Indigenous Writing in the Spanish Indies

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Front cover: Mixtec pictorial from the *Codex Vindobonensis* and alphabetic writing from Teposcolula, 1622.
Back cover: Quechua-language writing from the *Huarochirí Manuscript* and an illustration of an indigenous scribe by Huaman Poma de Ayala.

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Acknowledgments

I am pleased to introduce this special issue of the *UCLA Historical Journal: Indigenous Writing in the Spanish Indies.* This volume is unique in its format and focus. Unlike previous *Journals,* this special issue has no "Book Review" or "Notes and Documents" sections. Instead, we present an anthology of ongoing work at UCLA which utilizes indigenous-language writings of the Americas and Philippines after Columbus. Most of the primary sources used in the following studies are original in that they were only recently located in archives and special collections around the world. This special issue reproduces, transcribes, translates, and analyzes these writings. The authors expand the history of indigenous cultures by investigating social and cultural issues such as literacy, identity, historical consciousness, multiethnicity, gender ideology and sexuality. Thus, we have maintained the *Journal's* tradition of diversity.

I would especially like to thank Kevin Terraciano, who first proposed the idea of a special issue to the *Journal's* editorial board. In his association with the *Journal* over the past five years, Kevin has been instrumental in the editing and production of every issue. His leadership has ensured the *Journal's* success. In the past few years, the board has improved the quality and length of each successive issue. I would also like to express my gratitude to Robinson Herrera for his skillful work with the cover design and maps. I thank all of the contributors and editors for their participation in this project, especially Barry Sell who enthusiastically read and commented on several papers presented in this issue. In addition, I am grateful to the following supporters of the *Journal*: Barbara Bernstein, Professