Altamirano has been added as a modern spatial referent.*

Table 6.116 lists the names of Coyuca's subordinates, while Figure 6.174 shows the location of Coyuca.

Table 6.116. Coyuca and its sujetos *from the* RG Ajuchitlan *(Acuña 1987:34).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
98.00	Coyuca	Coyuca	*Cabecera*	Coyuca de Catalán	Acuña 1987:34
98.01	San Pedro	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.02	San Juan	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.03	La Concepcion	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.04	Andomuqua	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.05	Inchamacua	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.06	San Miguel	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.07	Santiago	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.08	Arocutin	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.09	Tarepuato	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.10	Tacanbariretio	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.11	Queruseo	Coyuca	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:34
98.12	Tiríngueo	Coyuca	*Sujeto*	Tiríngueo	Acuña 1987:34

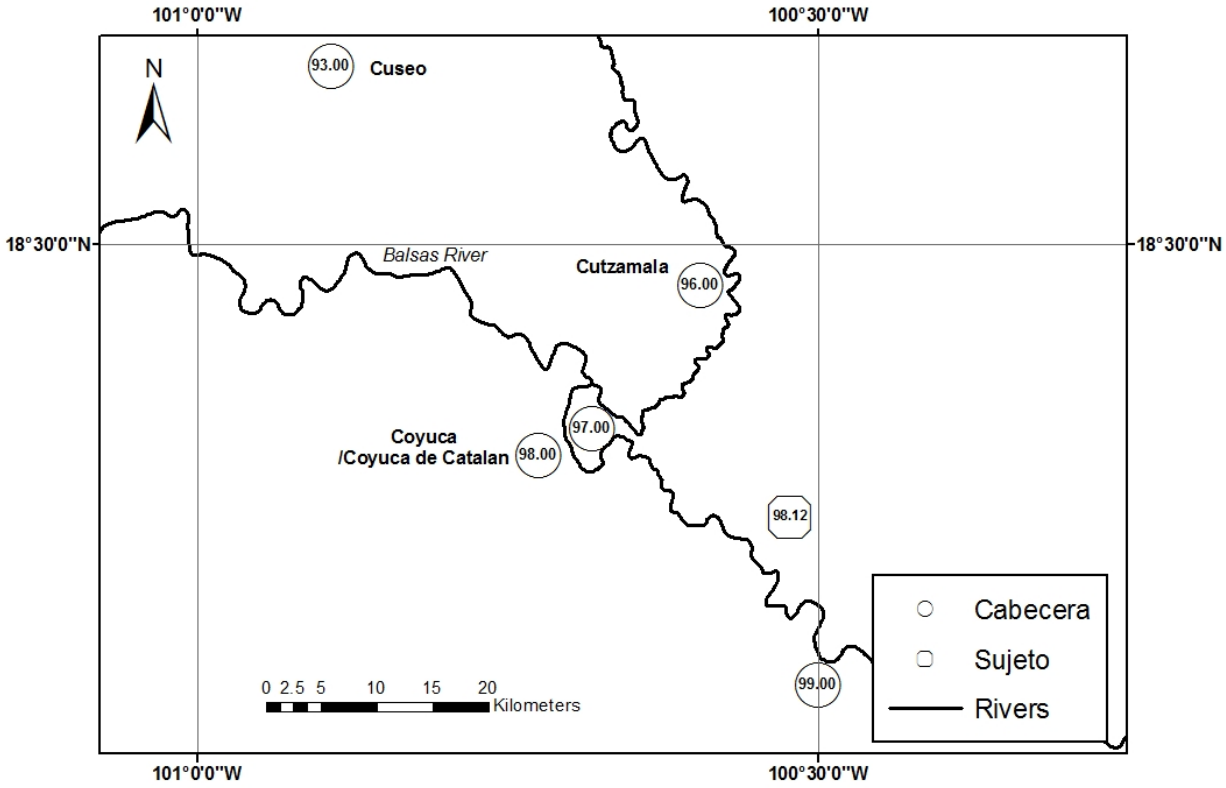


Figure 6.174. The cabecera *of Coyuca and its neighboring* sujeto *of Tiringueo (Acuña 1987:34).*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Coyuca had a two-tiered political hierarchy, shown in Figure 6.175 below.

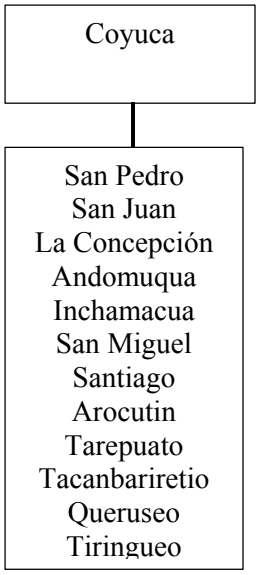


Figure 6.175. The cabecera *of Coyuca and subordinates.*

99) Ajuchitlan

Connections to the RM and Mapping. Ajuchitlan was a Cuitlatec settlement in Guerrero that was probably conquered during the extended series of conquests depicted at the conclusion of Episode XXXI because the narrative mentions the names of neighboring settlements like Pungarabato and Coyuca (Alcalá 2000:524). The Cazonci stationed a garrison of 10,000 soldiers to defend the border against incursions from the neighboring Aztec-controlled provinces like Tetela, Capulacolulco, and Tlacotepeque (Acuña 1987:36). The SV states that Ajuchitlan is bordered by Sirqueo, Capulacolulco, Pungarabato, Cutzamala, Tututepeque and Tetela (Paso y Troncoso 1905:34).

Ajuchitlan paid tribute with cotton, gold, silver, sacrificial victims, blankets, and foodstuffs (Acuña 1987:36). In addition, they paid through military service in the wars against Aztec settlements like Tetela, Capulacoluluco, and Tlaxotepeque (Acuña 1987:36). Its location is shown in Figure 6.176.

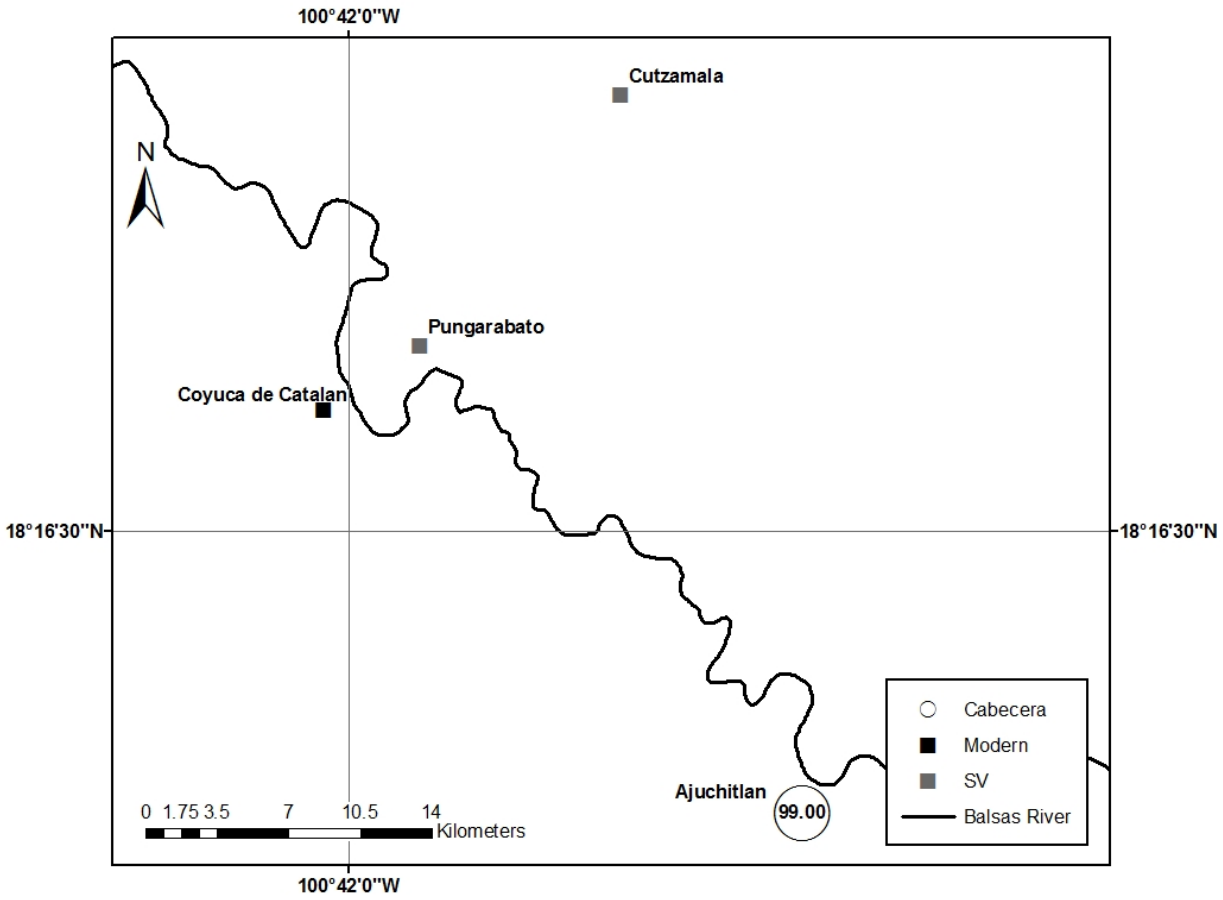


Figure 6.176. The cabecera *of Ajuchitlan and the neighboring* cabeceras *of Pungarabato and Cutzamala are shown (gray squares). The modern settlement of Coyuca de Catalan (black square) is shown for spatial reference.*

Subject Towns. The first record for Ajuchitlan is the SV record, which states that Ajuchitlan was *cabecera* of twenty *estanzuelas* (Paso y Troncoso 1905:34). Ajuchitlan is also a *cabecera* in the RO, but no subordinates are listed. The *RG Ajuchitlan* is the first source to list the names of any subordinates (Acuña 1987:33). Table 6.117 lists the names of the *sujetos* and the identified sites are mapped in Figure 6.177.

Table 6.117. The cabecera *of Ajuchitlan and its subordinates as recorded in the* RG Ajuchitlan *(Acuña 1987:33).*

No.	Name	Cabecera	Hierarchy	Location	Source
99.00	Ajuchitlan	Ajuchitlan	*Cabecera*	Ajuchitlan	Acuña 1987:33
99.01	San José Poliutla	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	San José Poliutla	Acuña 1987:33
99.02	San Lucas	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.03	Santa Lucia	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.04	San Pedro	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.05	San Francisco	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.06	Santiago	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	Santiago	Acuña 1987:33
99.07	Santo Tomas	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	Santo Tomas	Acuña 1987:33
99.08	San Martin	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.09	San Felipe	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.10	San Agustín	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.11	La Concepción	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.12	San Cristóbal	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	San Cristóbal	Acuña 1987:33
99.13	San Mateo	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	San Mateo	Acuña 1987:33
99.14	La Magdalena	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.15	San Sebastián	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.16	San Marcos	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.17	San Jerónimo	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	San Jerónimo	Acuña 1987:33
99.18	Santo Andrés	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.19	San Gregorio	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.20	San Jusepe	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.21	San Juan	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.22	San Gaspar	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.23	Santa Ana	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	Santa Ana	Acuña 1987:33
99.24	San Bartolomé	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.25	Santa Catalina	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.26	San Pablo	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*	San Pablo	Acuña 1987:33
99.27	Santo Antón	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.28	San Simón	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.29	San Hipólito	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
99.30	San Gabriel	Ajuchitlan	*Sujeto*		Acuña 1987:33
100.00	San Miguel	Ajuchitlan	*Subcabecera?*	San Miguel Totolapan?	Acuña 1987:33

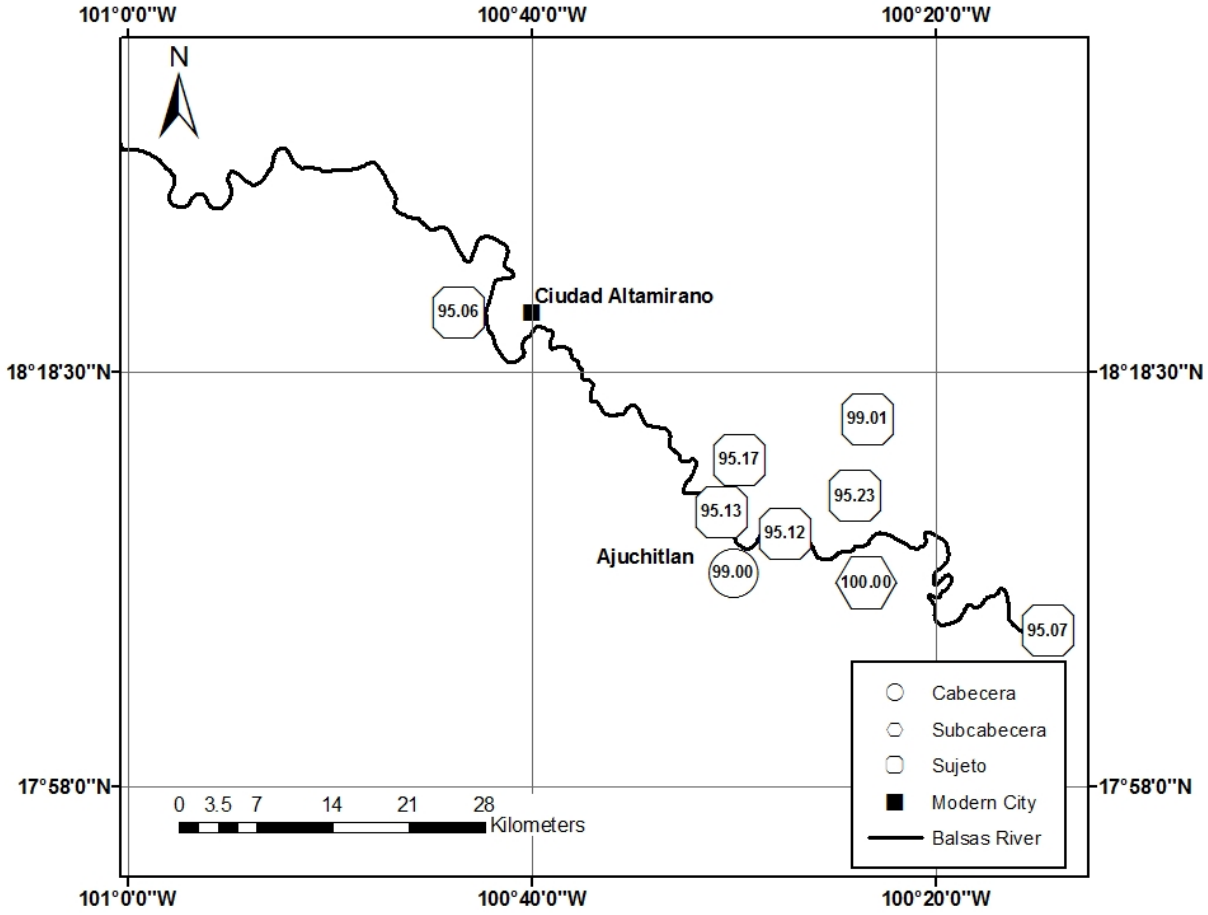


Figure 6.177. The cabecera *of Ajuchitlan and its* sujetos *from the RG Ajuchitlan. The settlement of Ciudad Altamirano (black square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.*

Sociopolitical Hierarchy. Ajuchitlan had a two-tiered political hierarchy, shown in Figure 6.178 below.

Figure 6.178. The proposed sociopolitical hierarchy for Ajuchitlan and its subordinates. The dashed line indicates a possible connection to the Ajuchitlan political unit based on references from Silverstein (2000:281).

The ethnohistorical record indicates that Ajuchitlan was the *cabecera* over a large number of subordinates, but the actual breakdown of the unit is not available in the ethnohistory (Acuña 1987:33). However, research from Silverstein (2000:272) suggests that San Miguel Totolapan was a Cuitlatec *cabecera* during the pre-Hispanic period and may have fallen under Ajuchitlan's control.

Archaeological Evidence. Archaeological surveys around Ajuchitlan were conducted by Silverstein (2000), who researched the composition of the border between the Aztec and Tarascan polities. Silverstein (2000:270) found two archaeological sites near Ajuchitlan. The first, known as 98-080, consists of several quarry pits and habitation areas (Silverstein 2000:267). Artifacts included 30 pieces of gray obsidian and sherds classified as Fine Polish, Red Slipped, and Fine Orange (Silverstein 2000:267), which are similar to ceramics found by Lister (1947) during his survey of the Balsas Valley. In addition, a Tarascan "Type A" pipe bowl fragment was found at the site. Type A pipes have thin walls and a beveled lip, and have also been found at Tzintzuntzan (Pollard 1993:227).

The second site, known as 98-079, is a truncated ten-meter high pyramid that has a modern church built on the top (Silverstein 2000:270). Lister (1947:68) described a similar structure with talud-tablero architectural features, and this may be the same structure. No evidence of pre-Hispanic artifacts were found due to modern construction and development, but 98-079 and 98-080 were probably one site during the pre-Hispanic era (Silverstein 2000:270).

San Miguel Totolapan is probably the San Miguel listed in the RG Ajuchitlan because the distance measurements (2 leagues) are the same (Acuña 1987:33). The ethnohistory describes Totolapan as an important Cuitlatec elite center, and three sites near San Miguel Totolapan support this conclusion. 98-081 consists of an eight-meter high mound overlooking the bank of the Rio Balsas (Silverstein 2000:272). Lister (1947:73) found evidence of Coarse and Fine Red Slipped ceramics, La Huisachal Orange, Chandio White-on-Red, Totolapan Red-on-Tan, and La Huisachal Incised (Lister 1947:70–71). These ceramic types are found throughout the Balsas basin, which suggests regional interaction or adoption. Site 98-083 is three kilometers west of San Miguel Totolapan on a mesa overlooking the Rio Balsas, and there are indications of monumental architecture (Silverstein 2000:274). The site had Fine Polished wares, Black Slipped, and Red Slipped ceramic sherds; rounded sling stones, and gray or black obsidian (Silverstein 2000:274). Site 98-082 is 50-hectare site located on the northern bank of the Rio Balsas; however, modern development destroyed the majority of the site (Silverstein 2000:272). Silverstein was able to examine artifacts recovered by a citizen from the area, which included a bronze ax head; ceramic

pipes for metal production; green, gray and black obsidian; malacates; and Black-on-White ceramics (Silverstein 2000:273).

Sites 98-081 and 98-082 were Late Postclassic Cuitlatec settlements, but 98-082 was abandoned in favor of 98-081 when Aztec and Tarascan hostilities started around 1460 (Silverstein 2000:272). From the available archaeological evidence, these sites did not have any Tarascan elites present, although the high quality of the ceramics and the monumental architecture indicate that this was an elite site. Further evidence that this was a Cuitlatec site is the presence of sling stones, which are not Tarascan offensive weapons; rather, the Tarascans preferred the bow and arrow, as indicated in the RM and by archaeological excavations at sites like Acámbaro (Alcalá 2000:342; Gorenstein 1985a:48).

Santo Tomas is located approximately 30 kilometers east of Ajuchitlan along the Rio Balsas. One archaeological site, 98-037, consisted of mounded architecture; sherds of Black Slipped, Fine Orange and Fine Polished Sherds; and 61 pieces of black and green obsidian (Silverstein 2000:281). The location along the river is not defensible, but explorations in this area were limited, leading Silverstein to conclude that there may be other defensive structures located nearby.

San Bartolo (San Bartolome) and Santa Ana contain a number of sites, such as 98-085, which contains platforms, mounds, and talud-tablero architecture (Silverstein 2000:276). Coarse Red ceramics were the most common ceramic types, and very few pieces of obsidian or readily identifiable Postclassic ceramics. Sites 98-086, 98-085, and 98-114 are located nearby. Site 98-114 is located on the top of Cerro del Aguila, with a plaza ceremonial complex bracketed by large mounds. The site affords a view of the Balsas River, making it ideal for purposes of defense (Silverstein 2000:275).

Colonial Era. After the conquest, Ajuchitlan was an encomienda from 1528 to 1533 under the control of encomendero Cristobal Martin de Gamboa; after 1533, the encomienda reverted to the Spanish crown (Gerhard 1972:291). According to the SV, Ajuchtilan had 20 subordinate *estancias* in the 1540s (Paso y Troncoso 1905:34); by 1580, there were 31 (Acuña 1987:36), although Silverstein (2000:108) suggests that the differences in population estimates stems from the ways in which the Spanish counted the households. There are no indications of the creation of new barrios or *estancias* during this period, or

attempts at *congregación* in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Gerhard 1972:292).

Analysis and Conclusions

In this section, I focus on the analysis and discussion of the approximately forty political units controlled by the Tarascan elites. I begin with a discussion of the fundamental assumptions underlying the *altepetl* model because we are trying to determine whether the Tarascan polity was organized as a series of *altepetl*-like units. I continue analyses of the various types of political units found in the Tarascan polity and compare them to the *altepetl* model using data from available ethnohistorical, archaeological, and remote sensing sources. I conclude with a summation of the data from this chapter and briefly discuss how these data will be applied in the following chapter on fuzzy set theory and detection models.

I discussed the fundamental concepts of the *altepetl* model in Chapter Two but I want to briefly review these concepts here. The *altepetl* is composed of a series of tiered units consisting of the *altepetl* at the largest scale, the *tlaxilacalli/calpolli* at the intermediate scale, and the ward or *barrio* at the small scale (Gutierrez 2009). The *tlaxilacalli/calpolli* and *barrio* units mimic the altepetl organizational structure (Gutierrez 2009). The interstitial space within the units are allocated to serve different purposes, such as tribute payments to the imperial coffers, tribute payments to local political and tributary officials, and village subsistence (Gutierrez 2009:315, 2012:37 2013).

Politically, the *cabecera* is where the *Tlatoani* lives in his palace or *Tecpan*, surrounded by his subordinate *Teuctlatoque* (singular: *Teuctlatoani*), who assist the *Tlatoani* in decision-making but also serve as the political heads of the subordinate units (Gutierrez 2009:322; Hicks 1986:40). Subordinate unit leaders of *barrios* live within the units themselves. The *cabecera* is not always located in the areas with the highest populations; indeed, these assumptions were part of Gibson's (1964) original observations. Political ranks were extremely intricate during the pre-Hispanic period but Spanish reorganization efforts resulted in the simplification and generalization of the political system, leading to the naming of central "leaders" and officials where none might have existed.

The Three Principal Cabeceras

The RM narrative tells us in Episode XXXI that the Tarascan polity initially emerged out of a coalition formed between Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje, the newly designated *Señores* of Ihuatzio/Coyucan, Tzintzuntzan, and Pátzcuaro, respectively (Alcalá 2000:516). This event is the culmination of the three-part narrative where the unworthy are stripped of their ranks, the three *Señores* take their rightful places as leaders, and Curícaueri assumes control of the four parts of the world (Alcalá 2000:516). From these statements then, we can infer that the title of *Señor* is a politically significant title meant to distinguish those individuals in positions of high authority. Another important component of the story is the fact that it is *Ihuatzio* that is the *cabecera*, not Tzintzuntzan. Curícaueri visits Hiripan in Episode XXVII and offers him favor and it is made clear that those who possess a piece of Curícaueri are the true rulers (Alcalá 2000:460). Ihuatzio was *cabecera* until the deaths of Hiripan and Hiquíngaje, events which appear to coincide in the narrative (Alcalá 2000:542). With the loss of these two individuals the coalition experienced drastic changes that led to Ihuatzio's loss of *cabecera* status to Tzintzuntzan and relegation of both Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro to supporting roles. What happened to the coalition?

The currently accepted interpretation of Tarascan organization is that Tzintzuntzan was the *capital* of the Tarascan polity, with political, religious, and economic functions centralized within the settlement (Beltrán 1982; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Pollard 1993). In contrast, settlements like Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro fulfilled purely religious functions while Eróngaricuaro served as an administrative and religious center (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983). However, these interpretations are derived from European kingship models where there was a single divine ruler who controlled the largest, most populous settlement. If we look at the organizational structure of the Tarascan polity with the *altepetl* model, however, the interpretation is different.

In the *altepetl* model, the *cabecera* is the place where the *Tlatoani* resides in his *Tecpan* (Gibson 1964; Gutierrez 2009:324). According the RM, the leaders are those who possess a "piece of Curícaueri" and the idol was initially stored at Ihuatzio (Alcalá 2000:484). Ihuatzio's maximum population was probably no more than 5,000 people during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while Tzintzuntzan's

population steadily grew during the same time to at least 30,000 (Pollard 1980); therefore, population was probably not a factor in political status. As a result it was the transfer of the material wealth and the idol resulted in the transfer of *cabecera* status to Tzintzuntzan, not the population nucleation.

Another component of *altepetl* organization is the way that component units fit together. Rather than thinking about Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro as three separate settlements, let us conceptualize them as a series of contiguous, interlocking political units. Tzintzuntzan was actually composed of numerous constituent subunits stretching across 674 hectares and extending at least 4 kilometers south of the Great Platform (Pollard 1980:680). Gorenstein (Gorenstein 1985b:125)and Pollard's (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983) surveys of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin showed the locations of many smaller settlement units located in the interstitial space between the major settlements, not unlike the *altepetl* units shown by Gutierrez (2009:314, 2012:38). Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio were no more than 8 kilometers apart and connected by a ceremonial roadway (Beaumont 1932b:47), while Tzintzuntzan was no more than 13 linear kilometers from Pátzcuaro. Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro are no more then 1.5-2.5 leagues from the *cabecera*, which is consistent with the distances seen in other units. This suggests that Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro might have been *tlaxilacalli*/*calpolli* units that occupied similar political levels as Tzintzuntzan but acted in a support capacity.

Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro were each composed of constituent units that appear to have followed the organizational structure of larger units. Constituent units generally have smaller versions of the ruler's residence and religious architecture (Hicks 1986:40–41). The archaeological data substantiate the existence of religious architecture in different areas of Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio (Acosta 1939; Gali 1942; Pollard 1993), and the RM describes the presence of three temple structures at Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:356). Two of Tzintzuntzan's *barrios*, Santa Ana and San Pablo, have evidence of *yacata*-style architecture and platform architecture similar to what is found on the Great Platform on Cerro Yaguarato (Acosta 1939; Gali 1942; Marquina 1951; Pollard 1993). Santa Ana may be the site of the Tarascan *Cazonci*'s residence, which would also support the idea that the same rulers occupy positions as heads of state as well as local ruling lineages.

Each *barrio* had a political leader, usually a *principal*¸ who oversaw daily matters within the unit and reported to higher levels. These individuals appear to be members of the direct *Uacúsecha* line or close relatives (see above). According to the RM, *barrios* were socially endogamous units, which meant that marriages were only permitted between individuals of the same *barrio*, and commoners and elites alike faced stiff penalties if these rules were violated. The references to endogamous marriage practices agree suggest that marriage endogamy preserved advantage while simultaneously institutionalizing political authority at different political levels (Beltrán 1982). In Part Three of the RM, informants state that Tarascan elites only marry within their own bloodlines to prevent intermingling with rival bloodlines and the potential loss of political privilege (Alcalá 2000). For example, the marriage between a high-ranking Tarascan *Señor* and his principal wife, or *Yreri*, who was also a high-ranking *Uacúsecha*, would produce an offspring eligible to become the next *Señor*. In contrast, marriage with a lower-ranking female would produce an heir eligible to take on a subordinate political rank or control of a subordinate unit, or in the case of female offspring, the creation of new potential marriage pairings.

As Tarascan political authority expanded throughout west Mexico, so too did a political ideology that prized one's degree of kinship in relation to the *Uacúsecha* bloodline (Beltrán 1982). Thus, it became important to preserve local bloodlines because they tied local leaders to the ruling Tarascan elites. Restrictive marriage practices narrowed the field of potential marriage partners and gave the Tarascans maximum advantage in producing an heir eligible to succeed as the ruler of a subordinate unit. Related studies of Aztec marriage alliances show that pairings of males and females of different social ranks resulted in heirs eligible to inherit specific political titles (Carrasco 1984), and the RM shows us that similar traditions existed in the Tarascan polity. Thus, endogamy at the *barrio* level would also translate to endogamy within larger political units.

The data from Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro support the interpretation that they were actually part of a large, contiguous *altepetl*-like unit that was ultimately responsible for controlling other settlements within the Tarascan polity.

The Carvajal Visita

The CV gives us a considerable amount of information on political and economic organization within the Tarascan polity during the pre-Hispanic period (Warren 1977), which we can use to analyze within the contexts of the *altepetl* model. First, we know that Carvajal interviewed leaders within each of five prominent settlements, or *cabeceras*. While at Eróngaricuaro, Comanja, and Uruapan, Carvajal interacted with *Señores*, which suggests that these individuals were high-ranking political leaders within the settlements, while at Huániqueo Carvajal spoke to a "*Cacique o Calpixque"* (Warren 1977), another higher-ranking individual who may have also held an economic position (Gutierrez 2013:143). It is only at Turicato that we have an individual who is solely known as a *Calpixque*; however, it is clear that there were several subordinate political ranks under him (Warren 1977).

The data from the CV indicate that political units consisted of two main groups. The first group was around the settlement designated as the *cabecera*, where the *Señor* resided. Subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias* were located within .25–1.5 leagues of the *cabecera*, and several subordinates had their own *Calpixques* (Warren 1977, 1985). These individuals might have held dual ranks as political and economic officials, as in the case of *Calpixque* Chichanban of Naranjan: his name suggests that he is a descendant of the former ruling lineage at the site, while the designation of *Calpixque* suggests that he is responsible for the collection of tribute within the unit (Gutierrez 2013). The second group consists of subordinate *cabeceras* located at least 2 leagues (11.14 km) from the *cabecera* that are surrounded by satellite *pueblos* and *estancias* with subordinate *Calpixques* (Warren 1977, 1985). We may assume that these resemble political units before the conquest.

Comanja has been surveyed by archaeologists (e.g. Michelet 1989:20, 2004), but to date there are no published articles or monographs on archaeological excavations. Thus, we are limited to a discussion of the architectural features. Yacata de los Nogales/Tescalco contains what appears to be a yacata structure facing onto a small plaza complex. The general shape is similar to the Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio yacatas with a rectangular rear section and a slightly rounded forward section, although the size is smaller (30x30 meters versus 60x40 meters). The orientation of the structure toward the northwest is nearly identical to

its Pátzcuaro basin counterparts. The structure also sits on the highest, most prominent part of the site and this is also consistent with yacatas being placed in the highest natural areas (Macias Goytia 1990:17).

Uruapan was among the first settlements to be conquered (Alcalá 2000:519). Excavations revealed the presence of high-ranking elite at Uruapan, complete with metal tweezers, lip plugs, and elaborate polychrome pottery that closely resembles the ceramics found at sites mentioned above (Mendez et al. 2006).

Complex Altepetl *Units*

Lockhart (1992:18) refers to existence of "complex *altepetl*," which consist of large units composed of several smaller *altepetl* units. Unlike a traditional *altepetl*, in which political systems and tributary network link the constituent units together, tribute is not paid to the central leader beyond that which he is owed by his own *altepetl* (Lockhart 1992:18). The composition of these types of units may vary according to local conditions (Gutierrez 2012). The existence of such units can be argued for the Tarascan region as well, particularly in the border zones.

Scholars have pointed out that the Tarascan-Aztec border was a multi-ethnic zone in which groups of Tarascans, Aztecs, Nahuas, Otomis, Chontales, Chichimecs, and Matlatzincas defended their respective empires from attacks in exchange for land grants and relative political freedom (Gorenstein 1985a; Pollard 1993, 2000b). At the same time, however, these groups of foreigners had to be kept under control to harness their military strength during times of attack; thus, it was necessary to integrate them into some type of political system.

The historical section (Question 14) from the *RG Acámbaro* states that the contingents of Tarascans, Otomis and Chichimecs each had their own rulers responsible for daily administrative and political matters (Acuña 1987). The Otomis and Chichimecs were only required to pay the Tarascan ruler with military service, while those Tarascans who lived at were required to pay in goods as well as services (Acuña 1987). The fact that there was little political overlap between different contingents and the complete separation of tribute suggests that there was an organizational structure akin to the *altepetl*.

Tuzantla was controlled by a gobernador (Acuña 1984:155). It appears that the Tarascans were successful at promulgating the Tarascan religion, as the *RG Tuzantla* states that the people there worshipped the gods Curisticaheri (Curícaueri) and Urindequacuara (Vréndequabécara), two prominent deities in the Tarascan pantheon (Alcalá 2000). The archaeological data from the site are limited to the discovery of a structure along the Rio Tuzantla (Gorenstein 1985a:15), but this was probably a defensive outpost meant to guard the waterways. Tuzantla's area of control was an unusually large zone, encompassing at least 50 kilometers south to Tiquicheo along the Rio Tuzantla, and east to the site of Copandaro near the Mexico-Michoacán border. The distribution of the sites suggests that Tiquicheo was in fact a subordinate cabecera, but there are no published archaeological investigations of the area.

Ajuchitlan was also governed by a *gobernador* (Acuña 1987:37), but the actual structure of the settlement was probably more like a complex *altepetl*. The archaeological data indicate that there may have been lower-ranking Tarascan elites and religious specialists living in the vicinity of Ajuchitlan, judging by the presence of simple pipes and adornments common to Tarascan culture. There were also Cuitlatec nobles living in sites in the region, which suggests that they had their own subordinate centers near San Miguel Totolapan (Silverstein 2000:272). In the south, Cupáuaxanzi founded a political unit that included ten settlements with at least two additional *cabeceras*, Churúmucu and Sinagua (Alcalá 2000; Torre Villar 1984). The RM states that Cupáuaxanzi was "as a *Cacique*" (Alcalá 2000:524), which is a promotion of sorts because he is referred to as a *principal* in earlier passages (Alcalá 2000:516). The unit controlled by Cupáuaxanzi covers several hundred square kilometers and includes several important metal sources (Hosler 1994:28). Therefore, we may assume that La Huacana 's organizational structure was similar to a complex *altepetl* because it incorporated many different zones with different linguistic and political backgrounds.

To the southwest, the *principal* Vtúcuma conquered seventeen settlements, but beyond this our knowledge of this area is relatively limited. We know that at some point two of Vtúcuma's conquests, Tancitaro and Tepalcatepeque/Eruzio, became *cabeceras* but it is unclear if this took place after Tarascan

expansion or whether this took place as a result of it. Uruapan might also be considered a complex *altepetl* because it was composed of at least two constituent *cabeceras*, Uruapan and Xirosto.

In the west, Quacoman served as the capital of a unit that defended against incursions from Colima and Jalisco (Acuña 1987:140). The political organization of this unit is not clear, since the ethnohistory states that they recognized the Cazonci, but did not have any principales or *Caciques* (Acuña 1987:140). The archaeological data is not available for this region, which means that we cannot investigate if there were any Tarascan elites with certainty. Tamazula was the capital of a large sociopolitical unit, with multiple direct subordinate as well as subordinates under Tuchpan and Zapotlan (Acuña 1987:396). It appears that the Tarascans attempted to promote cultural assimilation in the area, given the prevalence of the Purépecha language even to this day, but the amount of time Tamazula was under Tarascan rule was very short-lived. According to accounts, the people rebelled in the 1480s after approximately ten years of Tarascan rule, which caused a territorial contraction (Jiménez Moreno 1948:151; León 1903; Pollard 2000b; Mendieta y Núñez 1940:25).

Other Cabeceras

The ethnohistory points to the existence of several other types of *cabeceras*, including joint *cabeceras* and even multi-ruler *cabeceras*. According to the RM, Chupingoparápeo was a place where two *principales*, Utume y Catúquema and Chapáta y Atache Hucane "took their seats," while at Curupu Hucazio no less than nine *principales* were settled (Alcalá 2000:523–524). Other ethnohistorical documents suggest that units were jointly administered at Taximaroa (with Cuzaronde), Terémendo and Xaso, and Guango and Purúandiro (Paso y Troncoso 1905).

The political system was certainly not static; rather, it changed over time in response to internal and external political changes. Initially, there were three *cabeceras* in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin in addition to subordinate *cabeceras (*e.g., Eróngaricuaro). In addition, there were three *cabeceras* of the right hand – Cheran, Comanja, Xénguaro/Capula – as well as Chupingoparápeo, Curupu Hucazio, Hurapan, Hurecho, Paracho, La Huacana, and whatever settlement was controlled by Vtúcuma.

Gradually, the Islander settlements were absorbed into neighboring political units. For instance, Curupu Hucazio and Chupingoparápeo became subordinates of Turicato (Warren 1977).

Units Founded Later

Several political units including Xiquilpan and Tarecuato were formed sometime after the Tarascan expansion to establish a presence on the northwest Tarascan frontier. Xiquilpan was formed less than a decade before the Spanish conquest of A.D. 1522, probably to shore up the Tarascan border in a critical area. The Tarascans experienced significant territorial losses in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, starting with the loss of settlements near Ameca and Amula to the west of Lake Chapala (Acuña 1988:28). According to the RG Ameca, a foreign warrior named Xoxouhqui Tequani carved a sizeable area for himself in Jalisco and the "rey de Pátzcuaro" proved unable to counter him (Acuña 1988:28). At the same time, the unit controlled by Tamazula, Tuchpan, and Zapotlan successfully rebelled against Tarascan authority in the mid-1480s, pushing the Tarascans further east toward the modern boundaries of Michoacán (Jimenez Moreno 194:150). The founding of Xiquilpan established a presence in this contentious area as a way of reasserting authority in the region.

Tarecuato's founding was motivated by a need to establish a Tarascan presence in the area to displace local loyalties (Acuña 1987). According to the *RG Tarecuato*, one of Tarecuato's subordinates was originally an "ancient *cabecera"* which suggests that the Tarascans wanted to supplant these old loyalties to coopt political authority for themselves.

Foreign Units

The RM presents the Tarascans as a formidable group of warriors; however, it is clear that the Tarascans were unable to achieve expansion or defend against invasion without the support of other groups. As I mentioned above, the Otomis stationed at Acámbaro were allowed to live there because of permission granted by a member of the Uacúsecha (Acuña 1987), but this is not an unusual occurrence. Indeed, there are examples of foreign pueblos at Charo, Necotlan, Taimeo, Sirandaro, and Tuzantla.

Charo was the *cabecera* of a political unit of Matlatzinca refugees permitted to settle in the Guayangareo valley to escape the predations of the Aztec Triple Alliance (Acuña 1987). The Matlatzinca elites used their military as a commodity that was useful to the Tarascans at a time when Tarascan military strength was greatly diminished. In exchange, the Tarascan leader granted them land for settlement and agriculture in the Guayangareo Valley, but this may actually have been part of a larger defensive plan for the Tarascans.

In the south, the Tarascan leader reportedly allowed another Matlatzinca contingent to settle near Sirandaro along the Balsas River (Acuña 1987). The settlement of forces friendly to Tarascan interests at Sirandaro guarded an important access point to the interior of southeast Michoacán, including the area around Cuseo and Huetamo and points to the north (e.g., Curupu Hucazio). In addition, a Matlatzinca presence prevented Aztec forces from moving along mountain passes to reach gold, silver, and copper mines near Churúmucu, Sinagua, and Inguaran.

The placement of non-Tarascan groups along important access routes appears to be a deliberate strategy meant to safeguard the Lake Pátzcuaro basin from attack. The contingents settled in the border zone would have been the first to be attacked by the Aztecs, as it was done in the late 1400s when the Aztecs destroyed Taximaroa and began a march westward (Pollard 1993, 2000b). Moreover, Charo, Necotlan, and Taimeo are located on some of the best paths to get from the Tarascan-Aztec border to the Lake Pátzcuaro basin in the shortest possible time, and the ethnohistory tells us that the Aztecs under Axayacatl reached as far inland as Charo before Tarascan forces managed to push them back (Pollard 2000b). Placing these groups in these areas allowed the Tarascans the necessary time to put together a military force strong enough to confront the oncoming threat, which suggests that it might have been a deliberate strategy on the part of the Tarascans.

The Tributary System

The tributary system was another of the systems that served to integrate the Tarascan polity because it involved creating a complex web of interconnecting obligations that tied different settlements and

different political units together. Tribute was the primary source of elite revenue in Tarascan territory that elites used to amass personal wealth, provide resources for attached specialists to produce sumptuary goods, and pay their own subordinates (Pollard 1982:257, 1993). In addition, items collected through tribute were used as gifts for foreign emissaries and emergency supplies as insurance against famines, natural disasters, and warfare (Pollard 1982:257, 1993). The tributary system stands in marked contrast to the market system because the markets appear to have been outside of the sphere of elite direct control. Individuals were able to participate in the market system regardless of their social status to obtain a wide variety of goods and services that they needed (Pollard 1993).

The commodities involved in the tributary system included a wide variety of foodstuffs, materials and services (Pollard 1982, 1993). Foodstuffs included maize, beans, squash, chilies, cotton, and cacao (Acuña 1987; Gorenstein and Pollard 1980:277; Pollard 1982:258; Warren 1985). Other items included meats (e.g., rabbit, deer), honey, maguey wine, and ceramic vessels (Acuña 1987; Pollard 1982:258). The materials included gold, silver, copper, tropical feathers, animal skins, and gourds (Pollard 1982:258). These materials were fashioned into different commodities including costumes and jewelry; indeed, rumors abounded in Aztec territory about the Tarascans' proficiency at feather working (Pollard 2000b). Firewood was one commodity that everyone paid to the Tarascan elites for religious observances to Curícaueri (Acuña 1987; Gorenstein 1985a). Services included work in the households of ruling elites (Acuña 1987; Cossío 1952; Warren 1985) and the maintenance of their fields (Acuña 1987). In addition, services also included participation in public works projects like temple construction and going to war (Alcalá 2000; Acuña 1987).

Tribute items flowed through multiple channels to fulfill the political and economic needs of the Tarascan polity. At the local level, the Tarascans had an official known as an *Ocámbecha*, who was responsible for keeping track of the number of people living within his ward which typically consisted of twenty-five households (Alcalá 2000:558). The *Ocámbecha* counted the people to ensure the assessment of proper tribute amounts and to make sure that all individuals carried out their service requirements, such as taking part in military campaigns and maintaining the fields (Alcalá 2000:558). The RM states that

these were "*principales* called *Ocámbecha*" (Alcalá 2000:559), which suggests that these individuals might have been *barrio* leaders or relatives of elite families.

Calpixques fulfilled many of the same economic duties as the *Ocámbecha* albeit at multiple political levels (Gutierrez 2013). Local Calpixques collected tribute items from the villages and paid them to higher-ranking lords within their own political units (Gutierrez 2013). Imperial *Calpixques* were responsible for tribute collection and payment to regional collection centers and to the imperial coffers (Gutierrez 2013). The *Ocámbecha* may have been equivalent to the imperial *Calpixques*, acting as agents to ensure proper tribute payments to the *cabeceras*. It was not unusual for a political leader to occupy a tributary post as well because it gave access to the flow of tribute and permitted the leader to extract a percentage of tribute for his services (Gutierrez 2013).

The Tarascan elite employed a large number of officials who were responsible for keeping track of specific commodities paid to the *Uacúsecha* in tribute (Alcalá 2000:558). First, the *Cazonci* employed a central leader in charge of all subordinate Ocámbecha officials (Alcalá 2000:559), and it is likely he played a role in distributing each commodity to its designated handler. The *Cazonci* employed individuals to manage foodstuffs like terrestrial game, fish, and fowl, as well as all maize, beans, and squash (Alcalá 2000:560). Others managed the collection of cotton blankets, feathers and feather working, weaponry and the production of maguey wine for festivals (Alcalá 2000:561). The *Cazonci* also had an official known as the *Tareta Vaxátati* ("Dweller in the houses of rent") who kept track of tribute paid from the "fields of the Cazonci" (Alcalá 2000:559).

As important as the commodities were, the land is the most important element at promoting sociopolitical and economic integration because it is from here that commodities develop for use in political, economic, and religious contexts. The *Tareta Vaxátati* kept track of all tribute collected from the Cazonci's fields and "he knew which those were" (Alcalá 2000:559). The tribute taken from these fields was used to make burnt offerings to the gods as well as to supply troops during military campaigns (Alcalá 2000:559). The fact that the *Tareta Vaxátati* knew which fields belonged to the Cazonci implies they were dispersed across the landscape, probably attached to different settlements across Michoacán.

In addition, the ethnohistorical record informs us about elite ownership of land plots. For example, earlier in this chapter I mentioned the legal case filed by Don Pablo Huitzimengari against Don Pedro of Zacapu for the latter's failure to maintain Don Pablo's family-owned fields in several of Zacapu's subordinate settlements (Piñón Flores 1984:172). The case names the plots of land and gives specific dimensions for each of Don Pablo's plots (Piñón Flores 1984:172). Other cases include suits filed on behalf of Dona Beatriz de Castilleja, the granddaughter of *Señor* Paquíngata of Ihuatzio and Dona Maria of Tzintzuntzan, who sued for the restoration of tributary revenues owed by various settlements in Michoacán (López Sarrelangue 1965:187). Dona Beatriz's children filed similar suits to have ancestral plots restored to them in Tarimbaro, Pacandan, and Taximaroa (López Sarrelangue 1965). At the same time, the descendants of Zinzicha Tangáxoan fought to have lands restored in Xénguaro and Tarimbaro as well (López Sarrelangue 1965:187).

This same interest in many dispersed land plots in the Tarascan area is found in the Aztec Triple Alliance. During the pre-Hispanic period, the Aztec leaders split up the lands belonging to conquered settlements and distributed them among themselves and the lords who supported their conquest campaigns (Carrasco 1999). Each leader received a finite area of land and was entitled to all proceeds that came from that land; thus, tribute payments were complex affairs because villages had to pay their tribute to multiple superordinate centers. It also meant that Aztec elite estates were widely dispersed rather than large, contiguous plots of land (López Sarrelangue 1965).

The focus on lands is also a key component of the *altepetl* model because each unit is precisely delineated (Gutierrez 2009, 2012). Gutierrez (2012) proposed an intricate hypothetical model of *altepetl* organization where the *altepetl* is divided into four general areas run by the principal leaders of the unit. In turn, the lands within each area are precisely subdivided into successively smaller plots of land designated to support the needs of the elites, the polity, and the people (Gutierrez 2012). In some cases, lands in one area are specifically designated to support the elites from another area to promote polity integration. The Tarascans exhibited a similar behavior, seen in the legal cases I have just cited above and in the fact that ethnohistorical records sometimes designate a settlement as a tributary of more than

one political center. This is because the settlement is paying tribute to multiple centers in accordance with the rules of the pre-Hispanic political system.

In this chapter, I reconstructed more than forty sociopolitical units that reported to the Uacúsecha in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. These data illustrate that the Tarascan Empire was a more complex polity that previous models of Tarascan sociopolitical organization have shown. Thus far, the available data has allowed for the reconstruction of many Tarascan sociopolitical hierarchies and levels of control. However, there are still a large number of sites that go unmentioned in the ethnohistorical record, and the published archaeological surveys of Michoacán are intermittent and incomplete at best. However, there may be sites that are of particular significance for the study of Tarascan sociopolitical organization that await discovery. In the following chapter, I develop a model of Tarascan settlement patterns using the data collected in previous chapters, as well fuzzy set theory and remote sensing data to identify likely areas of settlement that have yet to be analyzed.

Chapter 7: Tarascan Settlement Patterns and Fuzzy Set Theory

The previous chapter focused on the reconstruction of forty-four political units that made up the pre-conquest Tarascan polity using ethnohistorical sources like the RM (Alcalá 2000), CV (Warren 1977), SV (Paso y Troncoso 1905), RO (García Pimentel 1904), and RG (Acuña 1987) which named sites and positioned them in geographic space by describing their closest neighbors. In addition, archaeologists have worked to tie sites from the ethnohistory with real-world locations (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983). However, this is not a complete picture of Tarascan settlement because ethnohistorical sources tend to group settlements together under the title of the *cabecera*, or sites may simply be ignored because they do not fit within the descriptive framework (Alcalá 2000). Furthermore, our theoretical models of Mesoamerican sociopolitical organization suggest that the settlement patterns were more nuanced and composed of numerous constituent units (Gibson 1964:33; Lockhart 1992:18). Therefore, our current interpretations of Tarascan settlement patterns do not describe the entire polity.

The purpose of this chapter is to test the applicability of fuzzy set theory to the study of settlement patterns in the Tarascan area by constructing a fuzzy predictive settlement model. Fuzzy set theory is a multi-valued form of logic that studies indeterminacy in categorical definitions that are usually the result of vagueness or uncertainty (Klir et al. 1999:4). Vagueness arises out of linguistic terms that can have multiple meanings, such as a "pretty" woman or a "tall" man (Zadeh 1965:338). These terms are context-dependent and not always applicable universally. Uncertainty is in the possibility for assessment error or imprecision that manifests out of incomplete data (Klir et al. 1999:3).

The objective is to identify areas that are suitable for establishment of archaeological sites, but this is a complex topic with multiple layers of meaning. Suitability is a vague term because it is situational and influenced by environmental, political, and economic conditions. For example, both the Mexica Tenochca and the *Uacúsecha* were latecomers to their respective regions and thus they had to settle in areas that were not occupied by existing culture groups (Alcalá 2000; Smith 1998) and generally these were not the best lands available. Warfare can cause settlement patterns to shift as people develop a

preference for higher ground and defensible locations over open areas susceptible to attack (Elliott 2005:92). While these locations may be safer, higher elevations are usually places where soils are marginal (Pollard 1993:24; West 1948:6). Agricultural needs may also affect suitability as settlements are established in areas with sufficient water, good soils, and plenty of sunlight.

We must also deal with inherent uncertainty in our use of the ethnohistorical and archaeological data. The ethnohistory does not always clearly describe site locations; indeed, some site locations are completely lost and we must fill in the gaps by using modern sites as stand-ins for our analyses (Barlow 1949:2), or we take educated guesses that sites are what the sources say they are based on locations and descriptions (Espejel Carbajal 2008). Furthermore, settlement patterns were altered through Spanish policies like *congregación*, which forced the natives to abandon rural settlements in favor of living in larger urban centers (C. Fisher et al. 2004:4961; Medrano 2010:91), while other settlements were continuously occupied during the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods. As a result, there is uncertainty based out of our reconstructions. However, fuzzy set theory allows us to look at possible settlement patterns by constructing models based on what we do know by calculating the degrees of membership that separate suitable from unsuitable site locations. Using existing site location data, ethnohistorical sources, and archaeological data, it is possible to use the knowledge compiled by experts to modify the model to suit specific requirements.

I begin with a brief discussion of the process of conducting fuzzy set analysis and continued by constructing a preliminary model based on data compiled in previous chapters. Using the results of the preliminary model and data on Tarascan settlement patterns, I adjust the parameters of the model to tweak its sensitivity and use the improved model to locate potentially unexplored archaeological sites. The results indicate that fuzzy set theory is applicable to the study of Tarascan settlement patterns and can provide support for future investigations into the Tarascan polity.

Fuzzy Set Operations

Fuzzy set analyses consist of four general steps: 1) defining the variables; 2) constructing membership functions; 3) applying fuzzy set operators; 4) applying alpha-cuts to the fuzzy set (Dubois et al. 2000:26; Klir et al. 1999:97; Zadeh 1965:338); and, 5) evaluation of the results. The first step, defining the variables, involves breaking the phenomena of interest down into a series of measurable component attributes (Klir et al. 1999). In this study, I break suitability down into the first-order topographic variables of slope, aspect, and elevation (Phillips et al. 2011:2293). Elevation can affect the defensive capabilities of a site, as well as soil quality and frost hazards for agriculture (Donkin 1979:25; West 1948:6). Elevation can also be a component of religious expression, as the Tarascans used hilltops and mountainous areas to commune with the *Angacuranchan*, or sky gods (Alcalá 2000:342). Aspect can affect the ability to view the surrounding landscape, and it can affect a site's suitability for agriculture. Finally, slope will affect settlement patterns and agricultural features because it will determine the specific type of terrace construction required and the defensibility of the site.

In the second step, the component variables are described using membership functions to mathematically represent their behaviors (Dubois et al. 2000:22; Klir et al. 1999:76; Robinson 2003:13; Zadeh 1965:339). For instance, agricultural plots in the Tarascan area are established below 2,500 meters because higher elevations represent a frost hazard (Donkin 1979:25). At the same time, elevations that are too low may be risky because they are subject to attack. Thus, elevation for agriculture and settlement is suitable within a specific range of variation. Aspect can also be represented by this function because the directional aspects of a site are only suitable within a certain degree range. These behaviors are best described using a Gaussian membership function, which looks like a statistical bell curve (Robinson 2003:13). For example, one type of membership function is the Gaussian distribution, which is shown in Figure 7.1.

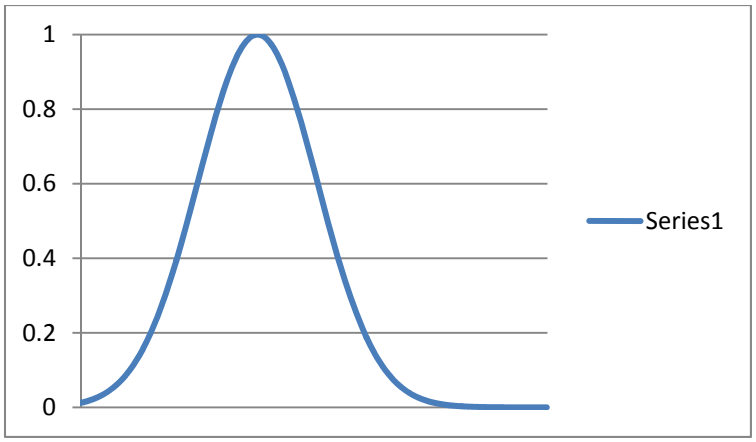


Figure 7.1. Illustration of a Gaussian membership function.

Figure 7.1 describes the behavior of a dataset as a steeply sloping curve with membership values gradually increasing from 0 at the tails to 1 at the peak. In this membership function, only a certain range of values have membership in a data set while values above and below have lower degrees of membership. Equation 7.1 shows the formula for the creation of a fuzzy Gaussian membership function.

$$G(x; \sigma, \alpha, \beta) = \mu_{G(x)} = e^{-(x-\alpha/\sigma)^{\wedge}2\beta} \qquad \text{Equation 7.1}$$

In Equation 7.1, X is the value of the independent variable; α is the mean of the distribution taken from the site elevation values; σ is the variance of the distribution; and β is the coefficient that determines the curvature of the distribution (Robinson 2003:13). High beta coefficients result in distributions with flattened upper sections, which are ideal for studying memberships within specific ranges. I substituted the standard deviation for the variance because it is a more realistic representation of a fuzzy set.

The slope variable requires a different membership function because it is tolerable until it increases beyond a certain level and then it becomes untenable for the establishment of a site. This is represented by a downward-sloping curve, with the midpoint of the curve placed at .5. Figure 7.2 is a representation of the left-shoulder sigmoidal function.

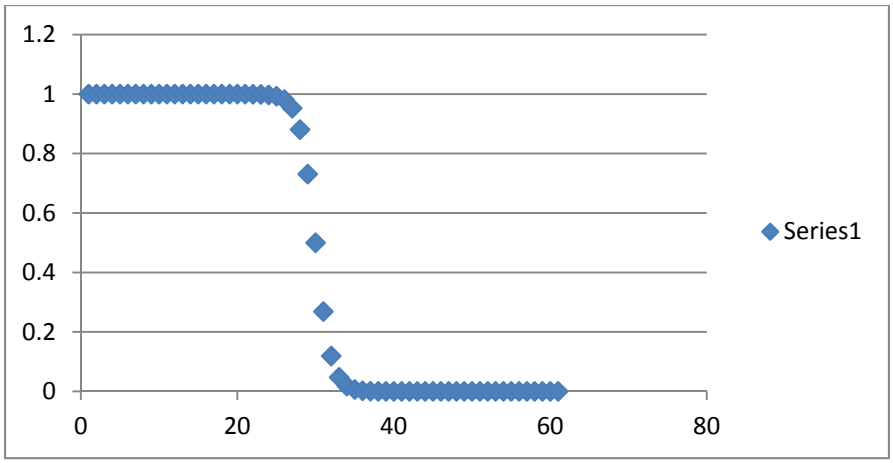


Figure 7.2. Illustration of a left-shoulder sigmoidal membership function. The shape indicates high membership followed by a steep drop, and then low membership in the category.

Equation 7.2 is the formula for a left-shoulder fuzzy sigmoidal membership function. As with all membership functions, the coefficients can be modified to create membership functions with a variety of shapes to fit the user's needs and exemplify the appropriate relationship.

$$\mu(x) = \frac{1}{1+e^{\wedge -\beta(x-\alpha)}} \qquad \text{Equation 7.2}$$

In Equation 7.2, X is the value of the independent variable; α is the "crossover point" (0.5) between high and low degrees of membership; and β is the coefficient that determines the curvature of the distribution (Robinson 2003:11). Slope is best represented by a left-shoulder sigmoidal membership function because it describes a general decline in membership value as the slope increases (Robinson 2003). This membership function is different from the Gaussian distribution because the value only describes the cross-over point (.5) between suitable and unsuitable membership. Once the membership functions are constructed, the user applies them to the component variable data and the result is the assignment of a value between 0 and 1 to each data point (Klir et al. 1999:97).

The third step is the application of fuzzy set operators to select the values that will become part of the finished fuzzy set (Dubois et al. 2000:35; Klir et al. 1999:90; Zadeh 1965:340). Fuzzy set operators are

variations of the classical set operators like Union, Intersection, and Complement (Klir et al. 1999), which select members based on a series of logical assumptions. For example, the Union function is akin to the OR function, which looks for the maximum value in a fuzzy set (Klir et al. 1999:92). The user is looking for Value A OR Value B to be included in the set, but not both. If the Union function were applied to settlement patterns, the operator would look at each data set for the highest elevation, or aspect, or slope. However, since site selection usually results from decisions based on multiple criteria, the intersection operator is more appropriate. The intersection operator is equivalent to the AND logical operator, which searches for the minimum value to be included in the fuzzy set. This means that this predictive model will look for the fuzzy value that describes the best elevation, slope, and aspect. Operators are useful tools because they permit the user to break each variable down into its component parts and assess why certain results are high and other are low.

The fourth step, applying alpha cuts, which are minimum values that members of a set must meet or exceed to be considered a part of the fuzzy set (Klir et al. 1999:97). It is an optional part of fuzzy set analysis that allows users to convert fuzzy sets to "crisp" sets, which are sets that have definitive categorical boundaries (Klir et al. 1999:99). The alpha-cut creates a bridge between fuzzy set theory and classical set theory, allowing users to create crisp sets, but this feature has been the topic of debate because scholars have questioned whether fuzzy sets can really be extended in this manner. In my analysis, I have opted not to apply alpha-cuts because this a preliminary investigation of the applications of fuzzy set theory to the study of Tarascan settlement patterns; therefore, my analysis shows the full range of variation in a wide variety of terrain types.

In the fifth step, the researcher evaluates the results by assessing the membership values within the fuzzy set to determine its efficacy at analyzing the phenomena in question. For example, if all of the membership values in the set are high it could mean that model is either very effective or the membership functions are too broadly defined to be discriminant. If the values are all low it could mean that the membership functions are too narrowly defined to capture the phenomena in question. Either way, the researcher can refine the model by studying the values of the finished fuzzy set as well as the fuzzy sets

constructed with the membership functions and make adjustments. This process of analysis and refinement allows the researcher to understand how the different variables interact, leading to new knowledge about the object of study. The following section discusses the development of the predictive model of Tarascan settlement using the steps defined above.

GIS Model

I constructed a fuzzy set model using 330 locations of *cabeceras, sujetos, barrios,* and *estancias,* as well as the locations of known archaeological sites recorded in scholarly works. As discussed above, the first task is to identify the particular behavior of the first-order topographic variables in question, which are elevation, slope, and aspect (Phillips et al. 2011:2293). Archaeological data from surveys and ethnohistorical references (e.g., Paso y Troncoso 1905) to site locations suggest that the Tarascans favored intermediate elevations for constructing religious architecture and dwelling spaces. On the one hand, the region was experiencing considerable warfare during the Late Postclassic and constructing settlements on low-lying lands impeded the ability to observe the landscape and limited the ability to defend against attack. Furthermore, environmental concerns were a factor. Settlement would not be effective above the frost zone (2,500 m) and at lower elevations a population would be vulnerable to attack. Furthermore, religious observances were focused on lower-elevation areas because the upper regions were reserved for hunting, gathering, and for worship of the *Angacuranchan*, the gods of the sky (Alcalá 2000:342). Higher elevations place individuals closer to supernatural power. The elevation variable is best expressed with a Gaussian membership function because there is a limited range of optimal elevations at which sites are located, while those that are too high or too low are less suitable for a population.

Tarascan sites were also established with particular orientations in mind, possibly as the result of religious observances or in remembrance of times past. Religious structures, particularly those of the yacatas, are oriented between northwest and due west at sites in Michoacán. This behavior is best

expressed using the Gaussian membership function as well, because there are a limited range of values that best suit the site's orientation.

The slope of the site is important primarily for defense and agriculture, because the location of the site at the crest of a hill or on the hill slope acts as a deterrent for attackers who have to move up the slope or climb over terraces. According to the RM, the site of Huániqueo mounted considerable resistance against the forces of the Tarascan trinary coalition, and this is probably due in part to the site's location at the top of a steep slope coupled with the presence of terracing along the hillside (Alcalá 2000:519). For agriculture, the slope allows water to run down and irrigate terrace plots while also preventing soil erosion. Therefore, areas with little to moderate slope are best-suited for site selections.

I constructed the model by splitting the sample, using one half known as the prototype sample to construct the membership functions and predict the locations of the second half or test sample, as I reasoned that this would be an effective means of determining the strength of the predictive model as it would show whether existing sites could be accurately identified. Sites were randomly selected using the random number generator available in Excel and assigned to either the prototype or test samples.

I further subdivided the sites in the samples into three categories I called "Balsas," "Plateau," and "Sierra" corresponding to the different physiographic zones found in west Mexico. I had several reasons for this. First, the elevation differences between these three areas are significant: the elevation of the Balsas River basin and the intermediate area is between 0 and 1,100 meters above sea level while the Plateau region is approximately 1,100–2,200 meters above sea level. The Sierra, as well as the tops of the numerous mountains in the region, sits at elevations of 2,200m to 3,300 meters. Since membership functions, particularly those with Gaussian distributions, rely on standard statistics the mean would be significantly higher, which would result in more positive identifications in the Plateau region because it is intermediate, but far less in the Sierra or Balsas regions.

The second reason is because the plateau region has received considerably more attention from archaeologists than the Balsas and Sierra regions, which means that the number of references to published sites in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin and Lake Cuitzeo basins are far greater. For example, the Lake

Pátzcuaro and Cuitzeo basins have been subject to survey several times over the last thirty years (C. Fisher et al. 2004; Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Hernandez 2000; Macias Goytia 1990; Macias Goytia and Serret 1988; Pollard 1977, 1993). In contrast, the Balsas and Tepalcatepec basins were surveyed in the 1940s (Goggin 1943; Lister 1947) and most recently near the end of the twentieth century (Silverstein 2000, 2001). The number of sites from the Plateau region would affect the calculations by pulling the average elevation up and eliminating those sites at upper and lower ends of the scale. I calculated the membership functions for the slope, aspect, and elevation using the membership formulas provided by Robinson (2003).

I input the membership ranges into a program I designed in Spyder, a Python programming shell. Python is a flexible and powerful programming language that is compatible with ArcGIS via a series of geoprocessing and mathematical modules known as Arc Python (ArcPy) and Numerical Python (NumPy). ArcPy is capable of running a number of standard toolbox functions within ArcGIS, while NumPy can perform complex calculations including slope and aspect, and searching for and assigning values to individual pixels. These modules permit the user to create customizable programs to fulfill specific objectives. I used ArcPy to calculate the slope and aspect variables and convert the 90-meter USGS DEMs into numerical arrays onto which the fuzzy memberships could be applied.

The membership ranges for each individual variable were entered into the program as a series of numpy.where commands. The numpy.where function locates pixels that meet specific criteria and apply user-specified changes to that pixel. The following is a numpy.where command:

```
el1 = numpy.where((el>=2046) & (el<=2075.99), 1, 0)
```

In this example, el1 represents a new NumPy array that will contain the pixels that meet the criteria stated on the right side of the equals sign. The computer is being instructed to find any value in the array where the elevation is greater than or equal to 2046 and less than or equal to 2075.99, and code those

pixels with a "1." If a value does not meet the criteria it becomes a "0." A series of these commands are used to cover the membership range between 0 and 1.

The resulting data from the fuzzy membership calculations are then transferred to a coverage that can be plotted in ArcGIS to show the spatial distribution of fuzzy memberships on the landscape. I opted not to apply alpha cuts to the membership functions to show all levels of membership in the suitability set. The following sections describe the processing and the results of my analyses.

Balsas Sample

The Balsas sample included 52 sites from the Balsas region and the lower part of the intermediate plateau region that had elevations of 0–1,100 meters. I split the sample into two groups which I refer to as the "prototype" and "test" groups. I used the prototype group of 26 sites to construct the slope, aspect, and elevation membership functions, but removed five sites which represented outliers that made the elevation and aspect standard deviations exceed 50% of the mean. The means and standard deviations for the Balsas region are given in Table 7.1. I used the slope standard deviation as the coefficient (β) that controls the steepness of the sigmoid curve.

Table 7.1. The mean and standard deviation values used to the construct the membership functions in the Balsas region.

Values	Balsas Elevation (m)	Balsas Aspect (deg)	Balsas Slope (deg)
Mean	437.16	186.25	2.49
Standard Deviation	163.29	94.85	1.76

I used the test group to evaluate how many sites the fuzzy set model could detect for the Balsas region. Out of twenty-six sites in the test group, the model identified six sites with membership values of .5–1.0 (23% of sample); eight sites with values of .01–.49 (30% of sample) and twelve sites with values of zero (46% of sample). Figure 7.3 shows the location of Santo Tomas, a *barrio* of Ajuchitlan in Guerrero. It is located approximately 250 meters from the river bank on a small rise. Santo Tomas has a membership value of .43.

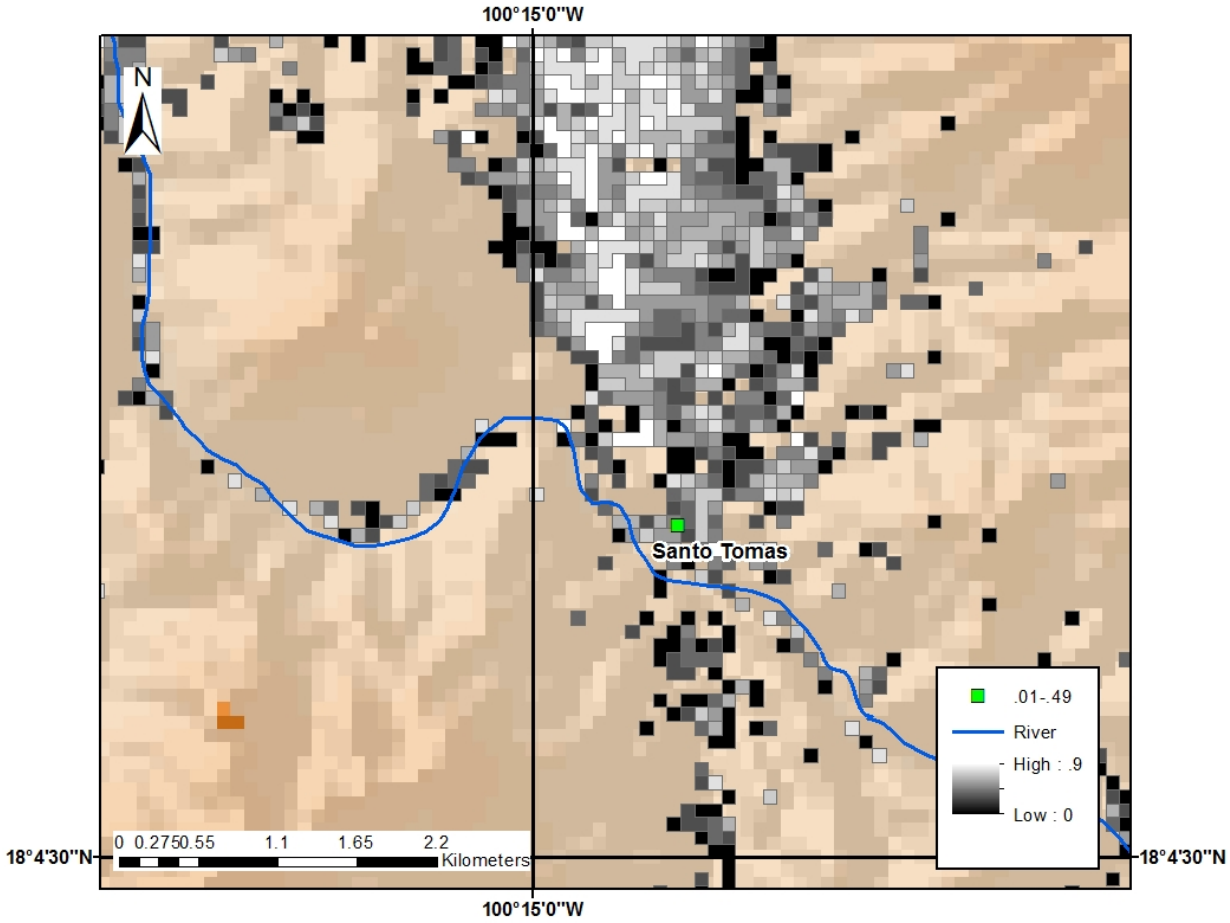


Figure 7.3. The site of Santo Tomas in southeastern Michoacán (green square) plotted on a fuzzy coverage of likely settlement locations. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. The site has a membership of .43 in the Balsas test sample.

Moving west, we see the sites of San Pablo, Santa Ana, and the archaeological site of 98-083 in Figure 7.4. San Pablo has the highest membership value with .76. It is located near the Balsas River and it was a *barrio* of Ajuchitlan (Acuña 1987:33; Silverstein 2000:111). Santa Ana, another *barrio*, is several kilometers from the river with a membership value of .42. Site 98-083 was surveyed by Silverstein (2000:273), and it sits on a low mesa overlooking the Balsas River. Silverstein (2000:273) characterized it as a "monumental site" with a pyramid-like structure (Silverstein 2000:273). Despite the site's size and location, it has a membership value of zero.

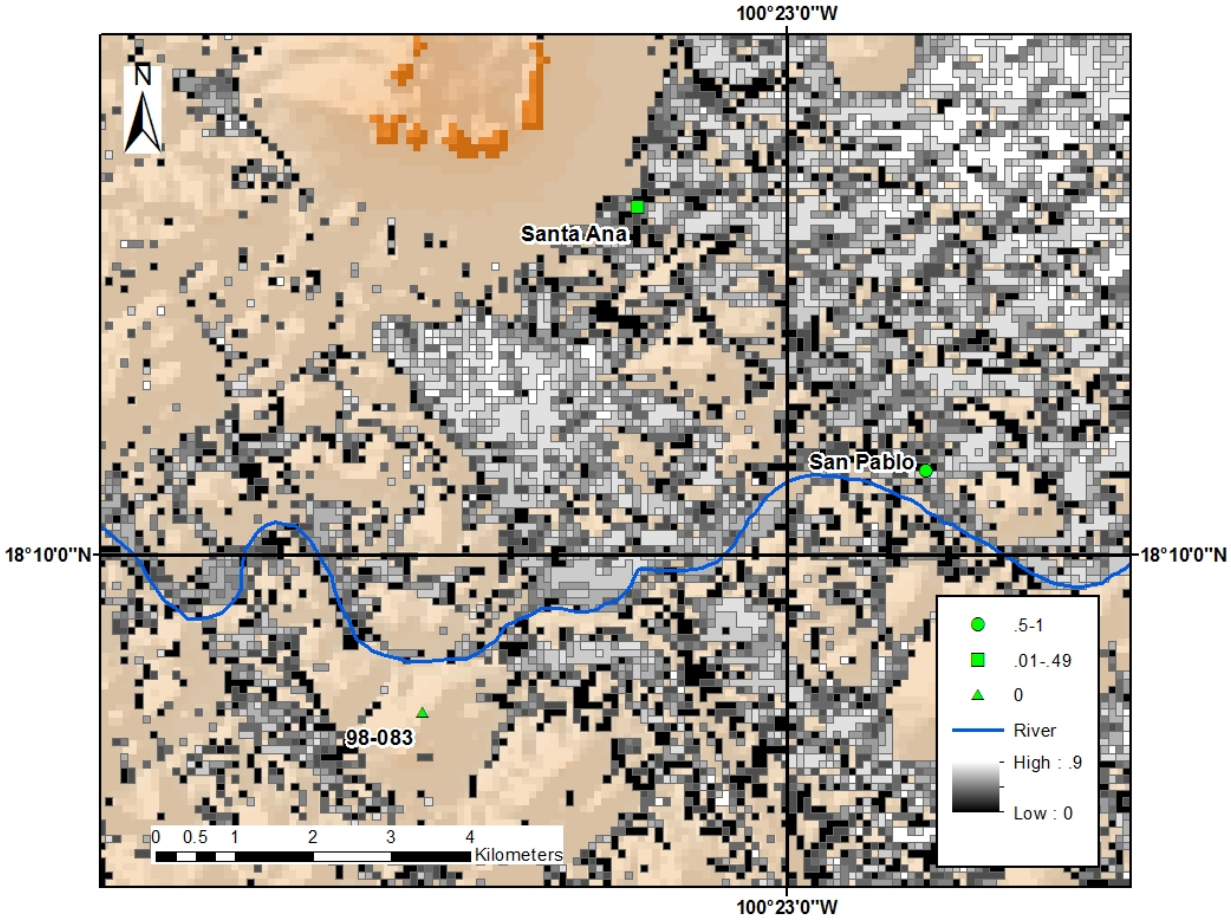


Figure 7.4. The sites of 98-083 (lower left, green triangle), Santa Ana (top center, green square) and San Pablo (center right, green circle) plotted on a fuzzy coverage of likely settlement locations. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. San Pablo's membership value is .76 while Santa Ana's is .42. 98-083 was not identified.

Figure 7.5 shows the locations of two settlements, Tiringueo and San Jose Poliutla, located four and ten kilometers north of the Balsas River, respectively. Tiringueo was a *sujeto* of two different *cabeceras*, Pungarabato and Coyuca (see Chapter Six). San Jose Poliutla was a subject of Ajuchitlan (Acuña 1987:33). Tiringueo's membership value is .18 and San Jose Poliutla's is .23.

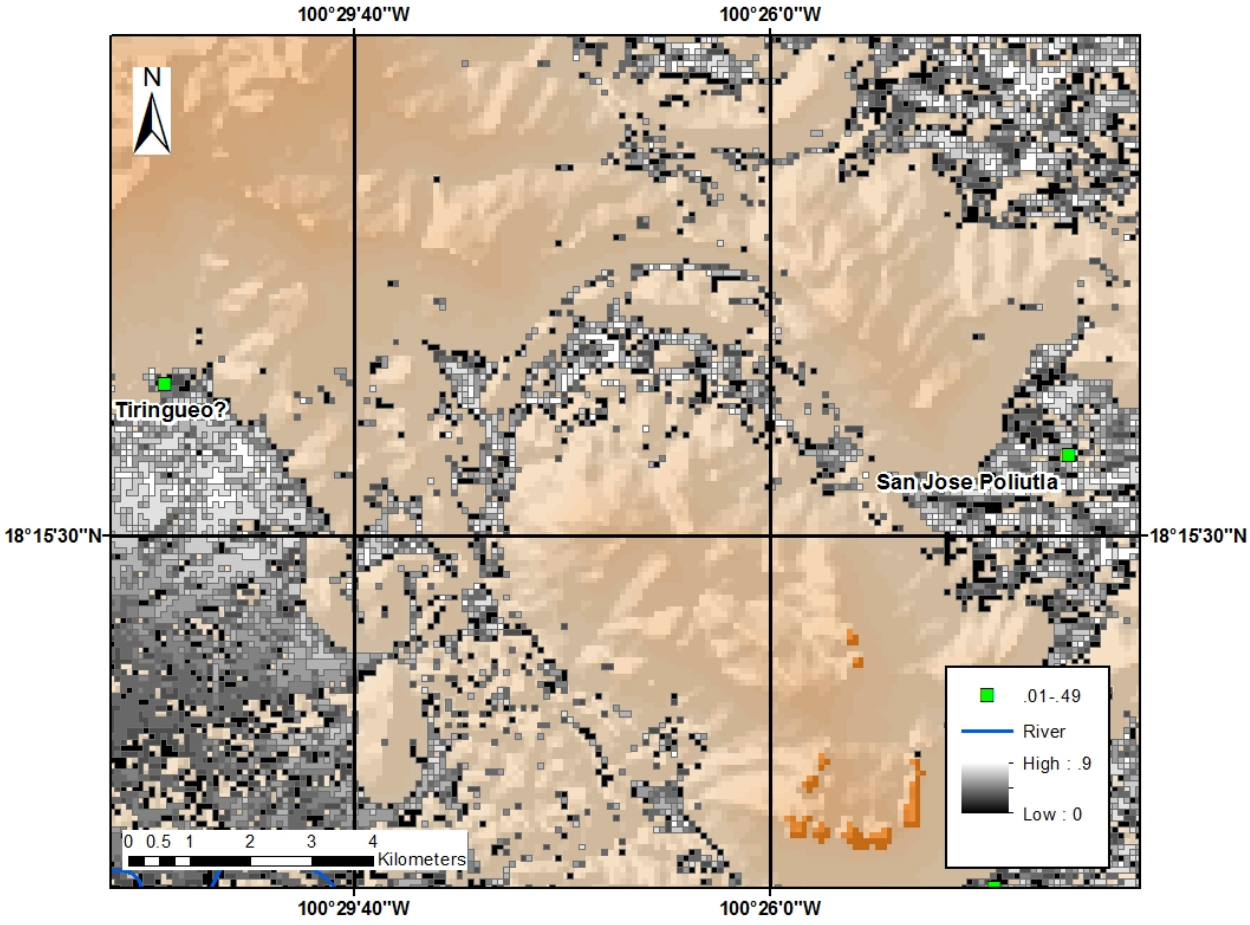


Figure 7.5. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Tiringueo and San Jose Poliutla (green squares),, two settlements in southeastern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Tiringueo has a membership value of .18 and San Jose Poliutla's is.23.

Figure 7.6 shows the location of three settlements in close proximity to the Balsas River: Coyuca (.07), Santiago (.03), and San Jerónimo (.01). Coyuca was a *cabecera* during the pre-Hispanic period and served in the defense of the southeastern Tarascan frontier. Santiago and San Jerónimo were subject *barrios* of Coyuca and Pungarabato, respectively. The figure shows that much of the area along the riverbank has a zero membership value.

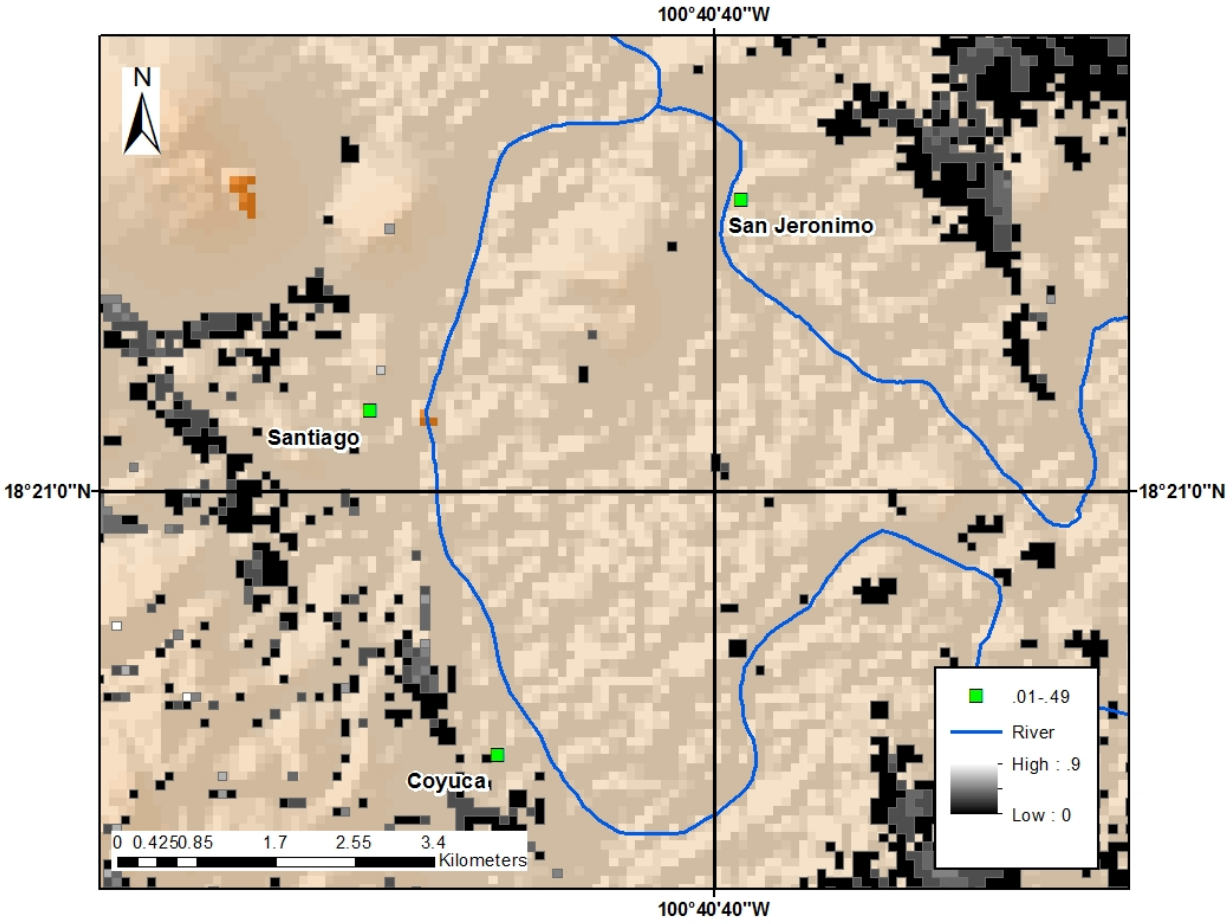


Figure 7.6. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Coyuca (bottom center, green square), Santiago (left center, green square), and San Jerónimo (upper right, green square) in southeastern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. All three sites have membership values of less than .1.

Figure 7.7 shows three sites located 10–20 kilometers from the Balsas River. Huetamo (.63), Cuseo (.71), and San Lucas (.77), all have high membership values in the settlement suitability coverage. Quataseo has a membership value of .01.

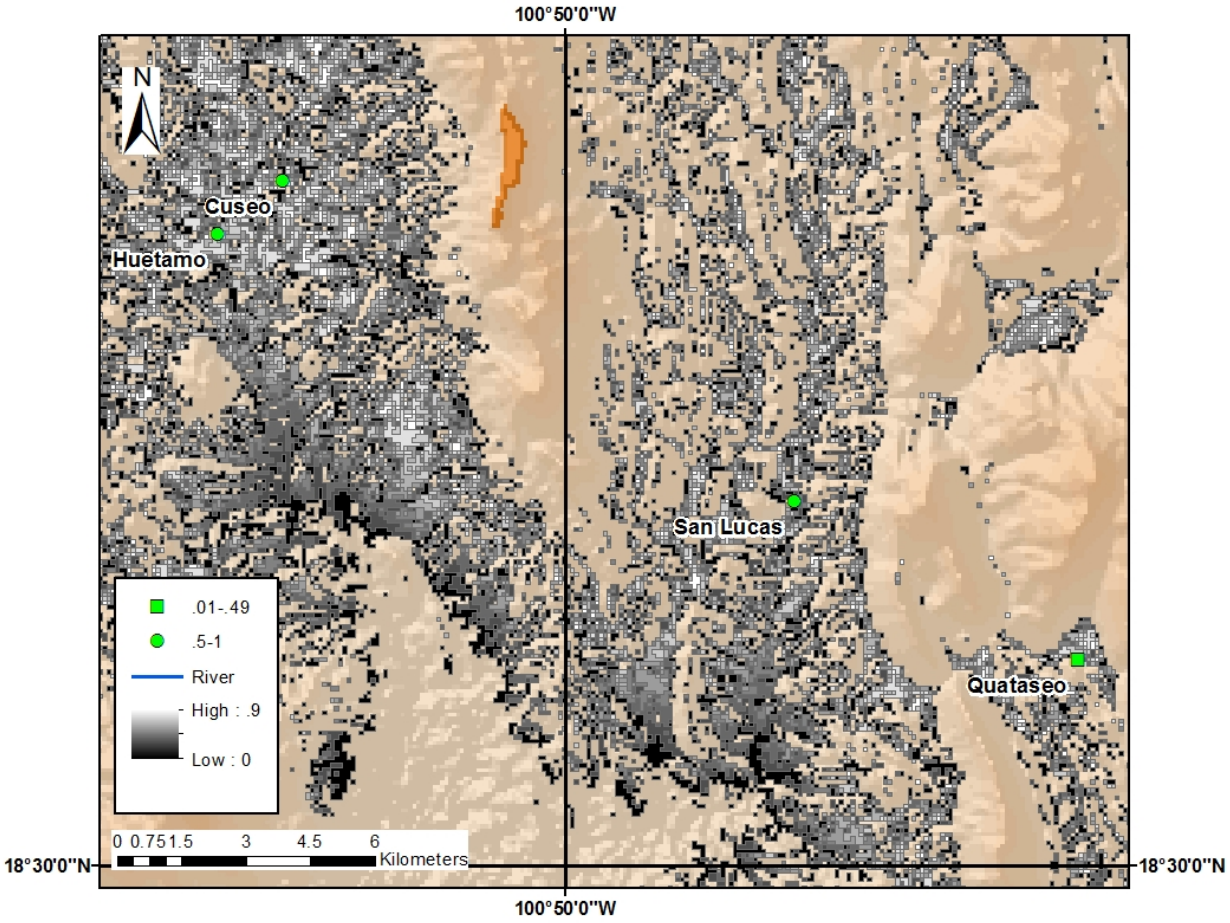


Figure 7.7. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Quataseo (green square), San Lucas (bottom right, green circle), Cuseo (upper left, green circle), and Huetamo (upper left, green circle.) in southeastern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Cuseo, Huetamo, and San Lucas have membership values above .5. Quataseo's membership value is .01.

Figure 7.8 shows the *cabecera* of Sirandaro near the Balsas River. It has a membership value of zero.

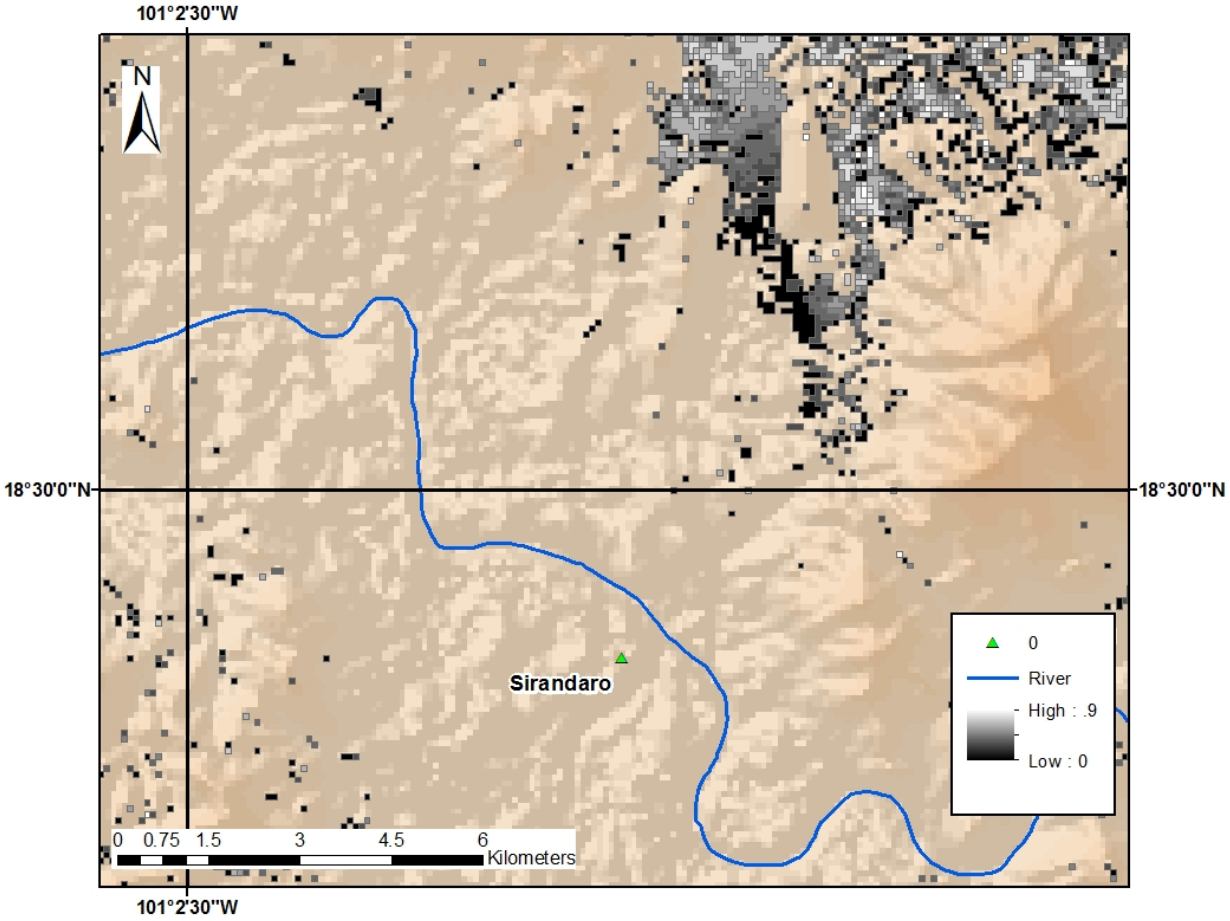


Figure 7.8. Fuzzy coverage showing the location of Sirandaro (green triangle) in southern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

The next figure shows two additional sites located along the Balsas River and one settlement twenty kilometers north. Sinagua and Churúmucu have zero membership values in the fuzzy set, and Pomacupeo/Púmuchacupeo has a zero value as well. All three have zero membership values and combined with the data from the southeast region of the Balsas it is clear that the model's elevation values are set too high to detect sites along the river, which generally have elevations around 160 meters. Since Pomacupeo is located at a higher elevation, it is likely that either the slope or aspect variables are turning out membership values too low to be accepted once fuzzy set operations are applied. Given the topographic relief in the area, I believe the slope variable is set too low for the site to be included. These are shown in Figure 7.9.

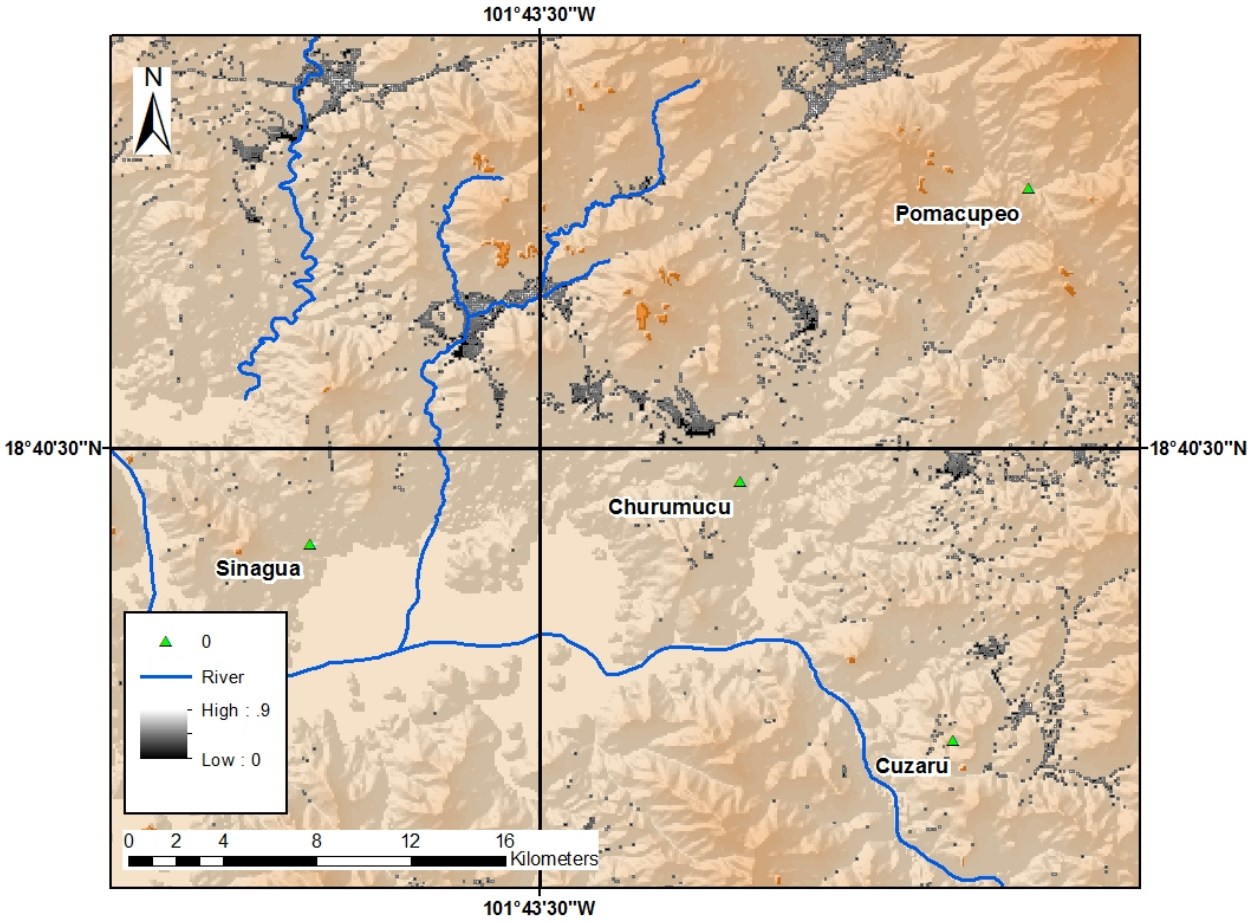


Figure 7.9. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Sinagua, Churúmucu, and Pomacupeo/Púmuchacupeo(green triangles) in southern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. All three sites have zero membership values in the fuzzy set.

Figure 7.10 shows La Huacana, Uririco, Hurecho, and Turicato (see above). La Huacana has a membership value of .87, while Uririco and Hurecho have zero membership values. Part of this could be due to the elevation variation between site locations. For example, Hurecho's elevation is 770 meters above sea level and its elevation is above the 437.6 mean value and standard deviation. There might also be topographic variations that exceed the model's parameters. The site of La Huacana is located in an open space where several valley systems intersect while Hurecho and Uririco are in areas with more topographic relief. The slope and aspect values may be set high enough for the model to detect them.

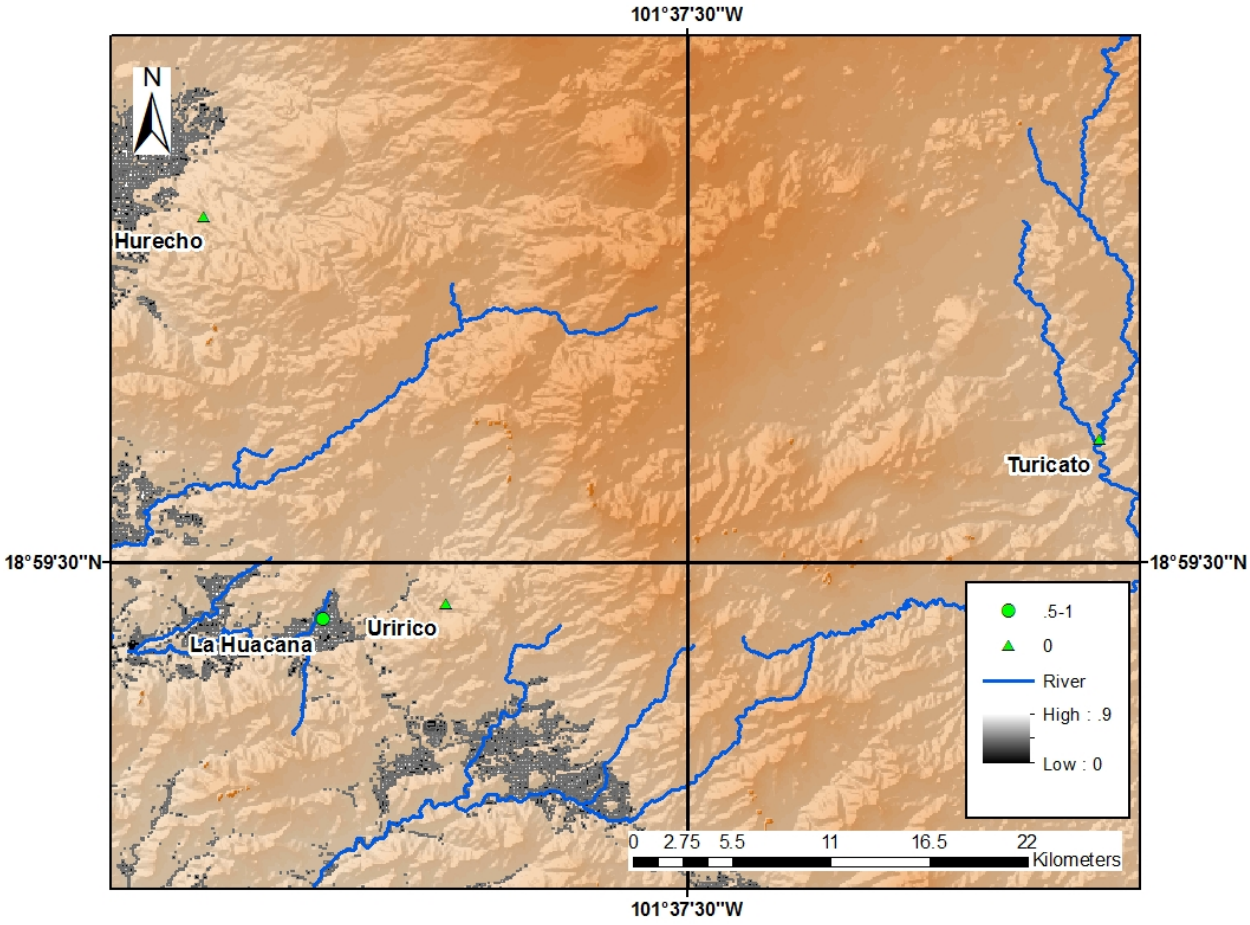


Figure 7.10. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of La Huacana (green circle), Uririco, Hurecho, and Turicato (green triangles) in southern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. La Huacana has a high membership in the fuzzy set while the rest have zero membership.

Figure 7.11 shows the site of Tepalcatepeque in southwest Michoacán. This site is located several kilometers from the Tepalcatepec River and has a membership value of .84. The model successfully identifies sites in relatively flat, open areas located several kilometers from the lakeshore zone where elevations are higher.

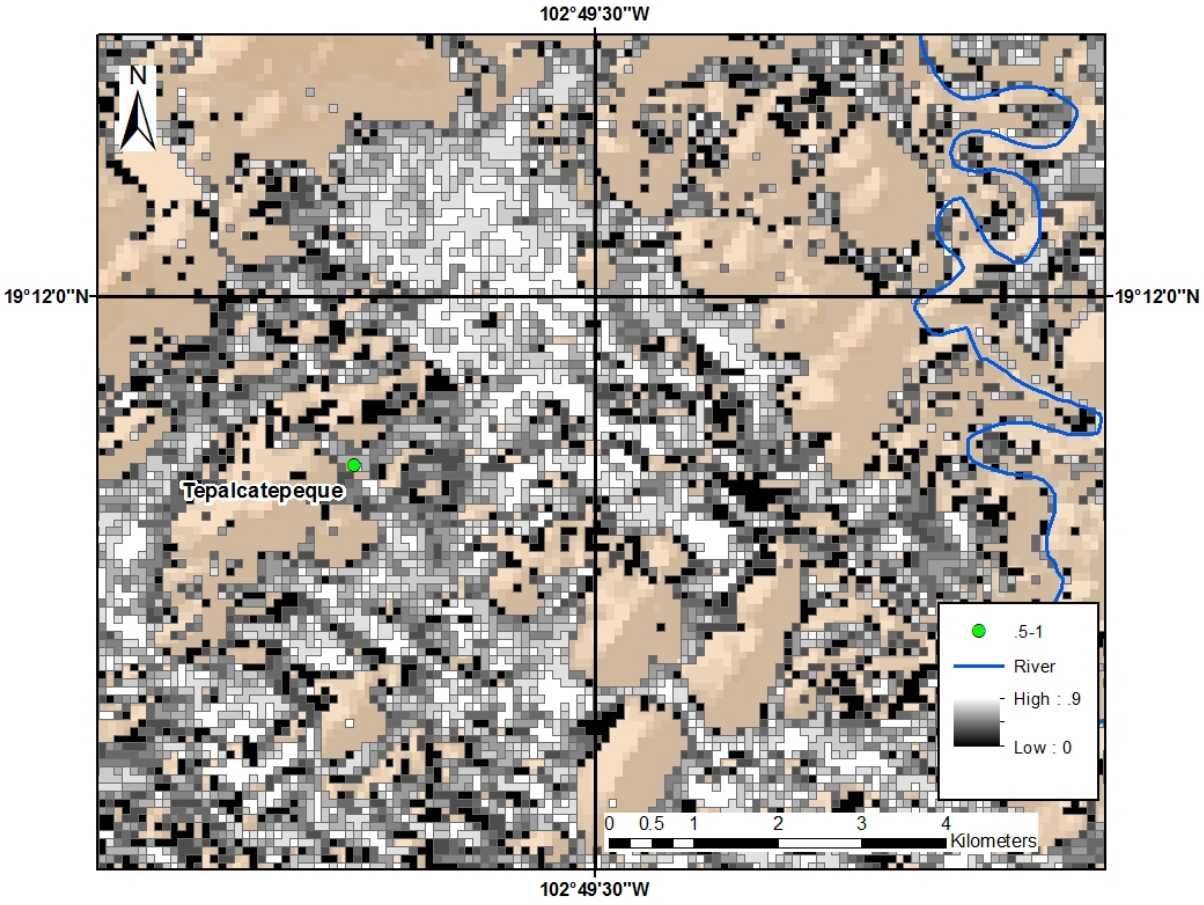


Figure 7.11. Fuzzy coverage showing the location of Tepalcatepeque (green circle) in southwestern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Tepalcatepeque has a high membership value, .84, in this fuzzy set.

Finally, in Figure 7.12 we see the sites of Quacoman and Huitontlan, located in southwestern Michoacán. Both sites have membership values of 0. The terrain in this region is more rugged and mountainous and thus the aspect and slope values are probably not set sufficiently high enough for the sites to be detected.

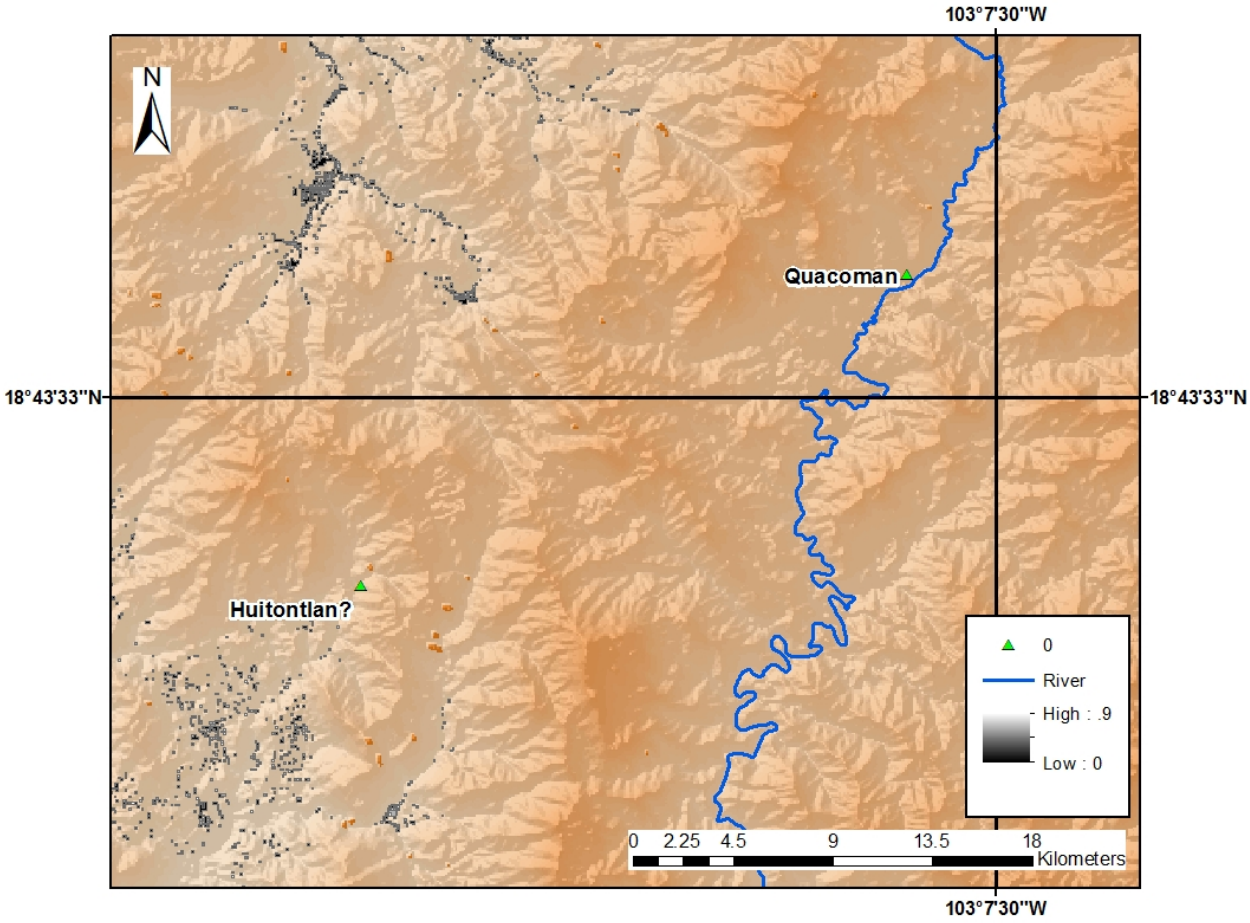


Figure 7.12. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Quacoman (upper right, green triangle) and its subordinate, Huitontlan (green triangle) in southwestern Tarascan territory. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. This area has very little membership value.

Just over 50% of the sites in the test sample have nonzero membership values and range of variation in membership values is high. The images and membership values show that the statistically-derived model favors those sites located at higher elevations away from the Balsas River. Cuseo, Huetamo, San Lucas, and La Huacana are located 12–30 kilometers from the river and their membership values are among the

highest in the region. Tepalcatepeque is six kilometers from the river from the Tepalcatepec River but it too has a high membership value.

In addition to the elevation differences, sites with higher membership values also tend to be in flat, open areas with low slope and southerly aspects. This is of course consistent with the statistically derived parameters listed in Table 7.1. Cuseo and Huetamo are located in flat, open spaces and La Huacana sits in a central location where multiple valleys intersect. Likewise, Tepalcatepeque's location is in a flat, open area. In contrast, sites like Uririco and Hurecho are situated in areas with more topographic relief.

Clearly, the Balsas model is capable of identifying site locations, but it fails to include areas that are vital economic, strategic, and political zones. The river was a transportation conduit that permitted passage from southeastern Michoacán down to Zacatula where the Balsas River flows in the Pacific Ocean. Traders in canoes used the rivers to reach sites for trade and exchange; indeed, this is probably one of the routes where metallurgy was first introduced (Pollard 1993:13). The Balsas was also an area of strategic importance because it provided a natural deterrent for invading forces. The Cuitlateca used the Balsas as a line of defense against Aztec forces in the Southeast Balsas (Silverstein 2000:115), crossing the river and abandoning their original homes along the southern bank of the Balsas to seek refuge in Tarascan-held territory. The Tarascans constructed fortifications along both sides of the Balsas to defend against attack, but sadly we know very little about where these sites are located (Brand 1943:43).

The river zone also supported four *cabeceras* in the southeast that defended Tarascan territory against attack. Ajuchitlan, Coyuca, and Pungarabato are located in areas with low membership. Cutzamala was not part of the test sample, but the *RG Ajuchitlan* states that there was a garrison of 10,000 soldiers stationed at Cutzamala and we would completely miss this area using the original model (Silverstein 2000:126).

One of the side effects of this particular model is its ability to identify prime areas of modern settlement in areas away from the lakeshore. Unless they have some connection to ethnohistorical sites, I do not use modern settlements in my sample, but some of these sites were probably pre-Hispanic settlements and during succeeding periods newer settlements were built over them.

To increase the number of identified sites the elevation, slope, and aspect variables require refinement. The elevation and aspect variables can be modified by increasing the standard deviation by a factor of two to encompass the wider ranges required. Slope should also be increased, but the values can be altered at the analyst's discretion since the alpha value indicates the crossover (.5) point. The results of these changes are discussed in the section on modifications.

Plateau Sample

The Plateau sample included 216 sites split into test and prototype samples of 108 sites each. I eliminated six data points from the prototype sample to get a standard deviation below 50% of the mean. Although the standard deviation for the slope is greater than the mean, I used the 4.35 value as a coefficient to control the rate of decline in the left-shoulder sigmoid instead of using it as a standard deviation value in the equation.

Table 7.2. The mean and standard deviation values used to construct the membership functions for the Plateau region.

Values	Plateau Elevation (m)	Plateau Aspect (deg)	Plateau Slope (deg)
Mean	1953.73	192	4.2
Standard Deviation	198.63	95.35	4.35

The plateau model successfully identified the locations of 25 sites with values of .5–1 (23.2%); 46 sites with values of .01–.49 (42.3%); and 37 sites with zero membership values (34.2%). Sites with high membership values are found in different regions including the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, the Bajio region of Guanajuato, southwestern Michoacán, and parts of eastern Michoacán. Sites with low or zero membership values likewise come from similar regions. Potential causes for the low membership score include elevation values skewed too far toward the high end and aspect values that given orientations toward the south but none toward the north.

Figure 7.13 shows the locations of seven sites in eastern Michoacán. The *cabecera* of Xenguaro has a membership value of .49 while Tantzicuaro and San Lorenzo Itzicuaro have membership values of .82

and .63, respectively. San Nicolaus and Necotlan/Santiago Undameo have values of .17 and .12, while Tirípitio and Aquicec have values of .48 and .21, respectively. Irapeo has a value of .46.

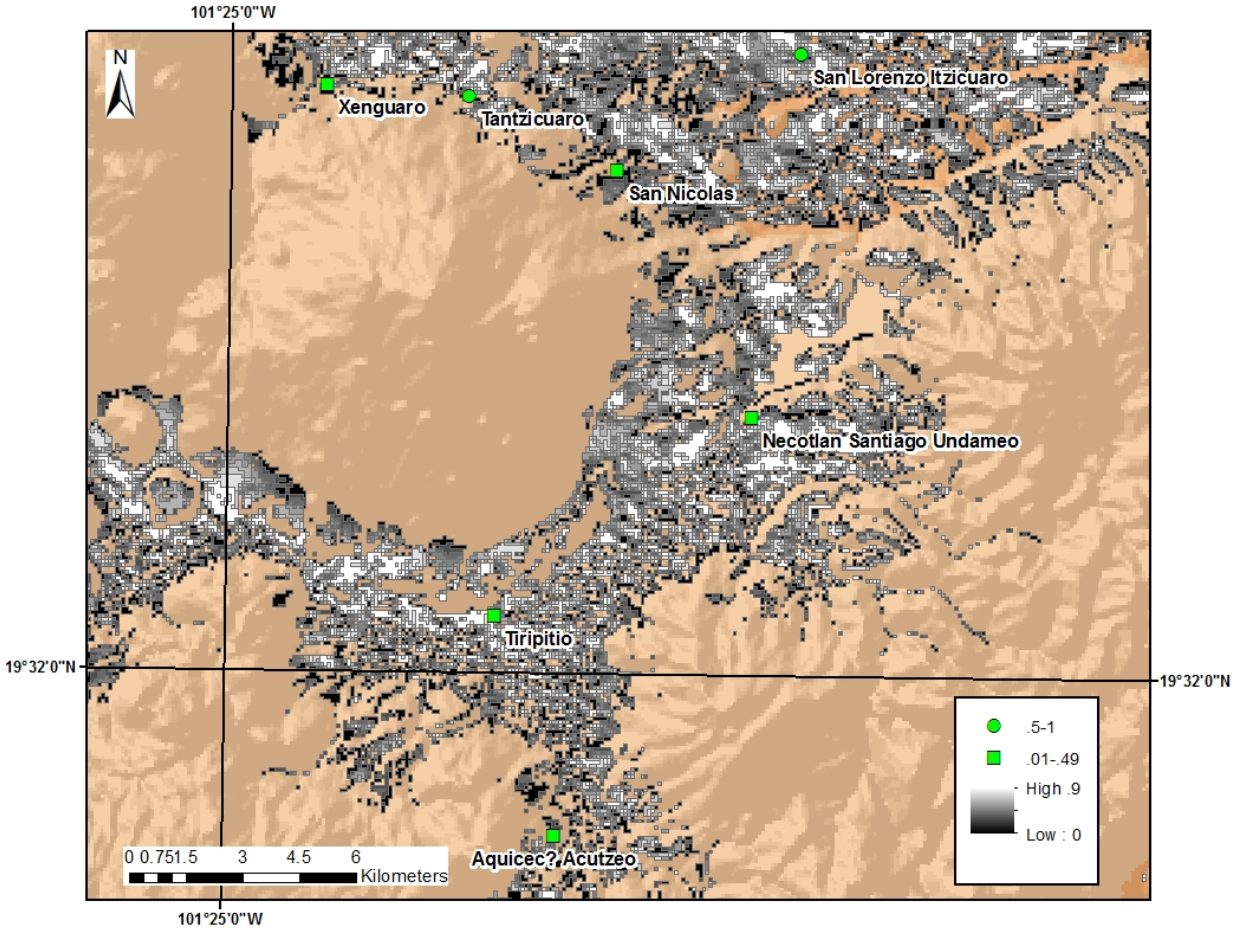


Figure 7.13. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Xénguaro (upper left, green square),Tantzicuaro (upper left, green circle), San Nicolas (upper center, green square), San Lorenzo Itzicuaro (green circle), Necotlan (green square), Tirípitio (green square), and Aquicec/Acutzeo (green square). Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.14 shows the location of five additional settlements: La Estancia de Tarimoro (.44), Parácuaro (.58), Xereq (.98), San Lucas (.08), and La Barranca (0). Parácuaro was surveyed as part of the Solis Dam project and it has evidence of a Tarascan ceremonial presence in the form of petroglyphs similar to several found in Tzintzuntzan (Gorenstein 1985a:87). Xereq (.98) is mentioned in the *RG Acámbaro* as a *barrio* but it has not been surveyed by archaeologists (Acuña 1987:64).

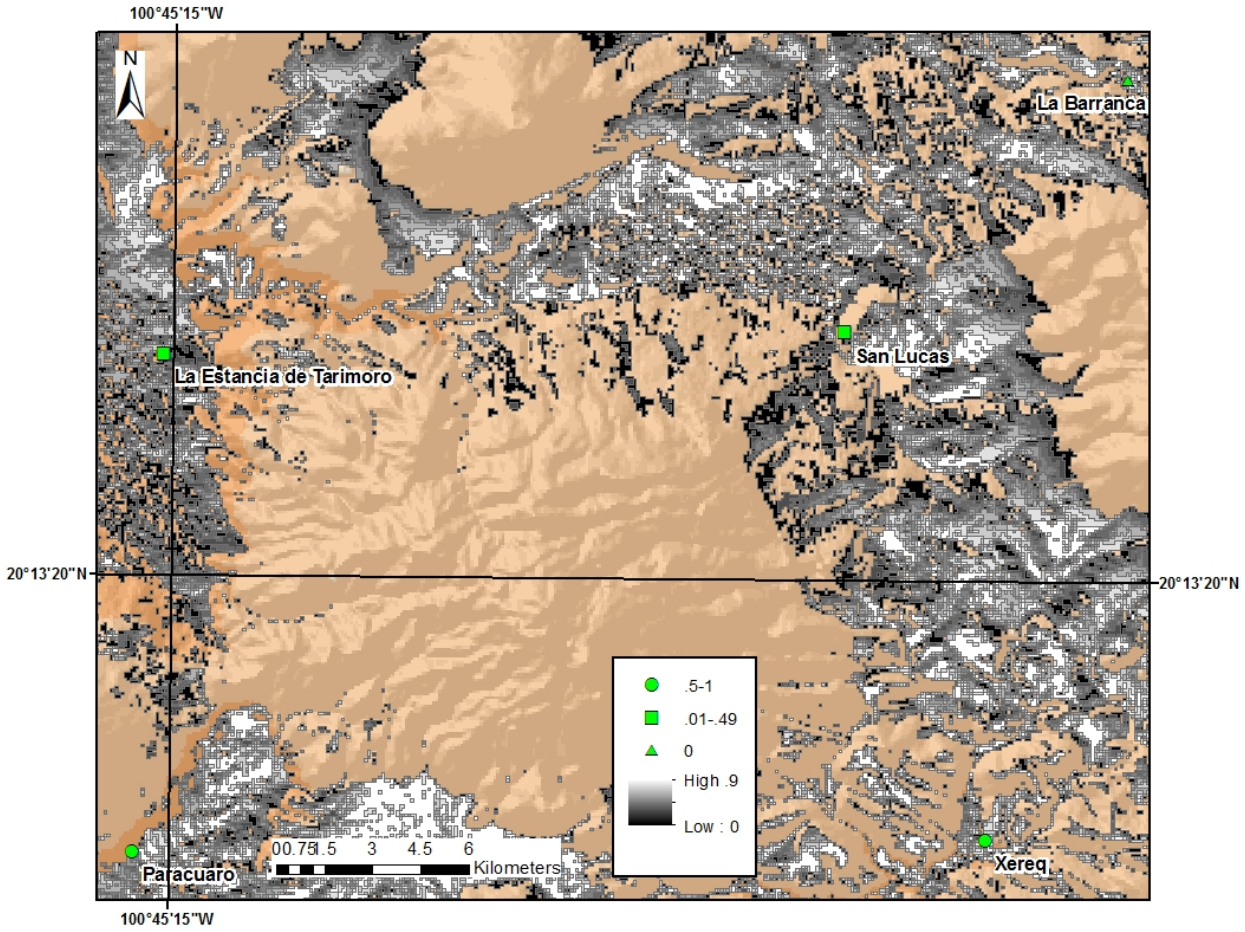


Figure 7.14. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations (from counterclockwise) of La Estancia de Tarimoro (green square), Parácuaro (green circle), Xereq (green circle), San Lucas (green square) and La Barranca (green triangle). Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.15 shows the locations of several archaeological sites in Guanajuato. Gorenstein (1985a:32) surveyed sites AC/3 (.49), AC/4 (.77), AC/G (.89), and AC/8 (.84) in the 1980s as part of a 100% survey of the area near the Solis Dam. AC/G is located about a kilometer from Cerro el Chivo, the ceremonial center and suspected residence area for the Tarascan contingent living at Acámbaro (Gorenstein 1985a:32). All four sites have ceramics similar to styles found at Tzintzuntzan in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (Gorenstein 1985a:32). Tocuaro, a *barrio* of Acámbaro, has a zero membership value.

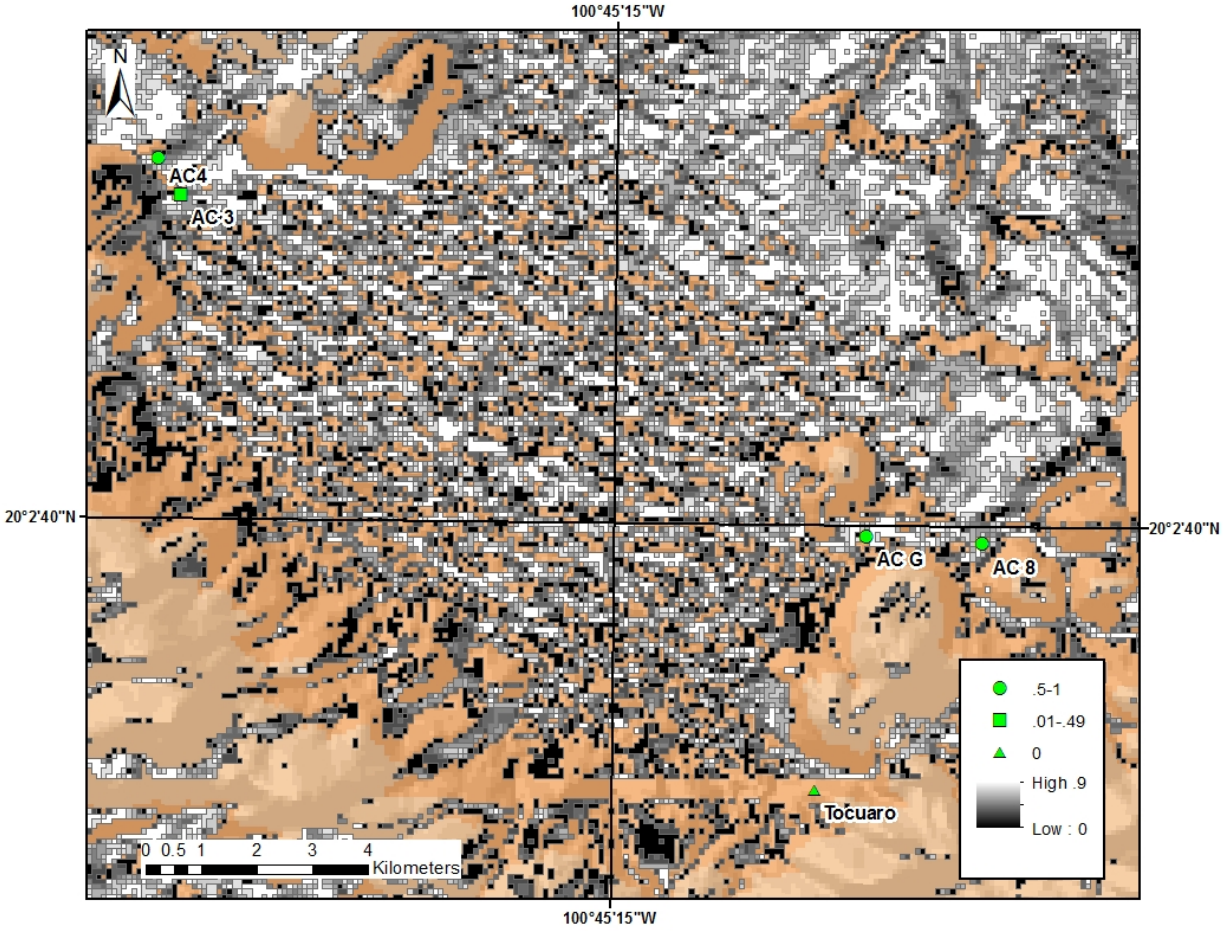


Figure 7.15. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of AC/4 (green circle), AC/3 (green square), AC/G (green circle), and AC/8 (green circle). Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.16 shows the locations of three sites along the Tarascan-Aztec border. Maravatio is located in an area of relatively low topographic relief, and it has a membership value of .7. Tarandaquao has a zero membership value, and this may be due to its location in a very rugged area. Pateo has a

membership value of .78. It is located near a small river course in a relatively flat and open area, with little topographic variation.

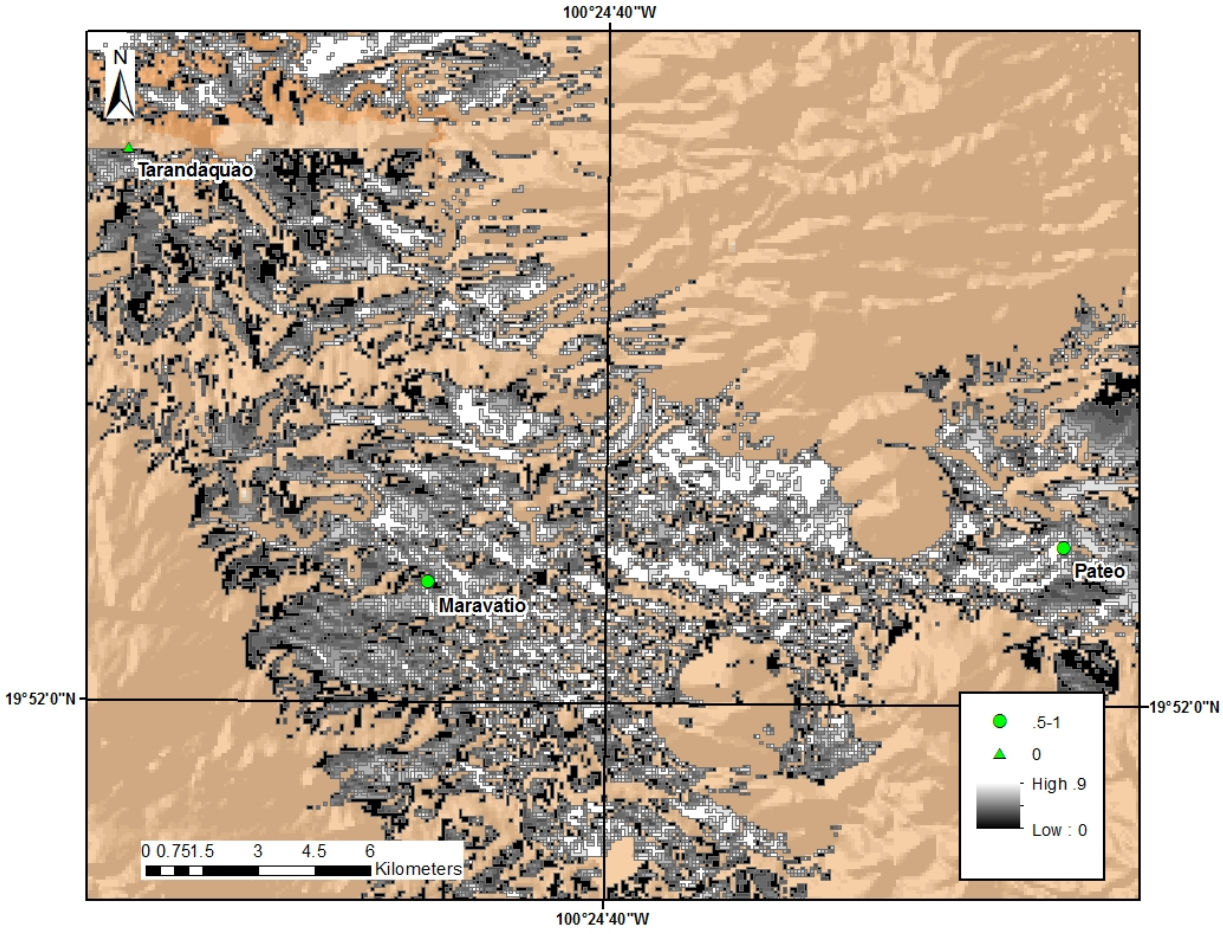


Figure 7.16. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of Tarandaquao (upper left, green triangle) and Maravatio (center, green circle). Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.17 shows the locations of two *sujetos* of Taimeo: San Andres (0) and Irimbo (0). San Andres' membership value is interesting in light of its proximity to areas of higher membership. This is an example of a problem of a "near-miss," which I will discuss below.

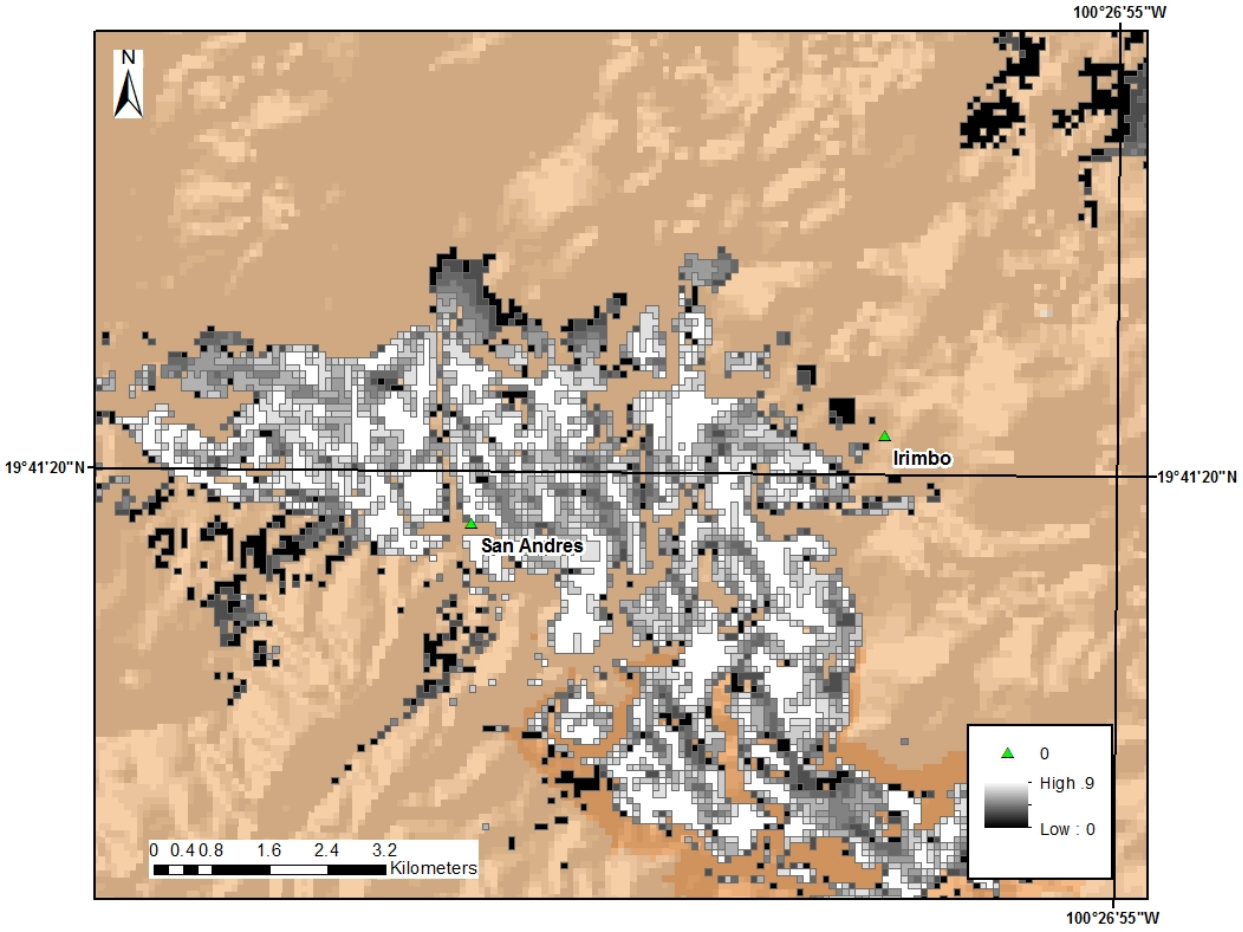


Figure 7.17. Fuzzy coverage showing the locations of San Andres (left, green triangle) and Irimbo (right, green triangle). Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.18 shows the western Cuitzeo basin and the sites of Cuitzeo (.49), Xeroco (02), Huandacareo (0), Copándaro (.09), and San Juan Tarameo (0). Cuitzeo and Xeroco are located near an area of membership values of .8 and .9 which encompasses much of the modern settlements of Jeruco and Cuitzeo. Copándaro has a northerly aspect which is nearly the opposite of the specified aspect mean and standard deviation values which could explain its low membership score. San Juan Tarameo and Huandacareo are located at higher elevations overlooking Lake Cuitzeo.

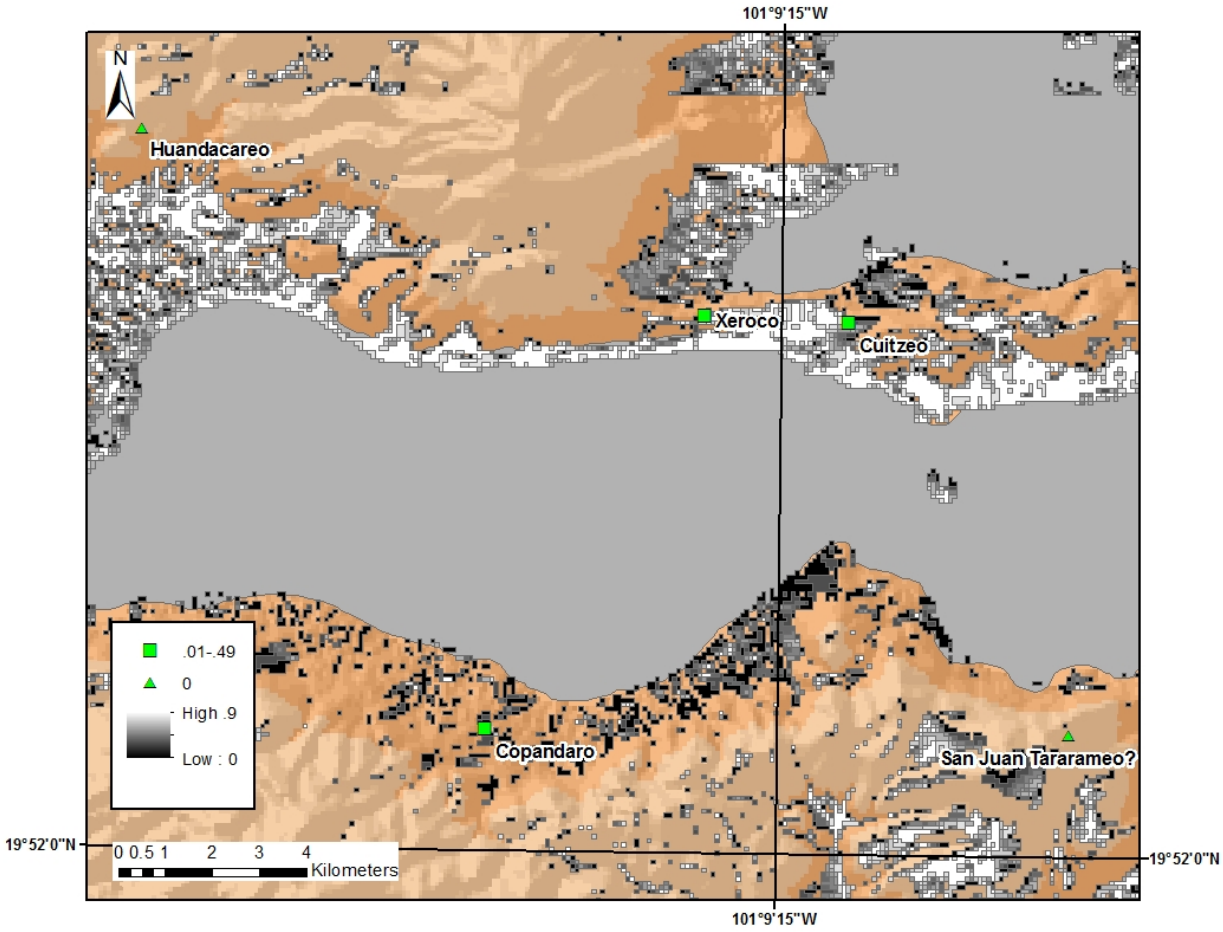


Figure 7.18. Map showing the locations Huandacareo (upper left, green triangle), Xeroco (green circle), Cuitzeo (green square), San Juan Tararameo (green triangle), and Copandaro (green square), plotted against a fuzzy surface. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.19 shows the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The model identifies much of the lakeshore zone as a potential area of membership, as well as the potential entry and exit routes connecting eastern Michoacán with the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

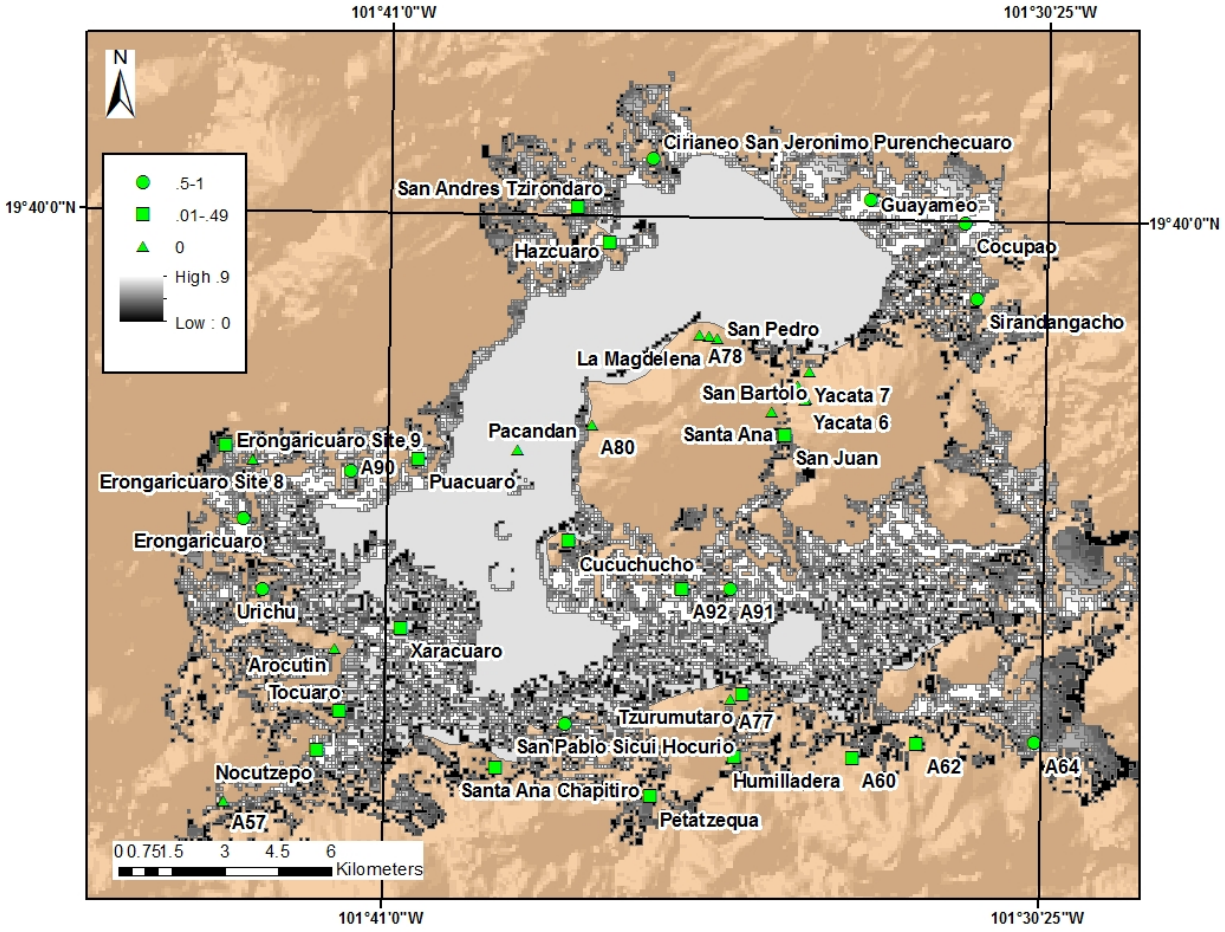


Figure 7.19. Map showing the sites in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, plotted against a fuzzy surface. Dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

The Lake Pátzcuaro basin was one of the more densely populated areas of the Tarascan polity during the pre-Hispanic period (Gorenstein and Pollard 1980; Pollard 1993). Ten sites with membership values in the .5–.9 range are located throughout the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The northern sites include Guayámeo/Vayámeo (.92), Cocupao (.89), Sirandangacho (.84), and Cirianeo San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro (.51). The sites with the highest membership are those that face toward the southwest, which is close to the specified mean for the aspect value. Furthermore, they are located close to the

lakeshore where the slope is gentler. Ciraneo San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro has a lower membership value because it faces toward the southeast.

Eróngaricuaro (.98) and Urichu (.77) are in the southwest area of the basin and they are located in close proximity to the lakeshore zone. Pareo/San Bartolo Pareo sits along the southern shore, but it is in a relatively open, flat area. A64 is an archaeological site in the southeastern area of the basin near Guanajo

Sites with membership scores of .01–.49 are generally clustered in the southern half of the basin with the exceptions of Hazcuaro and San Andres Tzirondaro. Nearly all sites with zero membership values are in the vicinity of Tzintzuntzan, with the exceptions of the island settlement of Pacandan, Eróngaricuaro Site 9, and site A57. The sites near Tzintzuntzan were probably assigned nonzero membership because their slope or aspect values are outside of the model's detection range. Sites A80, A78, and the *barrio* of San Pedro sit near the base of Cerro Taríacuri and they are oriented toward the northwest and north, respectively. The *barrio* of Santa Ana faces to the northeast. San Bartolo and San Pablo where Yacata 6 is located are on the slopes of Cerro Yaguarato (Gali 1942).

Figure 7.20 shows the sites located in northwestern Michoacán. Tocuro/Tocuaro (.92), a former *barrio* of Carapan, is the only site with a membership value above .5. The *cabeceras* of Chilchota and Tlazazalca both have nonzero membership values, but they are near areas of higher membership value. It is interesting that Chilchota has a low membership value, yet a large portion of the territory controlled by Chilchota and Carapan is in an area where the membership value is high. The sites of Tzopoco and Ocumicho are in areas of zero membership. Ocumicho, the *barrio* of Tarecuaro, sits in a low valley near its *cabecera*. Tzopoco is several kilometers south of the Rio Chilchota valley. Caringarao and Tamandagapeo have membership values of .33 and 0, respectively

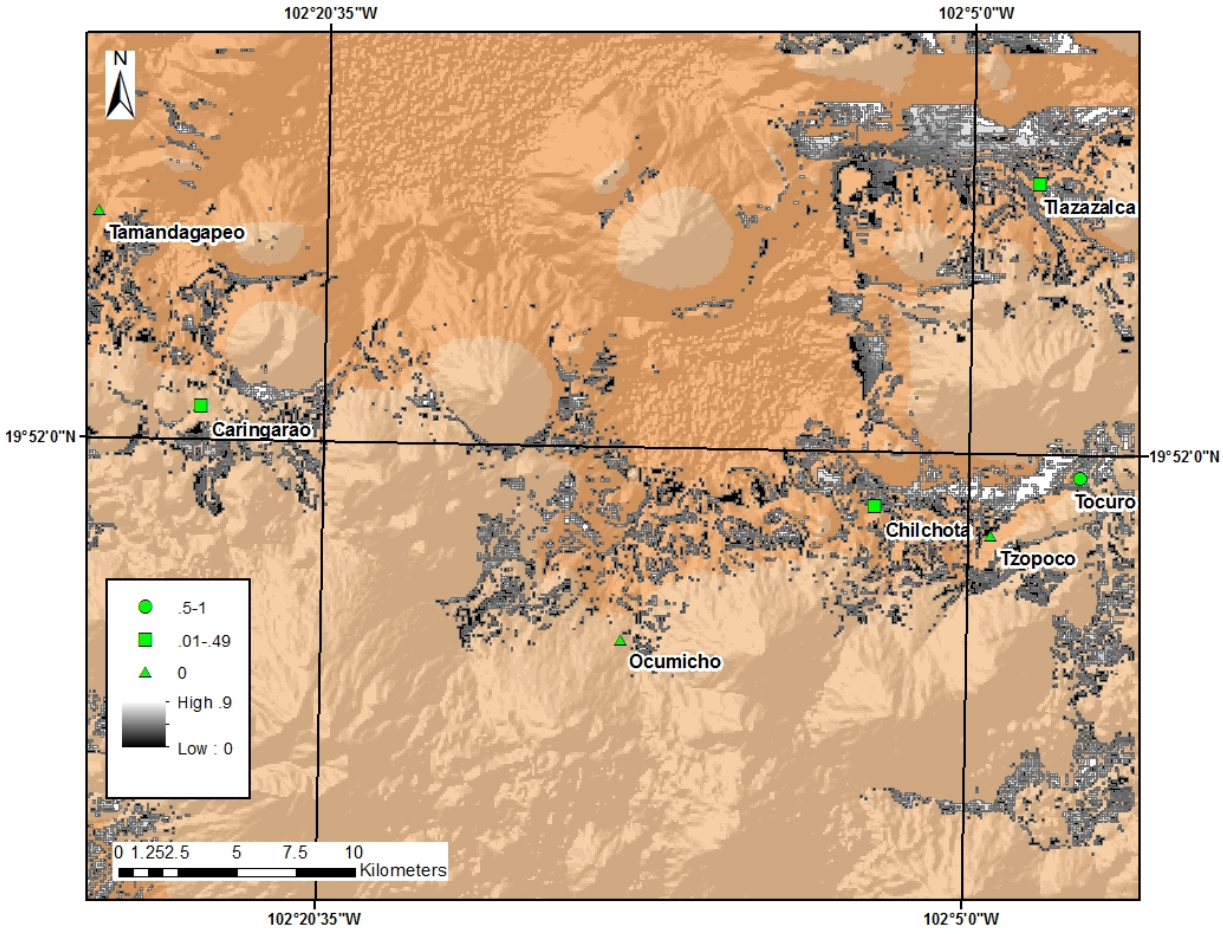


Figure 7.20. Map showing the locations of sites in northwest Michoacán, including Tamandagapeo (green triangle), Caringarao (green square), Ocumicho (green triangle), Chilchota (green square), Tzopoco (green triangle), Tocuro (green circle), and Tlazazalca (green circle). In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.21 shows the locations of three sites in the Zacapu basin: El Palacio/La Crucita (.05), Escuela Agropecuaria (.22), and Zacapu (.48). These are sites with archaeological evidence substantiating a Tarascan presence in the area.

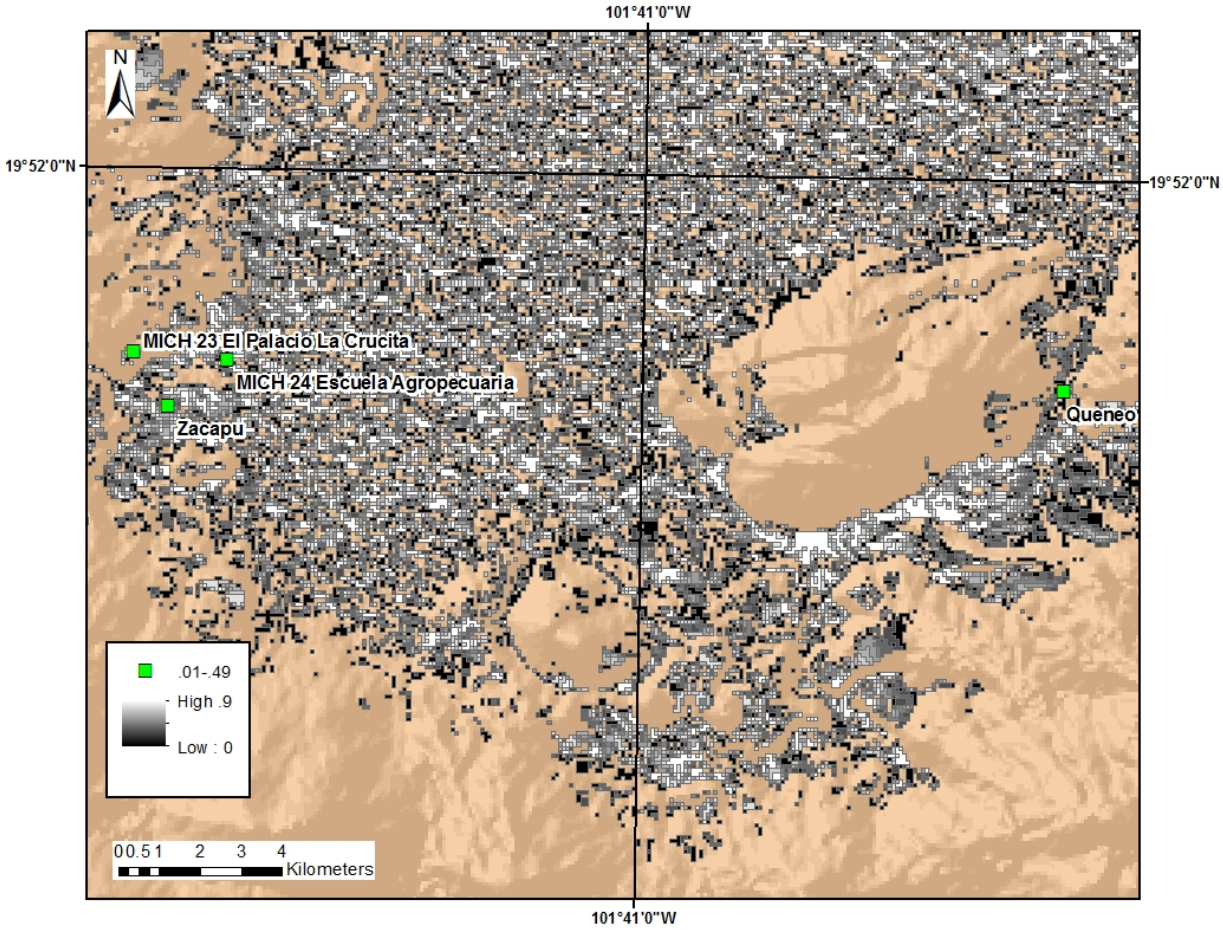


Figure 7.21. Map showing the locations of sites in the Zacapu basin: MICH 23 – El Palacio/La Crucita (green square), MICH 24 – Escuela Agropecuaria (green square), and Zacapu (green square), and the site of Queneo (green square). In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Plateau Analysis. The Plateau fuzzy set model is capable of detecting sites in the lake basins and valleys but the degree of topographic relief is much greater than the Balsas region which affected the slope and aspect values in particular. The areas with the highest membership appear to be in lakeshore zones and in areas of moderate topographic relief, but it cannot detect sites that face to the north.

The plateau region has twenty-five "near-misses," a term I use to describe sites that are disqualified from membership in the fuzzy set even though they are usually one pixel away from concentrations of high-membership pixels. Figure 7.22 and 7.23 illustrate this problem. Tirípitio has a membership value of .34 yet immediately to the west are pixels with membership values of .9. The figure shows that much of the modern settlement sits in this range.

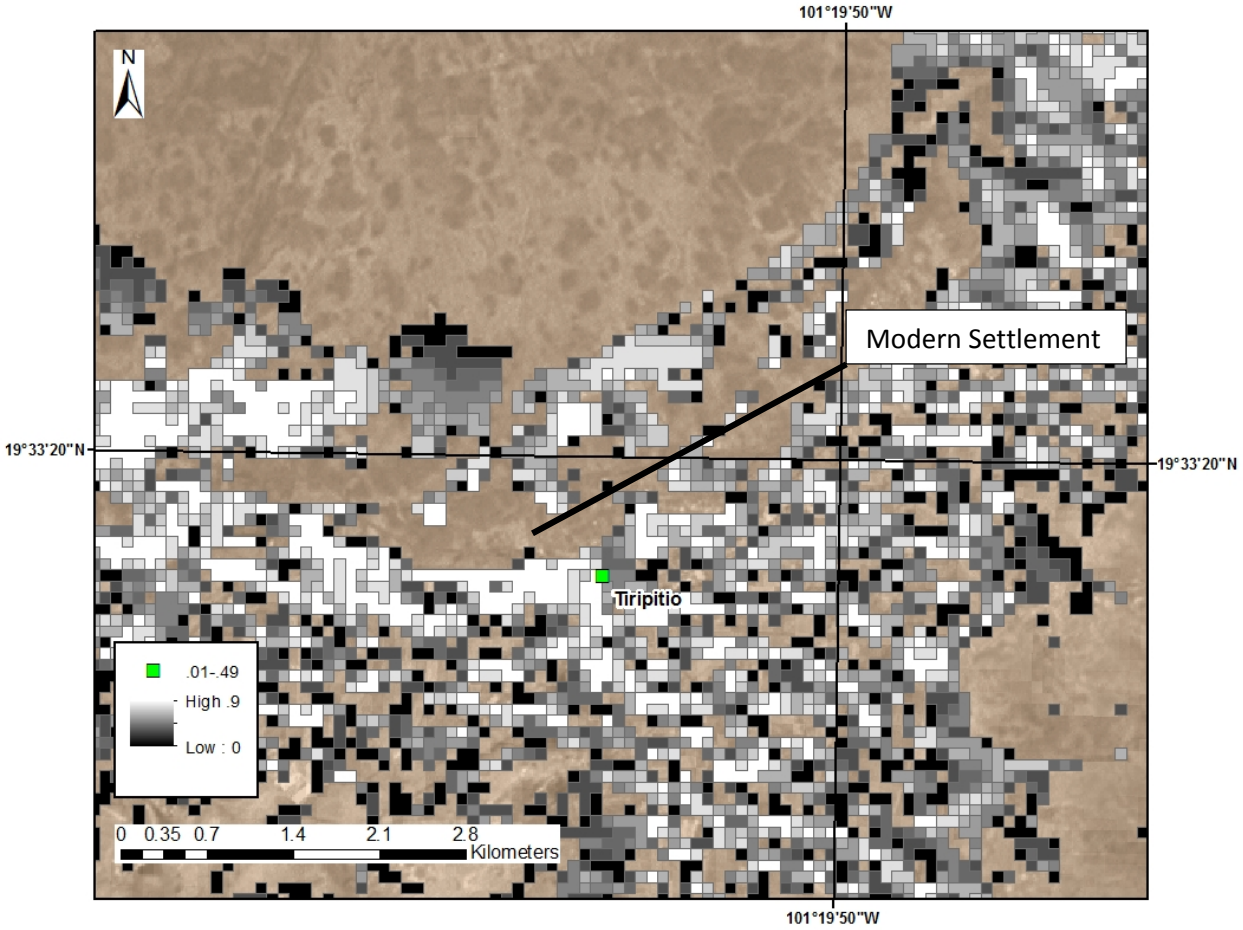


Figure 7.22. Map showing the location of Tirípitio (green square) in relation to areas of high membership (white pixels). Tirípitio's location disqualifies it from identification even though it is less than one pixel away from this area of high membership. A Landsat ETM + image has been inserted to show the modern settlement's location. Data available from the United States Geological Survey.

Figure 7.23 is a close-up image of Xeroco and Cuitzeo in the Lake Cuitzeo basin. These sites have membership values below .5 yet they are adjacent to pixels with .9 membership. The Landsat ETM+ panchromatic image shows that much of the modern site sits in this area. Near-misses present a problem

in the development of predictive models because the "site" is determined by arbitrary, dimensionless points placed on the map. The best solution to this problem is to examine adjacent pixels for membership values.

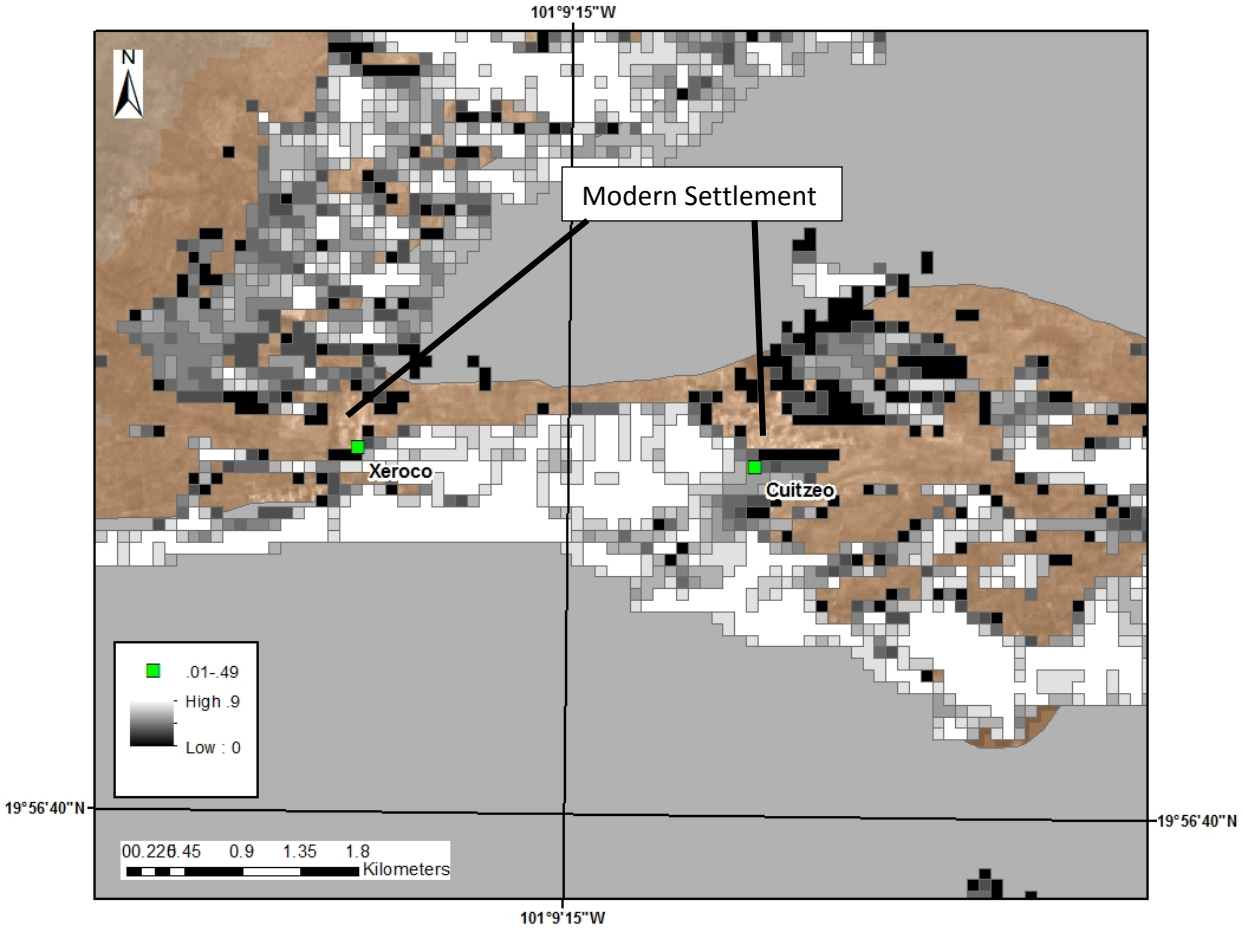


Figure 7.23. Map showing the locations of Xeroco and Cuitzeo (green squares) in relation to area of high membership (white areas). Xeroco and Cuitzeo are both a single pixel away from areas of high membership but they have been disqualified from identification. A Landsat ETM + image has been inserted to show the modern settlements locations. Data available from US Geological Survey.

Analysis. The Plateau samples show that the model favors sites with southerly aspects, gentle slopes, and elevation ranges between 1700 and 2100 meters above sea level. However, this does not accommodate the wide range of topographic variation seen in the Plateau region, nor does it fully account for the attitudes of the period with regard to a need for a defensive position against attack. Tzintzuntzan is one example of this problem: it is situated between two large mountains, Cerro Tariacuri and Cerro Yaguarato, to constrain movement into the settlement. However, the model did not detect any of the

barrios or archaeological sites associated with Tzintzuntzan. These data, along with the earlier observation that the model favored sites oriented toward the south, suggest that the aspect requires modification to accommodate a wider range of variation.

Sierra Sample

The Sierra sample consisted of 59 sites, with 30 in the prototype sample and 29 in the test sample.

Table 7.3. The mean and standard deviation values used to construct the membership functions for the Sierra region.

Values	Sierra Elevation (m)	Sierra Aspect (deg)	Sierra Slope (deg)
Mean	2331.467	197.8791	4.466054
Standard Deviation	114.2893	84.96576	3.194374

The Sierra model identified four sites (13%) with values of .5 or above; thirteen sites with values of .01–.49 (45%); and twelve sites with zero membership values (41%). A number of the sites with high membership values are located on the slopes of densely settled regions like the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. This suggests that perhaps the slope and aspect values need modification to increase the number of identified sites.

Figure 7.24 shows the location of Xuruneo on the northeastern frontier. Xuruneo, a former *barrio* of Acámbaro, is located near the borders separating Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Queretaro on the southern slopes of Cerro Azul. It has a high membership value, .89.

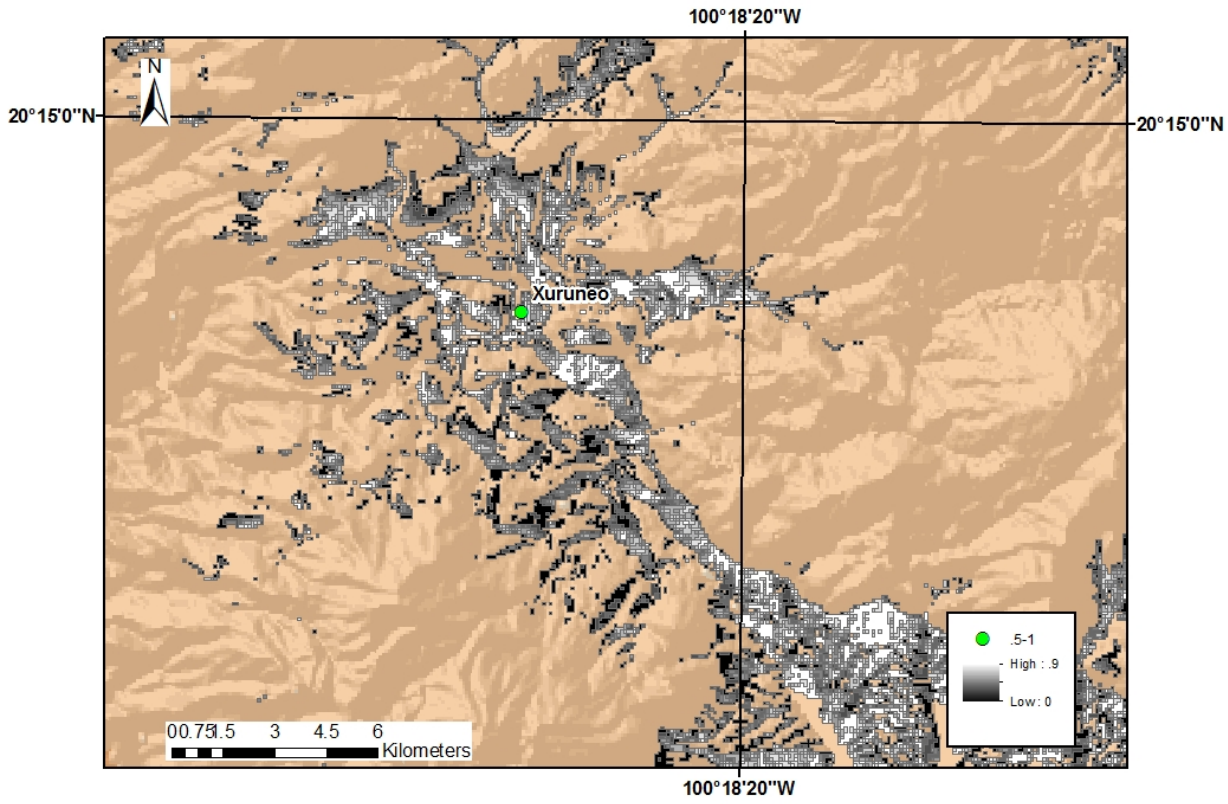


Figure 7.24. Map showing the site of Xuruneo in northeast Michoacán (green circle) with a membership value of .89. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

In Figure 7.25, the *barrio* of San Miguel is has a membership value of .82. It is located in a mountain region near the *cabecera* of Guango. San Miguel might be an example of a near miss because it is near regions of high membership. Guango has zero membership.

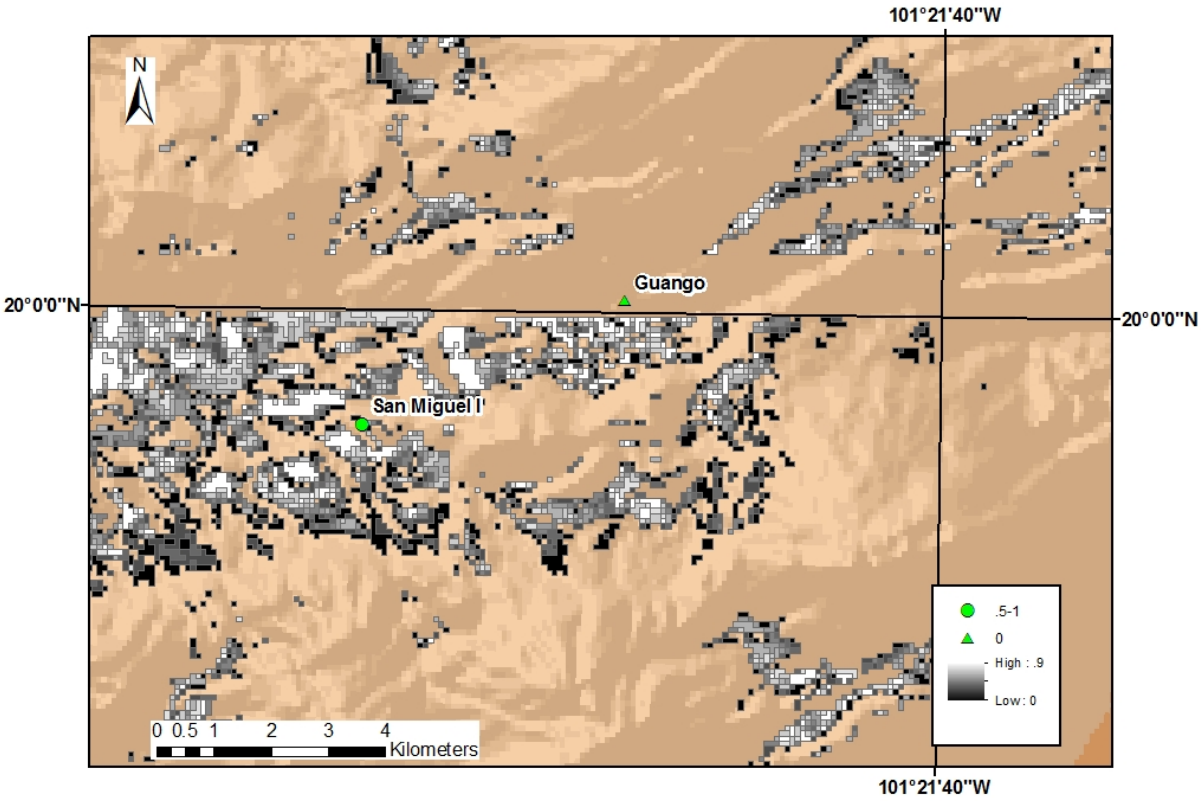


Figure 7.25. Map showing the sites of San Miguel I (green circle) and Guango in northeast Michoacán with a membership value of .82 for San Miguel I, and zero for Guango. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

The next figure, Figure 7.26, shows eight sites northeast of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The *cabecera* of Xaso and the site of Cutzaro have membership values of zero. Tirimicua and Caringaro have membership values of .01, while the archaeological sites of A67 and A74 have membership values of .21 and .03, respectively. San Francisco has the highest membership with .49.

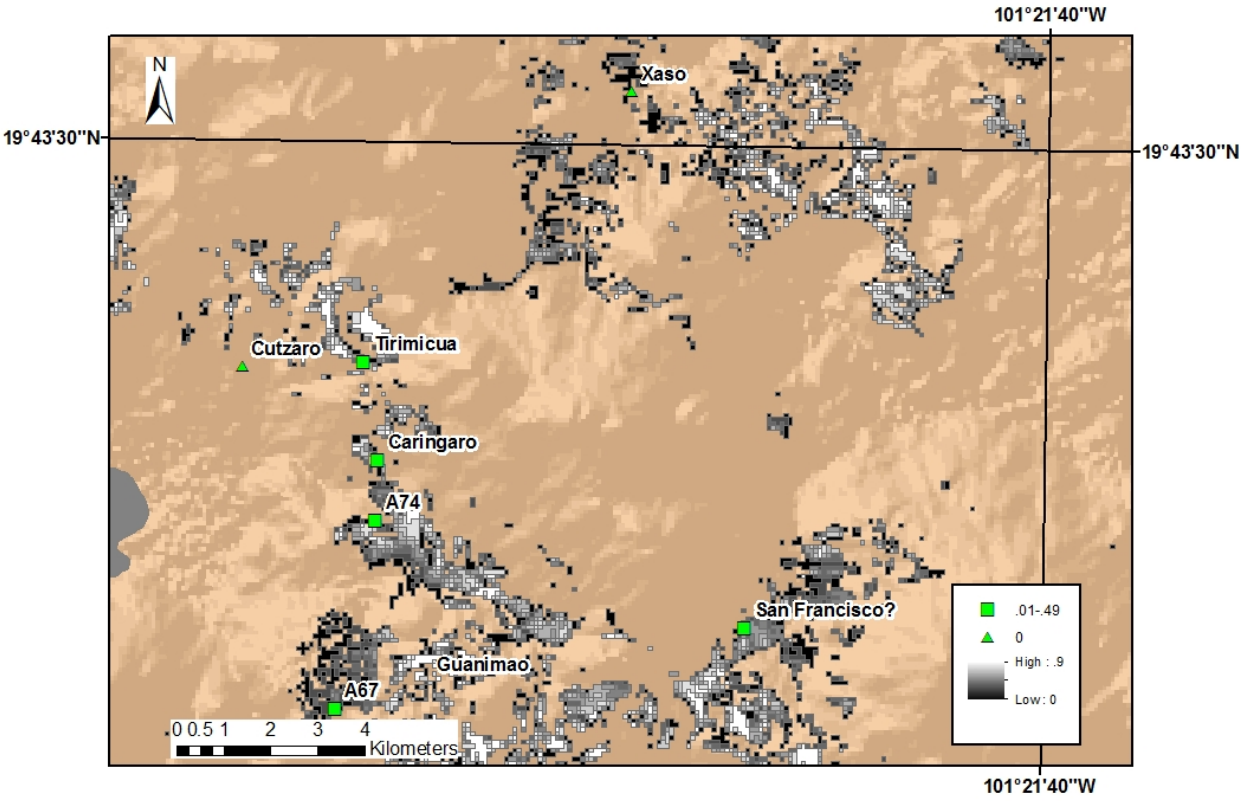


Figure 7.26. Map showing sites northeast of the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Green squares indicate memberships of .01–.49 while triangles indicate zero membership in the fuzzy set.

Figure 7.27 shows sites in the western Lake Pátzcuaro basin. None of the sites exhibit high membership. Pechátaro is probably an example of a near-miss because the valley it is located in is almost entirely a high-membership area. Site A64 in the southwest has low membership. Many of the sites like Eróngaricuaro Sites 2, 4, 6, and 12 (Espejel Carbajal 2008) have zero membership, which means they are outside of all three variables' ranges. A51 is also a site with zero membership.

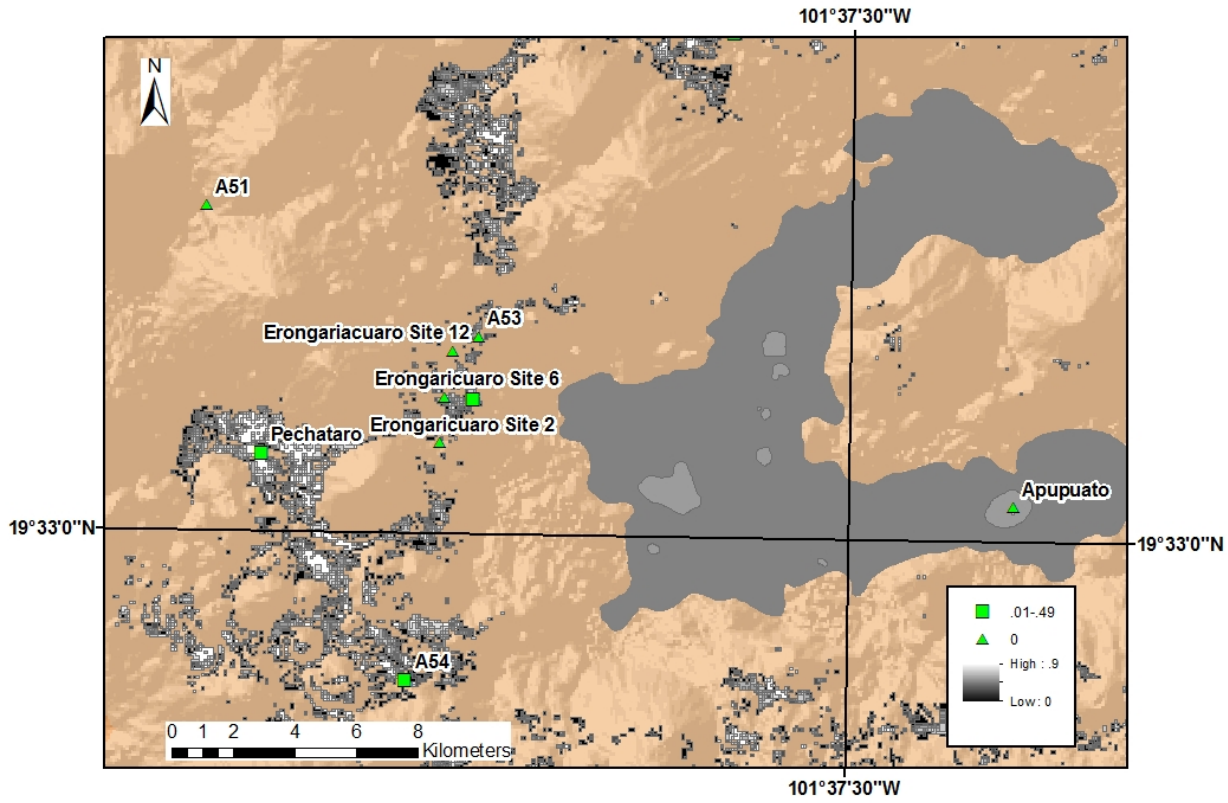


Figure 7.27. Map showing the sites of in the western Lake Pátzcuaro basin. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Green squares indicate memberships of .01–.49 while triangles indicate zero membership in the fuzzy set.

Figure 7.28 shows sites in the west of Michoacán. Capacuaro has a membership of .58 while Pomacoran and Pamatacuaro have membership values of .26 and .11, respectively. These sites are in high-elevation areas. Charapan has zero membership.

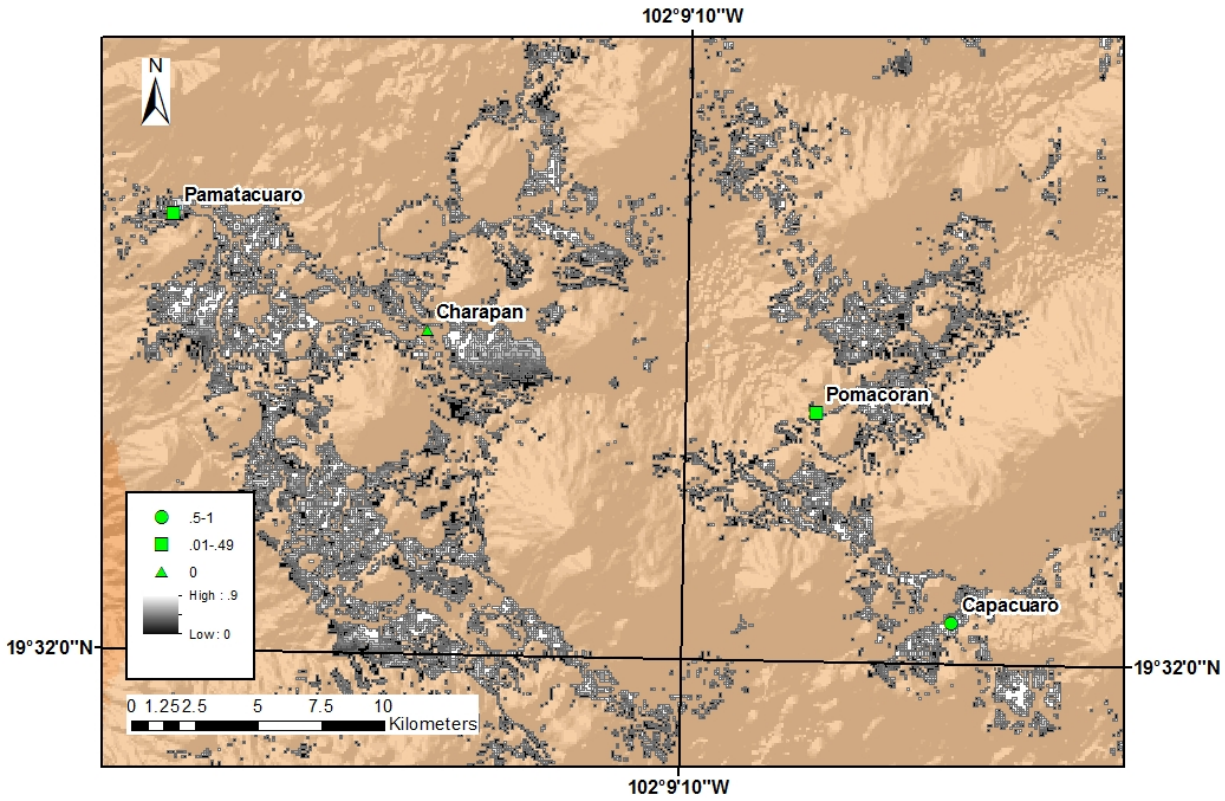


Figure 7.28. Map showing the sites of in northwestern Michoacán. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. Capacuaro (green circle) has a high membership in the set while Pomacoran and Pamatacuaro (green squares) have lower memberships. Charapan (green triangle) has zero membership.

Sierra Analysis. The statistically-derived models are capable of detecting small numbers of sites with membership values of .5–.9, large numbers of sites with nonzero memberships, and a moderate number of sites with zero membership. The analysis of site locations using the basic parameters shows that the model is approximately 20%–30% effective at locating sites in the test sample high membership and there are several possible explanations for this. The first explanation has to do with the fuzzy set operations used to select site locations because the Fuzzy Intersection operator selects the minimum fuzzy value for membership in the set (Klir et al. 1999:90). For example, if a given point has an elevation fuzzy membership of 1, an aspect membership of .9, and a slope membership of .4, fuzzy set operations dictate that the .4 value will be selected for the set (Klir et al. 1999:90).

The second explanation involves the variables themselves; specifically, the ranges of acceptable variables and their standard deviations. The Balsas, Plateau, and Sierra regions are defined by an elevation range of approximately 1,100 meters and the membership functions for the elevation and aspect variables are based on Gaussian distributions; thus, those values that are at the high or low ends of the range will receive low membership scores. The slope variable is affected by the choice of value for the crossover point (0.5), as well as the coefficient that controls the steepness of the curve (Robinson 2003).

One potential modification is to increase the standard deviation of the elevation and aspect variables by factor of two to encompass wider ranges. This would probably improve the scores for the Balsas region which has sites at very low elevations, and by increasing the aspect range it would enable the model to detect sites in different locations. Changing the slope value to a higher number such as 8 or 10 degrees would also increase the sensitivity for the Balsas and Plateau regions, but the Sierra may require a much higher value. It is also possible to change the variables by moving the mean values up one or two standard deviations in order to fit the values within the membership functions. In the following section, I discuss the results of modifying the membership functions.

Modifications

Balsas Modifications

In the previous discussion of the Balsas region, I noted that the model detected approximately 23% of the test sample with values of .5–1 and 30% of sites with values of .01–.49 when using the statistically calculated values from the prototype sample. By its nature the use of a Gaussian membership function will result in low memberships for data points at the high or low end of the distribution and the solution to this problem is to expand the range from a single standard deviation to two standard deviations, or one can move the mean value higher or lower. This means that sites along the river and at elevations near sea level will receive low membership scores.

I increased the standard deviation from 163.3 meters to 327 meters, or two standard deviations, to encompass a wider range of variation. This resulted in the detection of 20 out 26 sites in the test sample

(77%) with .4–.99. Membership scores also increased when the aspect was changed to 90 degrees (due east) and 180–225 degrees (SW). This is actually closer to the topography of the Balsas River basin. However, they decreased in other areas like 270 degrees (due west).

Figure 7.29 shows the results of the modifications to the SE Balsas region. By increasing the standard deviation of the elevation to 327 meters and changing the aspect to 90 degrees I was able to detect all of the sites in the southeastern Balsas. In the previous section, the sites of San Jose Poliutla, Santa Ana, and Santo Tomas had membership values below .5, while site 98-083 had a zero value. Now, Santo Tomas has a membership value of .9 and San Jose Poliutla has a value of .54, which are significant increases. In addition, San Pablo's membership value is .93. Site 98-083's membership value is .4.

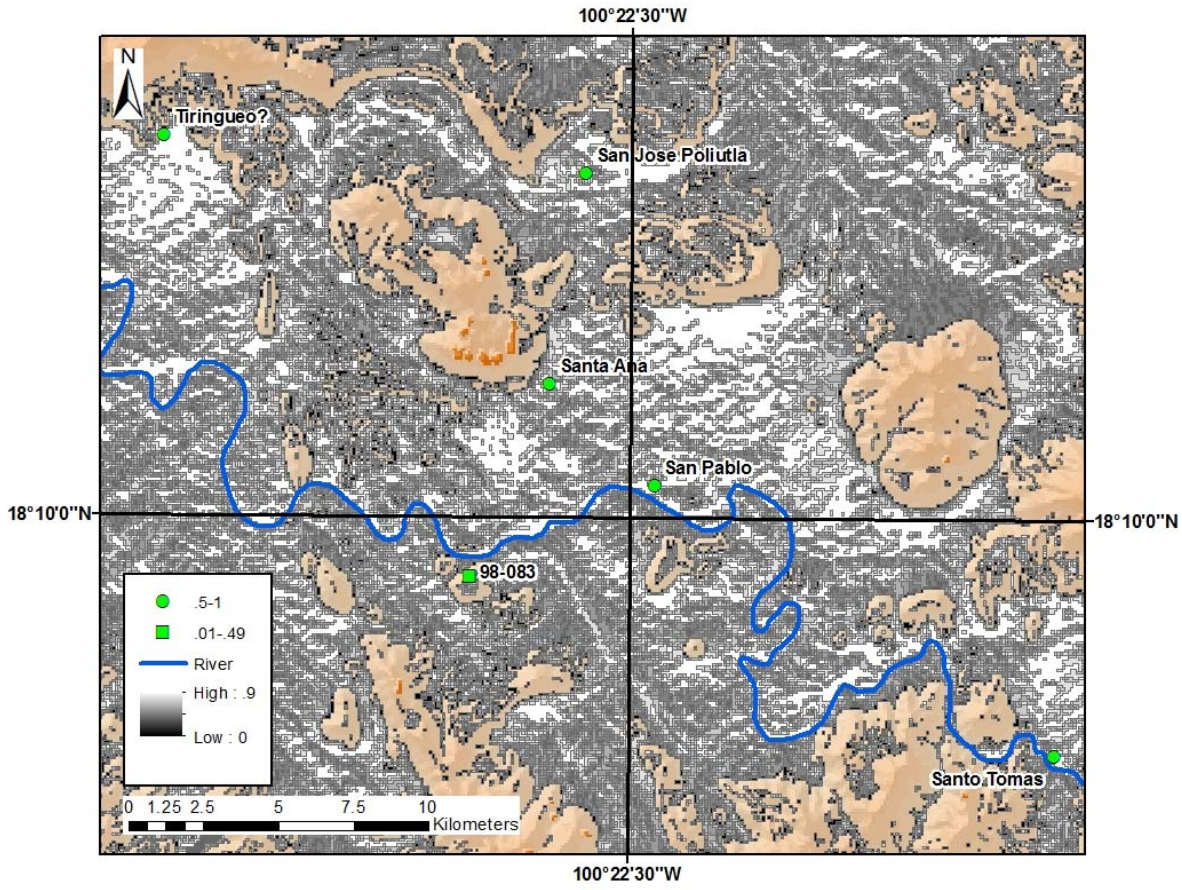


Figure 7.29. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface and the sites in southeastern Michoacán (green circles). In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. The image indicates that a much larger area is now identified by the modified Balsas model.

In Figure 7.30, we see that Coyuca, San Jerónimo, and Santiago have also increased their membership values. Coyuca's membership value rose to .64, while Santiago and San Jerónimo have values of .79 and .76, respectively.

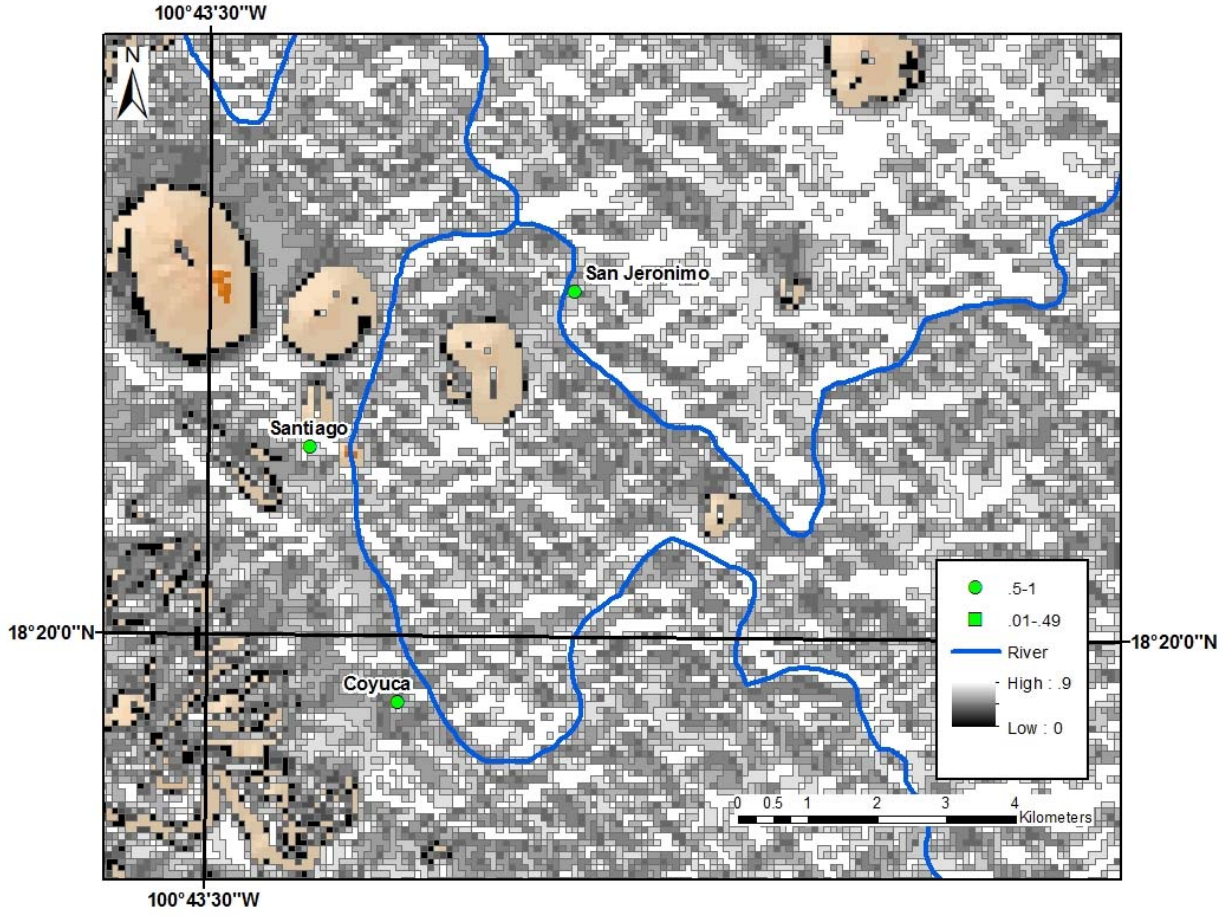


Figure 7.30. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in white and gray scale) and the sites of Coyuca, Santiago, and San Jerónimo (green circles). High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. The model shows sensitivity to areas along the river as well as at higher elevations.

Sirandaro's membership value, which had been zero, is now .79, which shows that the modifications to the Balsas predictive model have led to significant improvements in model sensitivity. It is shown in Figure 7.31 below.

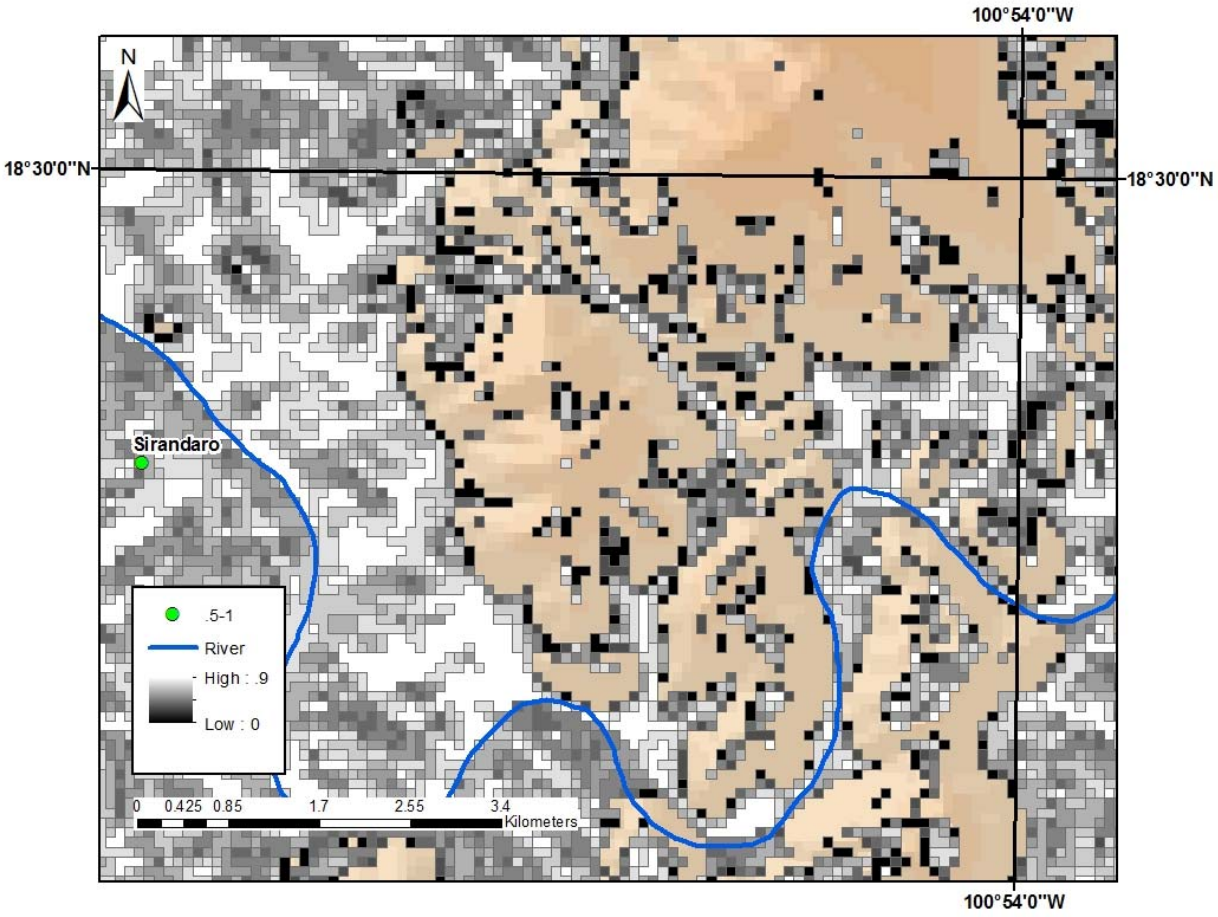


Figure 7.31. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in white and gray scale) and the location of Sirandaro (green circle). In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set. High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color.

Cuseo and Huetamo also improved in membership with new values of .97 and .84, respectively. Quataseo's membership climbed to .44, and San Lucas is now .98. The membership is represented in Figure 7.32.

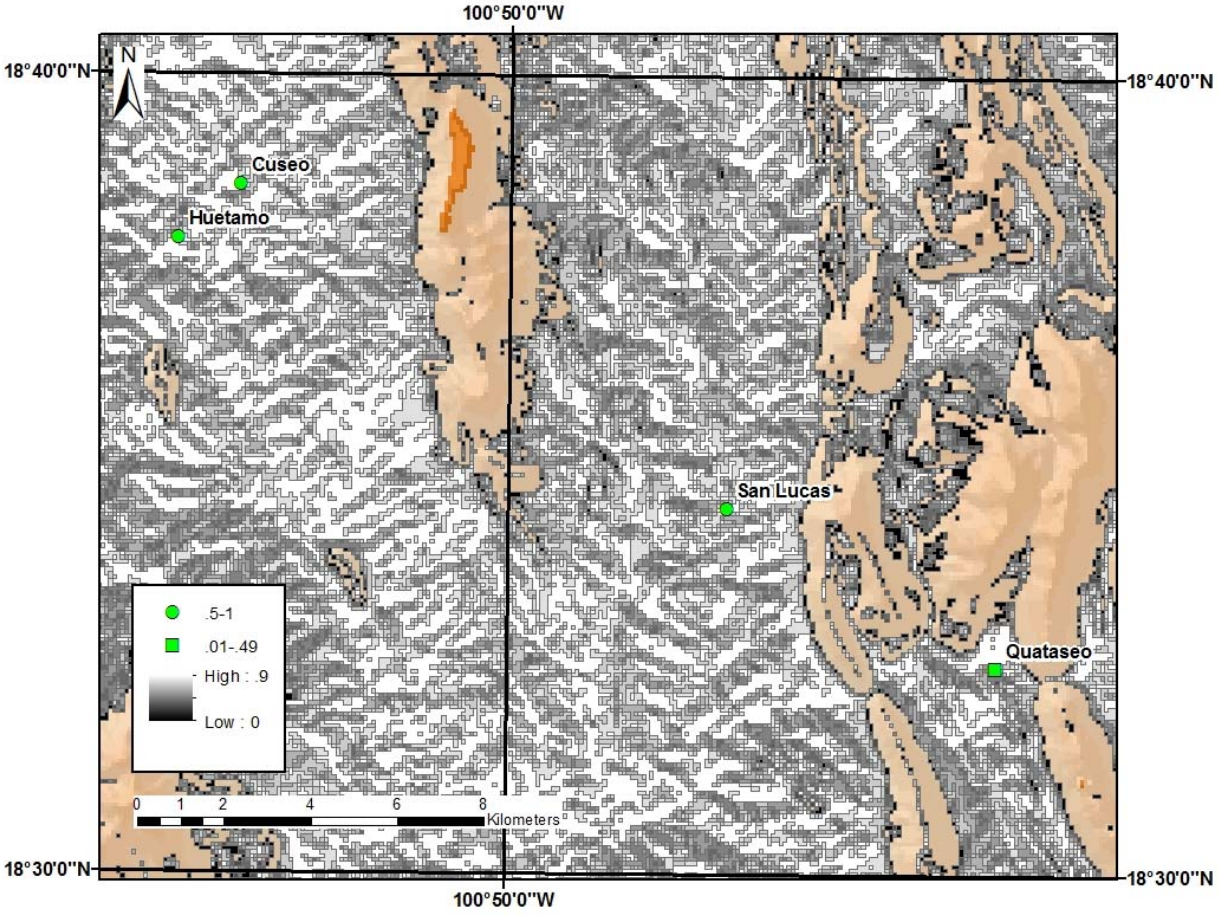


Figure 7.32. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in white and gray scale) and the locations of Cuseo, Huetamo, San Lucas (green circles), and Quataseo (green square). High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color.

Figure 7.33 shows southern Michoacán and the Balsas region. La Huacana has the highest membership value of .99. Furthermore, Pumacupeo's membership value is .3. The number of high-membership areas has increased to include a large number of valleys. Turicato, which had previously been assigned a zero membership value, now has a value of .69.

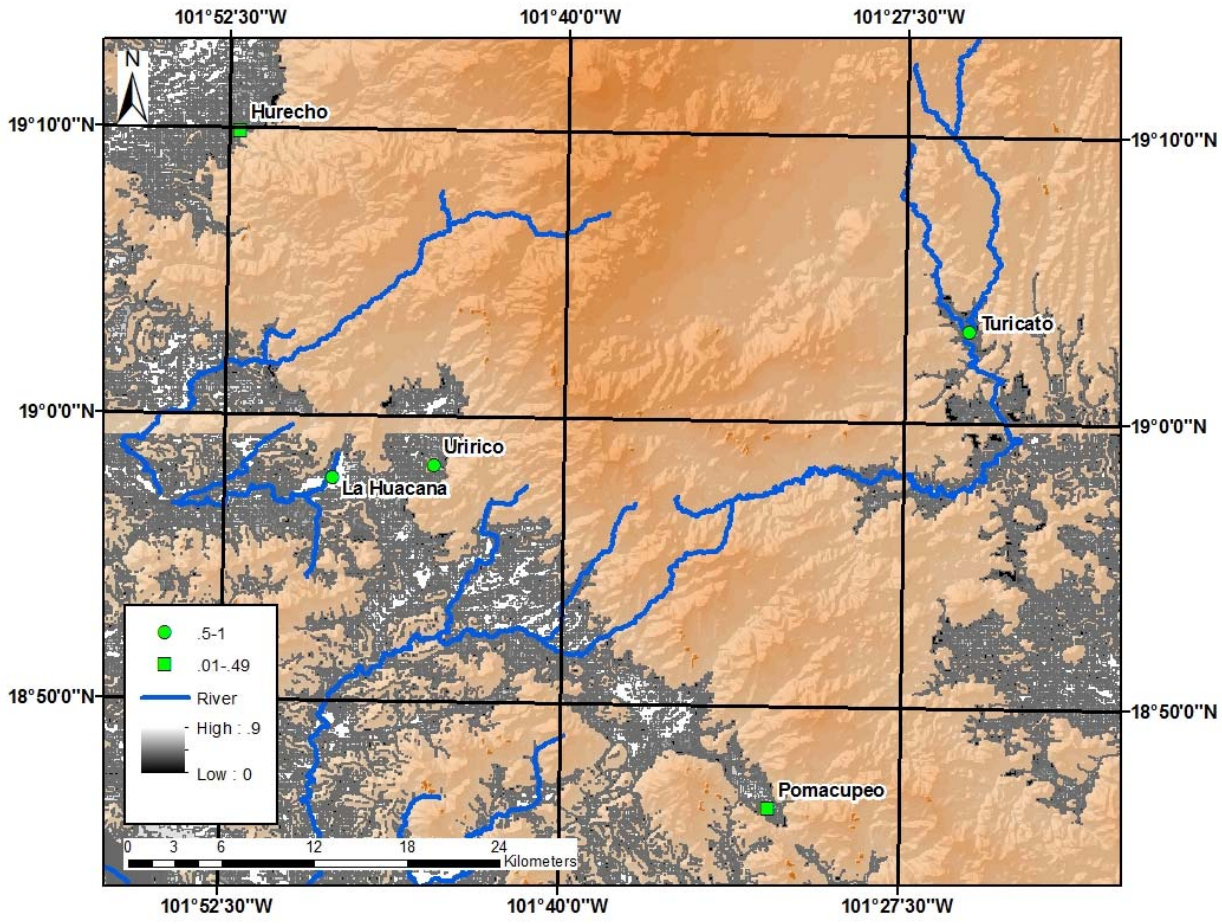


Figure 7.33. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in white and gray scale) and the locations of La Huacana, Uririco, and Turicato (green circles), and Turicato (green square). The site of Pomacupeo (green square) has a membership value of .3. High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color. The model shows sensitivity to higher-elevation sites and valleys.

Sites along the river like Sinagua (.75), Churúmucu (.95) now exhibit membership above .5, which is a distinct improvement over the original calculations. Cuzaru's membership value has risen as well, but the value is .3. These sites are shown in Figure 7.34.

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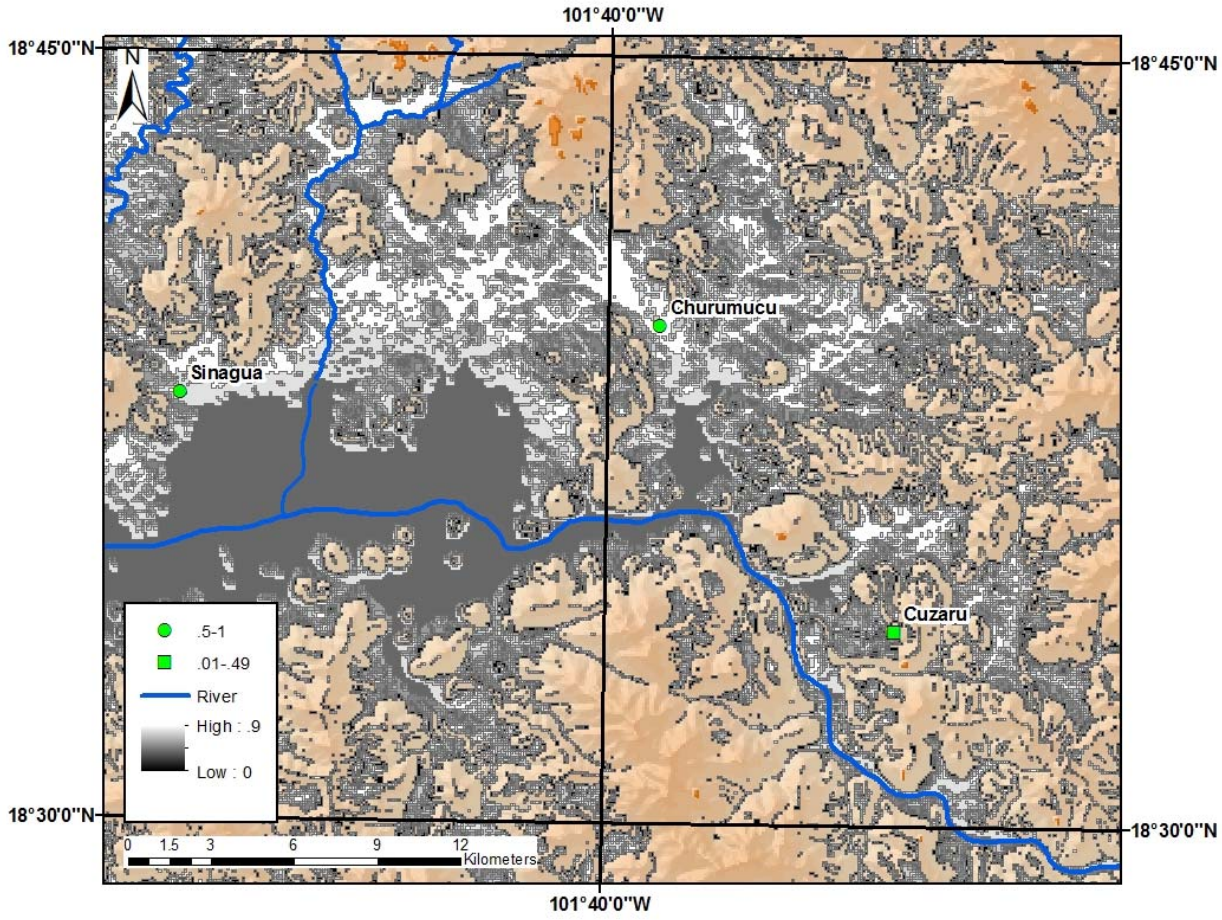

Figure 7.34. Map showing the locations of Sinagua and Churúmucu (green circles), and Cuzaru (green square). Sinagua and Churúmucu have membership values over .5 while Cuzaru has a membership in the .01–.49 range. High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color. The model shows sensitivity to areas along the river as well as at higher elevations.

Figure 7.35 shows the location of the *cabecera* of Tepalcatepeque in southwestern Michoacán. This site was also identified by the original statistically-derived fuzzy set model. Like the original model, Tepalcatepeque has a membership value of .95.

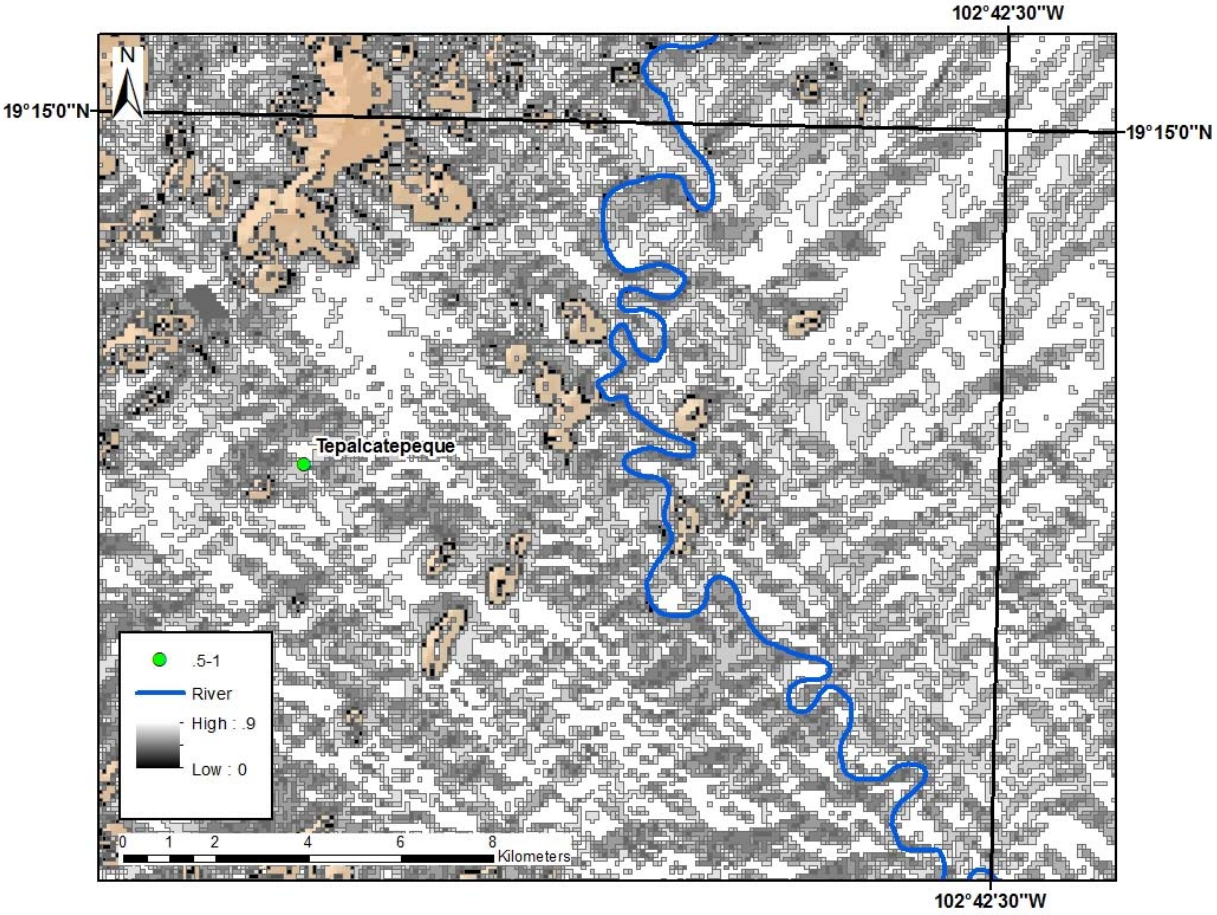

Figure 7.35. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in gray and white scale) and the Tepalcatepeque (green circle), which has a membership value of .95. High-membership areas are in white and lower membership areas progressively darken in color.

Figure 7.36 shows that Quacoman and Huitontlan have zero membership despite the changes to the variables. The modified fuzzy set model failed to identify the *cabecera* of Quacoman and its *sujeto* Huitontlan in southwest Michoacán, which suggests that one or multiple variables are out of the acceptable range for detection. Further examination of the variables shows that Quacoman and Huitontlan are located at over 1,000 meters above sea level, which is outside of the range of the modified model. If

the elevation is adjusted upward by one standard deviation, the membership values climb to .91 for Quacoman and .52 for Huitontlan.

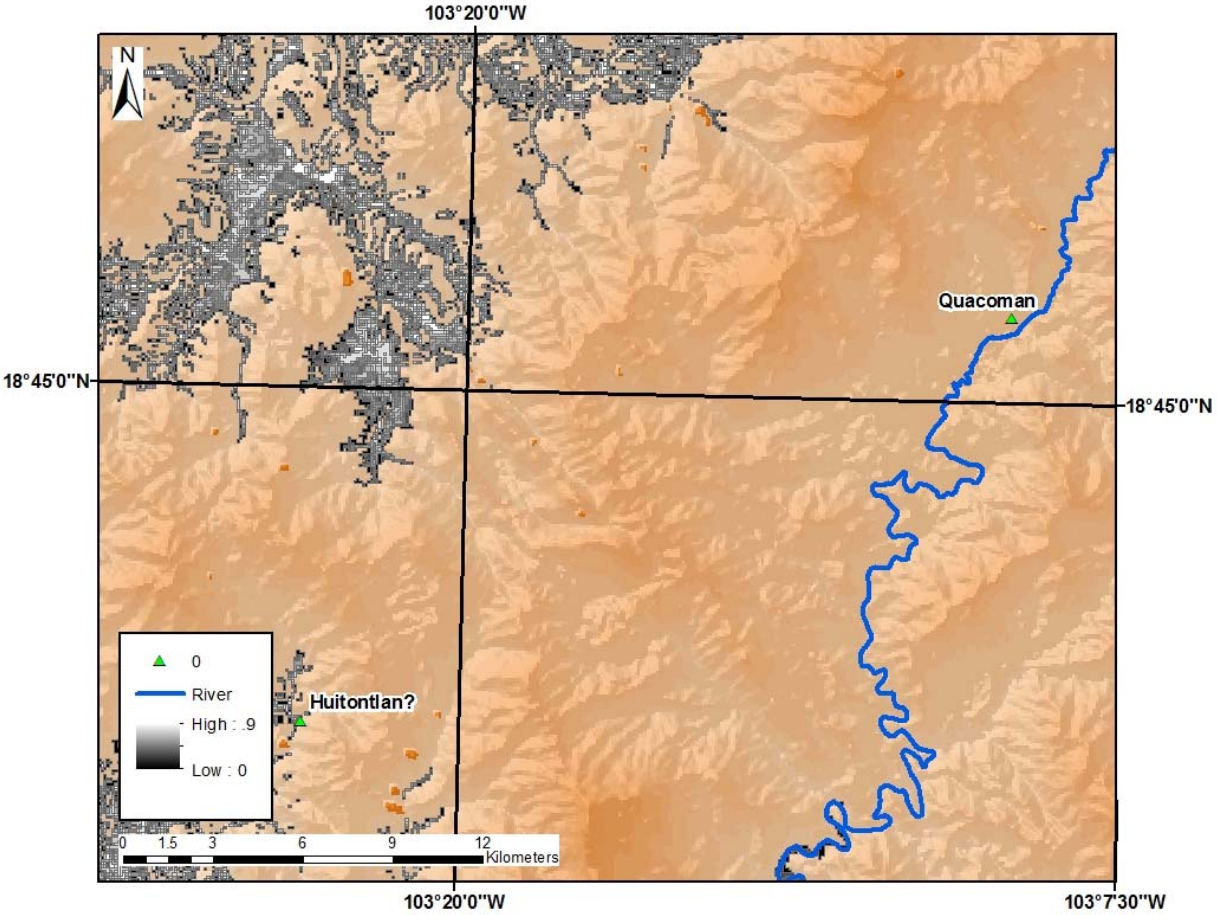

Figure 7.36. Map showing the fuzzy membership surface (in gray) and the locations of Quacoman and Huitontlan (green triangles). The modifications failed to identify these sites.

Site Identifications. I also tested the modified model's ability to detect unrecorded archaeological sites in the Balsas region. I found two possible archaeological sites approximately 30 kilometers east of Tepalcatepeque along several slopes. This is shown in Figure 7.37.

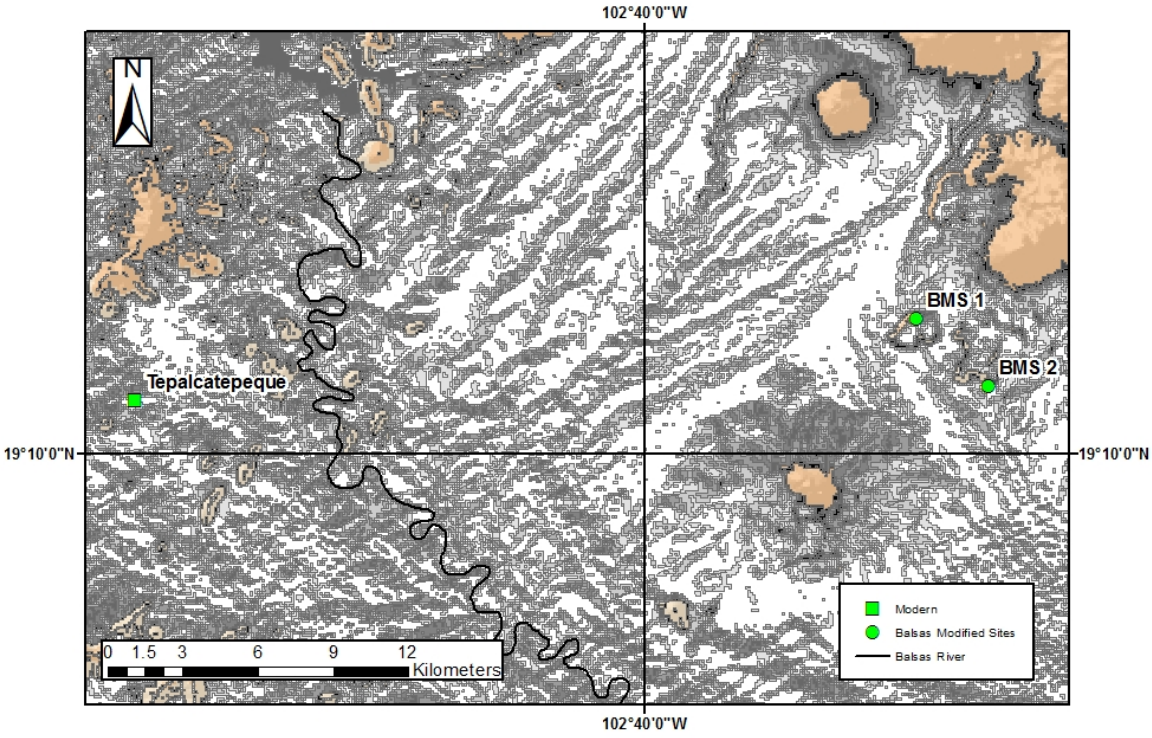

Figure 7.37. The location of the Balsas Modified Sites 1 and 2 (green circles) which were identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The identified site of Tepalcatepeque was added for spatial reference. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.38 shows the location of site BMS 1 (Balsas Modified Site 1) is located on a small outcrop overlooking the modern site of Buenavista Tomatlan. This area has a membership of .52 in the modified Balsas group. The outcrop is relatively flat with steep slopes; indeed, the fuzzy model disqualified these slope areas as possible habitable areas because they were too steep. In the northern part of the outcrop there appear to be structural outlines consistent with a habitation area, as well as several small retaining walls northwest of the structure.

Figure 7.38. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 1 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of structural outlines and a retaining wall. The scale in the image is 491 meters (1,611 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.39 shows that BMS 2 is located approximately 5 kilometers southeast of BMS 1 where it is sheltered between two outcrops. The membership value for BMS 2 is .89. The site itself appears to consist of terraces that extend approximately 243 meters perpendicular to the slope. Structural outlines are difficult to discern in the imagery but there are faint outlines that might suggest a structure, running parallel to the slope.

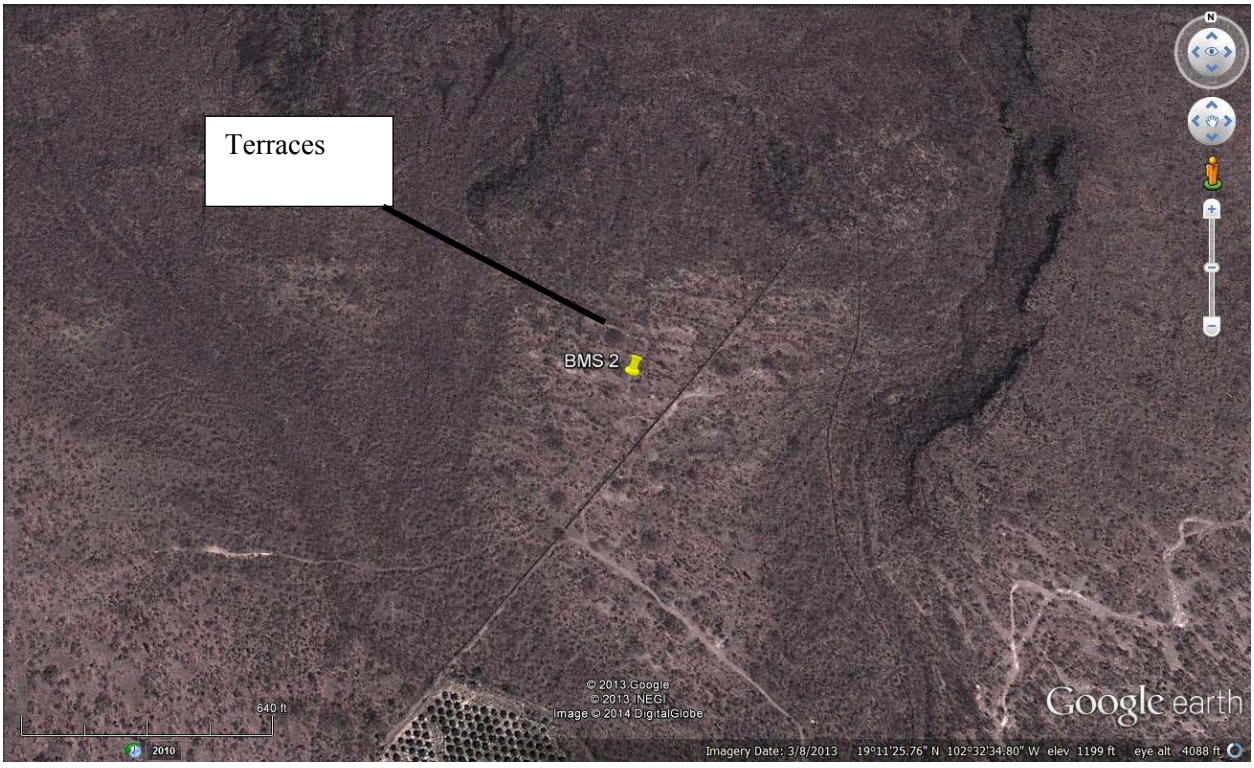

Figure 7.39. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 2 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The sites are identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 195.1 meters (640 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Site BMS 3 is located 20 kilometers west of Pomacupeo in a small valley, as shown in Figure 7.40. It has a membership of .86. There are several faint indications of structural outlines and possible retaining walls running parallel to the valley toward a small settlement.

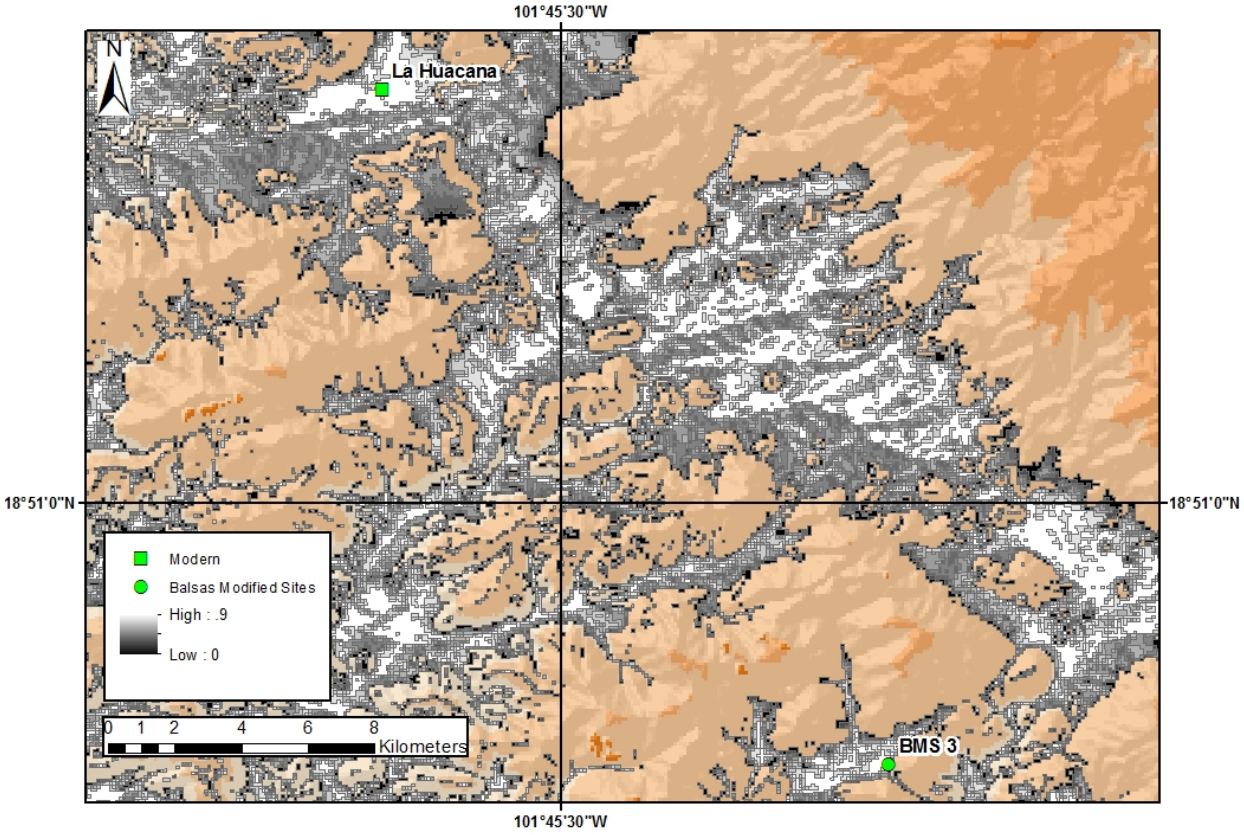

Figure 7.40. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 3 (green circle) which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site of La Huacana has been provided as a modern referent. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.41 shows the location of BMS 3, which consists of a series of linear features, possibly terraces, located in southern Michoacán near Pumacupeo. The site sits in a valley several kilometers from Pomacupeo/Púmuchacupeo.

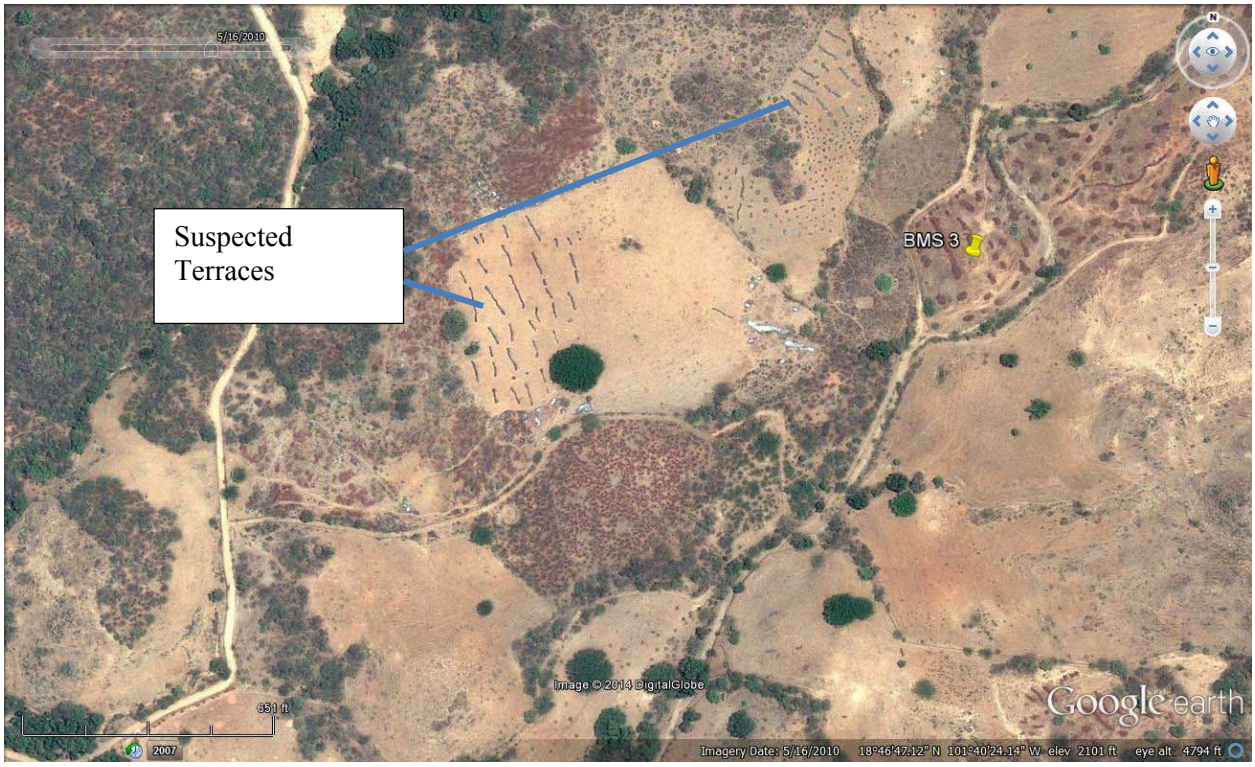

Figure 7.41. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 3 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The scale on the image is 198 meters (651 feet). Data: Digital Globe, Google Earth.

Figure 7.42 below shows the BMS 4–6 in the southeastern Balsas region. BMS 4, 5, and 6 are located along the Balsas River bank. BMS 4 has a membership of .92 and sits in the middle of a modern agricultural field. It appears to be a structural outline approximately 50x40 meters, and these types of isolated features in the middle of developed fields are typically structures (Mather and Koch 2011).

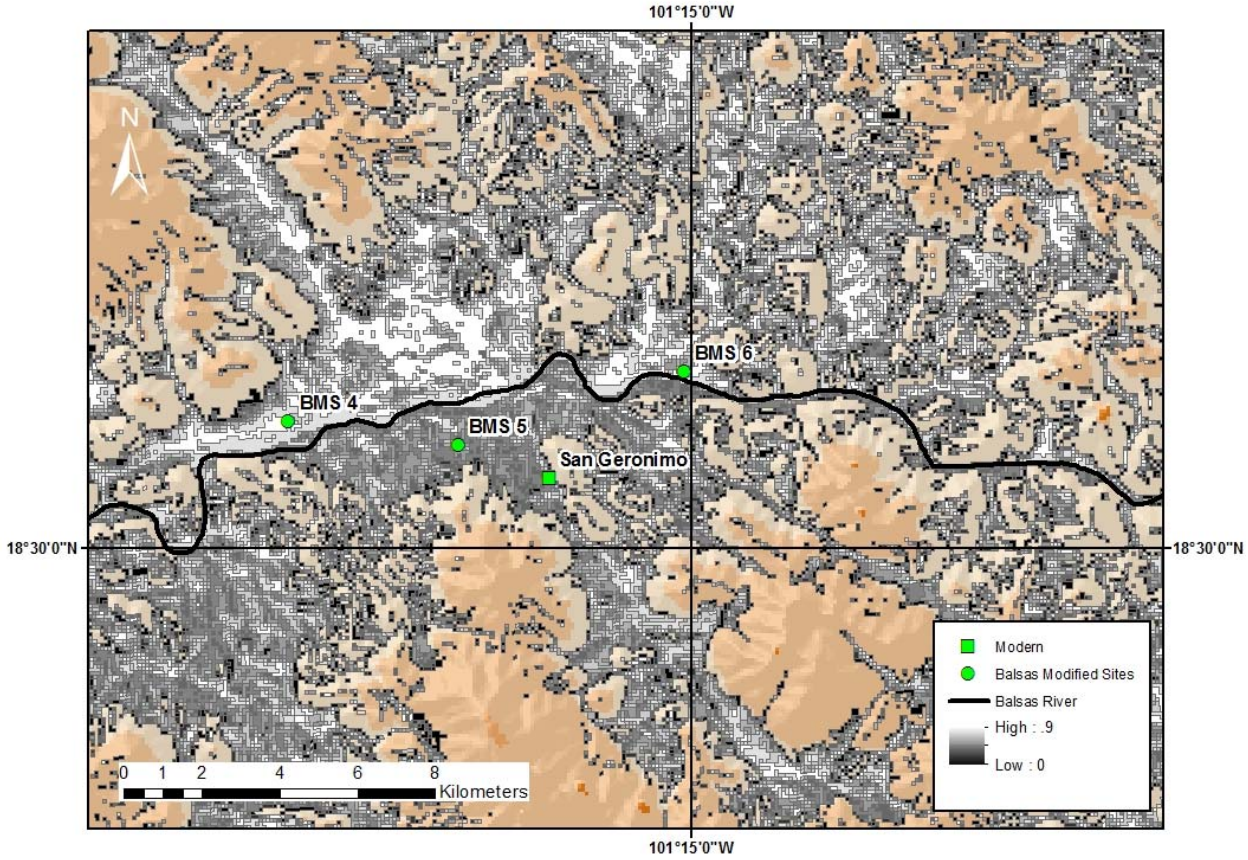

Figure 7.42. The location of the Balsas Modified Sites 4–6which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.43 shows the location of site BMS 4, which is located on the northern bank of the Balsas region. Isolated features that sit in the middle of developed fields are often associated with archaeological sites (Parcak 2009). This feature measures 76x51 meters and is bisected by what might be a wall in the middle.

Figure 7.43. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 4 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of structural outlines. The scale on the image is 194.1 meters (637 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.44 shows the location of BMS 5. BMS 5 has a membership of .53. It sits along the southern bank of the Balsas River and appears to be a structural outline facing toward the north. The site commands a view of the surrounding terrain, which would make it ideal for an observation post (Brand 1943).

Figure 7.44. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 5 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of possible structural outlines. The scale on the image is 111 meters (364 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

BMS 6 is located 5 kilometers east of BMS 5 along the northern bank of the Balsas River, as shown in Figure 7.45. It sits near the confluence of the Balsas River and a smaller tributary that feeds into it. Like BMS 4, BMS 6 looks like it could be an isolated structural outline obscured by a stand of trees. It measures 78x76 meters. Its membership value is .83.

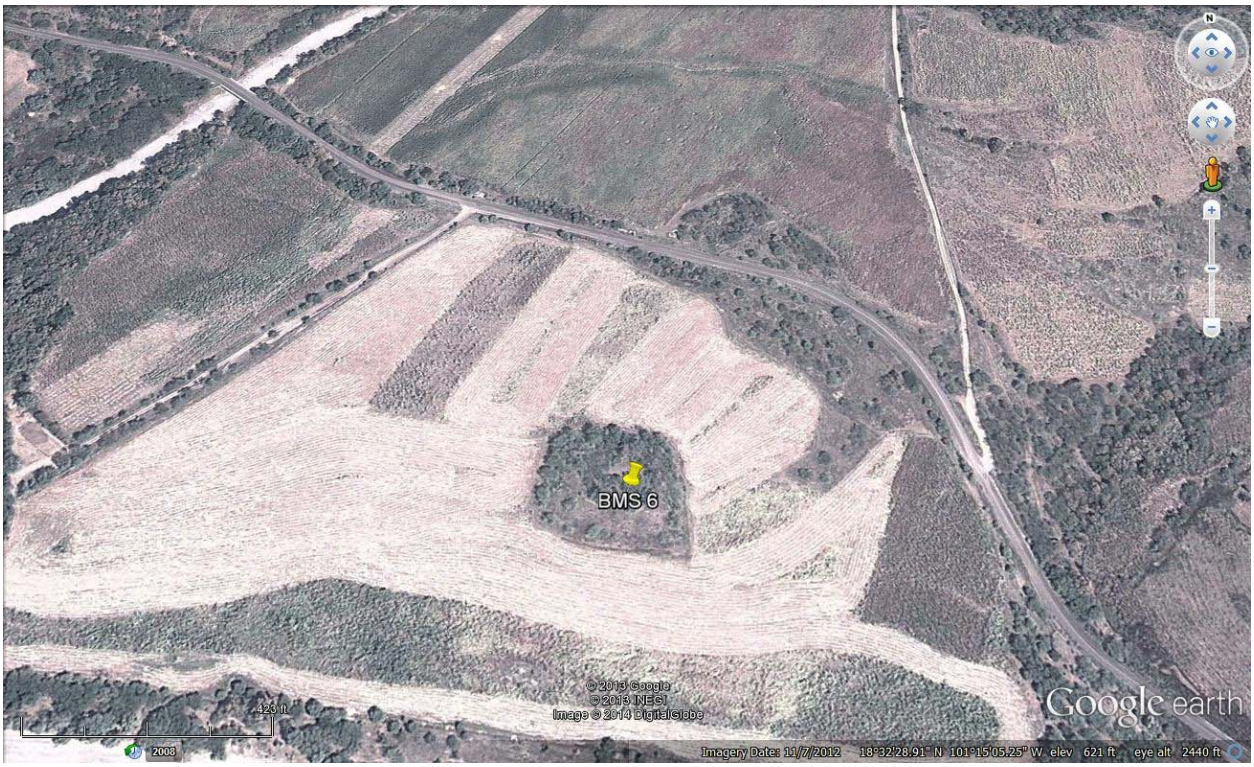

Figure 7.45. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 6 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 129 meters (423 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

BMS 7, shown in Figure 7.46, is located 20 kilometers northeast of Sirandaro, away from the river. It has a membership of .89.

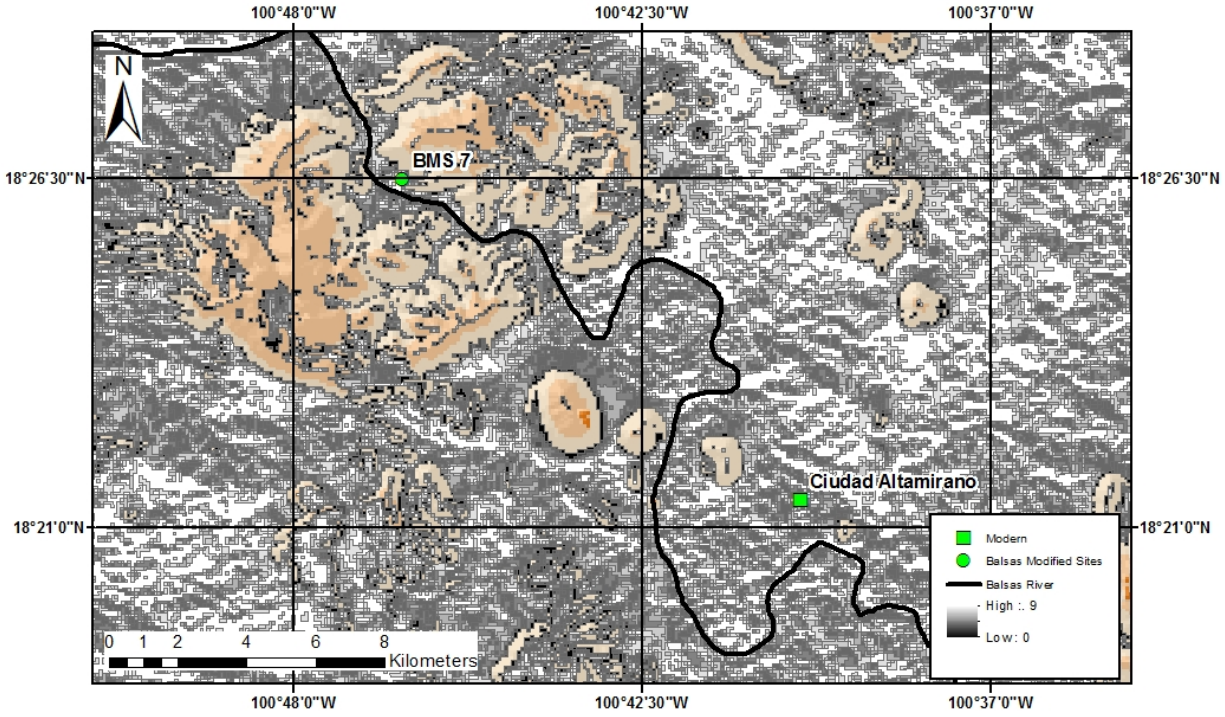

Figure 7.46. The site of BMS 7 (green circle) and the modern city of Ciudad Altamirano (green square).

The outline is of a structure similar to the structure at Yacata de los Nogales (see Chapter Six, Figure 6.37). It is shown in Figure 7.47.

Figure 7.47. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 7 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 156 meters (512 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

BMS 8 and BMS 9 are located approximately 40 kilometers from the Balsas River. The locations of these sites show that the model is capable of detecting sites even though they may be at higher elevations. The locations of BMS 8 and 9 are shown in Figure 7.48.

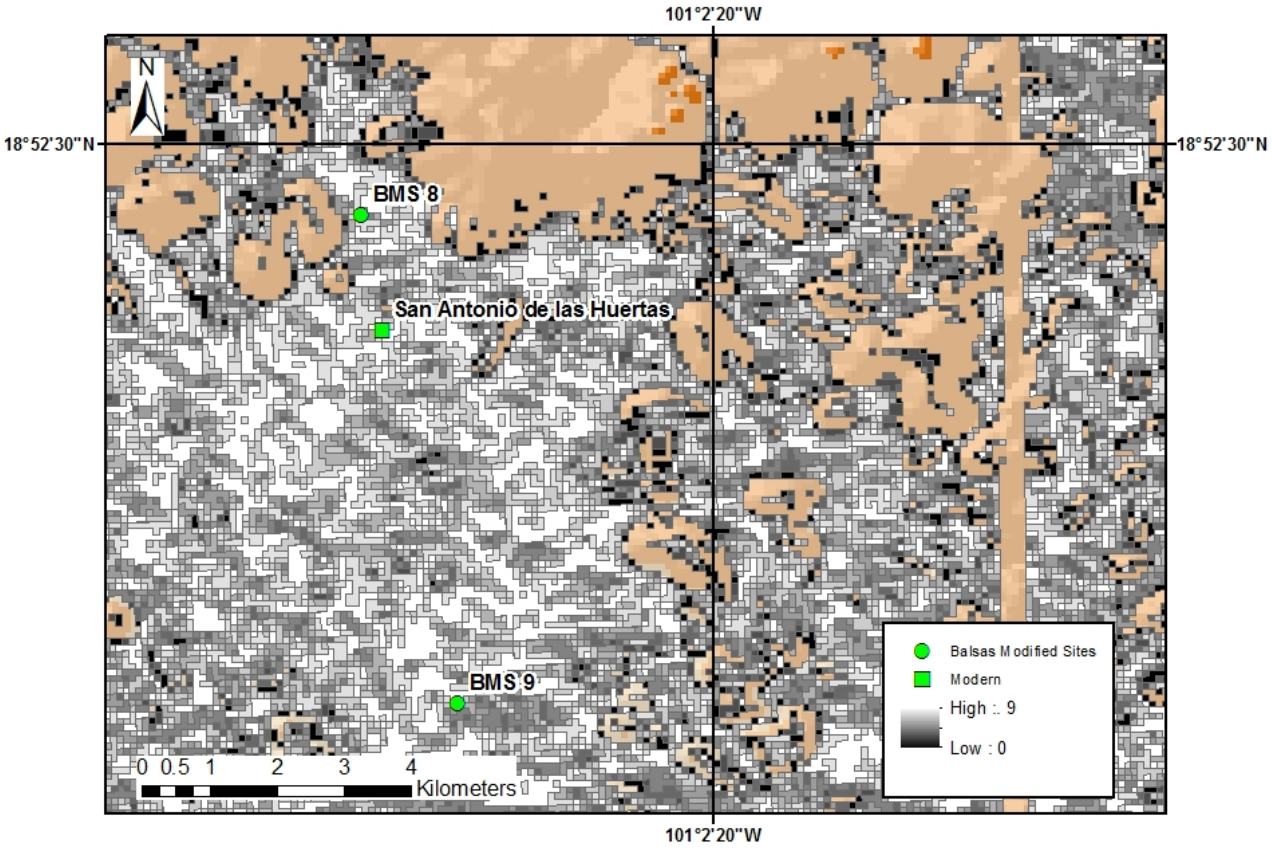

Figure 7.48. The locations of BMS 8 and BMS 9 (green circles) and the modern settlement of San Antonio de las Huertas (green square). In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

BMS 8 has a membership of .61 and it consists of possible structural outlines, as shown in Figure 7.49.

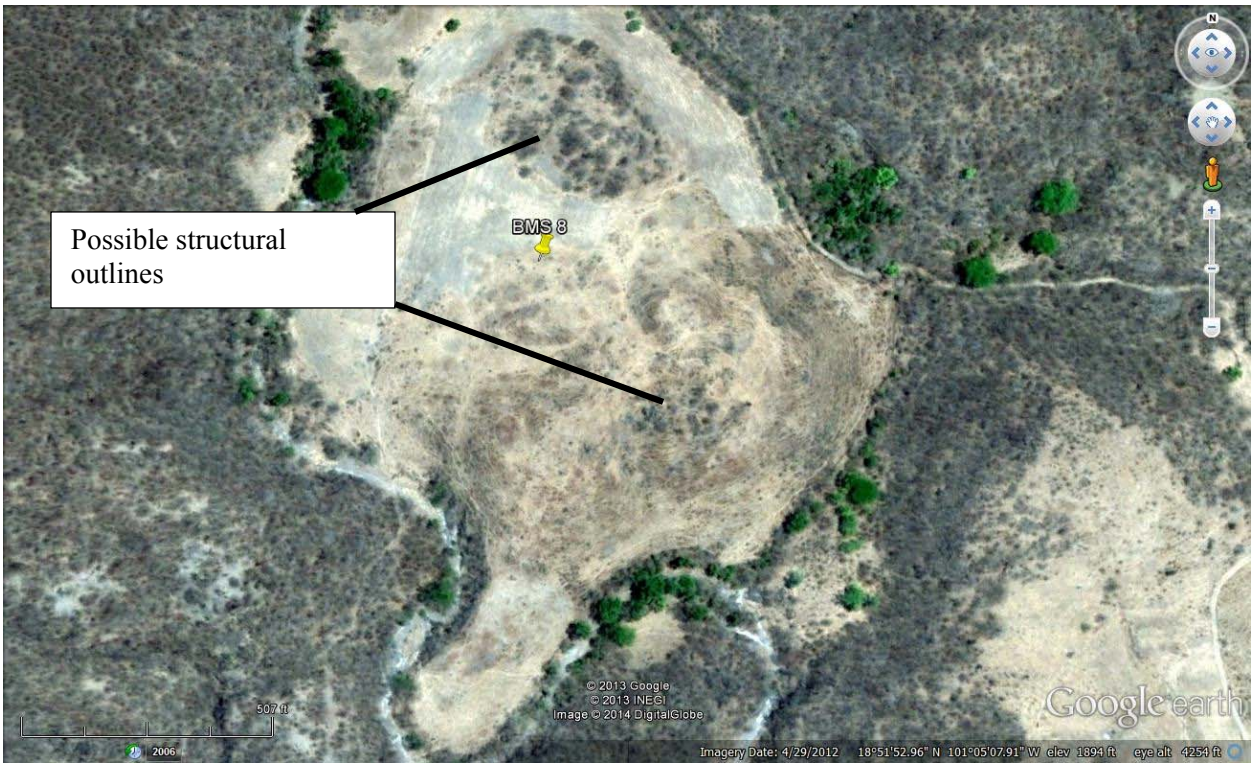

Figure 7.49. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 8 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 154 meters (507 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.50 shows the location of BMS 9, which consists of a set of structural outlines located next to a small river. It has a membership of .64.

Figure 7.50. The location of the Balsas Modified Site 9 which was identified using the modified Balsas fuzzy model. The scale is 145 meters (475 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Sierra Modifications

Sierra membership also responded to changes in the variables. Increasing the standard deviation by a factor of two allowed for detection of over 50% of the sites. The most significant change came when the elevation was lowered by one standard deviation from 2331 to 2217 and the standard deviation itself was increased to 500. This resulted in a detection rate of 86% with membership values between .33–.99.

Figure 7.51 shows the sites of Pamatacuaro, Charapan, Pomacoran, and Capacuaro. All sites have been identified by the model.

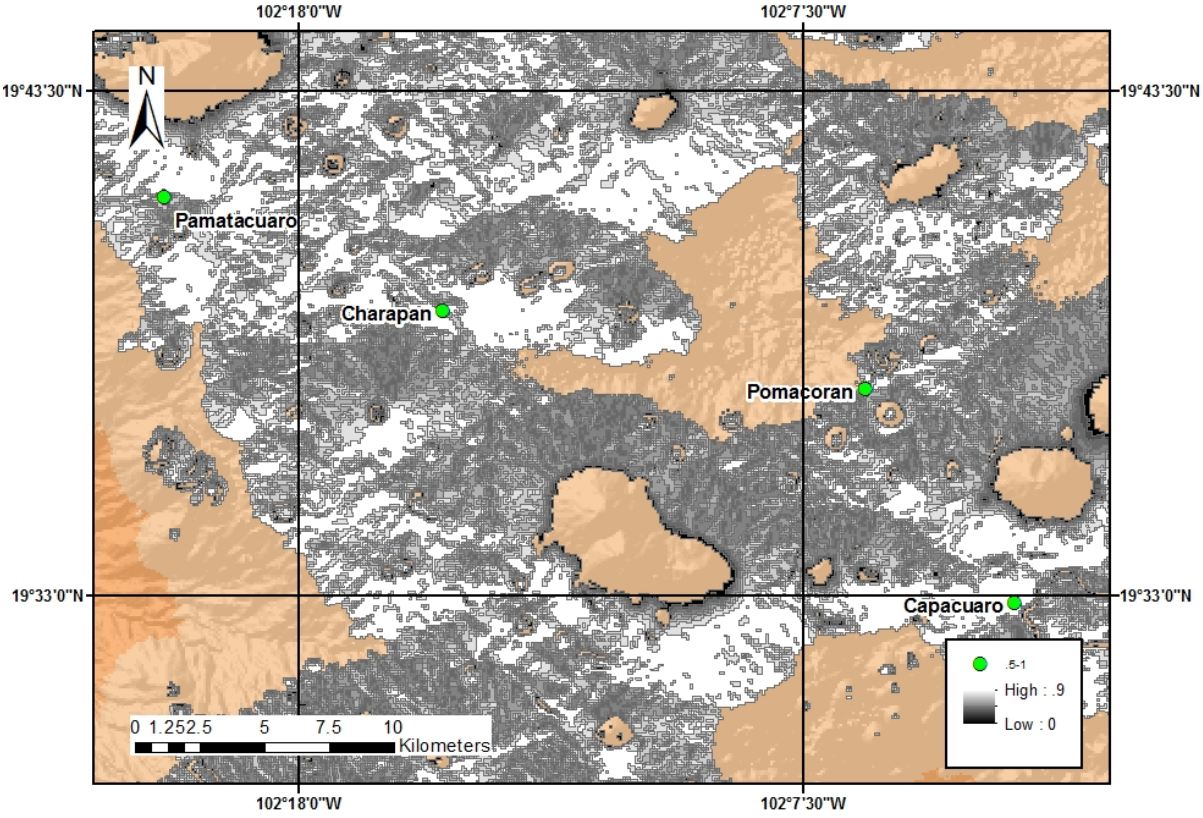

Figure 7.51. The locations of sites with memberships above .5 (green circles) that were identified by the modified Sierra model with Slope=30, Aspect = 180, Elevation= 2217). The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.52 shows a number of sites in the western Lake Pátzcuaro Basin. The sites near Eróngaricuaro are now all above .5, as is Pechátaro, the *subcabecera* of Eróngaricuaro. Sites A51, A53, and A54 are all high-membership sites as well.

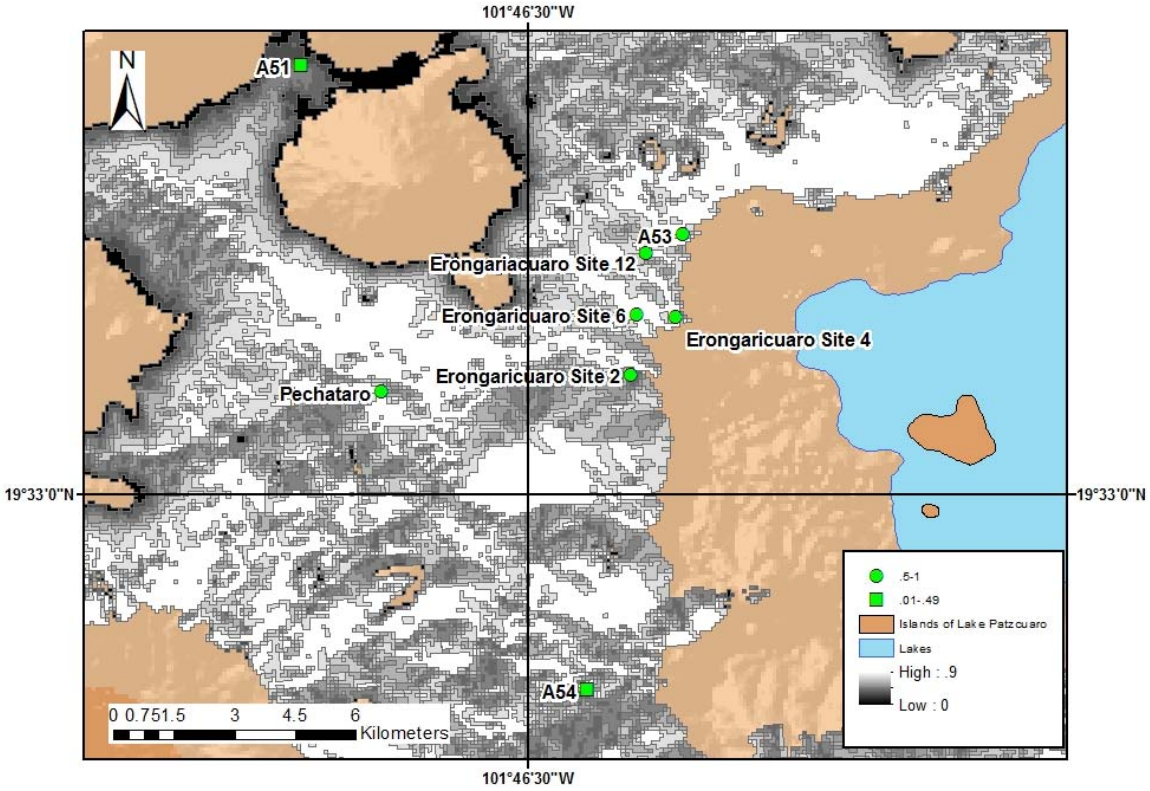

Figure 7.52. The locations of sites identified by the modified Sierra model with Slope=30, Aspect = 180, Elevation = 2217. Sites with green circles have memberships above .5 while sites with green squares have memberships below .5. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

All sites shown in Figure 7.53 have high membership values as well. The fuzzy surface now identifies all but the very highest-elevation zones as potential membership areas.

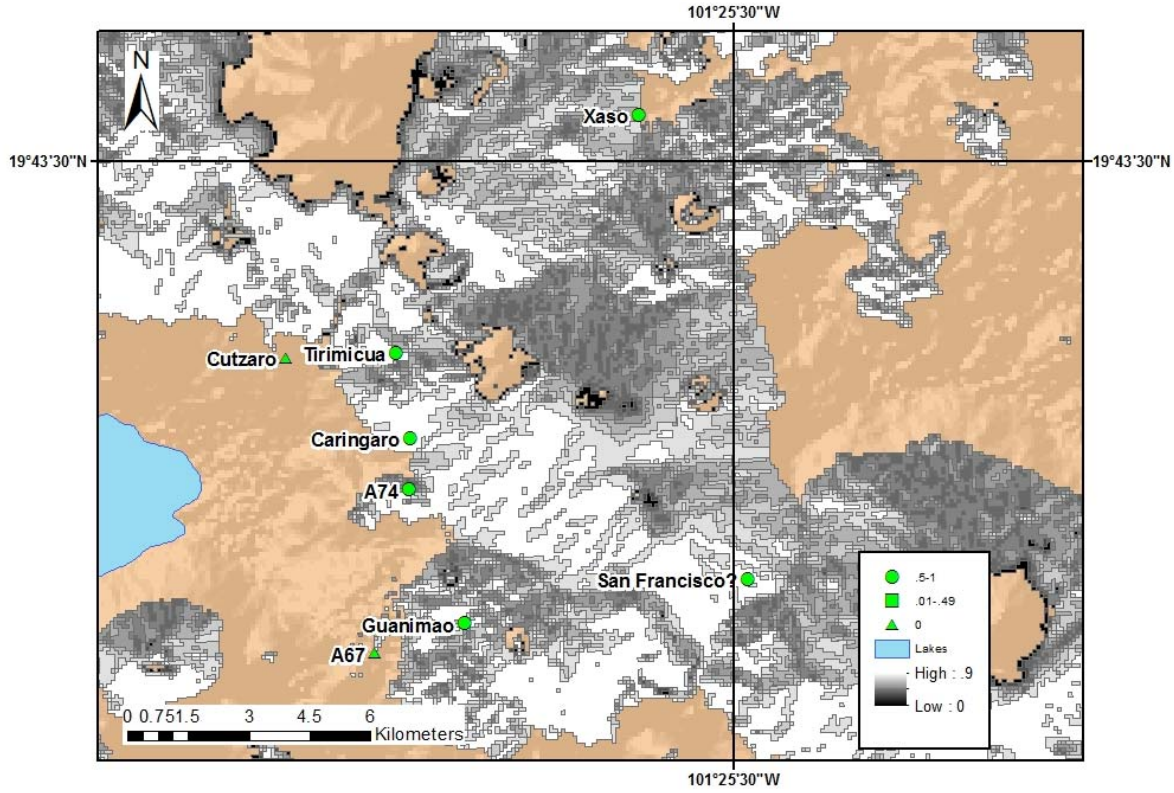

Figure 7.53. The locations of sites identified by the modified Sierra model with Slope=30, Aspect = 180, Elevation = 2217. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites. Xaso, Caringaro, Tirimicua, San Francisco, and Guanimao (green circles) have memberships above .5 while Cutzaro and site A67 have zero membership.

Membership values also increased for San Miguel and Guango to .97 and .91, respectively. These values show that the model is capable of detecting sites at higher elevations in greater topographic variation. These are shown in Figure 7.54.

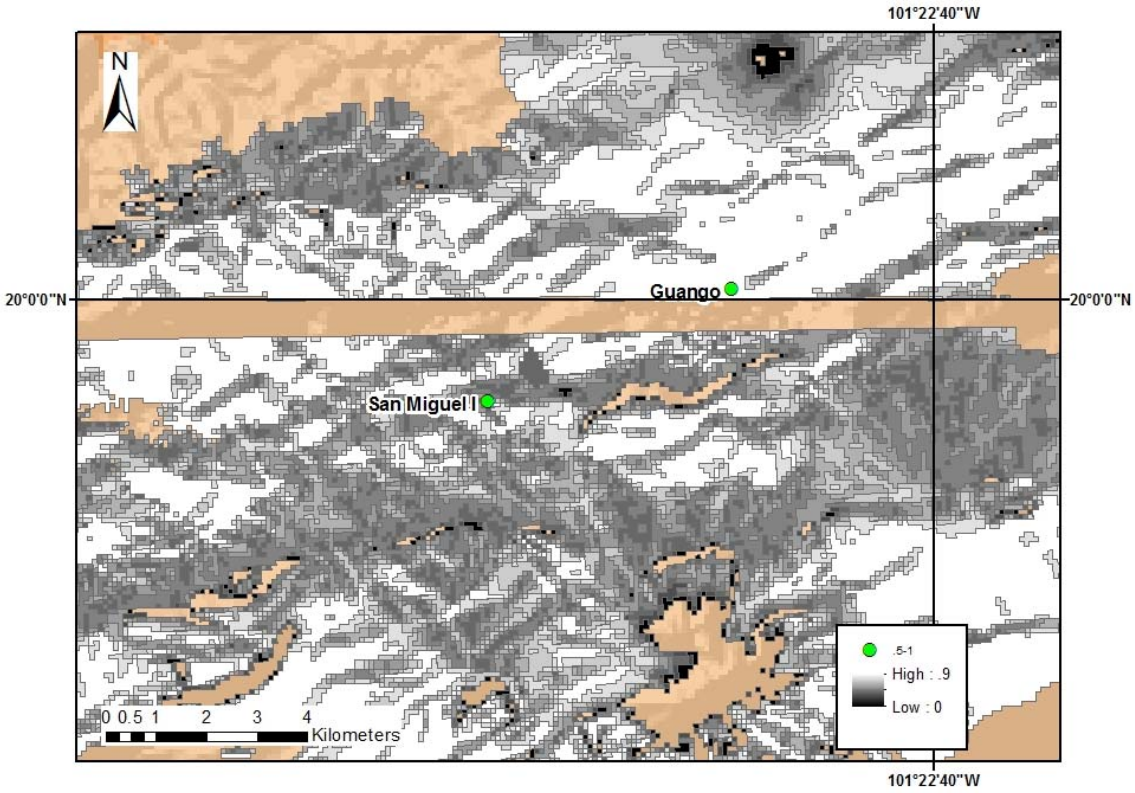

Figure 7.54. The locations of sites identified by the modified Sierra model with Slope=30, Aspect = 180, Elevation = 2217. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites. San Miguel I and Guango (green circles) both have high membership in the fuzzy set for suitability.

Finally, Figure 7.55 shows improvements in detection for Opopeo and Guanajo.

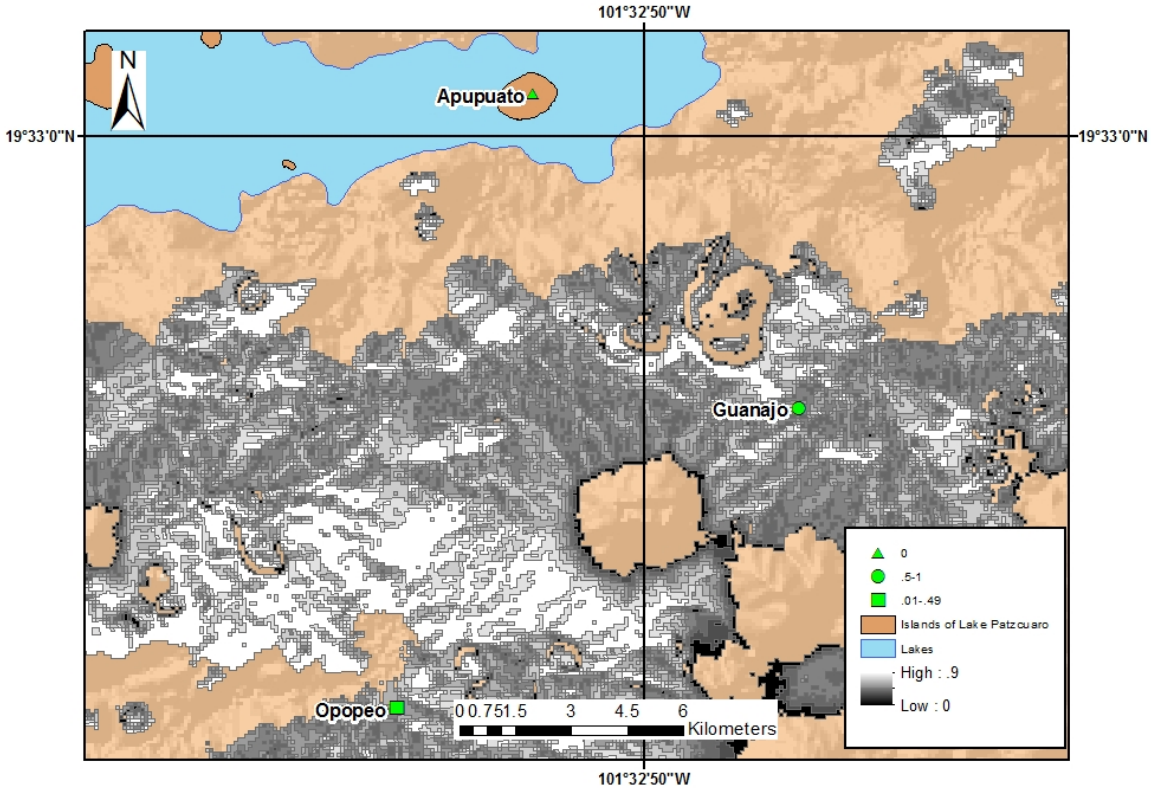

Figure 7.55. The locations of sites identified by the modified Sierra model with Slope=30, Aspect = 180, Elevation = 2217. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Site Identifications. I also tested whether the Sierra model modifications were capable of detecting sites that are not referenced in research publications or mentioned in the ethnohistorical record. I located a total of eight sites located across Michoacán, and these are shown in Figures 7.56–7.65. Figure 7.56 shows the location of site Sierra Modified Site (SMS) 1.

SMS 1 is located 17 kilometers north of the Lake Cuitzeo basin in modern-day Guanajuato. It has a membership of .87. The site sits on the western slope of a large hill and consists of a series of terraces and structural outlines. It is shown in Figure 7.56.

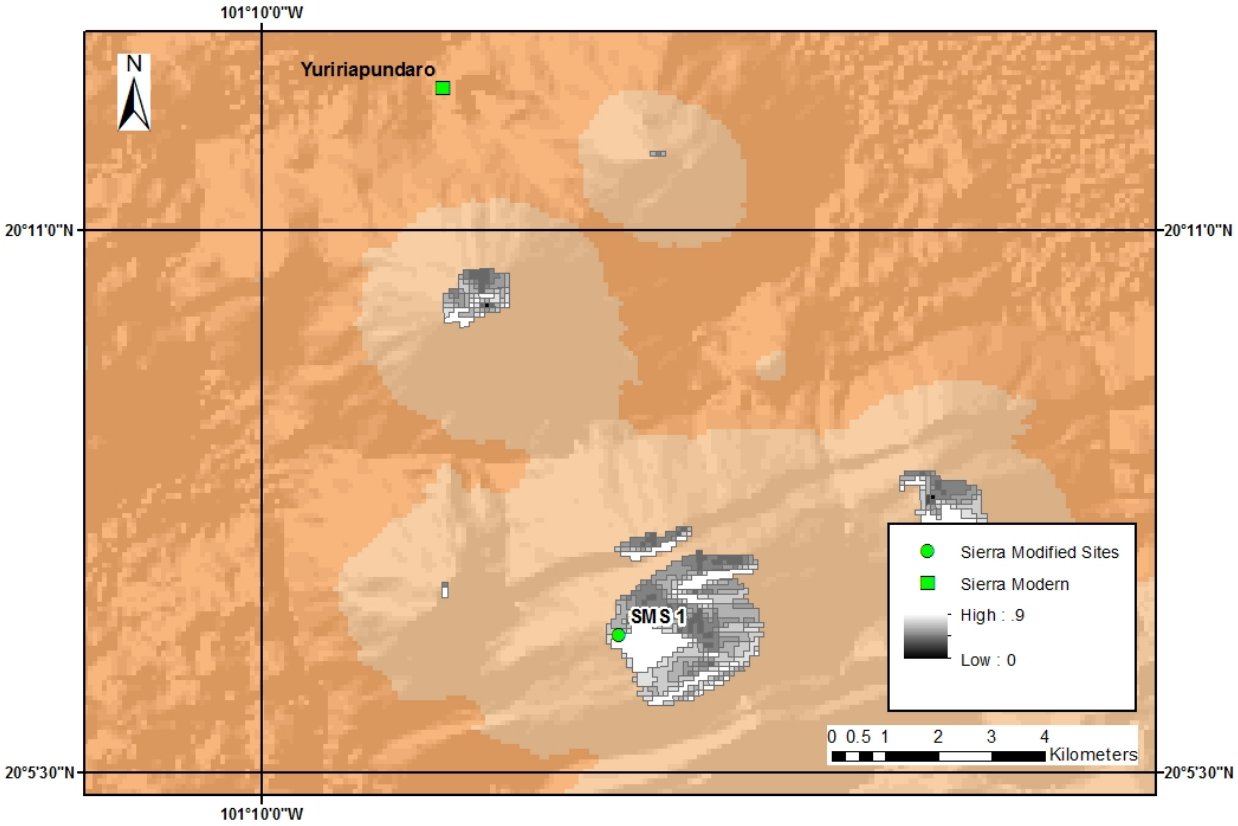

Figure 7.56. The locations of SMS 1 identified using the modified Sierra model (Slope = 30, Aspect = 180, Elevation = 2217). Dark areas have low membership while light gray and white areas have high membership. The modern settlement of Yuríriapúndaro has been provided as a spatial referent.

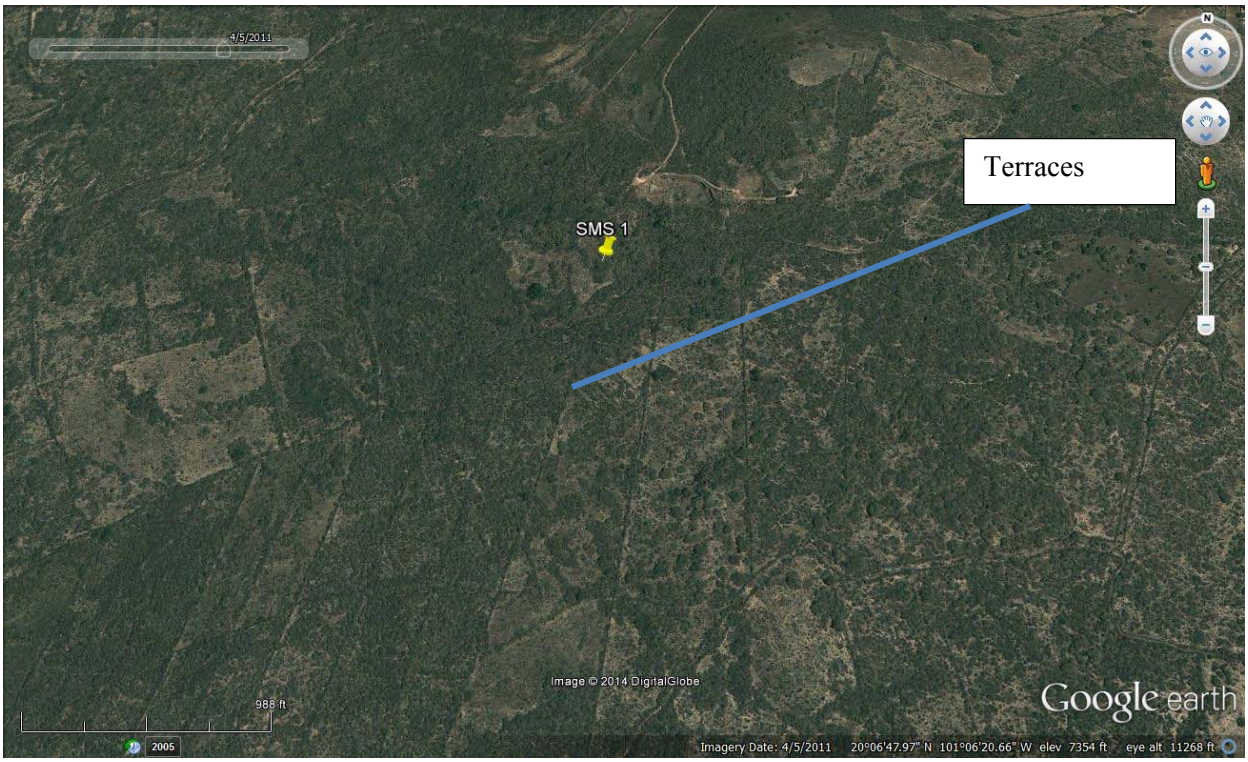

Figure 7.57. The location of SMS 1, which consists of agricultural terraces. The scale is 301 meters (988 feet). Data: Digital Globe, Google Earth.

Figure 7.58 shows the locations of two new sites, SMS 2 and SMS 5.

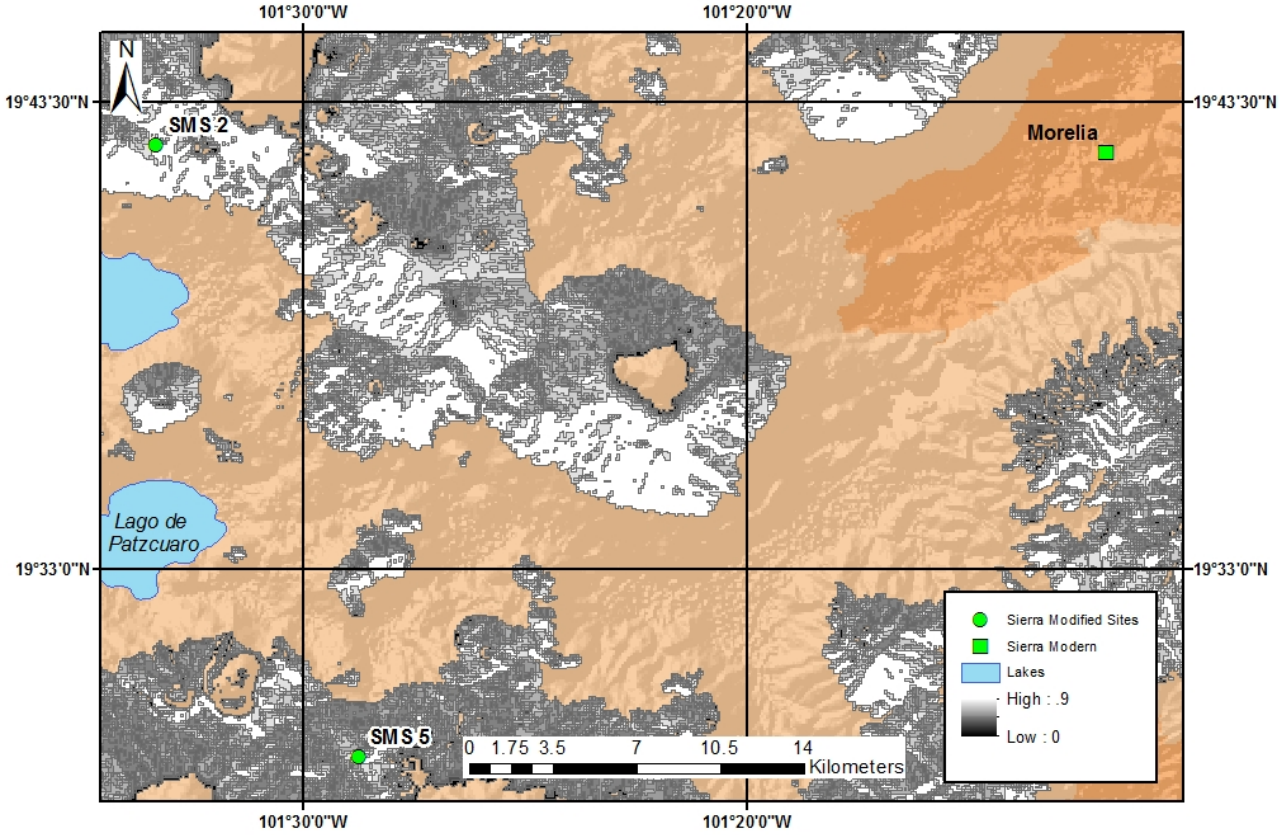

Figure 7.58. The location of the SMS 2(upper left) and SMS 5 (lower left),(green circles) which were identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Morelia has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

SMS 2 is approximately four kilometers north of Vayámeo in the highlands surrounding the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. There are several structural outlines indicative of a site in this area. It has a membership of .78. The location is shown in Figure 7.59.

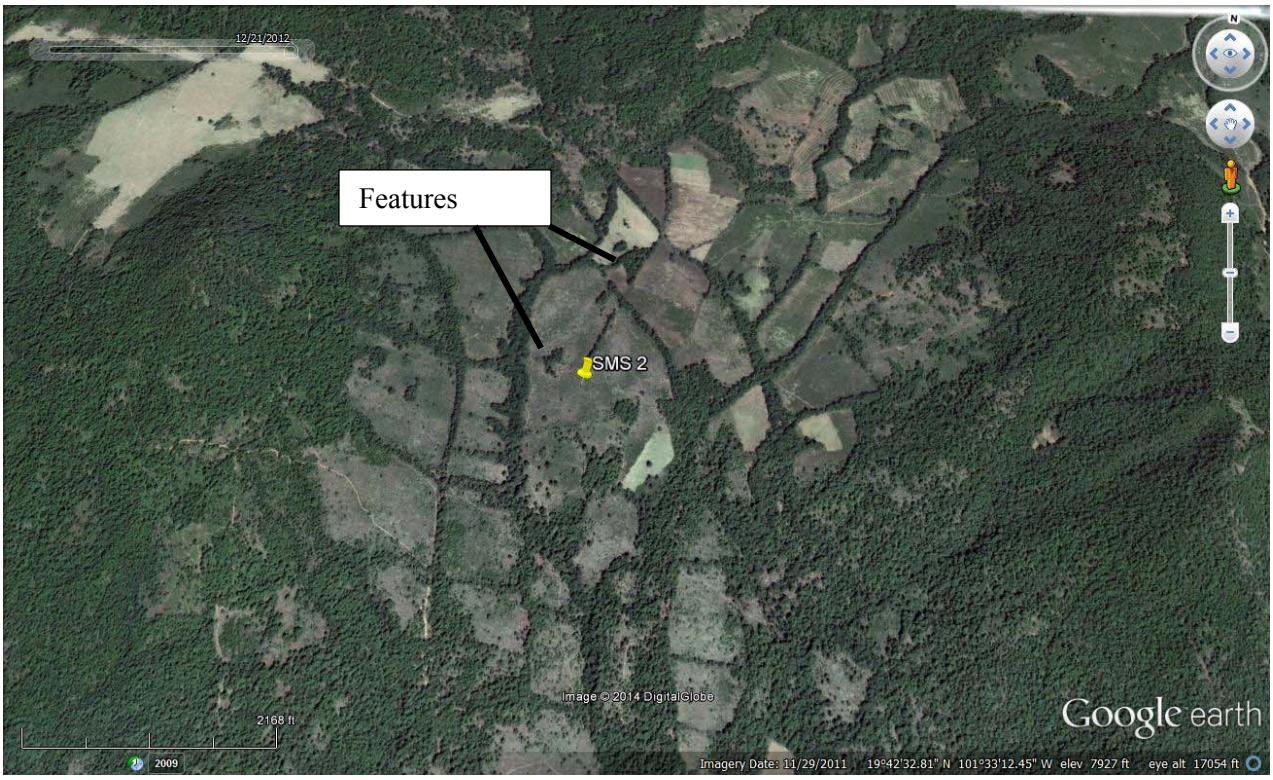

Figure 7.59.The location of the Sierra Modified Site 2 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of structural outlines. The scale is 660 meters (2,168 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe.

SMS 5 is 3.25 kilometers east of Guanajo and it consists of terracing along the southwestern facing slope of a large hill. It has a membership value of .90. The feature is shown in a Google Earth image in Figure 7.60.

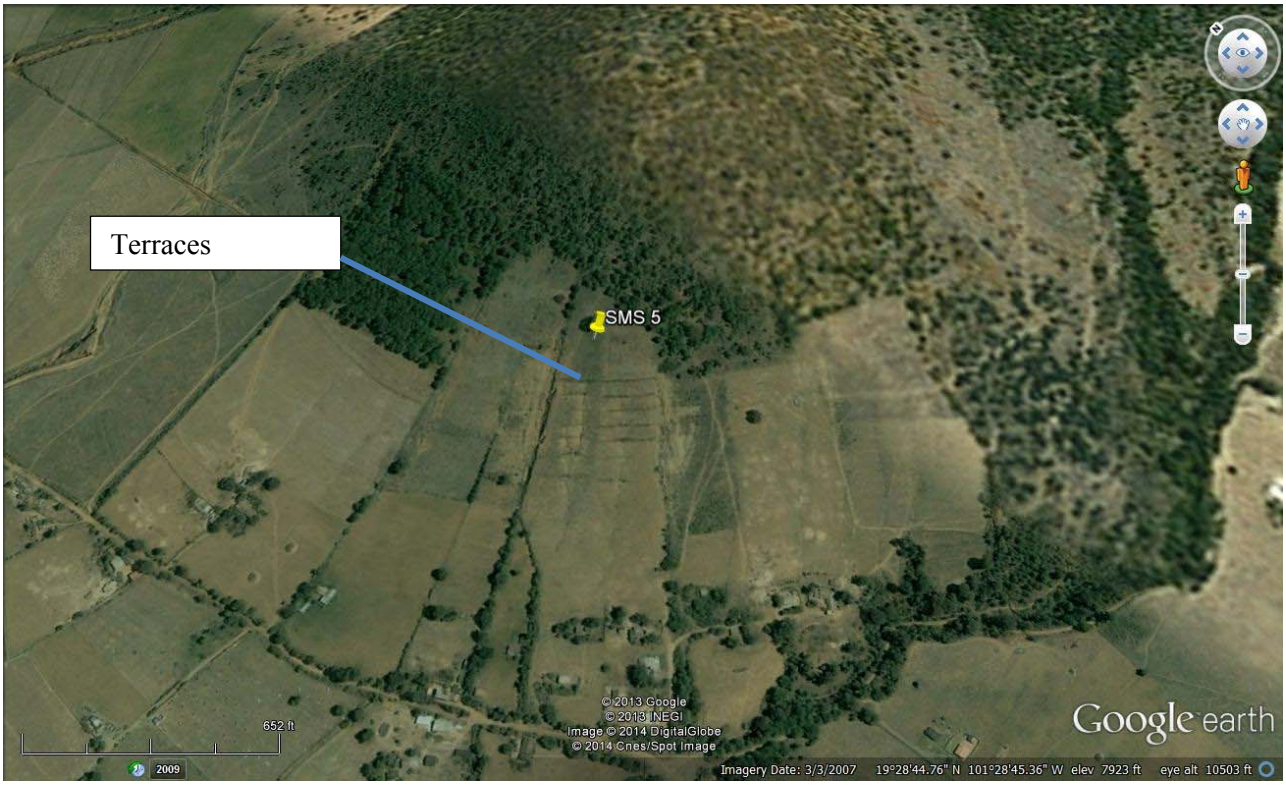

Figure 7.60. The location of the Sierra Modified Site 5 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 199 meters (652 feet). Data: Google Earth, INEGI, DigitalGlobe, CNES/SPOT.

SMS 3, shown in Figure 7.61, is located at the top of an extinct volcano approximately 13.3 kilometers west of Purúandiro. The trees in the northwestern corner of the volcano form a right angle which could be indicative of a site. It has a membership of .78.

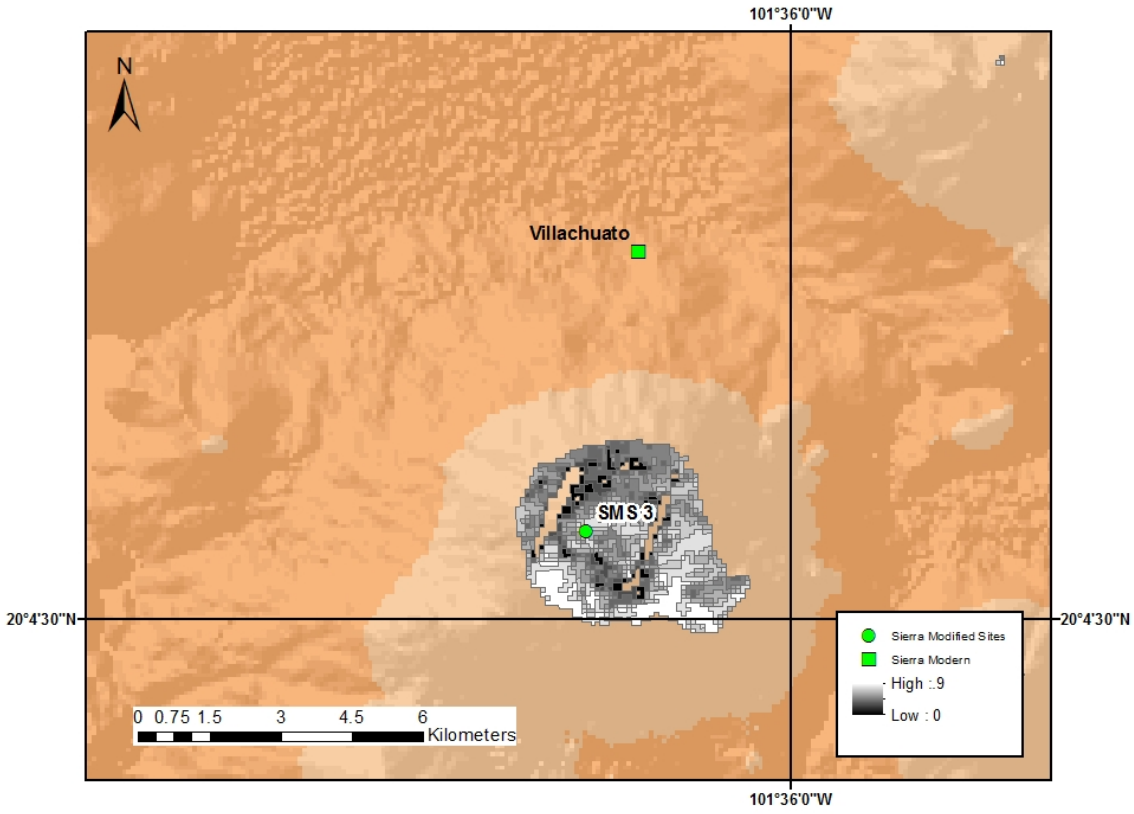

Figure 7.61. The location of the SMS 3(green circle) which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Villachuato (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

SMS 3 is shown in Figure 7.62. A right angle in the tree line is visible on the western edge, and there are indications of a small rise near the center that might be a foundation.

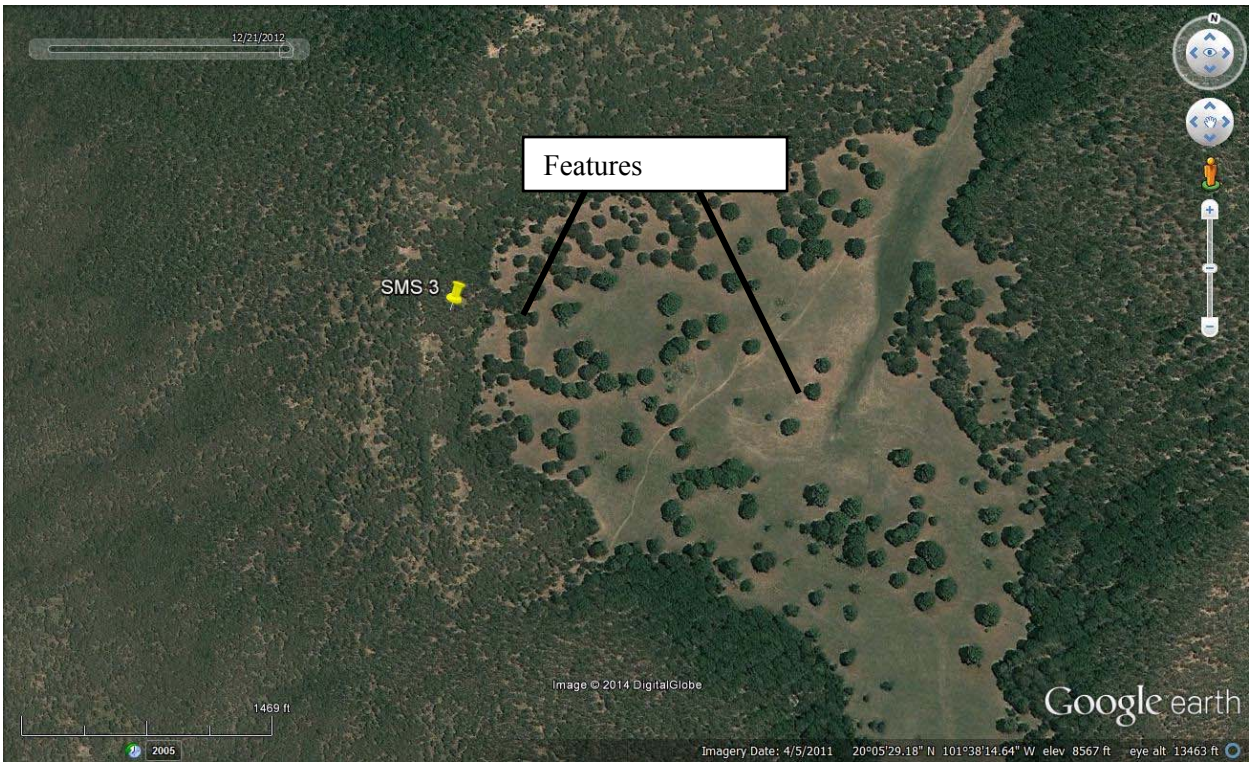

Figure 7.62. The location of the Sierra Modified Site 3 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of a structural outline located near the western rim. The scale on the image is 448 meters (1,469 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe.

SMS 4, shown in Figure 7.63, is located in Guanajuato near the site of Tejocote de Calera. The site appears to be used for agriculture but there are faint indications of terracing in the lower left corner of the image. The site has a membership of .81.

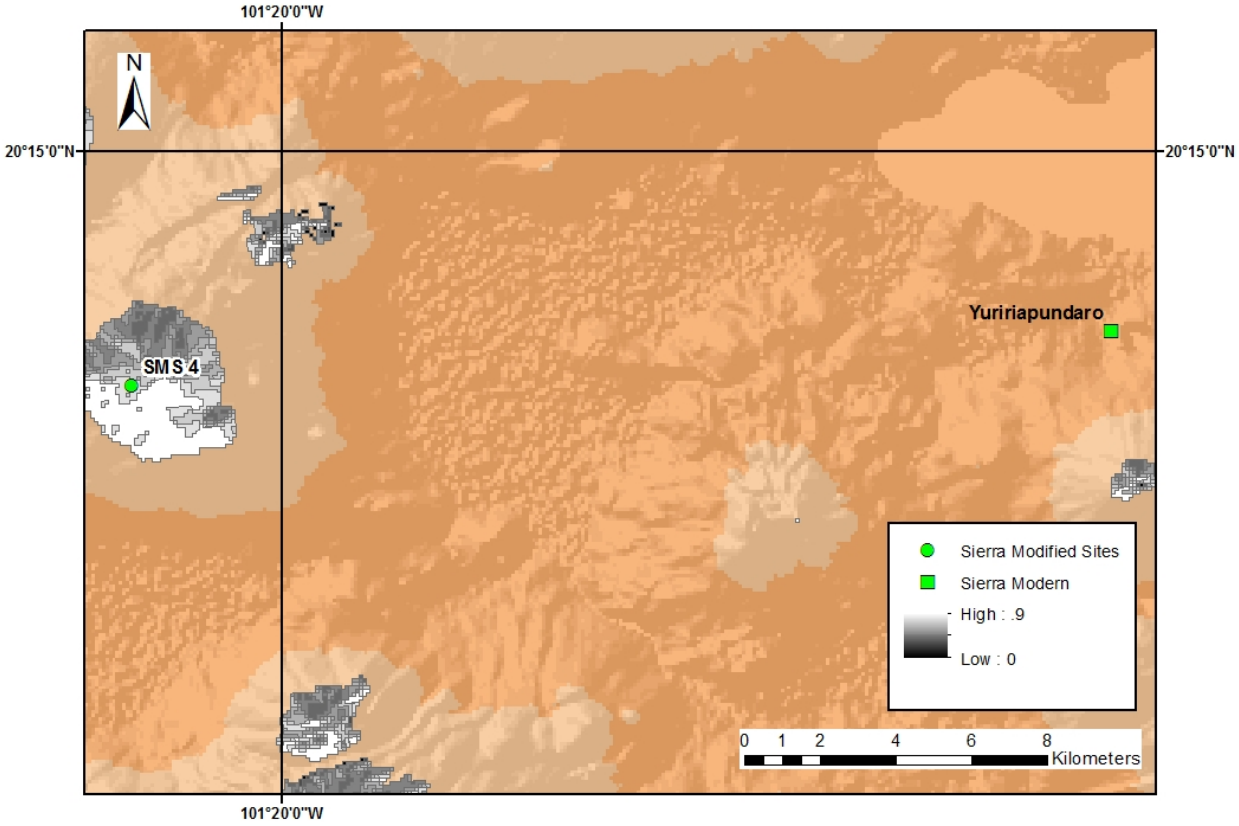

Figure 7.63. The location of the SMS 4(green circle) which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Yuríriapúndaro (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

SMS 4 is shown in greater detail in a Google Earth image, shown in Figure 7.64. The image shows agricultural terraces as well as possible structural foundations arrayed along the hill slope.

Figure 7. 64. The location of the Sierra Modified Site 4 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe.

SMS 6, featured in Figure 7.65, is also located in northern Michoacán approximately 10 kilometers northeast of Purepero de Echaiz. The site sits on a mountain slope in an area of .9 membership and higher. The image shows what could be structural outlines on the southeast-facing slope. This area has membership values of .99, which suggest very high membership.

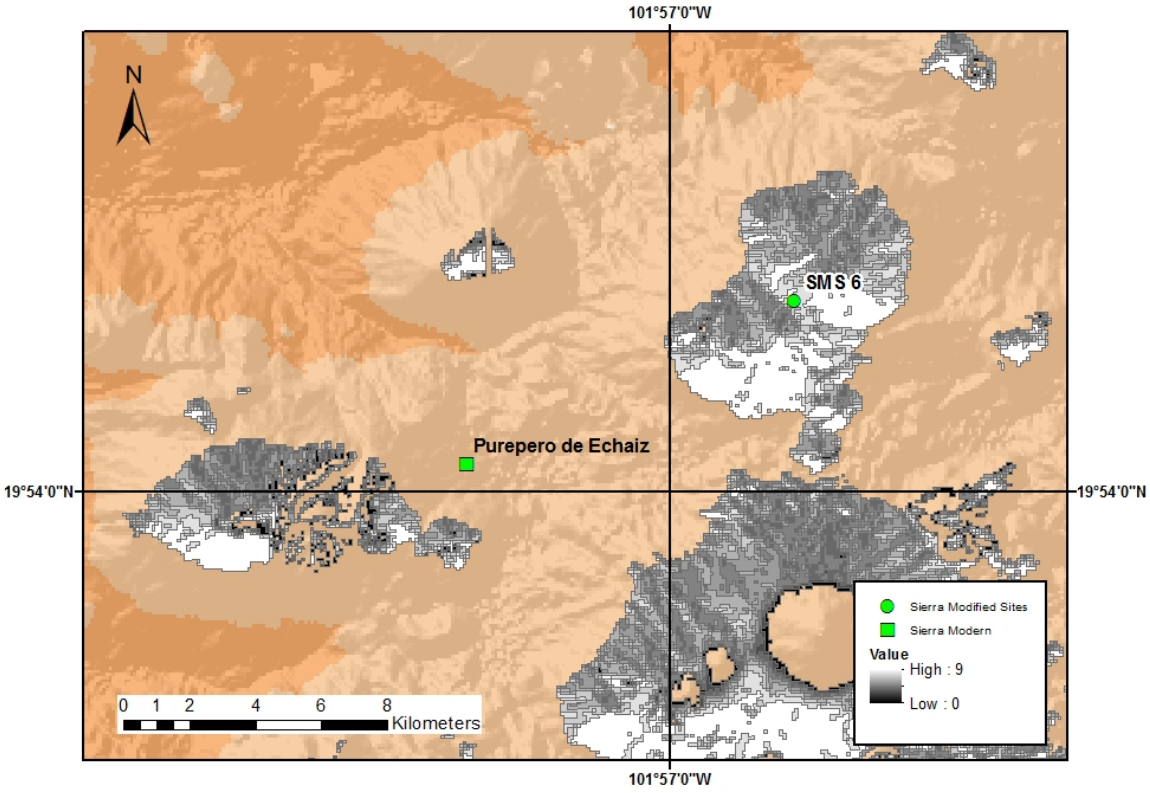

Figure 7.65. The location of the SMS 6(green circles) which were identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Purepero de Echaiz (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

The location of SMS 6 is shown in Figure 7.66. There are several large terraces outlines visible in the image, and given their size they are likely to be residential terraces (Darras 2009).

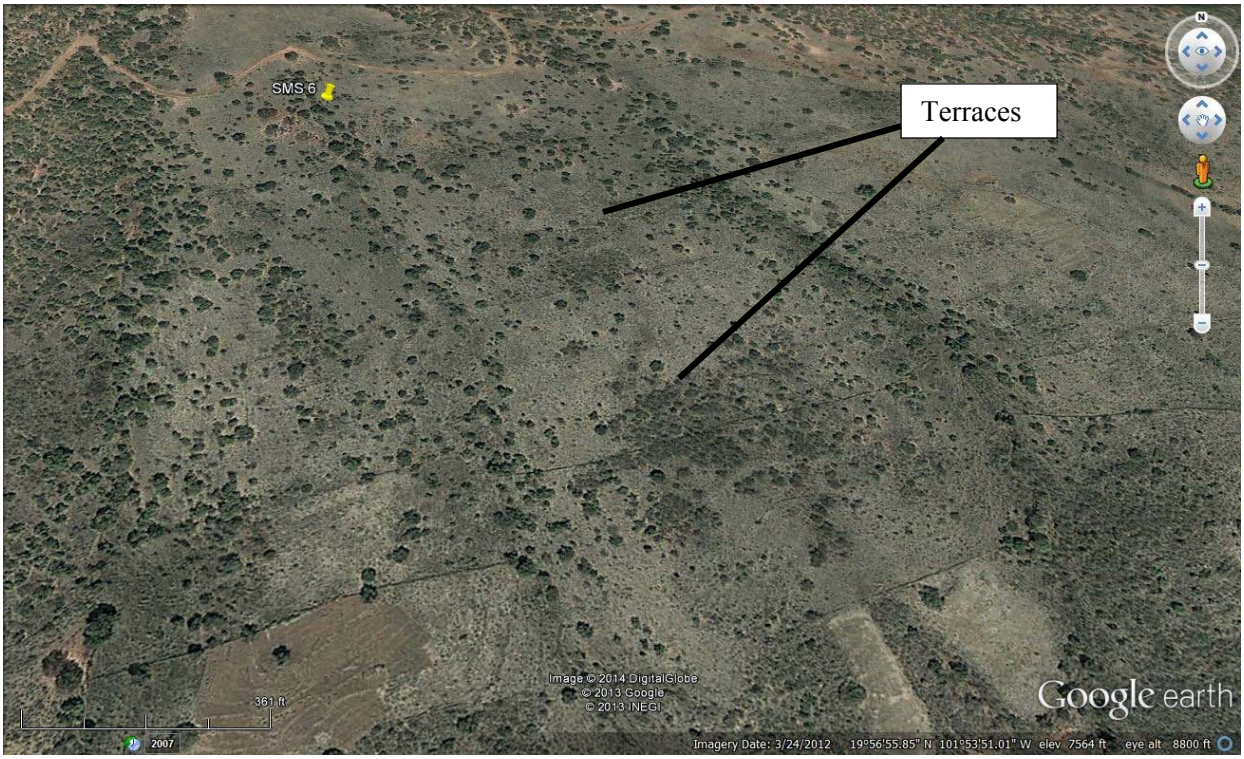

Figure 7.66. The location of the Sierra Modified Site 6 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 110 meters (361 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Site SMS 7 is located approximately 15 kilometers north of Ciudad Hidalgo along a steep ridge facing to the east. This may be indicative of a site measuring 114x93 meters. SMS 7 has a membership of .45. Its location on the fuzzy membership surface is shown in Figure 7.67.

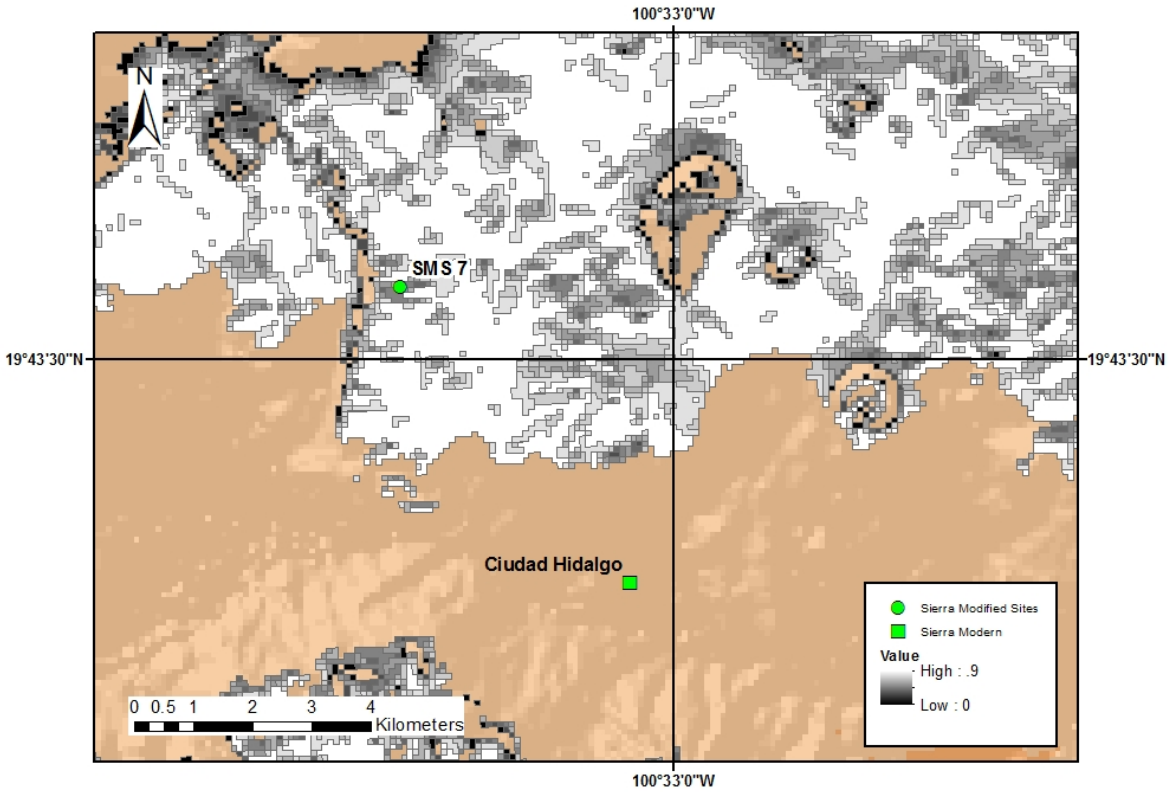

Figure 7.67. The location of the SMS 7(green circles) which were identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Ciudad Hidalgo (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent.

The site is shown in Figure 7.68. The soil discoloration and several small linear features lead me to believe this could be the site of several small structures.

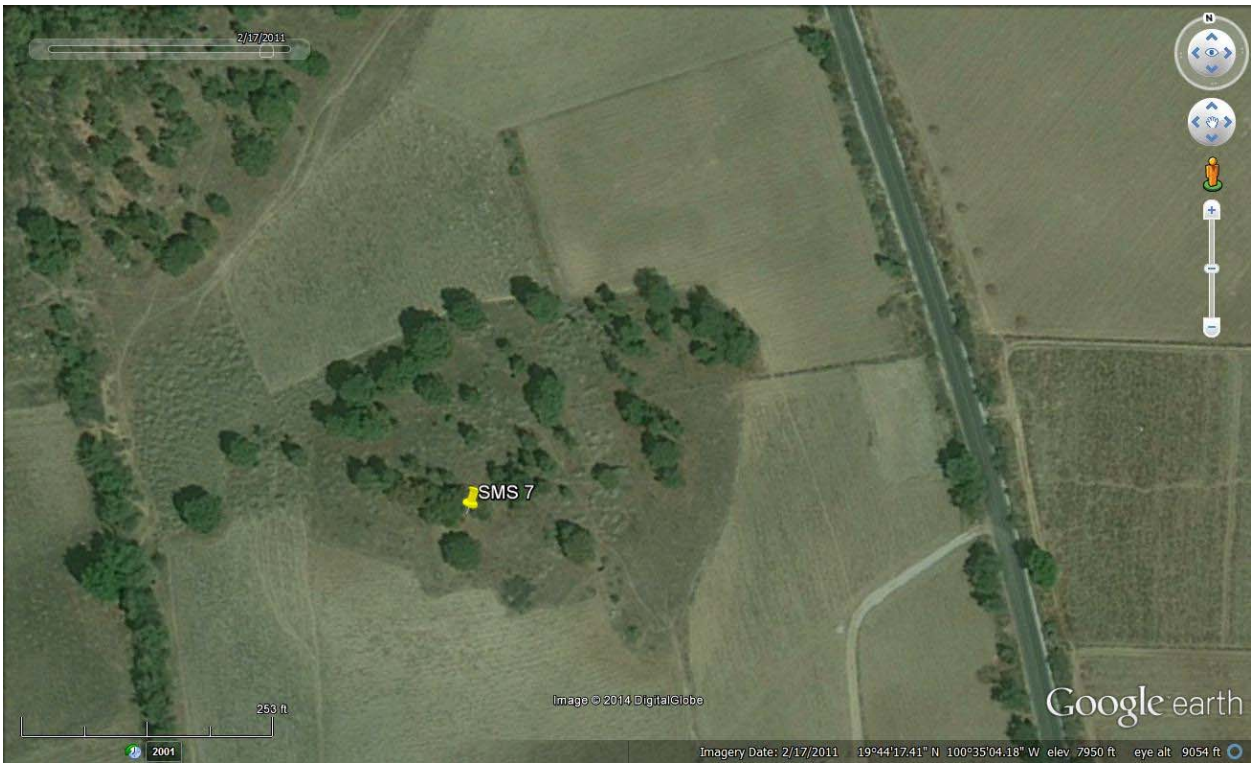

Figure 7.68. The location of the Sierra Modified Site7 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 940 meters (3,083 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, NASA.

SMS 8, located 22 kilometers northeast of Acámbaro, has a membership value of .74. The site sits in an area of high membership, shown in Figure 7.69 below.

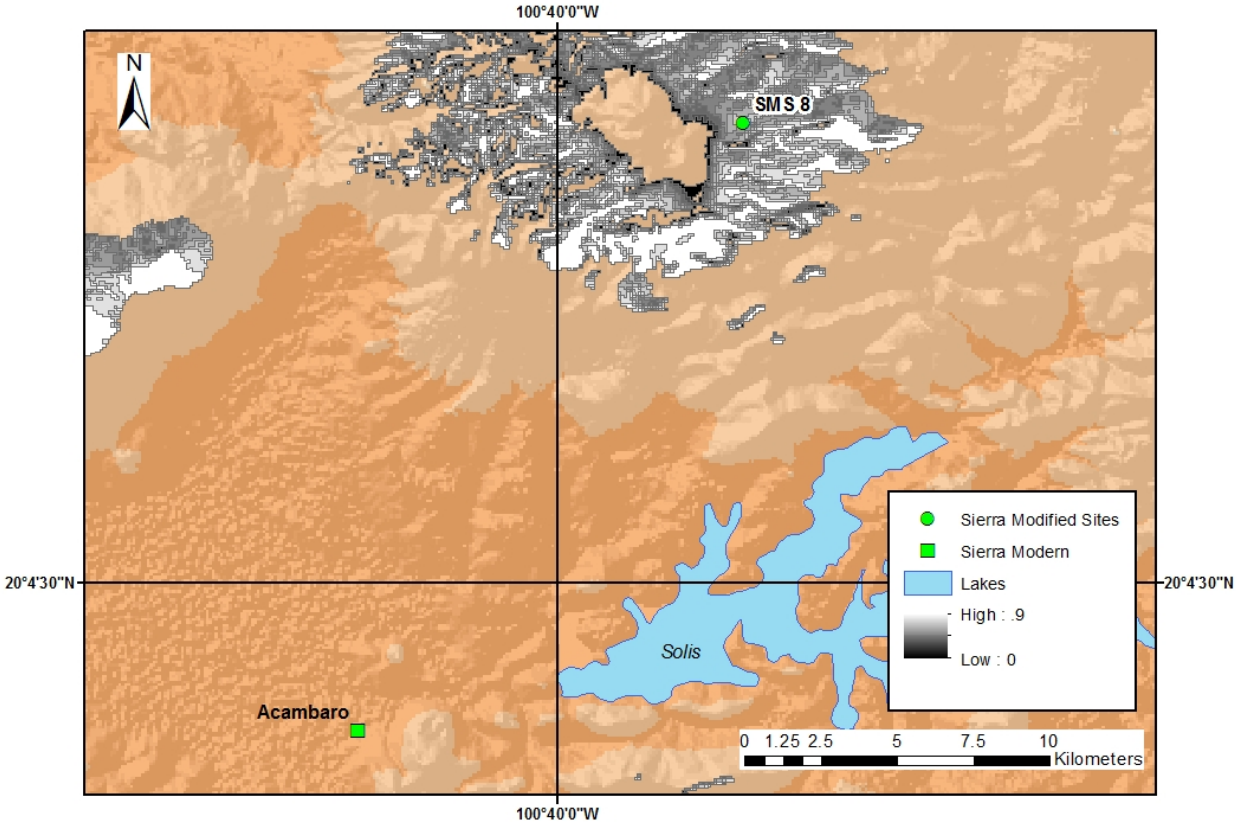

Figure 7.69. The location of the SMS 8 (green circle) which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The settlement of Acámbaro (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

The site is located near terracing on the northern facing area of a mountain slope, as shown in Figure 7.70 below.

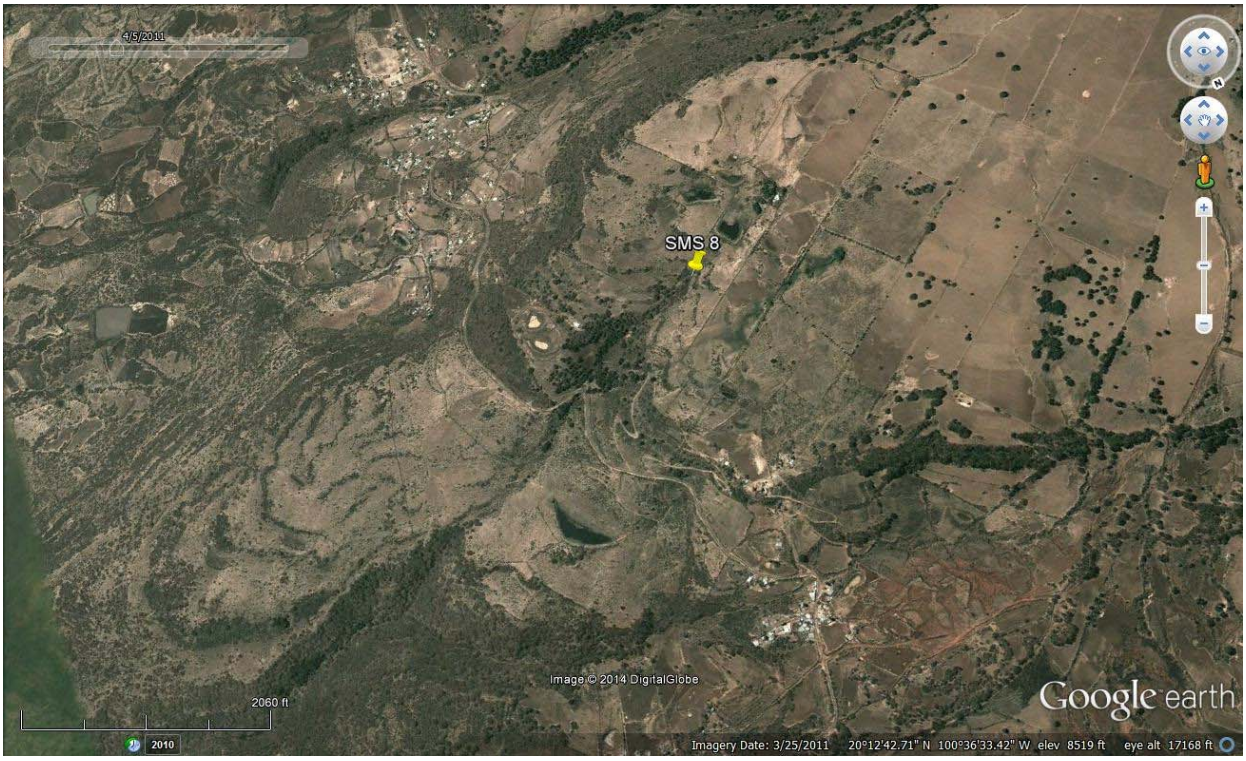

Figure 7.70. The location of the Sierra Modified Site 8 which was identified using the modified Sierra fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 627 meters (2,060 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe.

Plateau Modifications

In the Plateau region, the modification of the elevation standard deviation from 198 to 397 resulted in better identifications, in some cases almost double the number of sites detected in the original statistically-derived calculations, but still less than 50% of the total sample of 108 sites. Thus, I looked at other potential modifications, including moving the mean value down by one standard deviation from 1,954 meters to 1,755 meters while still keeping the standard deviation at 397 meters. This enabled the model to detect more sites at elevations of 1,100–1,400 meters than before. I also increased the slope value from 20 degrees to 30 degrees.

In addition, I ran a series of fuzzy set calculations by changing the aspect variable from 191 degrees to 45, 90, 180, 225, 270, and 315 degrees. In conjunction with the changes to elevation variable, these resulted in modest increases in membership, but still well below 50%. I made additional changes by dramatically increasing the standard deviation of the aspect.

The highest-scoring test resulted in identification of 85% of the test sample by setting the slope at 20 degrees with a slope coefficient of .5 (see Equation 7.2) and an elevation of 1,755 meters and a standard deviation of 397 meters. The most significant change was to the aspect variable: I used the statistical mean (191 degrees) but made the standard deviation 180 degrees, thus incorporating a full 360-degree circle. This resulted in the detection of 91 sites with membership values between .35 and .99, while the remaining sites had membership values of 0–.08. Thus, casting a very wide net resulted in the identification of a much larger group of sites, which makes sense in the context of such a large and diverse area.

These modifications also reflect the types of areas we wish to look at in our model evaluations: hill slopes and higher-elevation areas that would normally be favored because of their defensive capabilities. The model also includes the lake basins, which are known areas of dense population during the Postclassic period. Thus, we can increase the sensitivity of the model to detect more sites that meet our criteria.

Figure 7.71 shows the locations of seven sites in eastern Michoacán and all settlements have values over .5. Tirípitio's membership value is .82, while Necotlan/Santiago Undameo's membership value is .54. Archaeologists have reported the presence of an archaeological site on the slopes near Tirípitio and the model now encompasses a larger area of the mountain. Necotlan is also in a larger area of high membership. Irapeo's membership value rose to .81.

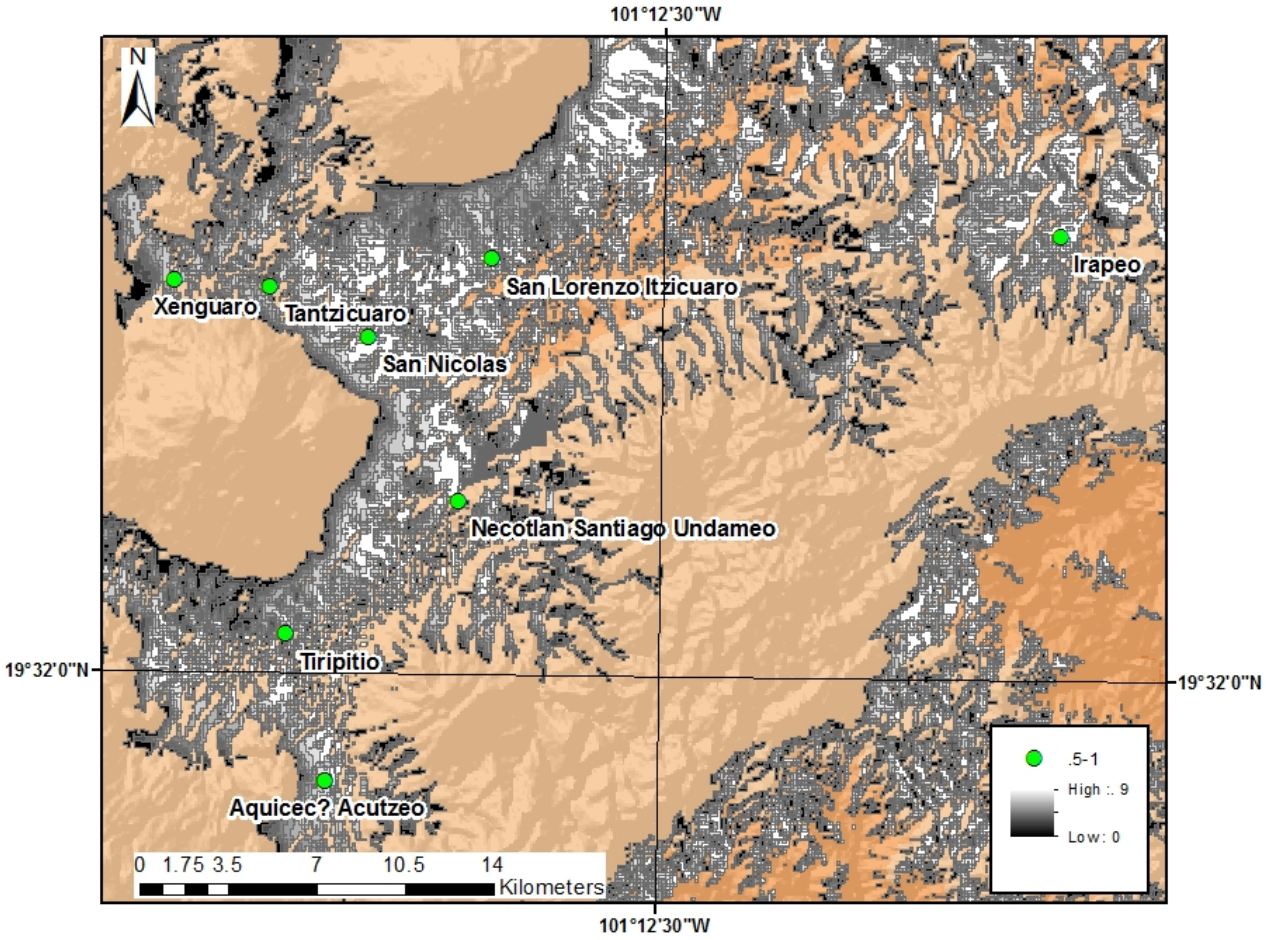

Figure 7.71. The locations of sites in eastern Michoacán that were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. San Lorenzo Itzicuaro and Tantzicuaro (green circles) have high membership in the fuzzy set while the remaining sites (green squares) have memberships below .5. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.72 shows the locations of sites in northern Michoacán. Huandacareo's membership value increased to .82 from zero while Cuitseo, Copandaro, and San Juan Tararameo rose to membership values above .5. In the previous model, all of these sites had lower membership values.

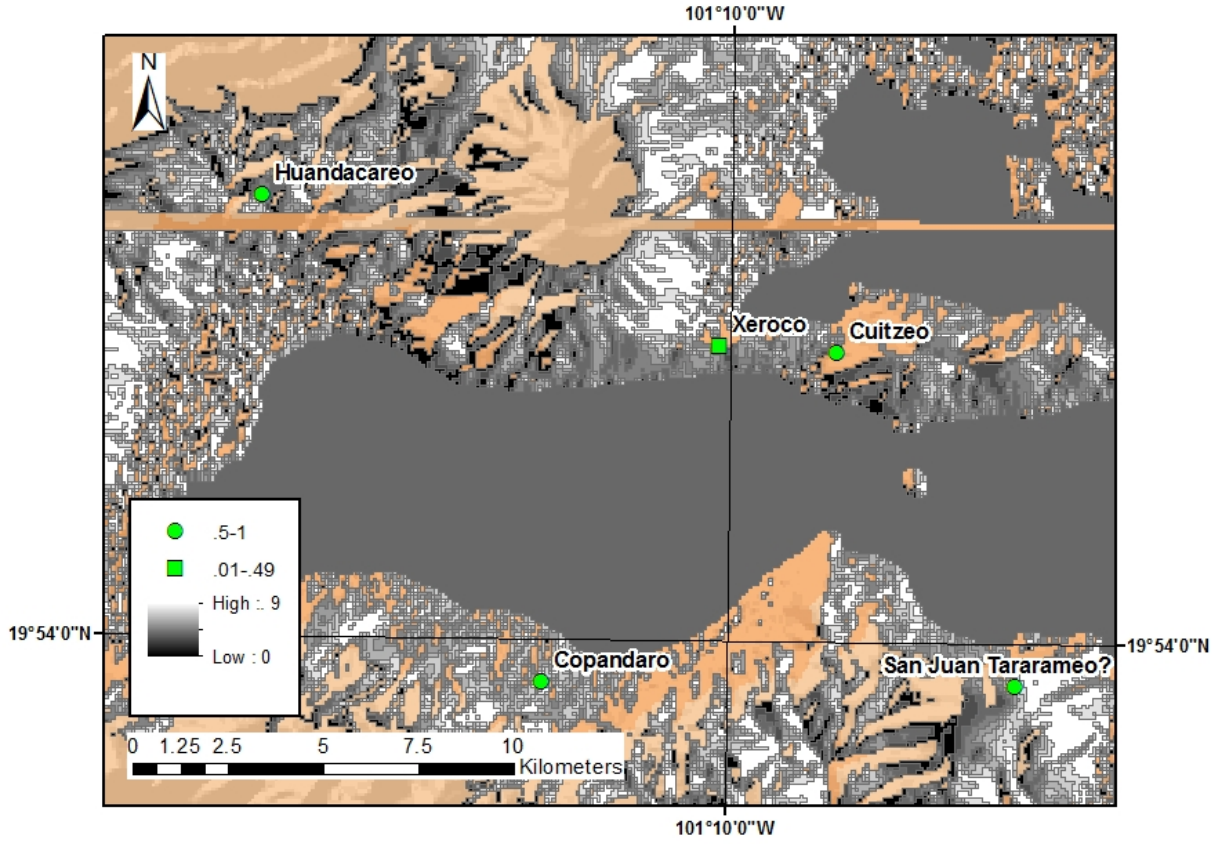

Figure 7.72. The locations of Huandacareo (green circle), Xeroco (green square), Cuitzeo (green circle), Copandaro (green circle), and San Juan Tarameo (green circle). These sites were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.73 shows a large number of settlements in eastern Michoacán. All of the values stayed above .5 and we particularly see improvements in the membership values of Emenguaro and La Barranca.

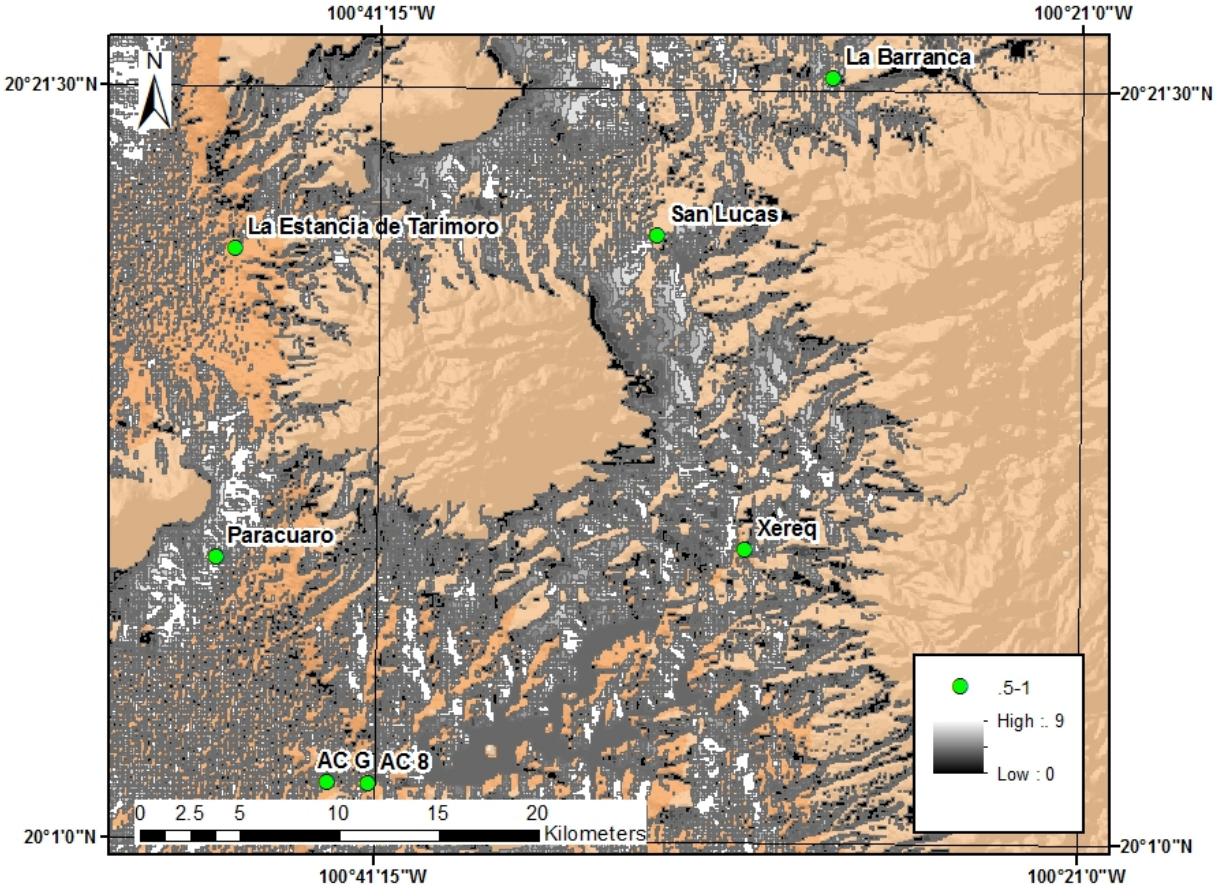

Figure 7.73. The locations of sites in northeastern Michoacán (green circles) that were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.74 shows the Lake Pátzcuaro basin with the modified Plateau model. There are substantial improvements in identification, as nearly all sites that were disqualified initially are now in the membership category above .5.

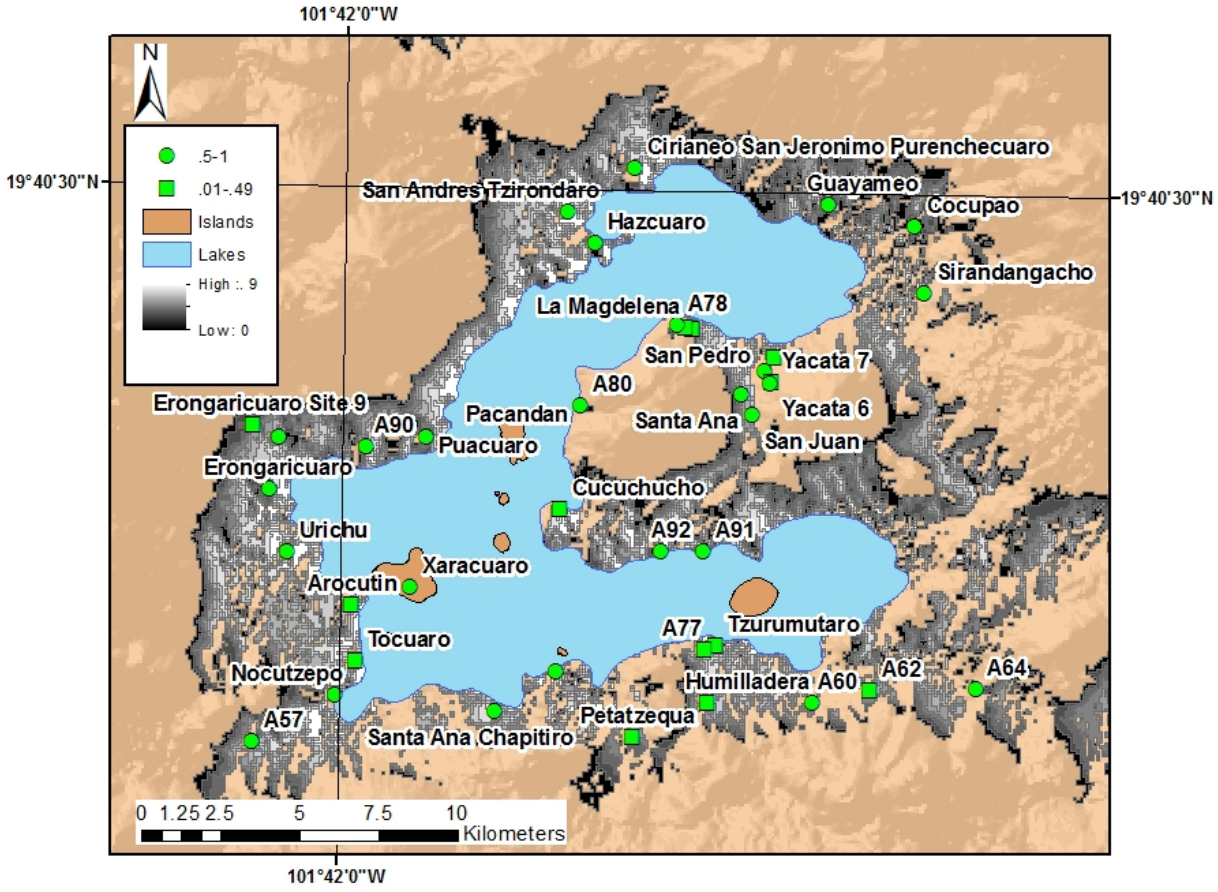

Figure 7.74. The locations of sites in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin that were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Figure 7.75 shows the locations of several additional sites in eastern Michoacán. Taimeo's membership value rose, but it was not enough to be classified above .5.

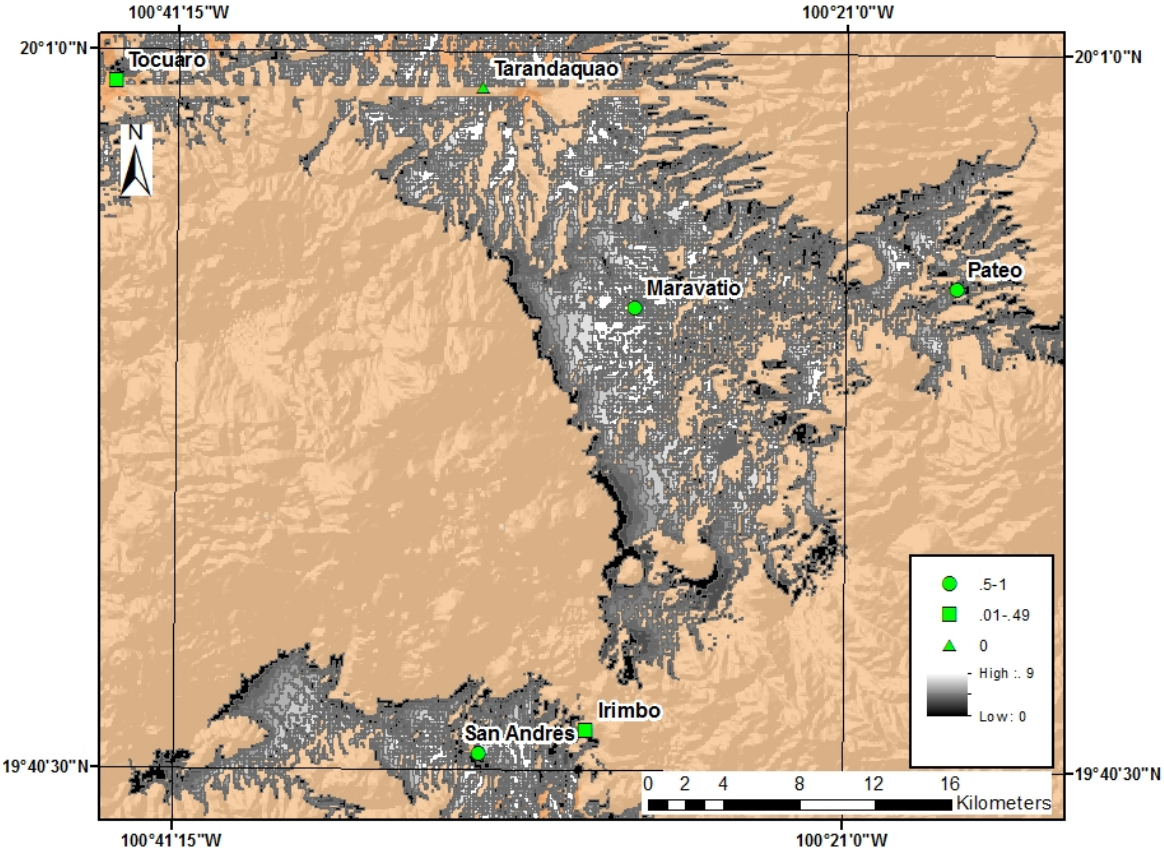

Figure 7.75. The locations of Tocuaro (green square), Tarandaquao (green triangle), Pateo (green circle), Maravatio (green circle), San Andres (green circle), and Irimbo (green circle). These sites were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

In Figure 7.76, we see that many of the sites areas now have membership values greater than .5, except for Tamandagapeo, which has a zero membership value like the original model did.

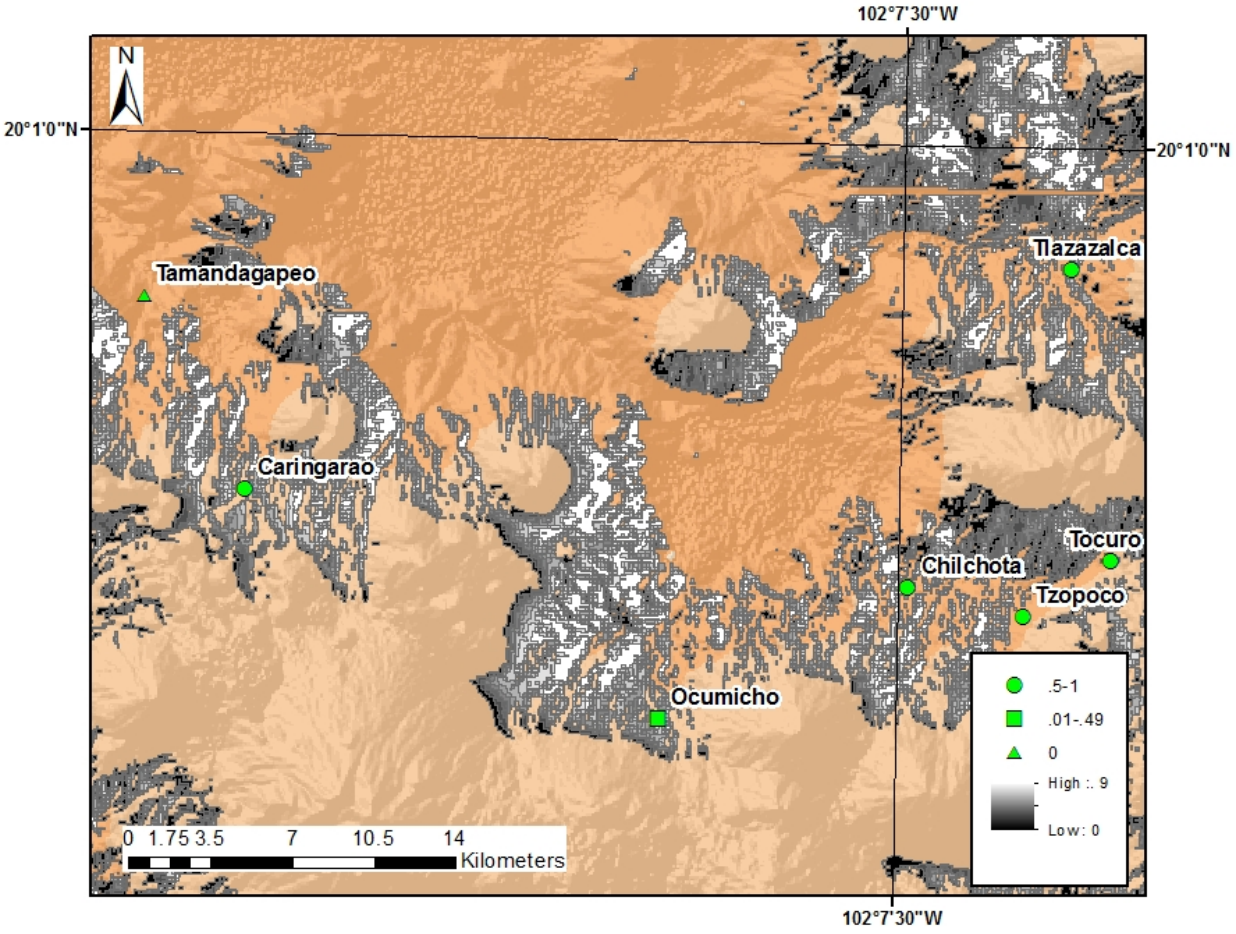

Figure 7.76. The locations of Tamandagapeo (green triangle), Caringarao (green circle), Ocumicho (green square), Chilchota (green circle), Tzopoco (green circle), and Tocuro (green circle). These sites were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

In Figure 7.77, the archaeological sites and the settlement of Zacapu are shown with higher membership values. El Palacio/La Crucita and Escuela Agropecuaria have memberships of .53 and .65, showing a marked improvement.

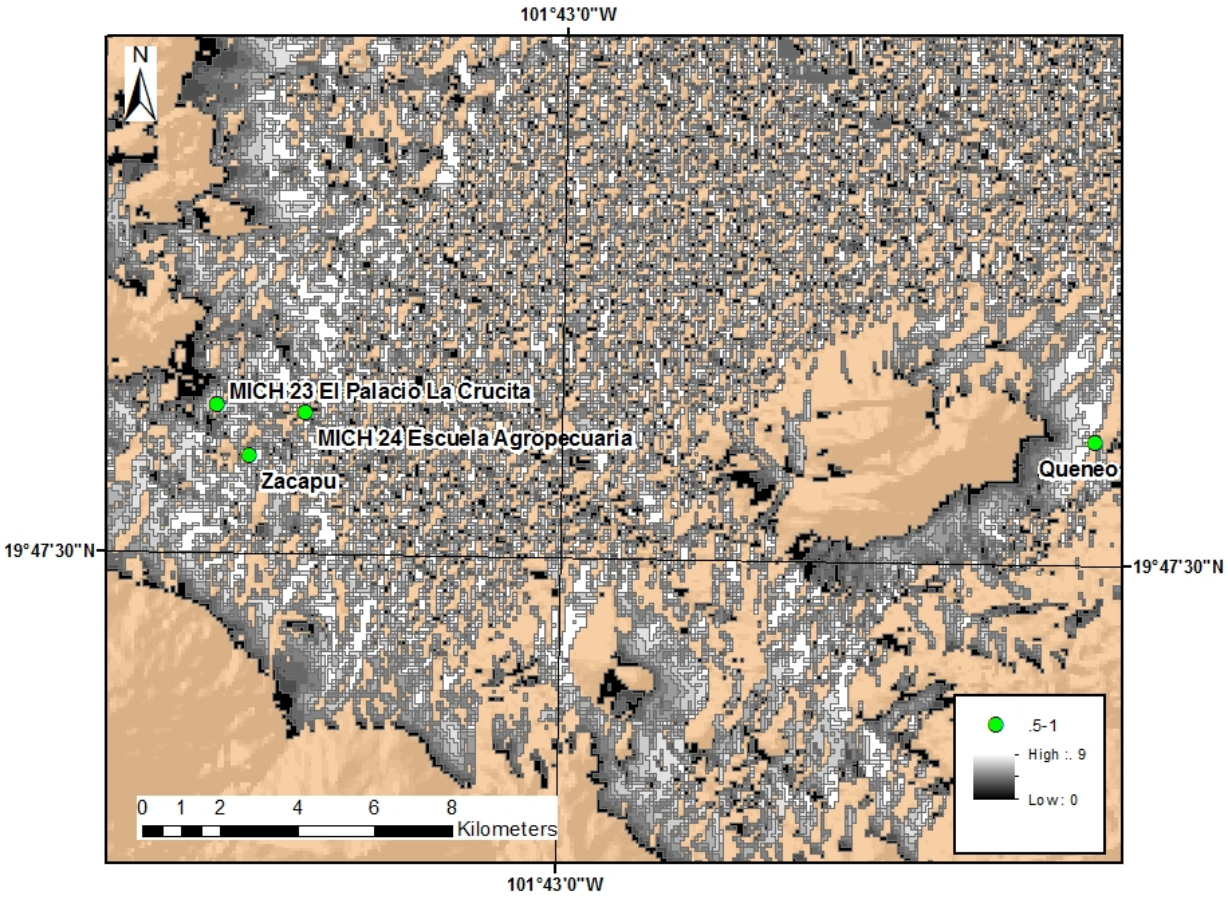

Figure 7.77. The locations of archaeological sites in the Zacapu basin (green circles) that were identified by the modified Plateau model with Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The white and gray areas have high fuzzy memberships which indicate that they are optimal for archaeological sites.

Site Identifications. In addition, I evaluated whether the model could detect archaeological sites that are not mentioned in the ethnohistorical record or published archaeological sources. I detected a total of seven sites throughout Michoacán. The locations of these sites are shown in Figures 7.78–7.91. Figure 7.78 shows the location of Plateau Modified Site (PMS) 1 in northeastern Michoacán.

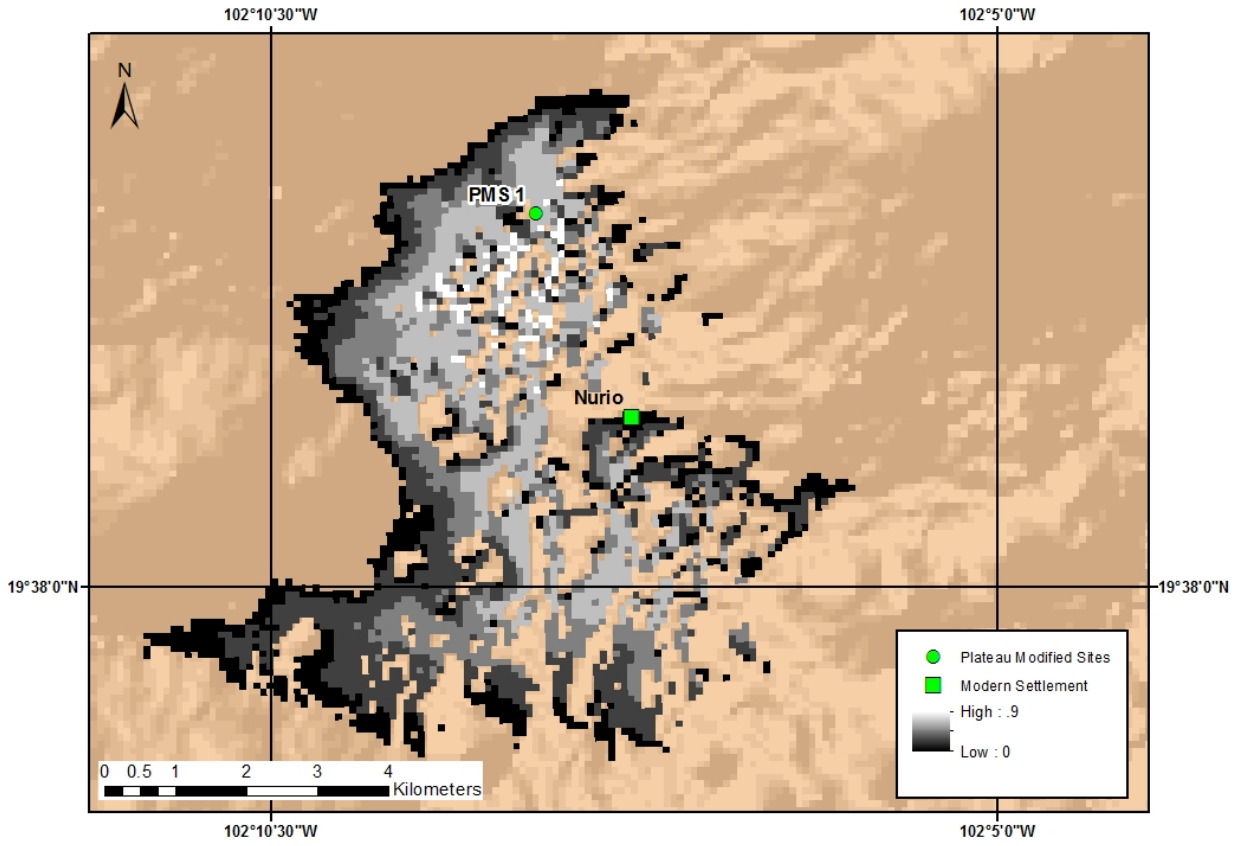

Figure 7.78. The locations of potential sites identified using the modified Plateau model (Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755), shown as a green circle. The surfaces show light gray with low membership and white showing the highest membership.

Pleated Modified Site 1 (PMS 1) is located approximately 3 kilometers northwest of the modern settlement of Nurio. The site appears to be fairly large, consisting of mainly residential structures arrayed across several kilometers of hillside facing southeast toward Nurio. Membership value at the specified point is .7 and neighboring pixels have membership values of .54–.8. It is shown in Figure 7.79.

Figure 7.79. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 1 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site identifiable with several structural outlines and possible terracing. The scale on the image is 321 meters (1,053 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.80 shows the location of site PMS 2, located in northern Michoacán near the modern sites of Acámbaro and Tlazazalca. It has a membership of .5. The site is situated on a southeast-facing slope toward Tlazazalca on reddish-brown soils, possibly the *charanda*-type red soil common to west Mexico (West 1948:6).

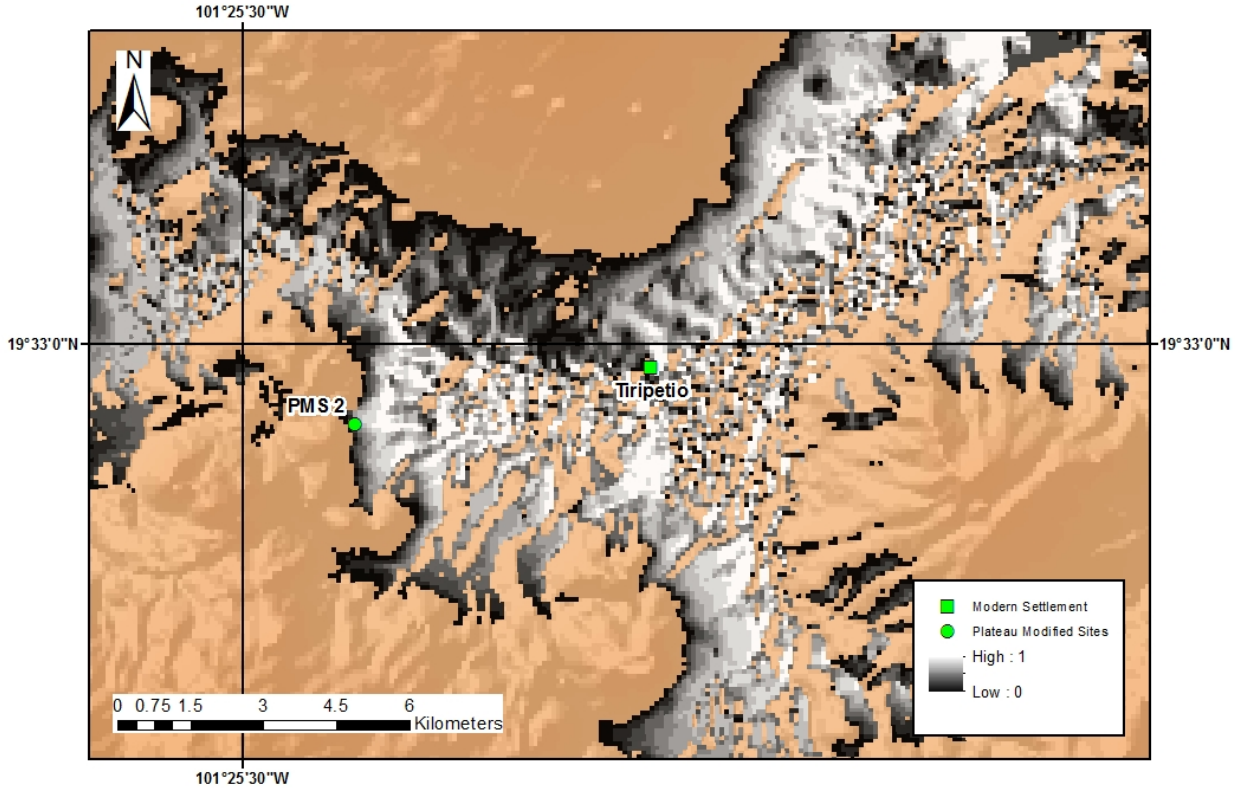

Figure 7.80.The location of PMS 2 (green circle) in eastern Michoacán. In the fuzzy surface, d*ark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.*

The site consists of several small structural outlines situated along an east-facing slope. This site is approximately in the path of the *Uacúsecha* conquests given in Episode XXXI, and this site may in fact be the site of Tétepeo (Alcalá 2000:519). It is shown in Figure 7.81.

Figure 7.81. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 2 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of structural outlines. The scale on the image is 579 meters (1900 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI

Figure 7.82 shows the location of PMS 3. The site sits on a south-facing slope and consists of a series of small terraces, possibly intended habitation since they are approximately 10 meters wide. Another set of terraces sit farther down the slope, but they are in an area of zero membership, possibly because the elevation is below the threshold.

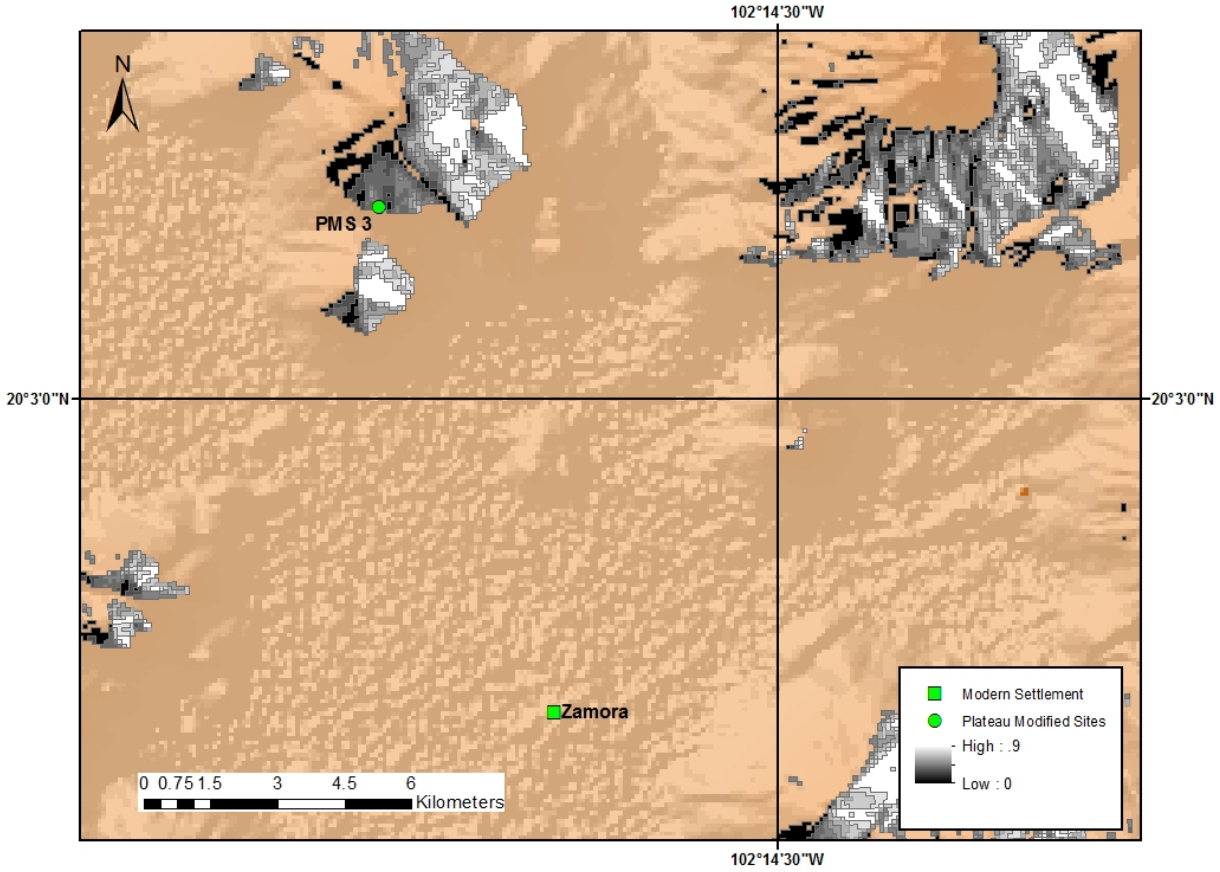

Figure 7.82. The location of site PMS 3 (green circle) in northwest Michoacán. The site of Zamora (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

Figure 7.83 shows site PMS 3, which has a membership value of .3. The site is located near Atecurcuario de la Constitución, Michoacán. The site consists of what appear to be agricultural terraces and mounds indicating possible habitation structures.

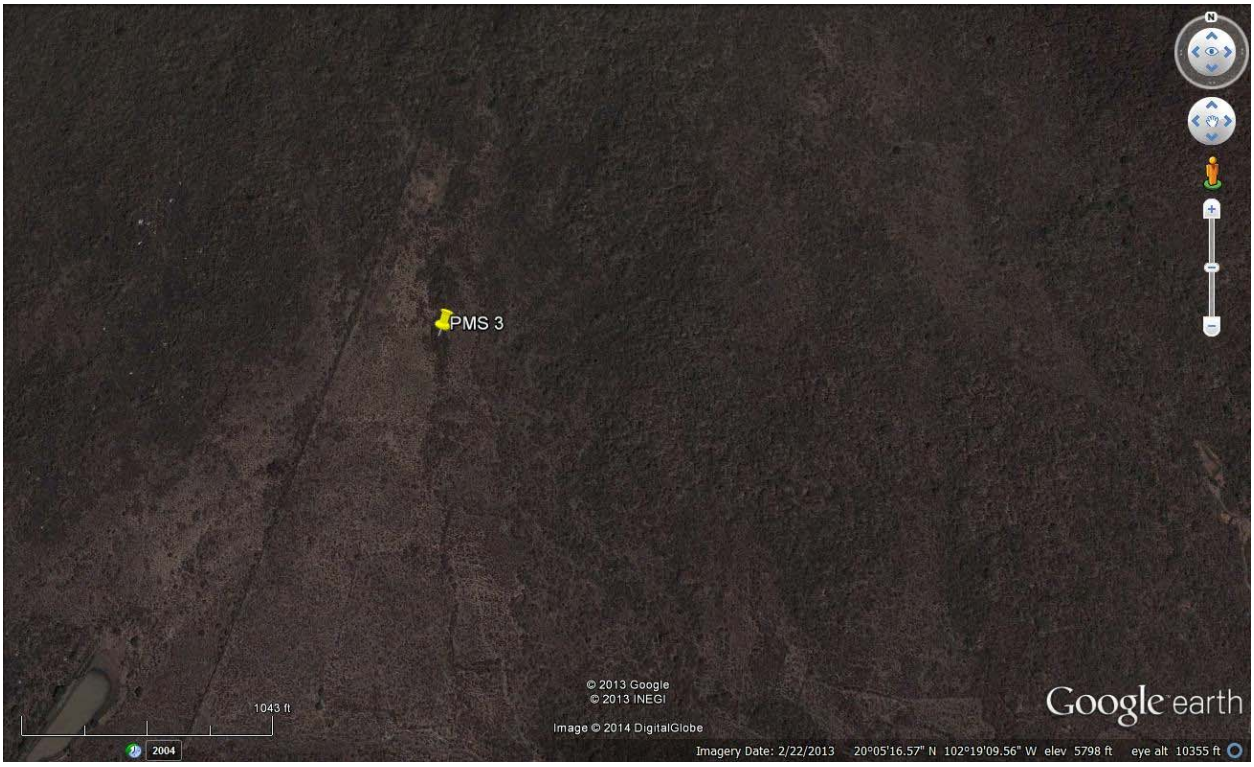

Figure 7.83. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 3 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of terraces and structural outlines. The scale is 318 meters (1,43 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.84 shows the locations of site of PMS 4 near the modern settlement of Chucándiro in the Lake Cuitzeo basin. It has a membership value of .5. PMS 4 may be the site of Huríparao, a settlement conquered by the three *Señores* during their second round of conquests (Alcalá 2000:519). Its location would be consistent with the sequence of the conquests.

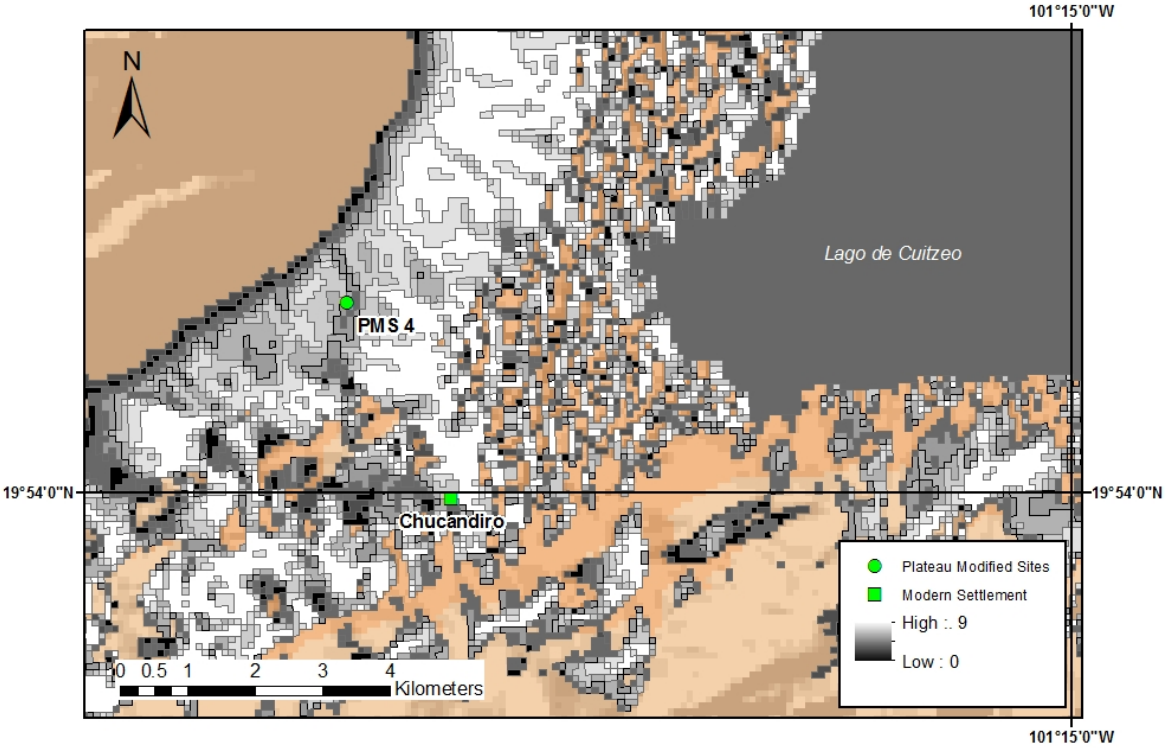

Figure 7.84. The location of site PMS 4 (green circle) in the Lake Cuitzeo basin. The site of Chucándiro (green square) has been provided as a modern spatial referent. In the fuzzy surface, dark squares indicate low membership while lighter pixels indicate higher membership in the set.

PMS 4 looks like a series of terraces located near Chucándiro, Michoacán. The site consists mainly of ten-meter wide terraces stretching over approximately 1.5 kilometers of the slope. This could be the site of Huríparao which is mentioned as a conquest in the RM (Alcalá 2000). This is shown in Figure 7.85.

Figure 7.85. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 4 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale is 226.4 meters (743 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

PMS 5 is located on a hill slope overlooking the modern settlement Huanimaro in Guanajuato. The site consists of terraces stretching over two kilometers west to east. The terraces are approximately 10 meters wide, which suggests that they could have been habitation terraces. It has a membership value of.8. It is shown in Figures 7.86 and 7.87.

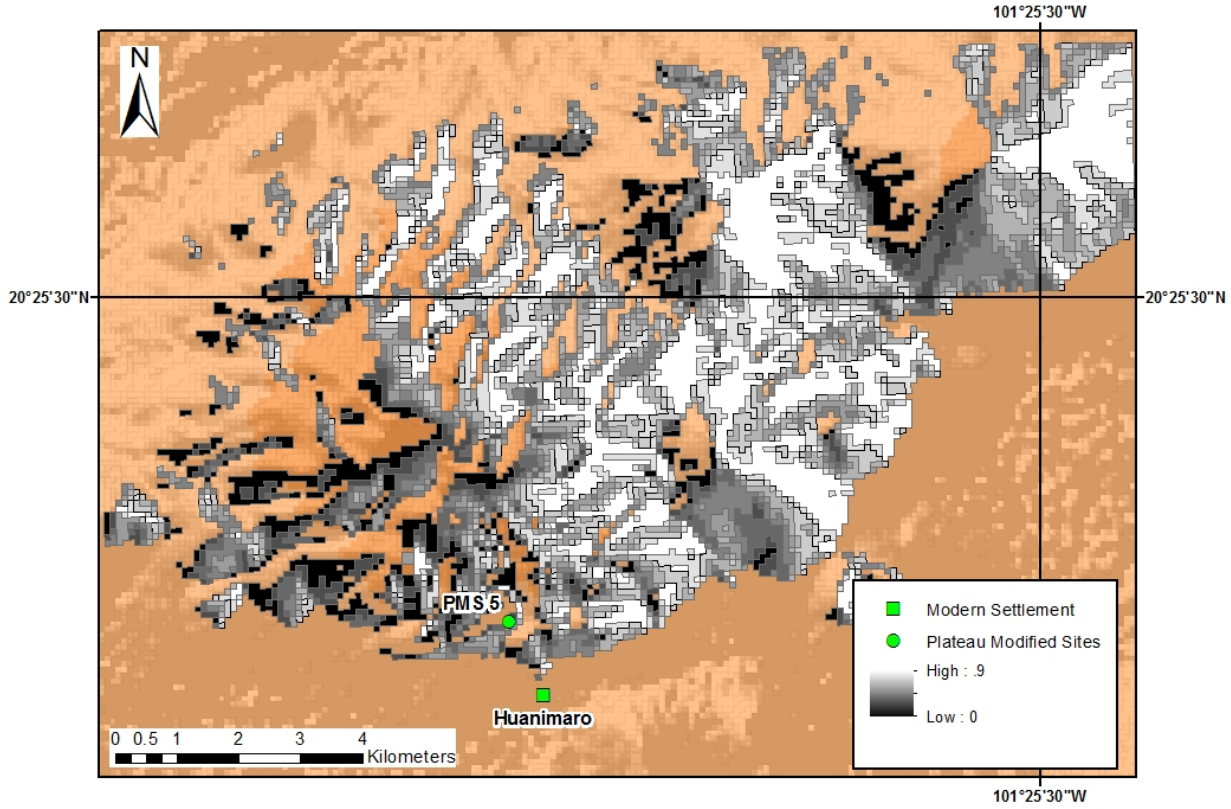

Figure 7.86. Map showing the location of PMS 5 (green circle) and the modern settlement of Huanimaro in northern Michoacán. The fuzzy surface has light gray showing low membership and white showing the highest membership.

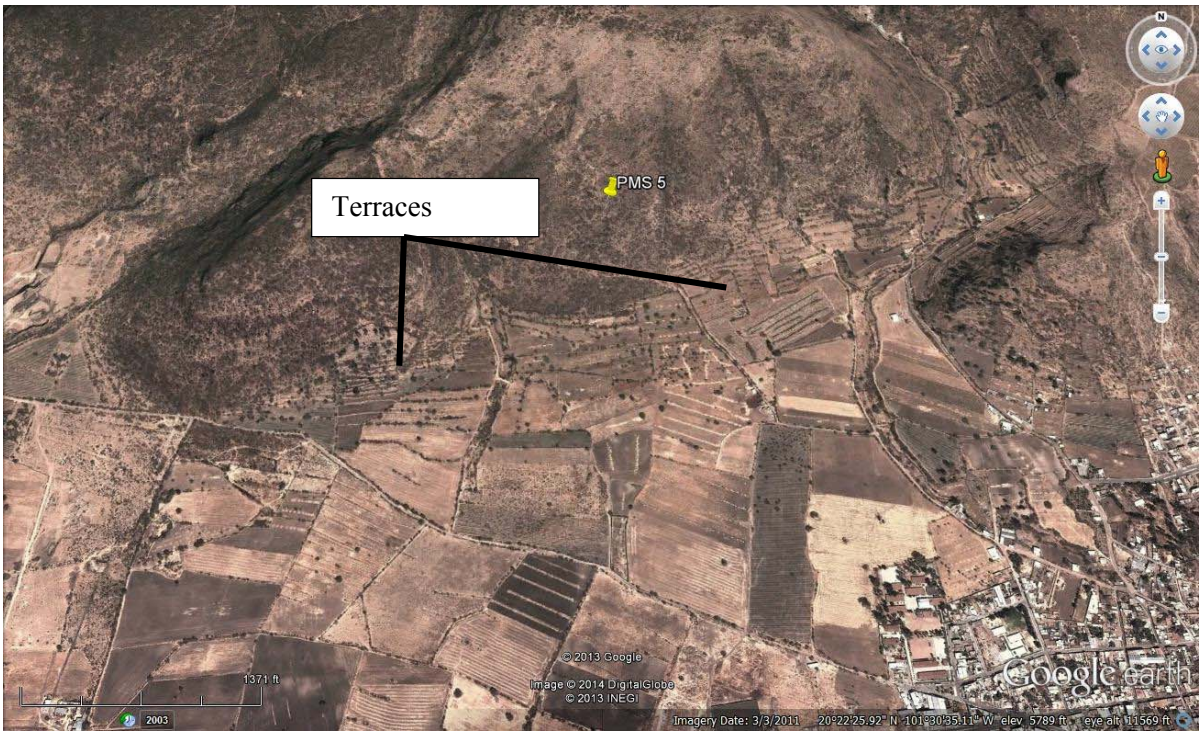

Figure 7.87. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 5 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale on the image is 418 meters (1,371 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.88 shows the location of site PMS 6, located near the modern settlement of Parácuaro.

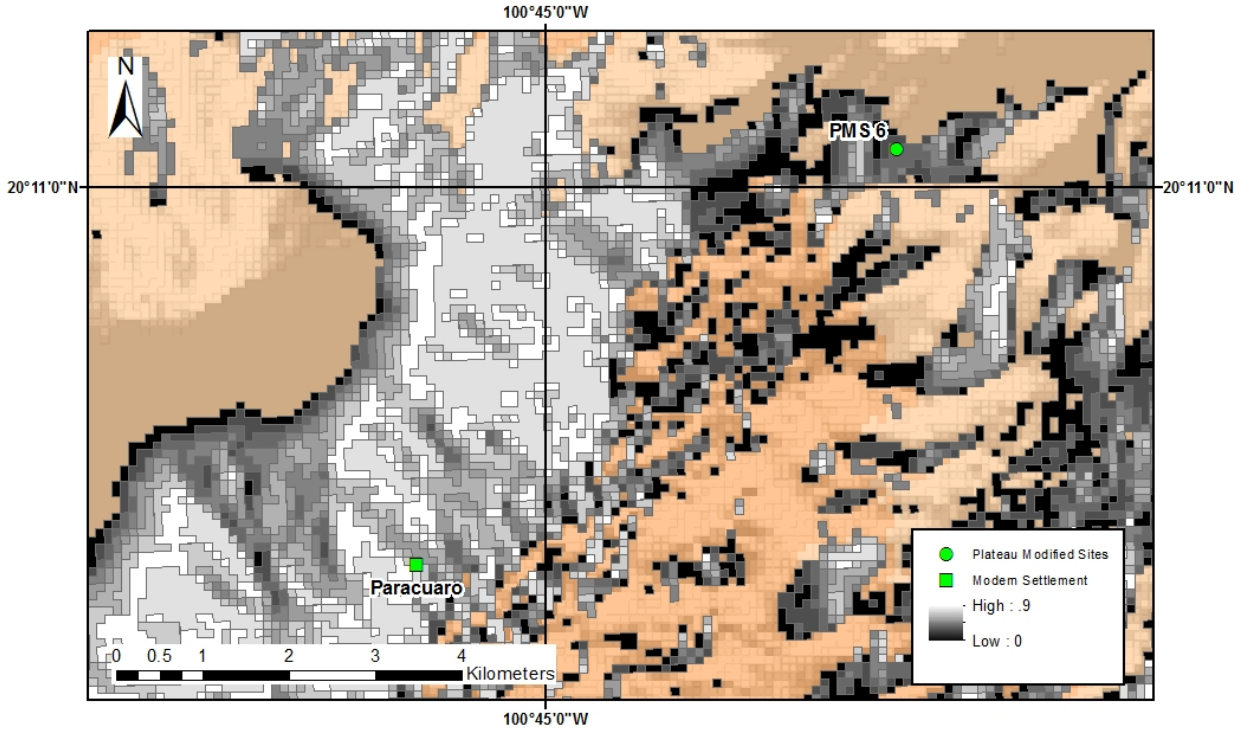

Figure 7.88. The locations of potential sites identified using the modified Plateau model (Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755). PMS 6 (upper right, green circle) has a membership value of .35. The site of Paracuaro has been added as a modern spatial referent. The fuzzy surface has light gray showing low membership and white showing the highest membership.

PMS 6 has a membership value of .35 and it is located near the modern settlement of Parácuaro in Guanajuato. The site consists of terracing across a kilometer of hillslope. The site's membership is lower than other sites, but this is indicative of the wide range of topographic variation across the plateau region. The site is shown in Figure 7.89.

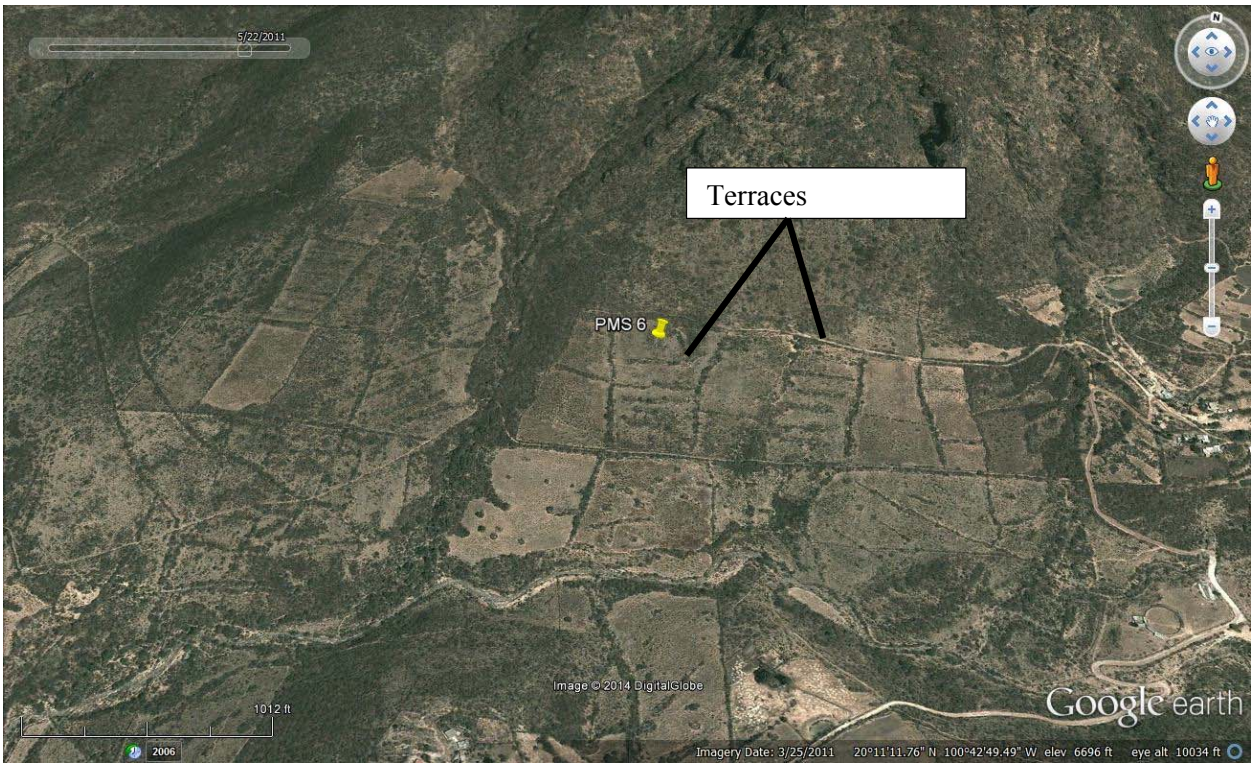

Figure 7.89. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 6 which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. The site is identifiable by the presence of bench terraces. The scale is 308 meters (1,012 feet). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Figure 7.90 shows the location of PMS 7 in Jalisco near the *cabecera* of Tamazula, and the *subcabeceras* of Zapotlan and Tuchpan.

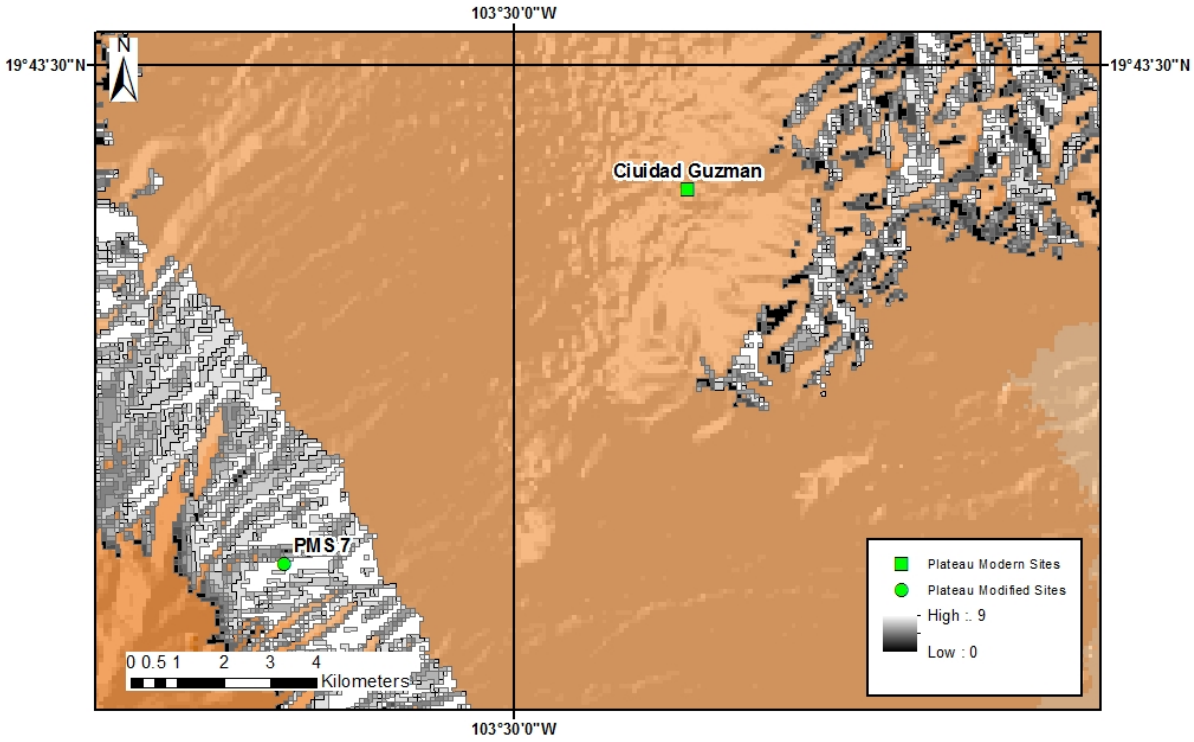

Figure 7.90. The locations of site PMS 7 identified using the modified Plateau model (Slope=30, Aspect = 191, Elevation = 1755. The fuzzy surface has light gray showing low membership and white showing the highest membership.

PMS 7 is located on an east-facing hillslope overlooking the area where the *cabecera* of Tamazula and its *subcabeceras* of Zapotlan and Tuchpan are located. The site's membership is .99. Closer examination of this area suggests that the site might in fact be the Nevado 1 site described by Schöndube (1987). This site is shown in Figure 7.91.

Figure 7.91. The location of the Plateau Modified Site 7which was identified using the modified Plateau fuzzy model. This site is actually the same as the Nevado 1 site recorded by Schöndube (1987). Data: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, INEGI.

Analysis

In this chapter, I constructed predictive models of settlement patterns in Michoacán using fuzzy set theory to assess settlement on a continuum of suitable (1) to unsuitable (0) site locations. In this section, I discuss the results of the predictive models and their implications for the study of settlement patterns in Tarascan territory.

Analyses with fuzzy set theory are often iterative processes where researchers construct membership functions, apply fuzzy set operators like union or intersection, and assess the results of the new fuzzy set

to determine the efficacy of the model. The researcher adjusts the parameters of the model in response to the new data and this can result in a model that best describes the phenomena of interest or another round of analyses. The process of analysis, adjustment, and refinement is one of the core strengths of fuzzy set theory.

The statistical calculation provided baseline information to assess the model's sensitivity at detecting sites in the test sample. As I mentioned earlier in the chapter, the model assigned low membership values to settlements along the Balsas River (with the exception of San Pablo), and values of 6.–.87 to sites located away from the lakeshore. The low values, combined with the knowledge that the elevation increases north of the river, led me to conclude that the elevation values were too narrowly defined to detect low-lying sites. Furthermore, I determined that the model assigned high membership vales to settlements in open, relatively flat areas like Cuseo, Huetamo, and La Huacana and low values to settlements in more rugged zones (e.g. Púmuchacupeo). I adjusted the slope to 20 degrees and varied the range of the aspect, which led to identification of sites with high membership values. I undertook similar processes in my analyses of the Plateau and Sierra regions, which had much greater topographic variability. These data highlight the flexibility of the model through a process of adjustment and refinement. The initial models were constrained to specified value ranges extracted from a limited amount of data; thus, the model only detected sites in those ranges. However, the advantage of fuzzy set theory is its ability to assess *why* sites were not detected by looking at the fuzzy values before the intersection operator is applied, and through the analysis of expert knowledge provided by scholars.

The modified model also proved successful at identifying potential sites that are not published in scholarly journals or monographs. In general, the model identified sites that consisted mainly of terraces or structural outlines, located in various places. The membership values varied across a continuum, usually from .3–1, which is consistent with fairly expansive ranges. However, it is possible to narrow the area by creating more stringent membership criteria, membership functions with more drastic transitions and narrower ranges, or through the institution of alpha cuts (Klir et al. 1999).

This analysis approached the predictive model as a pixel-by-pixel analysis which confers advantages for the study of Tarascan settlement patterns. As we have seen in previous chapters, central and western Mexico exhibited highly modular political organization and settlement patterns where political units could be subdivided into many smaller subunits. The fact that the predictive model analyzes site locations by the pixel allows us to look for these smaller settlements that are components of a settlement or political unit in addition to looking for larger settlements.

The analyses in this chapter show that it is possible to model settlement patterns by applying fuzzy set theory to first-order topographic variables. Using only a few variables, it is possible to construct a model of settlement that will accurately predict potential settlement locations. However, it is equally possible to apply a large number of variables to establish a settlement pattern model such as available resources. In addition to the slope, aspect, and elevation variables, distance to water is a potentially useful variable, as is distance to necessary resources, including distances to hunt for flora and fauna. In the final chapter, I analyze all of the data collected in this dissertation and provide a synthesis on the organizational structure of the Tarascan polity.

Chapter 8: Analysis and Conclusions

The previous chapters have discussed the relevant available information about Tarascan culture, from the analysis of the RM to the available archaeological and ethnohistorical data about the composition of political units under Tarascan rule. In this chapter, I synthesize these data to draw more comprehensive conclusions about how the elites of the Tzintzuntzan lineage viewed their polity, how the archaeological and ethnohistorical data support or refute their assertions, and how new archaeological and ethnohistorical techniques contribute to a better understanding of the Tarascan culture.

I begin with a discussion of the ethnohistorical analyses from Chapters Three, Four and five, focusing on what the RM tells us about the political and cultural transformations in west Mexico during the Middle and Late Postclassic. Next, I compare these data with what was collected in Chapter Six about the archaeological evidence for the various subunits, and continue by looking at the modeling I conducted in Chapter Seven. As these data will illustrate, the information contained within the RM is a fairly accurate manifestation of the Tarascan polity as the elites themselves understood it.

Ethnohistorical Analysis

The ethnohistorical data from the RM provides a link to the Tarascan past that tells us a great deal about Tarascan organizational structures. In its original form, the RM was an oral history or narrative told by the *Petámuti* and his subordinates to audiences of elites and commoners during the festival of Equataconsquaro (Alcalá 2000:331). Although measures are taken to keep core elements of the narrative intact, the narrator/performer may modify details to suit the particular audience or the circumstances (Vansina 1985:34–35).

The forty-four surviving illustrations from the RM may be the best link we have to understanding the original oral history because they were produced by indigenous scribes, or *Carari*, and may have been used by the *Petámuti* as a pictographic mnemonic device to recall pertinent details during performances (Roskamp 2000a:239). These images contain symbolism that might have been used to recall details during the performance, including common types like footprints to indicate movement or drawing certain

individuals larger than others to indicate importance (Stone 2004:87). Other types of symbolism include the use of colors as directional indicators. For example, individuals in illustrations are sometimes painted yellow, possibly to symbolize a northerly direction (Alcalá 2000:437, 482).

Other elements in the illustrations are more literal, such as the depictions of elite dress and the design of structures. Elites are shown dressed in long shirts, headbands, and ponytails (Alcalá 2000:334, 358). Other accoutrements that might appear include sandals and lip plugs (Alcalá 2000:334). Elite houses are depicted with the same general house design that includes a slanted roof and a central seating area where the elites hold court (Alcalá 2000:476, 482). Temples are shown with similar designs, usually appearing end-on to the viewer and giving the impression of a pyramidal structure (Alcalá 2000:358, 482).

The illustrations in the RM can be broken down into two general categories that I refer to as "continuous" and "segmented," which is significant when comparing the image to the text. Continuous images depict one continuous scene across the entire image space on the manuscript page, such as illustrations for Episodes VI, XI, XII, and XXVII (Alcalá 2000:358, 377, 382, 495). These scenes pertain to singular events that are described in the text. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, the illustration for Episode XI portrays the capture of the rival priest Naca by a hunting party led by Zetaco and Aramen (Alcalá 2000:382). The right section of the image shows a man dressed as a priest being physically restrained by another man. At the time, there is a third individual shown shooting an arrow at the priest. This illustration is continuous, implying that this is a singular event; however, in the text Aramen is described as the one who both shoots Naca and physically restrains him. Roskamp (2000a:383) notes that it is unusual for the scribe to draw the same individual twice, but what if the other individual were actually Zetaco and the *Petámuti* changed the narrative to emphasize the bravery of his ancestor?

Segmented images consist of smaller image segments spread across the image space and this is typically used to illustrate multiple events or the progression of singular events that occur in an episode. One of the interesting features of the images is that they are not always presented in a manner identical to the text, which means that the reading order of the image can be varied with no loss of information. For instance, let us look at the illustration for Episode XXV (Alcalá 2000:482).

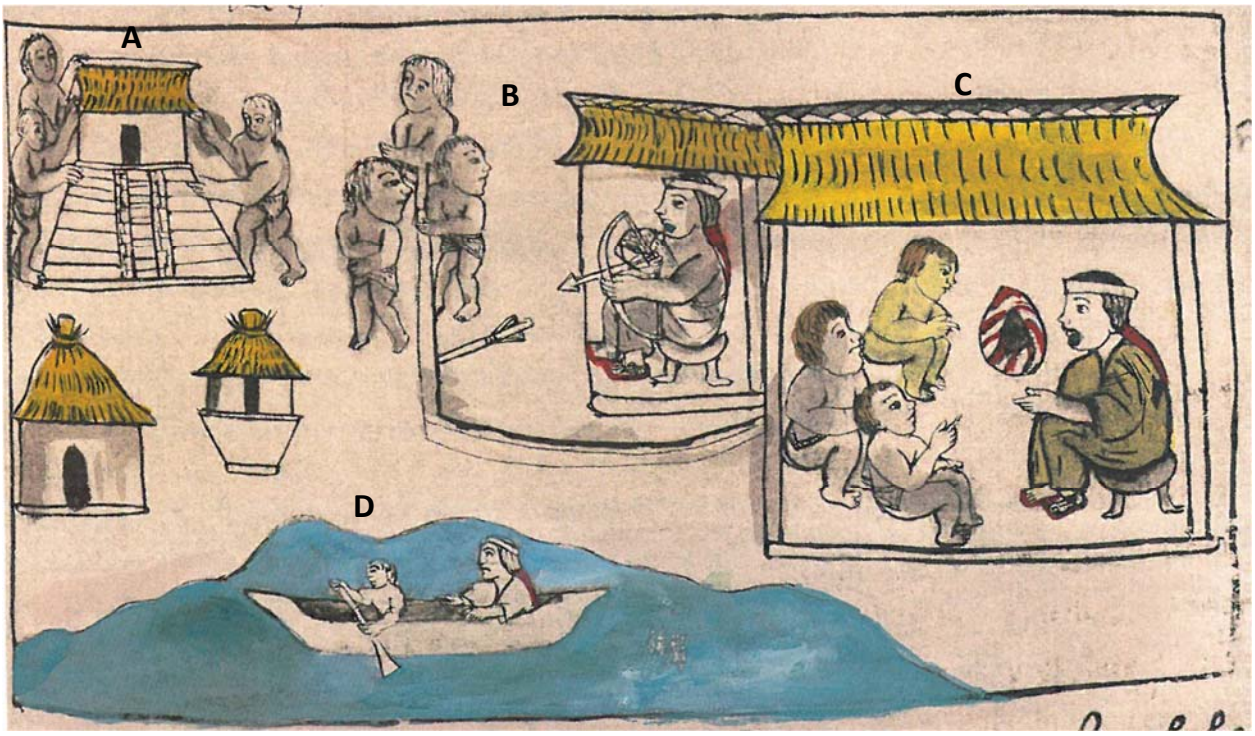

Figure 8.1. Lamina XVII from Episode XXV of the RM, in which Hiripan, Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje are given a piece of Curícaueri (C). The young men build a temple to house the object (A), which angers Taríacuri (B) and forces him to schedule a conflict to obtain sacrificial victims to dedicate the new structure (Alcalá 2000:482).

Lamina XVII contains four groups of elements which I have labeled A-D (see above). The elements in Group A consist of three figures in breechcloths working on what appears to be a temple. There are several other structures nearby, but we do not know anything about them from the picture. Group B shows a seated figure wearing a robe or long shirt, headband, and sandals inside a house. The type of seat is commonly associated with elites in other images, which combined with his attire suggests that he is an elite. He is holding a bow and arrow and appears almost about to fire for the second time; the first arrow is embedded in a wall in front of him. Three figures dressed similarly to the figures in Group A appear to be cowering away from the elite. The elements of group C are inside of a structure nearly identical to the structure seen in Group B. Three figures are seated on the ground, dressed identically to the three featured in groups A and B. A fourth, seated figure is dressed identically to the elite in Group B, and he appears to be presenting a teardrop-shaped black, white, and red object to the seated figures. Finally,

group D shows two figures in a canoe headed toward the left side of the image. One appears to be dressed similarly to the elite from groups B and C.

In the text, Tarascan *señor* Taríacuri gives his son Hiquíngaje and his two nephews, Hiripan and Tangáxoan, a piece of the god Curícaueri to legitimate their eligibility to be *señores* (Alcalá 2000:484). It is Taríacuri's intention that they dedicate a small altar to Curícaueri, but the three young men construct a complete temple, priests' houses and trojes instead. Taríacuri is enraged because the construction of a temple is a far more elaborate, and must be dedicated with sacrifices. He shoots at the boys with a bow and arrow and they run back to their temple. Taríacuri sends his trusted advisor Chupitani across the lake to establish an agreement with Varapame, *señor* of Pacandan, to obtain war captives to properly dedicate the new ritual space. However, Varapame attempts to manipulate events by going directly to Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje; eventually, Taríacuri becomes aware of the deception and sets a plan in motion to exact revenge against Varapame. Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje continue this campaign with attacks against Curínguaro.

Following the text, the sequence of events shown in Lamina XVII would be C-A-D-B, which does not conform to a linear, left-right or right-left reading of the image. However, if we read the sequence of events using these conventions, there is still a fairly coherent narrative. For example, if the image is read A-B-C-D, we have the sequence of events shown here.

A) Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje build a temple, priests' house, and troje.

B) Taríacuri shoots at the young men for building the temple because

C) He gave them a piece of Curícaueri which caused the events in (A). It also necessitates further actions

D) Because someone has to travel across the lake to arrange a ritual conflict to obtain war captives to consecrate the temple created in (A).

Read in reverse order, the sequence of events would be:

D) Someone has to travel across the lake because

C) Taríacuri gave Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje a piece of Curícaueri which led to

B) Taríacuri shooting at them with a bow and arrow because they

A) Built a priests' house, *troje*, and temple, all because of what happened in event (C).

The image provides the core elements to produce the narrative, but there is also an inherent flexibility in the arrangement that would provide the storyteller with the ability to vary sequence of the story to build up dramatic tension or vary the method or content of storytelling. However, the image is not capable of conveying the entire sequence of events, which leaves room for reinterpretations and variations on a theme. It also provides a lacuna in which the storyteller could reinterpret elements of the story to suit a particular purpose.

The reinterpretation of the narrative makes sense in the contexts of pre-Hispanic document production and the circumstances surrounding their use in colonial New Spain. Documents are encoded with different types of information using phonetic or pictographic writing which is potentially accessible to wide audiences, or they are imbued with meanings that are passed down through generations from one "expert" to another (Boone 2012:224). Furthermore, the interpretations of these documents vary according to a particular need; indeed, there are instances where individuals "read" and interpreted documents for legal cases in ways that the document's creators never intended (Medrano 2010:103). Indeed, this was sometimes done at the urging of the Spanish (Medrano 2010:103). Thus, it was a known practice in colonial New Spain to reinterpret existing information in new ways.

This practice of interpretation is significant to how we view the RM (Alcalá 2000). The narrative was originally used to justify pre-Hispanic sociopolitical conditions in west Mexico to audiences of Tarascans and non-Tarascans. In the pre-Hispanic period, this same story was used as a rebuttal to Vasco de Quiroga's claims that Pátzcuaro was in fact the ancient capital, not Tzintzuntzan (Warren 1985:5). Moreover, we know that Alcalá conducted his research at the behest of Antonio de Mendoza, who was bitterly opposed to Quiroga's attempts to move the *cabecera* to Pátzcuaro (Stanislawski 1947a:120). Therefore, the telling of the RM narrative by the Tzintzuntzan elites could very well be another example

of this type of creative reinterpretation to suit their need to preserve their political status as cabecera as well as the tributary obligations they enjoyed in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

The RM is an example of "selective remembering," which is used to recall events important to a particular culture or group (Wood 2012:4). The first narrative arc begins by the describing the *Uacúsecha* lineage which branched off from Hireti-Ticatame, Sicuírancha, and their descendants, an act that establishes the age of the *Uacúsecha* lineage in west Mexico. During second narrative arc, we begin to see subtle emphasis placed on the members of the Tzintzuntzan lineage, beginning with Aramen. In addition to his valiant actions in Episode XI, we also learn that he is the one responsible for the founding of the Pareo market (Alcalá 2000:469). Later, Aramen's son Tangáxoan is described as a valiant warrior who battles against the foes of the *Uacúsecha*, including Zapíuatame, Curátame, and Hiuacha Zirapen (Alcalá 2000:469, 490, 514). In each instance, Tangáxoan attacks with a war club which is a weapon used in close combat (Hassig 1988:85). In a separate oral history, Tangáxoan's son Zizispandaquare kills a number of his political rivals with a war club, which might have been an attempt to evoke associations with his ancestors (Monzón et al. 2009:120). In contrast, Tangáxoan's relatives Hiripan and Tangáxoan are described as reluctant to fight (Alcalá 2000:492). Hiripan is the more pensive one of the group, and Hiquíngaje says and does very little over the course of the third narrative arc (Alcalá 2000).

This version that was told by the Tzintzuntzan elites happened to be the one that Alcalá recorded, and which modern scholars criticize for its overly Tzintzuntzanist position (Stone 2004:124). As we have seen, this bias was probably intentional because it was meant to salvage Tzintzuntzan's social position. The text does not always agree with the images, as I have also discussed, which suggests that narrative flexibility was important.

These distortions are apparent in the translations of Mesoamerican sociopolitical structures because the rank structures are not clearly delineated in the texts. For example, within Aztec territory there were multiple *Tlatoani* designations detailing the rank and position of each leader in the sociopolitical structure but Spanish reorganization efforts resulted in a hybrid rank structure that incorporated native and European ranks. Most notably, leaders became known as *Señores*, with distinctions made between

Señores Universales who were the highest-ranking members of society and the *Señores Particulares*, who were the subordinate lords (López Sarrelangue 1965:38). *Principales* were those individuals born to high-ranking families but were not in the direct line of succession. In addition, the Spanish borrowed the Arawak word for chief, *Cacique*, to denote local leaders and functionaries (López Sarrelangue 1965:18; Terraciano 2001:126).

The RM follows a similar rank structure, although very little distinction is made between the *Señores* Universales and the *Señores Particulares*. Throughout the narrative, Taríacuri insists that there will only be three *Señores* which implies that Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje are the *Señores Universales* (Alcalá 2000:459; Espejel Carbajal 2008). It is not until they decide to designate new *Señores* that we have any inkling of any other rank of *Señor*. *Caciques* are generally considered high-ranking officials but their rank is somewhat below that of a *Señor* (López Sarrelangue 1965:18; Terraciano 2001:126).

Judging from these data, the ranking structure would appear to be the following:

- *Señor Universal* - in charge of the polity; headed by a pureblood *Uacúsecha*
- *Señor Particular* – In charge of one or more subordinate political units; close familial ties to *Uacúsecha*.
- *Cacique*- In charge of a political unit; more distant relative to *Uacúsecha*.
- *Principal* – In charge of *barrios*.

These ranks are not mutually exclusive and upward social mobility is possible. For example, the principales Cupáuaxanzi and Vtúcuma became leaders of political units despite their rank. Cupáuaxanzi is specifically referred to "principal who was as a *Cacique*," which suggests that he received a promotion of sorts in return for his support of the Tarascan expansion (Alcalá2000:524).

The RM is a means of "territorial management" that the Tarascans used to legitimate their claims to lands in Michoacán by making their control the product of Curícaueri's greatness and the triumph over immorality. This form of legitimation offers an alternative to the primordial land title, a document which describes the founding of a pueblo or settlement as a singular event that occurred many years before by one's ancestors. In the case of the Tarascans, they cannot establish an original claim on the land because

they were not the first to settle there; thus, the RM removes the historical argument and makes an argument for destiny and morality.

The story begins with *Señor* Zizanban's pronouncement that Curícaueri will conquer the world (Alcalá 2000:341–342), an event that is carried out in Episode XXXI (Alcalá 2000:519). There is a certainty in Zizanban's statement that suggests it is an inevitable conclusion. This territorial management is strengthened with the *Uacúsecha* exploration of Michoacán at the end of Episode III, as the descendants of Hireti-Ticatame and Sicuírancha begin exploring the countryside and visiting "places" that will become the homes of their rivals in later episodes. "Place" and "pueblo" are two very different concepts used in the RM with place (*Lugar*) describing what appears to be an unsettled area or plot of land and pueblo describing an area of human habitation. Within the contexts of the RM, even visiting a place is akin to laying a formal claim which means that areas like Curinguaro belong to the *Uacúsecha* even before the area is settled by Chánshori. Thus, the founding of non-*Uacúsecha* pueblos on these lands is a violation of the natural order that can only be restored when the *Uacúsecha* formally establish control.

The other argument focuses on what the *Uacúsecha* see as a lack of morality in Michoacán. From the very beginning of the narrative the audience is presented with examples of individuals who engage in immoral behavior, including indiscriminate warfare, drunkenness, inappropriate sexual liaisons, and impiety toward the gods (Alcalá 2000:459). As the protagonists, the *Uacúsecha* are often the victims of immoral behavior, such as when Hireti-Ticatame is murdered by elites from Naranjan and Cumachen and when the Islanders abrogate their alliance with the *Chichimecs* by literally and figuratively stripping Vápeani and Pauácume of their titles and badges of office (Alcalá 2000:362). These actions provide a justification for the eventual conflicts and conquests carried out in later parts of the narrative, because the *Uacúsecha* are the only moral people living in Michoacán in their view.

These forms of territorial management establish the *Uacúsecha* as the legitimate ruling group in Michoacán because they are the agents responsible for solidifying Curícaueri's control of the region as well as cleaning up the moral decay that had become rampant until the conquest and consolidation

campaigns. However, there are other subtle forms of territorial management used by the elites from Tzintzuntzan to emphasize the importance of their lineage over those from Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro in the hopes it would prevent the transfer of the *cabecera* to Pátzcuaro.

These forms of territorial management do not manifest until the second story arc when the Uacúsecha lineage begins to branch out with lineages developing from Taríacuri, Zetaco, and Aramen; before that, there was only one lineage founded by Hireti-Ticatame, Sicuírancha, and their descendants. Taríacuri is the architect of Tarascan expansion and his importance to *Uacúsecha* history cannot be denied, but there are signs that the *Petámuti* subtly emphasized the role of the Tzintzuntzan lineage over Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro. Aramen, Tangáxoan's father, is described as a *valiente hombre* credited with the capture of the priest Naca in Episode XI (Alcalá 2000:380). Furthermore, Aramen founded the market at Pareo (Alcalá 2000:398).

During the third story arc, Aramen's son Tangáxoan is similarly described as a valiente hombre because he is the only member of the trio of *señores* described as a fighter, often using a club to capture or dispatch his enemies (Alcalá 2000). He is responsible for capturing the principal Zapíuatame in Episode XXIII and for dispatching his elder cousin Curátame II in Episode XXV (Alcalá 2000:492). He also kills the rival *Señor* Hiuacha Zirapen in Episode XXX by striking him in the head with his club. The club symbolizes the bravery and valiant nature of the wielder; thus, Tangáxoan is the most valiant. The later narrative of Don Melchor Caltzin may be referencing this symbolism when he describes Tangáxoan's son Zizispandaquare use of the club to dispatch his own enemies and establish himself as the legitimate *Señor* of Tzintzuntzan (Monzón et al. 2009:33; Roskamp et al. 2012:121).

The Altepetl *Model: Applications in the Tarascan Empire*

Previous chapters show that there were at least 40 subordinate political units in Michoacán that ultimately reported to the *Uacúsecha* living in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. The extent to which each unit was integrated into the sociopolitical system differed according to ethnic affiliations, political circumstances, and distances from the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin.

The RM, SV, CV, and RG acknowledge Tzintzuntzan or the combined *señorío* of Mechoacán (Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro) as the *cabecera* of the Tarascan polity (Acuña 1987; Alcalá 2000; Paso y Troncoso 1905; Warren 1977). However, the RM also states that the Tarascan polity was founded as a trinary coalition between Ihuatzio, Tzintzuntzan, and Pátzcuaro (Alcalá 2000:516). Moreover, Ihuatzio was the *cabecera* of the new polity until after the deaths of Hiquíngaje and Hiripan when it shifted to Tzintzuntzan. Despite the clear explanation in the narrative of three superordinate centers, the ethnohistorical record and by extension the archaeological interpretations, shows an acceptance of Tzintzuntzan as the *cabecera* and Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro are either subordinated or largely left out. What happened to the coalition?

The coalition did not disappear; rather, the descriptions of the political relationships between settlements were altered due to biases among informants and authors. During the colonial period, Spanish secular authorities imposed a settlement structure that conflated levels of sociopolitical organization within the Aztec Triple Alliance because they were trying to create analogues to the political and settlement systems they understood (Gibson 1964:32; Lockhart 1992:28). Mesoamerican political systems possessed a detailed structure and territoriality that was incompatible with the loosely defined European system (Gutierrez 2009:317). Thus, their institution of a hybrid political structure that incorporated terms like *señor, Cacique,* and *rey* (king) was an attempt to rectify the European system with the Mesoamerican. Indigenous elites tried to take advantage of the vagaries of the new system to create new political units or ranks that did not exist in pre-Hispanic times (Medrano 2010:44). The indigenous *Uacúsecha* at Tzintzuntzan established themselves as the ruling group during the pre-Hispanic era and they wanted to maintain this status during the colonial era despite the changes taking place (López Sarrelangue 1965:61); thus, they wanted to use the system to their advantage and would thus have had little incentive to correct the terms.

These biases are also felt in the twenty-first century through the application of anachronistic models like European "kingship" to a region that did not have divine kings in the same sense (Daneels and Gutierrez 2012:2; Hansen 2000:10). This gives weight to ideas of centrality and political authority where

they may not have existed, or where they were obscured in the ethnohistorical record. In the Tarascan case, where archaeologists have only recently focused their attention and ethnohistory is often used to fill large gaps in the record, this becomes even more problematic.

Archaeological surveys and excavations in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin tend to reinforce the idea of Tzintzuntzan as the superordinate center because it alone has the clearest archaeological examples of political, economic, and religious activities (Gorenstein 1985b; Gorenstein and Pollard 1983; Pollard 1977, 1993). The Great Platform on Cerro Yaguarato is a clear example of a religious/ceremonial precinct where large groups of people could gather to participate in religious ceremonies dedicated to Curícaueri and his "brothers," local deities of prominent settlements that were integrated into the Tarascan pantheon. The Santa Ana platform on Cerro Taríacuri is thought to be the site of the Cazonci's palace and the *de facto* political center, even though Pollard herself acknowledges that political activity could have been carried out elsewhere (Pollard 1993:37). There is no clear archaeological evidence for a market, but the RM states that there was a market held daily at Tzintzuntzan (Alcalá 2000:628).

In contrast, researchers point to a lack of evidence for political, administrative, and economic functions at Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:64). The most prominent features found at Ihuatzio are the two groups of yacatas dedicated to Curícaueri and Xarátanga, but there is no clear archaeological evidence of a palace structure similar to what was found on the Santa Ana platform (Pollard 1993:198). Pre-Hispanic Pátzcuaro is inaccessible beneath the modern settlement (Pollard 1980:680), leaving only what the ethnohistory in the RM and related documents. However, the RM narrative describes them both as political centers during the pre-Hispanic period, and the fact that they each had subordinate *barrios* and controlled subordinate settlements suggests that they would have required political or administrative infrastructure.

The *altepetl* model provides us with a means of evaluating the statements in the ethnohistory against the archaeological and ethnohistorical data. Since *altepetl* are modular units made up of multiple constituent subunits (Gutierrez 2009, 2012; Lockhart 1992:17), Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, and Ihuatzio could be considered subunits analogous to *tlaxilacalli/calpolli*, with the settlements located in proximity

to one another but not necessarily in sight (Lockhart 1992:17). During Tarascan geopolitical expansion, Ihuatzio was designated the *cabecera* because it was the residence of Hiripan, arguably the first *Irecha* or *Cazonci*, as well as the stone idol of Curícaueri, which is another important marker of authority in west Mexico (Alcalá 2000:460). Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje occupied ranks that were similar, but subordinate to him. When Hiquíngaje and Hiripan both died, Pátzcuaro was left without an eligible ruler and Ihuatzio was left without a strong leader, which allowed Tzintzuntzan to take over as *cabecera* and claim Pátzcuaro as a tributary. *Altepetl* units in central Mexico experienced similar shifts as subordinates gained power and vice versa (Lockhart 1992:37). Despite the changes, Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro would have retained their status as *calpolli*-analogues within the sociopolitical structure, with rights to tribute from their subordinates. The loss of a Pátzcuaro successor is problematic, but Gorenstein and Pollard's (1983:38) suggestion that the settlement was administered by *principales* rather than *señores* is reasonable since it would be subordinate to Tzintzuntzan. As with the interpretations of political organization in the Aztec area, the *cabecera*, in this case Tzintzuntzan became the central capital and its closely associated units, Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro, became subordinates.

In central Mexico, subordinate *calpolli* and *tlaxilacalli* units functioned as microcosms of the *altepetl* with similar organizational structures and linkages (Gutierrez 2009:322, 2012:35; Lockhart 1992:17). Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro were each made up of multiple constituent *barrios* that performed ritual and ceremonial functions and were controlled by subordinate leaders (*principales*) who oversaw daily operations. In addition, each settlement had its own *sujetos* that were spatially distinct and either reported directly to it or headed up units of its own. Eróngaricuaro is another example of this arrangement because two of its closely associated *subcabeceras,* Urichu and Pechátaro, were located less than 1 league from Eróngaricuaro.

The five political units described in the CV each consist of a *cabecera* surrounded by *sujetos* (Warren 1977:387–408). Each *cabecera* was surrounded by subordinate *pueblos* and *estancias* located within .25–1.5 leagues (1.4–8.4 km) and these were probably sites where subordinate *Calpixques* lived and supported the *cabecera* leader. However, the roles of subordinate leaders were lost or relegated to *barrio*

leadership, leaving us with a gap in the record. A second group of *pueblos* and *estancias* were located 2–2.5 leagues (10.3–14 km) from the *cabecera*. It is here that we find the clearest examples of subordinate *cabeceras*, and it is likely that these are actually subordinate leaders whose roles survived the political changes because their settlements were spatially distinct from others. In keeping with the idea of organization in microcosm, the *sujetos* are spatially organized like their superiors (Lockhart 1992:17).

Archaeological data show that some of the unit *cabeceras* established clear ties with the Tarascan elites and the superordinate *cabeceras* by the presence of Tarascan elite archaeological assemblages and ritual/ceremonial architecture similar to structures found at *Uacúsecha* sites. In the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, investigators recovered Tarascan polychrome ceramics, copper bells, and lip plugs (*bezotes*) from Eróngaricuaro and Urichu, and both sites have monumental architecture similar to the yacatas found at Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio (Haskell 2006; Pollard and Cahue 1999). At Urichu, the elites changed their preferences from obtaining exotics through interregional exchange systems to favoring locally-made items to create stronger identification with the *Uacúsecha* (Pollard and Cahue 1999:277). To the west, Cheran reportedly has a *yacata* although no investigators have found evidence of it since Lumholtz's journey into west Mexico (Espejel Carbajal 2008; Lumholtz 1905:394–395). Lumholtz (1905:294–395) recovered two red-on-cream tripod vessels bearing zoomorphic representations and paneling similar to other pieces recovered from Tzintzuntzan and Huandacareo. Plancarte's (1893:75) descriptions of contexts at Xacona suggest that he found a burial with marked similarities to practices at Tzintzuntzan, including metal objects and evidence of ritual burning prior to interment.

In the Lake Cuitzeo basin, the sites of Huandacareo and Tres Cerritos near Cuitzeo have clear examples of Tarascan polychrome ceramics, metal objects, and pipes (Macias Goytia 1990:51; Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:161). There is also a yacata present at Huandacareo that was probably built during the fifteenth century based on estimates from the artifact styles (Macias Goytia 1990:33).

Adopting architectural styles and consuming products similar to those used by a prominent political center is a common means of gaining prestige, even if the site in question is not formally a part of that political unit (Stein 1999:66). Pollard (1994) suggests that the Tarascans enforced their authority by

instituting badges of office for local leaders, including lip plugs and ceremonial staffs, to emphasize that their authority stemmed from the Tarascan political structure rather than their local lineages.

Other units appear to be relatively independent of Tarascan control. Though Xénguaro/Capula was a cabecera of the right hand, there is little evidence of any Tarascan-style architecture at the site. Until the site is formally excavated and the results published, it appears that Xénguaro/Capula did not seek to adopt Tarascan lifeways. Charo/Matalçingo was *cabecera* of a unit in eastern Michoacán and there is little evidence to suggest that the Tarascans imposed a political structure on the Matlatzinca population (Pollard 1993:128), because the Tarascan leader Zizispandaquare required their military strength to prevent incursions from the north (Jiménez Moreno 1948:150). Similar circumstances occurred at Huetamo and Sirandaro.

There are also several examples of large-scale and complex *altepetl* units (Lockhart 1992:17). La Huacana and the unit controlled by the *principal* Vtúcuma are examples of large *altepetl* units as their subordinate *cabeceras* are located as far as 40–60 kilometers from the *cabecera* (Torre Villar 1984:212). Acámbaro is the unit that most resembles a complex *altepetl* because the ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence suggest that contingent of Tarascans, Otomis, and Chichimecs lived at the site (Acuña 1987:64; Gorenstein 1985a:15). Each contingent had its own leader who was responsible for coordinating activities and the tributary obligations were not shared among factions. For example, the Otomis and Chichimecs paid with military service while in addition the Tarascans were required to pay in goods and foodstuffs (Acuña 1987:61). Archaeological excavations indicated that different ethnic groups lived in close proximity near Cerro el Chivo, which served as the ceremonial center for the site (Gorenstein 1985a:32).

Similar arrangements may be found at the other border sites, as the RG mentions the presence of other contingents of Otomis, Nahuas, Chichimecs, Chontales, and Tarascans (Acuña 1986, 1987). In the southeast, Ajuchtilan, Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Coyuca might be considered a complex *altepetl* due to the close coordination of military activities. Silverstein (2000:281) went so far as to call these units *altepetl* due to their close resemblance to the Aztec model.

Finally, there are also examples of the Tarascans relocating populations to create new units to fill in gaps in the territory. Xiquilpan was founded in the early sixteenth century to claim territory in the west, and Zuangua ordered populations from the former territory of Amula to move east (Acuña 1987). The organizational structure included many different types of units, but there are definite similarities to the *altepetl* model.

The ethnohistorical records, particularly in the RG, present a somewhat distorted view of the relationships between the *Uacúsecha* elite and the subordinate political units. Many entries state that the people recognized the *Cazonci*, or "rey de Mechoacán" (king of Michoacán) as their leader, but I believe these statements gloss over the relationships between the people and local political leaders. If the Tarascans had an *altepetl*-like political structure then the general population at the *calpolli* or *tlaxilacalli* level would recognize their local *Señor, Cacique,* or *Principal* as their political leader. Those leaders would recognize the leader of the *cabecera,* and he would be the one to formally recognize the *Uacúsecha*.

The RG distorts this relationship by stating that the people directly recognized the *Cazonci* as their leader, which skips over these intermediate levels. The respondents to the RGs were Spanish officials who either answered the survey by interviewing local *principales* or they simply wrote answers based on their own knowledge and exposure to the local culture (Cline 1964:348). Therefore, the statements of fealty to the "king" were based on distorted views of the Tarascan political system which assumed the presence of a central sovereign as well as generalizations to the "people."

The extent of political centralization in the Tarascan polity has been a topic of scholarly discussion for years, with some supporting the idea of a highly centralized, tightly integrated polity ruled by the *Cazonci* (Beltrán 1982; Pollard 1993), while others argue that the Tarascans developed a political system similar to the Aztec Triple Alliance (Hassig 1988:209–210). To a certain extent, the testimony from the RG supports the view that the Tarascans were highly centralized by giving the appearance of direct contact with the Lake Pátzcuaro basin. However, if we assume a more modular structure to Tarascan political

and spatial organization there would be several more levels of political administration separating local commoner populations from the *Cazonci.*

The topic of land ownership is connected to tribute because leaders relied on the proceeds garnered from lands given to them by birthright or through spoils gained in conquest. There were four general classes of land: 1) Lands owned by *Uacúsecha*; 2) Lower elite lands; 3) Village communal lands; and, 4) Polity/temple lands (López Sarrelangue 1965). The lands owned by the *Uacúsecha* cross-cut political units in much the same way that Aztec nobles owned plots of land throughout their territories (Carrasco 1999:35). Sixteenth-century legal documents filed by indigenous nobles from Tzintzuntzan claim lands in Ihuatzio, Viramu Angaru (Huiramangaro), Tarimbaro, Cheran, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, and Cuitzeo (López Sarrelangue 1965; Escobar Olmedo1984). Nobles from Ihuatzio claimed lands from Ihuatzio, Taximaroa, Carapan, Viramu Angaru, and La Huacana (López Sarrelangue 1965:187). In at least one legal case, a *Uacúsecha* descendant sued the *principal* of Zacapu for the latter's failure to properly maintain lands the former owned in several of Zacapu's *estancias* (Escobar Olmedo 1984:270). The suit gives specific dimensions for the land plots in what could be an indigenous mode of measurement (*zitacuas*).

Lower elite lands were typically found within their own political units, although they may have been eligible to receive tribute from lands in conquered regions. Village lands were communal lands owned by settlements that were set aside for use of the village, presumably to fulfill the subsistence requirements of the village.

Polity/temple lands were used to grow food and collect resources to provision the priests and feed troops during war; essentially, these provided the resources for the polity to function. The *Uacúsecha* designated an official known as the *Tareta Vaxátati* to monitor the level of agricultural production and proceeds from these lands (Alcalá 2000:558). The RM's description of the *Tareta Vaxátati* duties states that he monitored the "fields of the Cazonci," and "he knew whose those were" (Alcalá 2000:559). This statement suggests that the *Tareta Vaxátati* (or his subordinates) knew the locations of specific plots of land that belonged to the Cazonci in each settlement in Tarascan territory and therefore understood the amount of production expected from each.

Within the *altepetl*¸ lands were subdivided into successively smaller segments and each was designed to support a specific task, institution, or individual within the unit (Gutierrez 2009, 2012; Lockhart 1992:17). The presence of the *Tareta Vaxátati* and his role in monitoring production within the designated polity/temple lands agrees with the assessment. Furthermore, the labor force that worked the polity/temple lands is consistent with the labor force used in *altepetl* units in Aztec territory. Mesoamerican societies used groups of tenant farmers known as *terrazgueros* or *Cuirintziepa* to use the Purépecha term, whose sole purpose was to work the lands belonging to the ruler (Beltrán 1982:147). We know that *terrazguerros* were present in Tarascan territory because the term *Tareta Vaxátati* means "Dweller in a rented house" (Beltrán 1982:150), or "He who works in the fields" (Joaquín 2000:718), implying a connection to those who live and work on the leader's lands.

The polity/temple lands supplied the polity with the necessary resources to feed priests and wage war, and related ethnohistorical evidence supports this assertion. The *RG Sirandaro* states that the people of Sirandaro grew maize as part of their tributary requirements, but instead of going into the Tarascan leader's storehouses in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, the maize was sent east to Cutzamala to provision a garrison of 10,000 soldiers defending the border against the Aztecs (Acuña 1987:266). In this case, polity/temple lands were used to support the activities of a polity-wide institution, the military.

The religious, political, and economic importance of land suggests that it was an important means of integration within the Tarascan Empire. In the RM, warfare is portrayed a religious obligation because it is the duty of the *Uacúsecha* to wage war in Curícaueri's name so that he might control the "four parts of the world" (Alcalá 2000:341). Of course, the *Uacúsecha* used religion and the lack of morality in the region as justification for geopolitical expansion, but conquests did allow the Tarascans to establish control over sacred spaces like the hot springs at Araro(Alcalá 2000:331), sacrificial victims (Alcalá 2000:452), and resources used in religious ceremonies (e.g., firewood) (Acuña 1987:63). Thus, there is a religious component to procurement of lands.

Leaders also viewed land as an important political and economic tool because it allowed them to conduct the business of government while simultaneously enhancing their own wealth and social status.

Leaders used land as an enticement to establish military alliances with groups of refugees fleeing Aztec domination, like those groups of Matlatzincas who settled at Taimeo, Necotlan, Charo, and Sirandaro, as well as the Otomies living at Acámbaro (Acuña 1987:61). In addition, political offices came with attached plots of land and the officers were entitled to the proceeds as payment for their services (Lopez Sarrelangue 1965:133). Thus, they could enhance their personal wealth while also conducting the business of administration. Since these offices were hereditary, the lands often became a *de facto* part of a family's inheritance, despite the fact that they did not have true "ownership" over those lands.

At the same time, elites often took plots of land for themselves in conquered territories as payment for their military support, as seen in RM references about elites "taking a piece of land" for themselves or for Curícaueri. Furthermore, an entry compiled by Lopez Sarrelangue (1965:235) suggests that was the "tradition of the Michuaque kings" to take plots of land for their personal use. Land was inextricably intertwined with the tributary system, which served as the primary source of elite wealth and a valuable tool for maintaining political control. In contrast, the market system was not a means of integration because the state exercised very little control; rather, it was intended as a means for commoners to obtain foodstuffs and materials that were not available locally. For instance, the Lake Pátzcuaro basin is poor in mineral wealth (e.g., gold, silver, copper) and obsidian, which meant that the markets facilitated access to utilitarian items manufactured from minerals mined in southern Michoacán and obsidian from sources in northern Michoacán (Pollard 1982). Elite involvement in the market appears to have been peripheral, to the point that it was not regulated heavily by the Tarascan elites. For example, there are several references to markets in the RM, but only one reference implies the imposition of political authority. Even then, it was an extraordinary circumstance because the elites ordered the market closed to commemorate the death of the Tarascan leader (Alcalá 2000:628). Furthermore, in the extensive list of governmental positions given in Part Three of the RM, there is no mention of a central market official, which supports the idea that the market was a separate system.

Goods distributed within the markets were not regulated. Ceramics were not regulated by the *Uacúsecha* elite because sherds from the Lake Pátzcuaro basin show little evidence of production

standards or specifications (Hirshman 2010:265). The scale of market organization remains relatively unexplored; indeed, except for references to major markets at Asajo, Pareo, and Tzintzuntzan, we know very little about how the markets functioned.

Mesoamerican societies developed a strict sense of territoriality in that they understood the land as a series of discrete spaces controlled by specific groups and political control was established by controlling those spaces (Gutierrez 2009:317). Taríacuri's request for safe passage through Curínguaro's territory to reach Condembaro in Episode XIV suggests that this type of territoriality existed in the Tarascan polity as well. Violating the territory would have been an act of war, a condition that Taríacuri could ill afford because his power base was already weakened from attacks by Taríaran (Alcalá 2000:394). Likewise, the practice of offering food from one's storehouses to another created a system of obligations that tied the individual to that land in a political and economic sense.

Elites had much to gain from participating in military conquests because participation guaranteed a share of the proceeds, usually in the form of lands in conquered territories (Carrasco 1999:33). Moreover, land was an enticement to encourage individuals to settle, as in the case of the groups of refugee Matlatzincas and Otomis who were given their own lands if they agreed to defend the Tarascan polity (Acuña 1987:61).

The information presented in previous chapters suggests that the *altepetl* is applicable to the study of the Tarascan polity because it possesses the three main characteristics of *altepetl* organization: 1) a designated leader; 2) defined territories made up of multiple subunit levels; and, 3) a political system where the subunits replicate the structural characteristics of larger units (Lockhart 1992:15). If we are to continue the study of Tarascan sociopolitical organization as an *altepetl*-like series of units we require a new terminology that distances the Purépecha-speaking Tarascans from Nahuatl-language labels. Moreover, we need to move away from Spanish-language labels because the Spanish combined multiple political ranks together and the descriptions evoke images of divine kings. In this section, I offer a political hierarchy of largely Purépecha terms to describe political ranks and political units.

Political Ranks. The political ranks are presented in the following table.

Table 8.1. Proposed political ranking structure using Tarascan (Purépecha) language terms.

Proposed Term	Translation	Spanish Equivalent
Tepari Yrechaeti	"Sovereign Lord"	*Señor Universal*
Angámecha	"Those who wear lip plugs"	*Señor* Particular
Carachacapacha	"Chief"	*Cacique*
Achaecha/*Carachacapati*	"Prince or Principal"	Principe, Principal

The term *Tepari Yrechaeti* appears in the Gilberti dictionary with the translated meaning of "Sovereign Lord." In my proposed terminology, it is equivalent to the accepted rank of *Señor Universal* which was used to describe the highest-ranking elites in a polity (López Sarrelangue 1965:37). This term is closer to the underlying concepts of *altepetl* rulership as it signifies a high-ranking ruler who has possession over land. Furthermore, it moves away from the term *Cazonci* which is usually defined as "king" or "emperor" when it was actually used by the Aztecs as a pejorative. It also replaces terms used by scholars like the word *Irecha* and *Irechequa*, which Gilberti translates as "king" and "kingdom," respectively (Gilberti 1962:64). Thus, we move away from the ideas of European kingship.

The term *Angámecha* translates as "those who wear lip plugs" (Pollard 1993:124) and appears to be an accurate term to describe those individuals who held the rank of *Señor Particular* (López Sarrelangue 1965:68) and controlled either settlements or local units. The RM describes the *Caciques* of the province as *Carachacapacha* (Alcalá 2000:558) and I continue the use of the term here. In doing so, my interpretation differs from Pollard's (1993:123) because she uses the term to describe the "four very principal *Señores*" who ruled on the frontiers for the Cazonci. However, the references in the RM do not specifically mention them as being of the same rank.

The *principales* are described by using two terms, *Achaecha* and *Carachacapati*. The RM uses the first term to describe high-ranking *principales* who constantly accompanied and assisted the Tarascan leader. The term principal is not precisely defined in this instance and could be used to denote individuals

of higher social rank as suggested by Pollard (1993:123). The term *Carachacapati* is defined in Gilberti as "*Principe* o *Principal*" (Prince or principal) and it is the only term that pertains to a principal individual as opposed to a person.

Political Units. The terminology for the political units is presented in the following table.

Table 8.2. Proposed political unit ranking structure using Tarascan (Purépecha) language terms.

Proposed Term	**Translation**	**Spanish Equivalent**
Tepari Yrechaetisperaqua	"Possession of the Great Lord"	*Señorio, Señoria*
Thares Cumpsta	"Idol-Hill"	*Altepetl*
Vandazcuni Harandiro	"Established Space"	*Tlaxilacalli/Calpolli*
Vapatzequa	"Barrio"	*Barrio*
Yrechequaro	"Royal Palace"	*Cabecera*

These four terms describe several levels of political organization seen in the RM and related ethnohistorical documents. The term *Tepari Yrechaetisperaqua* from Gilberti (1962:481) is roughly translated as "possession of the great or sovereign lord," and in my terminology it is equivalent to the Spanish *Señorío*. It describes the sum total of lands and political units under the rulership of the *Señores* Universales and the similarities between the terms for lands and leaders strengthens this association.

The term *Thares Cumpsta* is a term I created that means "Idol-Hill," to describe the *altepetl*-like units that made up the Tarascan polity. The founding *cabeceras* of Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, and Pátzcuaro are represented in Lamina XXII by three large mounds topped with a stone that probably represents the idols that mark a leader's rank (Alcalá 2000:514). Since the Aztec term *altepetl* literally translates as "water-hill" I felt that a direct translation of the picture would accurately represent the political units.

Likewise, the term *Vandazcuni Harandiro* is a term I created that roughly translates as "established space" by combining the verb "to establish" (*Vandazcuni*) and "space" (*Harandiro*), to describe the

spaces similar to the *tlaxilacalli/calpolli* (Gutierrez 2009:317). Finally, the term *Vapatzequa* is defined by Gilberti (1962:133) as *barrio,* which probably originally described a small political subunit.

Using these terms, we can begin to reconstruct the Tarascan polity using native Tarascan words rather than translated words. The *Tepari Yrechaeti* were the leaders of the entire Tarascan polity like Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje and their descendants who were eligible to succeed their fathers as leaders of the polity, or *Tepari Yrechaetisperaqua*. Below them were the allied and closely related leaders known as the *Angámecha* who were in charge of the units that I call *Thares Cumpsta*, which are equivalent to the individual *Altepetl* units.

Within the *Thares Cumpsta* are the *Vandazcuni Harandiro*, or fixed subunits equivalent to the *Tlaxilcalli*/*Calpolli*. Within these units, the *Yrechquaro (cabecera)* is the site of the ruler's palace similar to the *tecpans* of the Aztec Triple Alliance (Gutierrez 2009:317).

Historical Development of the Tarascan Domain

In this section, I present a possible model for Tarascan political development using the data collected in the previous chapters' analyses of the RM, the political unit data discussed in Chapter Six, and the remote sensing and fuzzy set data from Chapter Seven.

The creation of a "Tarascan" polity was the result of centuries of cultural development, cultural interaction, and political pressures with roots in the Late Preclassic period (400 B.C. –A.D. 1). During the Late Preclassic, three regional cultures known as Chumbícuaro, Balsas/Mezcala, and Chupícuaro emerged in west Mexico (Pollard 1993:6). The Chumbícuaro culture developed in southwest Mexico along the Tepalcaltepec River while the Balsas/Mezcala culture developed along the Balsas river in southern Michoacán and Northern Guerrero (Pollard 1993:6). Chupícuaro emerged in northern Michoacán and Guanajuato with a preference for lacustrine and riverine zones (Pollard 1993; Porter 1956:518). These cultures were characterized by small agrarian villages (Pollard 1993:6), but there are indications that social ranking became more prevalent through time, as seen through differentiation in burial assemblages.

Chupícuaro is the most closely related cultural antecedent to the Tarascan culture because they settled primarily in the Lake Pátzcuaro and Cuitzeo basins, and along the Lerma River valley (Balmori and Piña Chan 1948; Pollard 1993:6–7; Porter 1956). Late Preclassic Chupícuaro burials show increasing social differentiation seen in the presence of elaborate black polished ceramics, polychromes, and anthropomorphic figurines (Porter 1956:538). The increasing social differentiation in burials is contemporaneous with the appearance of more elaborate public architecture at Chupicuaro sites, suggesting that social ranking was becoming more prevalent (Pollard 1993:7).

During the Early Classic period (A.D. 1–300), small autonomous village societies developed throughout Michoacán with stratified social ranks and ascribed social status given to elites (Pollard 1993:7). Evidence of Classic period societies are best known from the Lake Pátzcuaro basin sites of Urichu and Eróngaricuaro (Haskell 2006; Pollard and Cahue 1999). Elites at Urichu were buried in specially constructed tombs with elaborate grave goods signifying participation in a long-range trading network, judging from the presence of shells from the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, as well as obsidian from the Pachuca outcrop (Pollard and Cahue 1999). Eróngaricuaro also had Classic period burials with elites interred in flexed position with elaborate ceramic grave goods (Haskell 2006:6).

Social stratification intensified during the Late Classic period with the introduction of metallurgy and the ceremonial center (Pollard 1993:13). Metallurgy was introduced into west Mexico around A.D. 600–700 by South American sea traders who taught the technology at sites along the Pacific coast (Hosler 1994:47). Metalsmiths learned to manufacture different sumptuary and ritual objects including bells with the "lost-wax" technique (Hosler 1994:52) cold-hammering to produce rings and depilatory tweezers (Hosler 1994:62). The technology was adopted gradually over the course of several centuries, and the uniqueness of these objects contributed to their worth as status symbols.

The introduction of the ceremonial center represented an achievement in labor coordination and religious/ritual expression (Pollard 1993:7). The ceremonial center at Tingambato required construction of sunken-plaza architecture and several pyramidal structures, and this particular design innovation spread to areas across Michoacán (Pollard 1993:7). This innovation was probably introduced through

interactions with Teotihuacan because Teotihuacan is known for similar architectural features. The site at Tres Cerritos boasts Teotihuacan-style architecture as well as artifacts from excavated tombs dating to the Classic period (Macias Goytia and Serret 1988:161).

Another change that occurred during the Late Classic period was the adoption of a common red-on-cream ceramic style that is considered the precursor to late Postclassic Tarascan ceramics (Lister 1955; Pollard 1993:13; Rubin de la Borbolla 1948:32). The adoption of this style among villages in the Lake Pátzcuaro and Cuitzeo basins as well as in northwest Michoacán suggest that these societies were starting to interact to a larger degree than in previous centuries (Lumholtz 1905:235; Macias Goytia 1990:61; Pollard 1993:12), which may have started as a result of the collapse of Teotihuacan. This is consistent with observations by Pollard and Cahue (1999) that elites were shifting their preferences from exotic goods from other regions to regionally available goods. The increasing interaction within west Mexico probably led to the development of more complex societies during succeeding periods.

Politically, the Late Classic is marked by an increasing militarism and a shift in settlement patterns to sites in defensible areas which is a marked contrast to the open settlement periods of prior centuries (Pollard 1993). In northwest Michoacán, populations that had previously distanced themselves away from obsidian deposits to promote open access by all began settling closer to establish claims to them (Darras 2009). By the Postclassic period, however, these settlement preferences changed to closely guard valuable resources and restrict access.

In Episode II of the RM, we learned that the *Uacúsecha*, or *Chichimecs,* entered Michoacán as part of a southward migration into west Mexico (Alcalá 2000:341). This account parallels the Aztec origin stories which claim the Aztecs migrated into the Basin of Mexico from a mythical land called Aztlan in the north (Smith 2008:73). Aztec *Chichimecs* are described as deer hunters and nomads who follow game across the landscape, clad in animal skins (Smith 2008:73; Verástique 2000:10), a description that appears to fit the portrayal of the *Uacúsecha* Chichimecs described in the RM. Like the Aztecs, we know very little about the origins of the *Uacúsecha* Chichimecs or even if the story depicted in the RM is accurate. Scholars suggest that the if the migration did take place it was a gradual process over the course of

centuries during which time the migrants began to learn aspects of the local Tarascan language and elements of the culture. However, evidence associated with this period in west Mexican history is scarce and requires further investigation.

The *Uacúsecha* were a relatively small group that found it difficult to compete with larger, established settlements like Naranjan and Comanja; therefore, it was easier to relocate to unsettled areas than it was to try and engage them in open conflict. Eventually, the *Uacúsecha* settled at Vayámeo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro and continued living there for several generations before the events depicted in the "Omen of the Snakes" (Alcalá 2000:351), wherein two of Xarátanga's priests anger the goddess and they along with their sisters are transformed into snakes (Alcalá 2000:350). Though this part is embellished, the Omen of the Snakes does describe a type of political fracturing that saw at least six separate factions leave Vayámeo and head to new settlements.

If we look at Vayámeo using the *altepetl* model, the political fracturing could be interpreted as a form of social fission in which the constituent parts of the Vayámeo *altepetl* split apart due to social or environmental stresses and this action resulted in the foundation of new *altepetl*s in other areas of the territory. Environmental data from Lake Pátzcuaro show that around approximately A.D. 1200–1350 the lake basin experienced prolonged periods of drought and lake-level regression that were significant enough to cause abandonment in several areas of the basin. By A.D. 1350, the droughts had ceased, lake levels began to rise, and the basin population began to grow. It is during this time that the *Uacúsecha* probably settled near Pátzcuaro as depicted in Episode VI.

By A.D. 1350, the basin settlements were in fierce competition with their neighbors for access to resources and land and these events echo the descriptions in the RM (Alcalá 2000:372). During the latter part of the first narrative arc and the majority of the second, we see the *Uacúsecha* engaged in political maneuvering and military conflicts against their opponents in Curinguaro and the islands of Pacandan and Xarácuaro (Alcalá 2000:372). Though the intent of the narrative is to idealize and justify *Uacúsecha* actions we may infer from these accounts that they tried to forge marriage alliances to expand their

influence to other basin settlements. Indeed, settlements like Eróngaricuaro and Urichu have resident *Uacúsecha* as Taríacuri, Hiripan, and Tangáxoan call on those relatives for favors (Alcalá 2000:516).

Militarism also became more pronounced during this time as the population grew and resources became scarcer. Lake levels rose and inundated the most fertile lakeshore soils and the various groups in the basin began competing for the remainder. The RM describes *Uacúsecha* offensive actions against settlements in the southeastern lakeshore in Episode X and though we have little archaeological evidence of warfare during this period, the settlement locations named along the southern shore match the geography of the area which leads me to believe that this was a real event in *Uacúsecha* history (Alcalá 2000). This event ensured *Uacúsecha* access to Lake Pátzcuaro which they lacked before and enabled them to utilize the lakeshore agricultural zone. At the same time, the *Uacúsecha* faced increasing military pressures from rival factions and were forced to abandon their lakeshore settlements.

Pollard (1993:88) suggests that that the *Uacúsecha* raided rival villages for goods and the RM does describe several raiding events, most notably when the *Señor* of Curinguaro demands the spoils Taríacuri collected during raids against western villages (Alcalá 2000:432). When Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje were installed as the *Señores* of Ihuatzio/Cuyacan, Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro, respectively, they embarked on campaigns of conquest and reportedly toppled the existing political systems (Alcalá 2000). We do not know for certain if they used military force to conquer every settlement or if they tried to diplomacy. Later, they named new *Señores* and *Caciques* who appear to have been close relatives or close supporters, and those officials led additional conquests in which they too named their own *señores* and *Caciques* (Alcalá 2000:524). Thus, the conquests led to the creation of a large network of political and economic connections that was replicated at successively smaller levels. Moreover, such a network would have required a bureaucratic and administrative system to monitor the flow of tributary items and labor from the subject settlements which would have contributed to the birth of the polity. Though we cannot say for certain exactly when, it appears that the Tarascan polity formation was largely completely by A.D. 1450.

In subsequent years the Tarascans experienced some political upheaval while they tried to expand the breadth and depth of the empire. We have already noted the transfer of the *cabecera* from Ihuatzio to Tzintzuntzan that secured Tzintzuntzan's position as the leader of the alliance. Ticátame II of Ihuatzio and Zizispandaquare of Tzintzuntzan pushed the boundaries of the polity farther west with conquests at Carapan and the *Pueblos Dábalos;* indeed, the data from RG Ameca suggest that Tarascan control extended into a sizeable area of western Jalisco (Acuña 1988:28). Zizispandaquare also led military actions in the Toluca Valley but he maintained control of these territories for only a handful of years before the Aztecs counterattacked and pushed the Tarascans back into Michoacán (Pollard 2000b:70).

Unfortunately for the Tarascans, external pressures forced a contraction of the territorial boundaries. For example, the Tecos and Tecuexes living in Jalisco posed a major threat to the Tarascan border and Zizispandaquare was only able to meet that threat by entering into an alliance with Matlatzinca and Otomi refugees fleeing from Aztec domination in the east. Furthermore, the actions of Xoxouhqui Tequani in the northwest and revolts in Tamazula and its subordinate pueblos led to the loss of these territories by the end of the 1480s (Acuña 1988:28; Jiménez Moreno 1948:150). Aztec aggression in the east posed the gravest threat of all, leading to the creation of the fortified frontier that defended against Aztec attacks for decades.

Pollard's Model. The common interpretation of Tarascan sociopolitical organization is that the Tarascan Empire was a centralized polity with political and religious authority invested in the Tarascan Cazonci and his royal court. The trend toward centralization is primarily seen in the twin processes of cultural assimilation in the core regions of the empire and cultural segregation practiced on the outer edges (Pollard 1993:128). The Tarascans adopted a deliberate program of cultural change by forcing elites to adopt Tarascan badges of political office including lip plugs and ceremonial staffs (Pollard 1993:124, 1994:80), thereby dissociating political power from local lineages in favor of Tarascan authority. Furthermore, these badges were conferred by the *Cazonci*, a move that reinforced his own political authority. In addition, the Tarascans promulgated their deity by constructing elaborate

ceremonial architecture that made local deities pale in comparison. Deities from many cultures were welcomed into the new pantheon to promote peaceful cooperation.

The border regions of Tarascan territory were multi-ethnic, composed of groups of Otomis, Matlatzincas, Chontales, Nahuas, Chichimecs, and ethnic Tarascans who not subject to the processes of cultural assimilation found in the interior. At Acámbaro, the resident Chichimec population was joined by groups of Otomis and Tarascans who settled in close proximity yet still maintained their own sociopolitical hierarchies and lifeways. Pollard (1993, 1994) suggests that this ethnic distinctiveness was a manifestation of the "Ghurka Syndrome," in which empires maintain the ethnic boundaries within regions historically prone to invasion by establishing military alliances with resident ethnic groups instead of conquering them (Caplan 1991; Pollard 1994:88). This strategy is effective for two reasons: first, resident ethnic groups must invest in their own survival because they are literally caught between their "partners" and their partner's enemies. Failure could mean a renegotiation of the alliance with the former, or outright conquest and loss of status by the latter group. Second, the arrangement increases reaction time because each ethnic group is able to mobilize without seeking instructions from superiors. Third, this strategy insulates the interior regions against outside attack by giving the empire time to mobilize additional troops for defense. Thus, ethnic segregation serves as a cost-effective means of defense.

My model differs from Pollard with regard to several structural aspects of Tarascan sociopolitical organization. For example, I do not believe the *Cazonci's* authority was as secure as the ethnohistory would have us believe. The *Petámuti* chastises the assembled *Señores* and *Caciques* at his recitation for their failure to adequately serve Curícaueri by bringing firewood and tribute items to him, and they ignore his requests for help in war. This leads the *Petámuti*'s question, "Where have all the *Chichimecs* gone?" (Alcalá 2000:525). Moreover, we have the accounts of the *Cazonci* murdering his brothers to secure his position out of a concern that they will pose a threat to the *Cazonci's* authority. These actions are repeated by Zizispandaquare according the oral tradition told by Don Melchor Caltzin in which the Tarascan leader murdered his enemies to prevent interference with his assumption of power (Monzón et al. 2009:32). Also, the *Cazonci* establishes marriage alliances with other elites, including Islanders

(Alcalá 2000:610). At the conclusion of the wedding ceremony, the *Cazonci* congratulates the couple and proclaims his need for the new *Señor's* strength and support (Alcalá 2000:611). These are not the words of someone who has absolute authority.

The *Señores* and *Caciques* talked about the texts were very likely close associates or close relatives of the *Cazonci*, which would suggest that they were being given political authority by investiture (Hicks 1986:39); therefore, the process of cultural assimilation would not be required because they are already acculturated. In addition, Pollard's maps show the presence of several non-Tarascan enclaves in the "ethnic heartland," which gives the appearance that these elites were adopting Tarascan lifeways. However, it is clear that these elites were able to exercise considerable authority outside of the Tarascan political structure and this makes it appear as if they were connected to but not officially part of the political system. Their participation could easily be explained by the formation of complex *altepetl* units in western Mesoamerica. The *altepetl* unit explains a number of the questions about Tarascan political organization in way that is consistent with other societies.

Fuzzy Set Theory, Remote Sensing, and Tarascan Settlement Patterns

Ethnohistory can only go so far because "selective remembering" (Wood 2012:4) often results in omissions or modifications of the details to suit the particular requirements of the time or the attitudes of the audience (Vansina 1985:32). Smaller sites may go unnoticed, they may be conflated under the name of a larger, more prominent settlement, or they may simply have been deemed unimportant in the grand scheme of history because nothing of particular significance occurred there. Though ethnohistory is attempting to rectify this problem by focusing as equally on "events" as "nonevents" (Fogelson 1989:133), there are still many issues to rectify, and at the present time there is still an overt focus on the sites that can be readily identified by both ethnohistorians and archaeologists. However, there is a need to identify archaeological sites and features that may have gone unexplored in the ethnohistory.

One example of this is the site of Sacapo Angamuco, which is located on a *malpaís* outcrop nine kilometers southeast of Tzintzuntzan. There is virtually no mention of the site in any ethnohistorical text;

indeed, the only real reference to the site's location comes from Beaumont's maps of the region from the eighteenth century (Beaumont 1932b). In ethnohistorical terms, the site does not exist and therefore played no role in events in west Mexico. However, archaeological surveys of the site show that at one time it was a significant center, with examples of plazas, ceremonial precincts, and elite residences scattered throughout the *malpaís* (Fisher and Leisz 2012). Though we do not yet have many particulars about the site, we know that it was probably inhabited during the late Classic and/or Early Postclassic period. If this is the case, the site would have been significant to the early days of the narrative told in the RM, yet there is no mention of it in the narrative. It is important that we develop ways to identify archaeological sites to better understand the sociopolitical landscape in west Mexico.

The construction of the fuzzy set model created a flexible tool that could identify potential areas of past human settlement using basic environmental criteria to stand for more complex cultural variables. Using data from known archaeological sites, the model was able to predict the locations of sites in the plateau, Balsas, and sierra regions. Through modification of these variables I was able to create a flexible model to predict a range of different values. The model also identified sites in southeastern Michoacán, an area that does not have much documentation. There is considerable potential for developing detailed fuzzy set predictive models using more complex variables to describe the relationship between the Tarascans and their environment.

Concluding Thoughts

This dissertation has explored Tarascan sociopolitical organization using the *Relación de Michoacán* as an extension of indigenous Tarascan cultural knowledge that was filtered through the perceptions of the Tarascan elites; Spanish religious and secular authorities; and, the perceptions of the scholars responsible for conducting research into Tarascan ethnohistory and archaeology. The issue of Tarascan sociopolitical organization is a complex topic involving the intersection of many different types of knowledge, but this research has focused primarily on how the Tarascan elites themselves viewed their polity.

Using the RM and related ethnohistorical documents, I illustrated that the Tarascan elites described the political makeup of their polity in a manner consistent with the data available in published archaeological sources, albeit with some biases toward the Tzintzuntzan lineage. The information collected in Chapters Three, Four, and Five shows that the text and images work collectively to describe relevant historical and cultural information, but the images themselves are flexible in how events may be presented, in contrast to the fixed textual descriptions written by Alcalá. In Chapter Six, I showed that the Tarascan polity was actually made up of approximately 44different subunits, each with its own sociopolitical structure and hierarchy. This resulted in a more complex series of relationships with the geopolitical core region, as it is apparent that the Tarascan leaders did not exert absolute authority over their subjects. Indeed, the Tarascan ruler's job was akin to that of manager, keeping the subordinates satisfied in order to keep matters running smoothly. In Chapter Seven, I developed a model of Tarascan settlement patterns using basic environmental variables of slope, aspect, and elevation. Using these data, I was able to identify existing settlements as well as those that have not been discussed in the scholarly literature.

In the future, I will perform ethnohistorical research that focuses on local ethnohistorical sources within different regions. Some towns may have previously undiscovered ethnohistorical sources that could supplement current knowledge (Silverstein 2001). This will provide a means of comparison with the generally accepted versions of the Tarascan past and open up new avenues for research. In addition, locating new archaeological sites that may or may not have corresponding ethnohistorical references will be important to fully understanding the Tarascan geopolitical landscape; therefore, I will test the efficacy of the predictive model using higher-resolution remote sensing imagery and perform field surveys to refine the model.

Dissertation Glossary

A

Acámbaro: Settlement in the Lerma River Valley, approximately 112 km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Also known as Acánbaro.

Achaecha: Term used to denote an individual of the rank of *principal.*

Alcalá, Fray Jerónimo: Author of the *Relación de Michoacán.*

Alpha-cut: Threshold membership value at which objects qualify for membership in a fuzzy set.

Ambézio: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Angámecha: Purépecha-language term meaning "those who wear lip plugs," thought to describe all *Señores* and *Caciques*.

Aramen: Son of Vápeani II, Taríacuri's cousin, father to Tangáxoan. Aramen was killed by warriors from Taríyaran.

Araro: Settlement approximately 95 km northeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro in the Lake Cuitzeo Basin. Lord Chapá's cabecera.

Axayacatl: Aztec emperor who led an invasion of Tarascan territory, pitting 32,200 Aztec warriors against 50,000 Tarascans. He lost 95% (30,590) of his forces in the battle.

Ayáquenda: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

B

Bányqueo: Settlement approximately 45 km northeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Hiripan and Tangáxoan conquered Bányqueo with much effort. Also known as Bániqueo, Uániqueo, Guániqueo, or Huániqueo.

Barrio: Settlement unit used by the Spanish to denote a subset of a larger town or pueblo.

C

Cacique: Social category meant to denote a high-ranking individual. The name comes from Arawak to denote a "chief."

Caracha-capacha: Designation within the Tarascan leadership structure. Caracha-capacha are described as "four very principal *señores*," although it is not clear what their roles were in Tarascan government.

Carachacapati: Term meaning "*Principe*" or "principal" in the Tarascan language.

Castilleja, Doña Beatriz: Descendent of Paquíngata, last lord of Ihuatzio, and Doña Maria Cuhtacua, the daughter of Zinzicha Tangáxoan, from whom she was able to claim patrimonial lands. Had several children who became nobles in the indigenous aristocracy.

Caxúruyo: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

Cazáquaran: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Cazonci: Title used to describe the leader of the Tarascan Empire. Though commonly accepted by scholars, "Cazonci" was first used by the Aztecs as a pejorative term. The Tarascan term for leader is "Irecha."

Chánshori: Lord of Curínguaro, and father-in-law to Taríacuri. Chánshori was angered when Taríacuri abandoned Chánshori's daughter for being unfaithful.

Chapá: Son of Chánshori of Curínguaro and a slave mother. At Taríacuri's urging, Chapá conquered settlements in northeastern Michoacán. However, Chapá betrayed Taríacuri and sought an alliance with Curínguaro.

Characu: Term used to describe the Irecha's chosen successor.

Chichimecs: See Tarascan Chichimecs.

Chapáta y Atache hucane: Islander principal who shared rule of Chupingo parápeo with Utume y Catúquema. Also known in the text as Chapáta y Atiache Hucáuati.

Chapáto hoato: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Charácharando: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Charápichu: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Charu: Settlement in eastern Michoacán that was conquered by Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje. Charu became a prominent Matlatzinca settlement in Tarascan territory. Also known as Charo.

Cheran: Settlement approximately 40 km northwest of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Hiripan and Tangáxoan passed through Cheran during their wanderings. The author argues that Hiripan and Tangáxoan were solely responsible for the conquest of Cheran during the first conquest campaign.

Chontales: Ethno-linguistic group native to Mexico. Several groups of Chontales were settled along the Tarascan-Aztec border.

Chucándiro: Settlement approximately 53 km northeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The RM states that Tangáxoan and Hiripan conquered Chucándiro during the first military campaign. Also known as Chocándiro.

Chupingo Parápeo: Settlement located within 11km of Turicato in southeastern Michoacán. Chupingo parápeo was the cabecera of Chapáta y Atache hucane and Utume y Catúquema. Also known as Chupingoparápeo.

Churúmucu: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi. Also known as Choromonco, Choromuco.

Ciudad: Settlement unit used by the Spanish to denote a large population center.

Copúan: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Cumachen: Settlement approximately 26 km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Warriors from Cumachen assisted in the attack on Tarascan lord Hireti-Ticátame. Hiripan and Tangáxoan conquered Cumachen during the first campaign. Also known as Comanja, Espopoyuta.

Cupáuaxanzi: Supporter of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje during their campaigns of conquest. Became lord of La Huacana in southern Michoacán and conquered 10 additional settlements.

Curícaueri: Patron god of the Tarascan Chichimecs associated with gold and the sun. Entered west Mexico with Hireti-Ticátame. The *Relación de Michoacán* states that Curícaueri was destined to rule over the world, and always had his Señorío in three parts.

Curátame I: Son of Vápeani I. Curátame I succeeded Vápeani I as lord of Vayámeo. He had two sons: Pauácume II and Vápeani II.

Curátame II: Taríacuri's eldest son. Curátame II seized authority from Taríacuri as lord of Pátzcuaro. He failed to embody the qualities of a lord, which resulted in his assassination by Tangáxoan.

Curínguaro: Settlement approximately 16 km east of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The lords of Curínguaro were enemies of the uacúsecha. Hiripan, Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje conquered Curínguaro during their first campaign. Also known as Corínguaro, San Simon Qurínguaro.

Cúriparaxan: Fisherman from Jarácuaro. Vápeani II and Pauácume II convinced Cúriparaxan to allow one of them to marry his daughter, which would result in a child with Chichimec and Islander heritage.

Curupuhucazio: Settlement ruled by eight principales: Tíachucuqua, Cháquaco, Zinguita, Tiuítani, Yzírimenga varicha, Tauáchacu, Acume, and Varicha tereco. Tentatively identified as San Diego Curucupatzeo.

Curu Hapindi: Tarascan official in charge of collecting duck meat. Equivalent officials collected other meats.

Cutu: *Barrio* of Pátzcuaro.

Cuyacan: Nahuatl term meaning "Place of the Coyote." Used to refer to the Tarascan capital, Ihuatzio.

Cuypu hoato: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Cuyuacan: Conquered settlement located in the tierra caliente.

Cuzaru: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

D

E

Eménguaro: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Enéani: *Uacúsecha* sublineage.

Eróngaricuaro: Settlement approximately 12 km northeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Eróngaricuaro supported Tarascan expansion. The lords of Eróngaricuaro are believed to be members of the uacúsecha lineage. The author argues that Eróngaricuaro, Pechataro, and Hurichu comprised a stable political unit from before imperial expansion to after the Spanish Conquest of 1522.

Estancia: Settlement unit used by the Spanish to denote a small, detached population.

Euáquaran: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

F

Fuzzy set theory: Branch of set theory that deals with vague boundary definitions. Evaluates objects according to their degrees of membership within a category.

G

Guayangareo Valley: Valley in Eastern Michoacán. Conquered by lord Chapa during his expansions. Cazonci "Tariacure" tried to encourage refugee Otomis to settle there. Later became the site of the new Spanish capital, Morelia.

H

Hacándiquao: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Hacáuato: Conquered settlement located in western Michoacán.

Hapán Hoato: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Hapázingani: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*. Also known as Cutzamala.

Haroyo: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Haziro Hauánio: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Hetúquaro: Settlement approximately 21 km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The three lords conquered Hetúquaro during the first campaign.

Hóporo: Settlement conquered by the three lords during the first campaign. Early conquest of Chapá.

Hiquíngaje: Youngest son of Taríacuri, Taríacuri's successor as lord of Pátzcuaro. Hiquíngaje participated in the conquest that expanded the nascent Tarascan Empire. He died without leaving a successor, which led the establishment of the combined Tzintzuntzan/Pátzcuaro señorío.

Hirámucuyo: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Hirechu Hoato: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Hireti-Ticátame: First recorded Tarascan Chichimec lord, and first recorded member of the Uacúsecha lineage. Entered west Mexico carrying the god Curícaueri. Killed by elites from Naranjan.

Hiripan: Son of Zetaco, nephew of Taríacuri and one of the founding lords of the empire. Also known as Hirepan and Yripan.

Hiuacha Zirapen: Lord of the settlement of Viramu Angaru who failed in many of his duties as a lord. The three lords conquered Viramu Angaru during the first campaign, and Tangáxoan dispatched Hiuacha Zirapen with a blow to the head.

Hucario: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Hucumu: Settlement approximately 115 km southeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Conquered during Chichimec and Islander campaigns. Known today as Tuzantla.

Hurapa: Settlement in southeastern Michoacán. According to the *Relación de Michoacán*, the settlement was ruled by Islander principales. Also known as Urapa.

Hurichu: Settlement approximately 11 km northwest of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Warriors from Hurichu supported the three lords' campaigns of conquest. Also known as Hurichu, or San Francisco Uricho.

Huríparao: Settlement conquered during the three lords' second campaign. Location unknown.

Hutáseo: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

I

Ihuatzio: Señorío ruled by Hiripan and his descendants. Centrally located between Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro.

Irecha: Tarascan (Purépecha) term meaning "King," or "Lord."

Islanders: Term used in *Relación de Michoacán* to describe inhabitants of islands in Lake Pátzcuaro. Islanders were distantly related to Tarascan Chichimecs and spoke a "corrupt" version of Purépecha. Described as soft and weak in contrast to their Tarascan Chichimec relatives.

J

Jarácuaro: Island of the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin ruled by Zapíuatame. Also known as Xarácuaro.

Jorullo: Volcano in southern Michoacán that destroyed La Huacana in 1759.

K

L

Lake Pátzcuaro Basin: Lake basin covering approximately 929 square kilometers of central Michoacán. Tarascan Chichimecs explored the basin during hunting expeditions, and eventually settled here after the Tarascan Chichimec diaspora.

Lake Pátzcuaro: Freshwater lake centrally located in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin.

M

Maróatio: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns. Also known as Maravatio.

Matlatzincas: Ethno-linguistic group native to central and west Mexico. Groups of Matlatzincas were permitted to settle in Tarascan territory in exchange for military service.

Mayao: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns. Also known as Santa Ana Maya.

Mechoacán: Name used in the ethnohistory to describe the combined señorío of Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro. Also known as Mechuacán.

Membership function: Mathematical relationship describing an object's membership in a category.

Michoacán: Name used to denote the modern state of the same name.

N

Nahuatl: Ethno-linguistic group native to central and west Mexico. Several villages of Nahuatl-speaking peoples were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin and in eastern Michoacán.

Naranjan: Settlement located approximately 33km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Elites from Naranjan killed Hireti-Ticatame and took the sacred idol of Curícaueri. Hiripan and Tangáxoan conquered Naranjan during the first campaign. Also known as Naranja, Naranjo.

O

Omen of the Snakes: The cause of the Tarascan Chichimec diaspora from Vayámeo. The goddess Xarátanga punished two of her priests and their two sisters by turning them into snakes. The four snakes jumped into the water and swam toward Vayámeo, screaming and kicking up foam in their wake. The sight caused four Tarascan Chichimec lords to leave Vayámeo with their gods and their people, and settle throughout the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin.

Otomis: Ethno-linguistic group native to central and western Mexico. Several groups of Otomis escaped Aztec oppression and settled in Tarascan territory in exchange for military service.

P

Paqués Hoato: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Paquingata: Son of Tucúruan, and the last lord to rule Ihuatzio before the conquest.

Paracho (NW): Settlement located approximately 46 kilometers northwest of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Hiripan and Tangáxoan wandered through this settlement after the deaths of their parents.

Paracho (SE): Settlement approximately 42 km southeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Paracho was the cabecera of Zapíuatame.

Paràzio: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Paráquaro: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Pátzcuaro: Settlement located on the shore of the southern arm of Lake Pátzcuaro. Also known as Pázquaro.

Pauácume I: Son of Sicuírancha who became lord of Vayámeo after his father's death. Pauácume I had one son, Vápeani I, who succeeded his father as lord of Vayámeo.

Pauácume II: Son of Curátame I. Pauácume II ruled Vayámeo along with his brother, Vápeani II. Pauácume II and his brother also explored a large area of the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin.

Peránchequaro: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Petámuti: High priest of the Tarascan elites. One of petámuti's tasks was to recite the history of the Tarascan Chichimecs every year at the festival of Sicuindaro.

Pichátaro: Settlement approximately 20km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Warriors from Pichátaro assisted the three lords during the first conquests. Pichátaro may have been part of a stable political unit with Eróngaricuaro and Hurichu. Also known as Pechátaro.

Pirovaqua Andari: Official in charge of collecting, storing tribute paid in blankets and cotton.

"Primitive": Basic geometric representation of an object.

Puco Hoato: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Pucuri Equátacuyo: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Pueblo: Settlement unit used by the Spanish to denote a moderate-to-large population center and/or political center.

Púmuchacupeo: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

Pungari hoato: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Purépecha: Language of the Tarascan Chichimecs, and a linguistic isolate in west Mexico. The closest Purépecha analogues are Zuni in the American Southwest and Quechua in Ecuador.

Purúandiro: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán that was conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Q

Quacángari: Principal who agreed to support the three lords' conquests.

Quanicoti: Tarascan official in charge of collecting meats of rabbit, deer, and other small game.

Quaruno: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Quengue: Tarascan official responsible for all maize brought in on cobs and stored them in granaries.

Quririqui: Principal who agreed to support the three lords' conquests.

R

Relación de Michoacán: Three-part document describing Tarascan history, government, religion and culture. What remains of Part One describes religious ceremonies. Part Two is believed to be

an oral tradition performed yearly for the Tarascan elites by the high priest. Part Three describes Tarascan government, warfare, succession and the final days of Tarascan rule before the Spanish conquest. Authorship is attributed to Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá.

Relaciones Geográficas: Fifty-question survey sent out by the Spanish in the 1570s to determine history, language, population, topography, and available resources in Spain's New World possessions.

S

Señor: Social category used to denote an individual of high social status in west Mexico. There were two subcategories, the *Señor Universal* and the *Señor Particular*. The first was the highest-ranking leader while the second was a subordinate leader.

Sicuírancha: Son of Hireti-Ticátame. Sicuírancha became lord of the settlement of Vayámeo (a.k.a. Santa Fe de la Laguna) and established a dynasty that lasted through four generations.

Siuínan: Settlement approximately 31 kilometers northwest of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Hiripan and Tangáxoan wandered through Siuínan after the deaths of their parents, and later conquered it during their first campaign. Also known as Sauínan.

Sycuýtaro: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

T

Taimeo: Settlement in northeastern Michoacán where the Matlatzinca principal Timax settled his people.

Tamápucheca: Son of Taríacuri who was executed at Taríacuri's order.

Tánequaro: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Tangáxoan: Son of Aramen, nephew of Taríacuri. Tangáxoan was believed dead after his parents were murdered by warriors from the settlement of Taríyaran; however, he and cousin Hiripan wandered the countryside for some time. Taríacuri located Tangáxoan and Hiripan and trained them to be lords. Taríacuri named Tangáxoan lord of Tzintzuntzan after Tangáxoan was approached in a dream by the goddess Xarátanga, who asked him to restore her to her ancestral home in Tzintzuntzan. Also known as Tangajuan, and Tangajuani.

Tanzítaro: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma. Also known as Tancitaro.

Tarama: Tarascan official in charge of all fish caught by nets.

Tarascan Chichimecs: "Chichimec" is the Nahuatl term for "barbarian." The Spanish used it to describe people from the north. The *Relación de Michoacán* refers to Tarascans as Chichimecs.

Tareta Vaxátati ("Dweller in the house of rent"): Tarascan official in charge of collecting tribute from the Cazonci's fields.

Taríacuri: Son of Pauácume II and an unnamed Islander mother. Devout follower of Curícaueri and a great lord. He had at least 3 sons: Curátame II, Tamápucheca, and Hiquíngaje. Taríacuri died at the conclusion of the first military campaign waged by Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje.

Tarimichúndiro: Barrio of Pátzcuaro.

Tasación de Ortega: Tax assessment made by Bachiller Juan de Ortega in 1528.

Tauengo hoato: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Taximaroa: Settlement in eastern Michoacán conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Taziran: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Tebéndaho: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Tecos: Culture group from northern Michoacán and Jalisco that battled with the Tarascans.

Tecuexes: Culture group from northern Michoacán and Jalisco that battled with the Tarascans.

Tepari Yrechaeti: Purépecha-language term meaning "Sovereign/Great lord," used here to denote the ruler of a large area like a *Tepari Yrechaetisperaqua.*

Tepari Yrechaetisperaqua: Purépecha-language term meaning "possession of the great lord," used here to denote a space controlled by a ranking *Uacúsecha* ruler.

Terémendo: Settlement approximately 34 km northeast of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The RM states that Tangáxoan and Hiripan conquered Terémendo during the first campaign.

Tétepeo: Settlement located in northeastern Michoacán. Chapá ruled this settlement, but the three lords conquered Tétepeo during the first military camping.

Thares Cumpsta: Term meaning "idol-hill" used to describe a political unit controlled by a prominent Tarascan leader.

Thiapu: Hill in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin where Taríacuri elevated Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje to lordship.

Ticátame: Son of Hiripan of Ihuatzio. Lord of Ihuatzio and head of the nascent Tarascan Empire after his father's death; however, Zizipandaquare took Curícaueri and the treasury for Tzintzuntzan.

Timax: Principal given permission by Zizipandaquare to settle at Taimeo in exchange for military service.

Tiripémes: Deities of communities in western Mexico. Five well-known Tiripémes are the deities of the settlements of Ylámucuo, Pechataro, Pareo, Curínguaro, and the island of Pacandan. Scholars suggest that the locations of these Tiripémes form a sacred mandala.

Tiripéme caheri: Deity associated with Pareo.

Tiripéme turupten: Deity associated with Ylámucuo.

Tiripéme Vréndequabécara: Deity associated with Curínguaro.

Tiripéme xugápeti: Deity associated with Pechataro.

Tarinbo Házaquaran: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

Tiríngueo: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Tirípitio: Settlement located approximately 30km east of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Tirípitio was originally ruled by Chapa, but the three lords conquered the settlement during the first military campaign.

Tirístaran: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Toluca Valley: Valley in the state of Mexico. Zizipandaquare attempted to expand Tarascan rule into this area, but was pushed back by the Aztec Triple Alliance.

Tucúruan: Son of Ticátame. Became lord of Ihuatzio after his father's death, although Ihuatzio's authority was greatly reduced by this time. Depicted in the *Lienzo de Jicalan* receiving metal goods from wandering Nahuatl-speaking artisans.

Tupátaro: Settlement located approximately 20km east of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Tupátaro was subordinate to Curínguaro. The three lords conquered Tupátaro during the second military campaign.

Turúquaran: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Tzintzuntzan: Settlement located on the shore of the northern arm of Lake Pátzcuaro. Ruled by lord Tangáxoan and his descendants. Also known as Zinzonza, Cinzonza.

U

Uacúsecha: Purépecha term meaning "Eagles." The uacúsecha represented the main family line of the Tarascan Chichimecs, encompassing several sublineages like the Enéani, Zacapu-hireti, and the Uanácaze. The uacúsecha were the ruling class of the Tarascan Empire.

Uanácaze: Uacúsecha sublineage. Also known as the Vanácaze.

Ucelo Apanze: Matlatzinca principal. Lord Zizipandaquare granted lands near Necotlan to Ucelo Apanze in exchange for Matlatzinca military service.

Uruapan: Settlement located 46 km southwest of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The author suggests that Hiripan and Tangáxoan conquered Uruapan during the first conquest campaign. Uruapan is believed to have been the cabecera ruled by Vtúcuma.

Utume y Catúquema: Islander principal who shared rule over Chupingo parápeo with Chapáta y Atache hucane.

V

Vandazcuni Harandiro: Purépecha-language term roughly translated as "established space," used here to denote a Tarascan spatial/sociopolitical unit equivalent to an Aztec *tlaxilacalli/calpolli unit.*

Vangaho: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Vapatzequa: Purépecha-language term used to denote a spatial unit similar to a Spanish *barrio*.

Vápeani I: Son of Pauácume I of Vayámeo. Vápeani I had one son, Curátame I, who succeeded his father as lord of Vayámeo.

Vápeani II: Son of Curátame I of Vayámeo, and brother to Pauácume I. Also known as Bápeani.

Varuri: Tarascan official in charge of all fish caught by hook.

Vasís hoato: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Vayámeo: Settlement approximately 19 km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Sicuírancha and other Tarascan Chichimec lords settled at Vayámeo for over four generations, and Vayámeo was the ancestral home for the Tiripémes. Also known as Santa Fe de la Laguna.

Verecan: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Viramu Angaru: Settlement approximately 14.5 km west of the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Ruled by lord Hiuacha Zirapen until it was conquered by Hiripan, Tangáxoan and Hiquíngaje during the first conquest campaign. Also known as Huiramagaro.

Viringuarapexo: Mountain in the Zacapu Basin. Hireti-Ticatame settled here shortly after arriving in the area.

Vision of the Water-Seller: Vision describing the end of Tarascan authority in west Mexico. The four Tiripémes (see above) enlisted a water-seller to inform lord Ticátame of Ihuatzio of their displeasure with his conduct as a lord, and of his rule of the empire. The Tiripémes stated that they would leave Ihuatzio and settle in "Mechoacán" (Tzintzuntzan) for a time, and then return to their home at Vayámeo.

Vrechu ambàquetio: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Vsquarecuri: Tarascan official in charge of featherworkers.

Vtúcuma: Principal who conquered 17 settlements in southwestern Michoacán. Vtúcuma may have ruled as lord of Uruapan.

W

X

Xarátanga: Ancient goddess of west Mexico associated with silver metals and the moon. Xarátanga's temple was in Tzintzuntzan; however, after the "Omen of the Snakes" caused a Tarascan Chichimec diaspora, Xarátanga was carried to Taríyaran. She approached Tangáxoan in a dream, offering him lordship of Tzintzuntzan in exchange for returning her to her temple.

Xaso: Settlement approximately 31km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. Tangáxoan and Hiripan conquered Xaso during their first conquest campaign. Also known as Jaso, and commonly referenced in the ethnohistory with Terémendo.

Xeroco: Settlement in the Lake Cuitzeo Basin, approximately 70km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The three lords conquered Xeroco during the second conquest campaign. Also known as Xeruco, Jeruco.

Xungápeo: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*. Also known as Jungápeo.

Y

Yacoho: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi.

Ynchazo: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Yrechequaro: Term meaning "royal palace," used here to denote the presence of the *cabecera*.

Yreri: Principal wife of the Cazonci who bore the Cazonci's successor.

Yurírapúndaro: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns. It is located in the state of Guanajuato.

Z

Zacapu Basin: Basin in northern Michoacán, and the area where the Tarascan Chichimecs entered west Mexico.

Zacapu-hireti: Uacúsecha sublineage.

Zacapu hoato: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*. Also known as Çacapu hoato.

Zacongo: Conquered settlement located in the *tierra caliente*.

Zánzani: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Zapíuatame: Supporter of Hiripan, Tangáxoan, and Hiquíngaje during their campaigns of conquest. Zapíuatame delivered the news of the three lords' victory over Viramu angaru to Taríacuri. Zapíuatame became lord of Paracho, located in southeast Michoacán. The text also refers to "Zapíuatamenzangueta," "Zapíuatame y Zaneta," and "Çangueta," which are believed to be variations on the same name.

Zetaco: Son of Vápeani II, cousin to Taríacuri, father of Hiripan. Zetaco was killed by warriors from Taríyaran.

Zicháxuquaro: Settlement southeast of Naranjan, where Hireti-Ticatame, his wife, and his son Sicuírancha settled after Hireti-Ticátame's altercation with the elites of Naranjan.

Zicuýtaran: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi. Possibly a variation of Sycuýtaro.

Zinagua: Settlement conquered by Cupáuaxanzi. Also known as Sinagua.

Zinapan: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Zinzicha Tangáxoan: Last Irecha of the Tarascan Empire, and last lord of the Tzintzuntzan dynasty. Assumed power when his father Zuangua died of smallpox. Surrendered to the Spanish. Also known as Tzinzicha Tangáxoan, Tangáxoan II.

Zinzímeo: Settlement approximately 43km from the settlement of Pátzcuaro. The three lords conquered Zinzímeo during the third campaign.

Zirápequaro: Settlement conquered during the Chichimec and Islander campaigns.

Zirápetio: Settlement conquered by Vtúcuma.

Zizipandaquare: Son of Tangáxoan. Became lord of Tzintzuntzan after his father's death. Tzintzuntzan became the primary partner of the Tarascan Tripartite Alliance during Zizipandaquare's reign.

Zuangua: Son of Zizipandaquare. Became lord of Tzintzuntzan after his father's death. Zuangua was considered a capable military commander and politician. Died from a smallpox infection shortly after the arrival of the Spanish.

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Appendix A: UTM Coordinates for Sites Referenced in the Text

Zone 13 UTM Coordinates

Name	POINT_X	POINT_Y
Acáhuato	781094.0304	2119425.55
Acarhuen	804536.5536	2197129.757
Anguangua	794385.5135	2163607.346
Apatzingan	778742.903	2111398.673
Apo	771841.8777	2150064.93
Aran	807307.9367	2176922.858
Aranja	812129.4547	2176942.801
Arimao	758696.147	2114620.504
Capacuaro	809422.2859	2164066.905
Capirio	800285.1798	2086737.3
Carapan	809871.6952	2198184.285
Caringarao	773097.7962	2200224.14
Charapan	788373.806	2174930.551
Cheran	819426.5465	2179438.734
Chilatlan?	736478.4257	2130018.439
Chilchota	801597.8755	2197021.959
Cupaquaro	809352.2826	2164021.448
Cuseo	732546.9931	2250550.088
Etúcuaro	800347.3322	2202104.383
Guarachan	755885.3066	2207284.438
Hapo	771806.705	2150143.598
Huitontlan?	670563.6043	2062827.195
Ichan	808242.3208	2198039.902
Ixtlan	772347.2666	2232122.274
Mazamitla	707138.9756	2203448.279
Nurio	800547.1353	2174143.796
Ocumicho	791095.665	2191020.612
Pajacoran	754336.2481	2226135.345
Pamatacuaro	779548.1609	2178410.118
Parangaricutiro?	801358.8972	2149351.359
Paráquaro	792450.5332	2119283.262
Periban	771139.9227	2159115.81
Pomacoran	803820.4765	2172197.29
Puco Hoato	747565.4543	2130368.707
Purepero de Echaiz	813571.4332	2203931.637
Quacoman	695540.3624	2075778.407
Querendan	777419.4431	2186977.299

(Approximate)		
Quitupan	722624.1498	2204709.885
Tacuazucuaro	756467.1774	2183047.421
Tamandagapeo	768496.8101	2208337.98
Tamazula	683162.5056	2176515.208
Tancitaro	776970.8415	2140226.686
Tangacicuaro	792558.099	2201171.76
Tarecuato	765500.1535	2195634.003
Tenaco	805913.516	2184706.207
Tepalcatepeque	726003.1214	2122359.029
Tinguindin	764165.5553	2181645.416
Tlazazalca	807938.7181	2210746.571
Tocumbo	759964.0423	2176692.568
Tocuro	809792.0099	2198101.949
Tuchpan	670452.3021	2162977.127
Tziquicho	779570.9308	2176178.293
Tzopoco	806523.1061	2195943.276
Urapicho	802902.5963	2178803.314
Uren	803249.2673	2197017.26
Uruapan	808407.3002	2149999.845
Xacona	781948.1536	2208506.706
Xacona Arch Site	770564.1823	2203628.252
Xicalan	805483.6212	2146993.904
Xiquilpan	738380.4968	2211968.603
Xirosto	778489.5718	2163569.335
Zapotitlique	665621.0084	2171117.306
Zapotlan	660771.6542	2179118.617
Zenguayo	739129.9926	2219221.208
Zicuytaran	818786.5014	2088884.476

Zone 14 UTM Coordinates

Name	POINT_X	POINT_Y
98-082	352215.9018	2009679.798
98-083	349243.8047	2007216.056
A51	203697.2738	2174709.478
A52	210870.311	2170743.592
A53	212561.2045	2170401.316
A54	210136.266	2159215.625
A55	214749.7396	2169034.381
A56	211870.1883	2156713.303
A57	213942.4661	2160247.697
A58	231017.0198	2157615.317
A59	230510.7069	2161418.091
A60	231657.2604	2161433.249
A61	233683.1011	2162981.055
A62	233477.2942	2161838.751
A63	235686.3059	2160910.858
A64	236808.2981	2161857.368
A65	238660.5403	2162016.935
A66	234635.948	2169864.926
A67	237314.2241	2170871.635
A68	238102.0205	2171803.894
A69	226864.9078	2163045.377
A70	233328.9389	2173194.499
A71	238686.2472	2173030.233
A72	240541.4835	2172828.668
A73	242259.7067	2174006.452
A74	238179.4663	2174881.733
A75	217858.7405	2161359.825
A76	225424.4846	2161624.429
A77	228246.163	2163105.969
A78	227372.0487	2173370.875
A79	226254.9644	2172698.033
A80	224333.0348	2170815.658
A81	233867.5767	2167748.888
A82	220887.3406	2180258.48
A86	229651.7507	2166253.045
A87	224030.0097	2169279.906
A88	224372.3725	2168530.046
A90	217535.2617	2169541.978
A91	228220.0293	2166207.758

A92	226874.1026	2166205.529
AC 2	309859.9827	2224790.729
AC 3	308777.3352	2223255.562
AC 5	307819.1732	2220938.961
AC 8	323189.4173	2216975.759
AC E	321959.9691	2216791.209
AC G	321110.7731	2217108.171
AC4	308362.9449	2223915.28
Acámbaro	319762.9678	2215869.478
Acutzeo	255132.9726	2157216.885
Ajuchitlan	341323.4291	2007608.059
Amocutin	311380.2562	2207071.968
Andocutin	304611.9753	2207660.284
Apaseo	323660.2555	2272526.437
Apupuato	229954.6484	2164841.553
Aquicec?	255132.9726	2157216.885
Araceo?	272440.7117	2247171.237
Araro	309170.7198	2202649.235
Arocutin	217069.656	2164527.804
Cacaquaran	286475.3061	2234864.063
Capula	249195.8943	2177091.262
Chamacuaro	308906.226	2224077.487
Charahuen	215745.4337	2161053.949
Charo	285753.9844	2184722.374
Cheran	190330.566	2179266.488
Chiquimitio?	264259.6438	2190856.212
Chucándiro	255859.8725	2201647.964
Chupicuaro	229578.6922	2178619.996
Chupicuaro	327144.3493	2219519.601
Churúmucu	220600.8481	2065539.921
Cipiajo	232696.1037	2191094.989
Cirianeo San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro	226069.0962	2178344.344
Cocupao	234872.3296	2176496.752
Comanja	218061.0025	2185561.705
Contepeque	378412.2065	2206607.334
Copandaro	268290.5418	2200830.43
Coyuca	317591.6295	2025539.756
Cucuchucho	223660.9911	2167553.289
Cuitzeo	276111.1169	2209265.671
Cupandaro	361533.4915	2130704.861

Curinguaro	241515.6234	2159701.824
Curupu Hucazio	276418.9728	2133315.759
Cuseo	300357.4103	2062457.453
Cutzamala	333201.2845	2042579.607
Cutzaro	254657.9455	2152005.726
Cuzaru	229020.3277	2054469.949
El Encanto - Tipicato?	224003.079	2190954.542
Emenguaro	299536.4822	2235210.603
Emonguaro?	266212.9501	2234719.85
Eróngaricuaro Site 12	211683.9884	2169943.464
Eróngaricuaro	214559.396	2168115.676
Eróngaricuaro Site 1	214123.309	2166430.331
Eróngaricuaro Site 10	213086.8667	2170031.844
Eróngaricuaro Site 11	213014.5854	2169493.913
Eróngaricuaro Site 2	211290.553	2166956.319
Eróngaricuaro Site 3	210503.2324	2167427.807
Eróngaricuaro Site 4	212358.7334	2168369.493
Eróngaricuaro Site 6	211445.6685	2168443.751
Eróngaricuaro Site 7	215334.1671	2169715.939
Eróngaricuaro Site 8	214786.2656	2169865.534
Eróngaricuaro Site 9	213991.9887	2170249.752
Etúcuaro	209821.2122	2099758.475
Great Platform	230124.4479	2171926.008
Guanajo	236541.6954	2156375.016
Guango	247435.9547	2213501.92
Guanimao	239410.3262	2171579.394
Guayameo	232192.244	2177159.082
Guayangareo	271887.4827	2179742.233
Hamocutin	309883.8763	2207088.099
Hazcuaro	224817.5922	2175964.552
Herimbo Irimbo	344969.2624	2178268.134
Herinbo	344934.5286	2178639.132

Huandacareo	261881.9065	2212081.414
Huániqueo	237754.1848	2202194.763
Huetamo	298905.7439	2061218.461
Humilladera	228346.7447	2161457.553
Hurapan	218191.4328	2114421.356
Hurecho	198359.1667	2121532.686
Huriangato	272007.2502	2228562.104
Ihuatzio	225944.0817	2167711.552
Indaparapeo	293383.6243	2189465.677
Indaparapeo Site 1	292547.9653	2189359.366
Indaparapeo Site 2	294510.7202	2186387.776
Indaparapeo Site 3	290510.2572	2185356.393
Indaparapeo Site 4	299460.8585	2188091.836
Inguaran	220778.8157	2088681.956
Inguaranicho	213646.0029	2088542.062
Iramuco	298705.3947	2208283.056
Irapeo	284233.9119	2178715.227
Itzicuaro	222877.995	2175409.482
Itziparamucu	240401.7995	2170742.669
La Barranca	346641.4542	2252428.595
La Estancia de Tarimoro	316549.2792	2243924.228
La Huacana	204741.2328	2099204.956
La Magdelena	227637.3283	2173313.424
La Manza (M-93)	230893.3219	2204136.12
Labor de Apaseo el Alto	330577.2622	2262375.171
Maravatio	347533.6539	2200572.11
Maribatio?	294983.1081	2235292.192
Mayao	288429.3587	2213554.975
MICH 162 Club Campestre	209225.4572	2197103.991
MICH 23 El Palacio La Crucita	206512.2962	2194675.412
MICH 24 Escuela Agropecuaria	208805.0107	2194465.674
Nahuatzen	194009.4227	2175785.216

Naranjan	210778.185	2189062.729
Necotlan Santiago Undameo	260393.2012	2168257.351
Nocutzepo	216576.3823	2161677.888
Oponguio	221920.5954	2175583.513
Opopeo	226244.1536	2148525.624
Opunqueo	222217.3654	2174470.756
Pamaseo?	262759.7729	2223738.171
Paracho (approximate)	240666.5918	2120930.562
Parácuaro	316385.9761	2228390.682
Pareo	219064.6149	2161519.993
Pateo	364544.2021	2201476.352
Pátzcuaro	226100.6691	2157932.259
Pechataro	205412.2702	2166402.595
Petatzequa	225950.3647	2160354.487
Pio	258949.4521	2195531.271
Plaza de las Yacatas (M-119)	240052.8526	2200550.126
Pomacupeo	232421.1051	2077751.353
Prehispanic Terraces	237488.0834	2202743.876
Puacuaro	219446.8625	2169860.454
Pungarabato	323221.491	2029968.955
Puroagua	348286.3729	2220766.463
Purúandiro	236929.4323	2223290.274
Quacurio	275547.4062	2219744.079
Quataseo	317837.0541	2051162.368
Queneo	229219.6261	2193678.312
Querendaro	302400.38	2191196.035
Quialoxo?	265593.0886	2227678.685
Sacapuato	330557.7371	2064870.613
San Andres	339267.7141	2177067.437
San Andres Tzirondaro	223922.8397	2176953.783
San Bartolo	230466.5397	2172339.702
San Bartolome Atzimbo	238490.3781	2174364.989
San Bernabé	248834.2956	2182781.338
San Cristobal	343601.3366	2010240.901
San Francisco	311690.487	2268390.437
San Francisco?	246047.1814	2172571.433

San Jerónimo	341874.7549	2014600.153
San Jerónimo	323029.0297	2032832.676
San Jerónimo	258932.2108	2048797.681
San Jerónimo Purenchecuaro	225994.76	2178294.283
San Jose Poliutla	353129.0331	2020615.397
San Juan	229752.0324	2170535.445
San Juan Tararameo?	280726.2474	2200678.451
San Lorenzo	229849.2247	2169167.407
San Lorenzo Itzicuaro	261717.1886	2177842.33
San Lucas	311607.6982	2054894.799
San Lucas	337782.9332	2244572.913
San Lucas Pio	298254.179	2189799.605
San Martin	231385.0338	2045909.001
San Mateo	340310.5013	2012756.349
San Miguel I	242842.0483	2211339.137
San Miguel II	246644.2066	2038274.118
San Miguel III	272189.8403	2236033.327
San Miguel Totolapan	352895.939	2008162.219
San Nicolas	256842.1298	2174777.288
San Pablo	355383.9198	2010233.268
San Pablo Sicui Hocurio	223565.2481	2162414.355
San Pedro	330965.9242	2268772.418
Santa Ana	351913.4138	2013597.428
Santa Ana Chapitiro	221591.9623	2161165.666
Santa Clara	222923.2192	2147667.151
Santiago	230395.8453	2170718.192
Santiago la Mesa (M-113)	237658.8787	2203439.312
Santo Tomas	368690.676	2001201.75
Senguio	358356.6634	2182532.681
Sevina	195925.3878	2172742.438
Sinagua	202151.9594	2065904.517
Sirandangacho	235202.7331	2174376.226
Sirandaro	286571.1649	2041094.862
Site 31	228691.2311	2172283.831
Siuínan	195895.0906	2172808.815
Sorano?	250344.5455	2224973.901

Sujeto de Pumacupeo	228832.1765	2081328.656
Tacámbaro	345556.6487	2237135.248
Tacaro	225381.0841	2196882.746
Taimeo (approximate)	315685.8585	2194943.328
Tantzicuaro	252936.6333	2176752.22
Tarandaquao	339549.0907	2212163.142
Taretan	193445.5664	2140318.491
Tarimbaro	272031.0184	2190321.666
Taximaroa	336814.0902	2177995.928
Tecomatlan?	351982.5276	2026124.721
Terémendo	240081.6232	2189727.396
Tingambato	200740.4274	2158656.703
Tiquicheo	316722.3271	2090563.553
Tirimicua	237923.5041	2178249.21
Tiríngueo?	339079.0554	2021892.163
Tirípitio	253569.2656	2163024.142
Tlacotepeque	378739.3744	2192353.636
Tlalpujahua	377068.6753	2190217.879
Tocuaro	322372.1131	2206946.594
Tres Cerritos	274101.2655	2209715.247
Tupatarillo	332744.7334	2049034.341
Tupátaro	238356.9755	2158243.423
Turicato	245470.1993	2108441.336
Tuzantla	334407.7922	2124478.271
Tzintzuntzan	229611.0524	2172303.502
Zurumutaro	228571.8166	2163242.437
Ucareo	323473.7597	2201042.629
Urichu	214769.9759	2165358.848
Urireo	307464.8685	2236210.434
Uririco	216468.0342	2096742.121
Vayámeo	231843.5541	2177626.682
Viramu angaru	209744.6271	2160152.485
Xarácuaro	215130.7466	2158486.703
Xaso	243462.795	2184070.688
Xenguaro	249181.1267	2177058.702
Xereq	342158.9606	2228742.483
Xeroco	272958.3207	2209623.277
Xuruneo	357139.1852	2234123.298
Yacata 6	230316.7801	2171519.011
Yacata 7	230347.8597	2171556.706

Yacata de los Nogales - Tesalco?	224436.0017	2189129.546
Yacata la Ladera (M-104)	236281.3895	2202733.612
Yaguarato	230455.0038	2171287.649
Yuríriapúndaro	277048.2714	2236077.802
Zacango	323008.3509	2056948.501
Zacapu	207344.2838	2193353.677
Zinapecuaro	308660.5884	2196975.799
Zirahuen	213164.4421	2153316.055
Zitacuaro	357698.6695	2149413.325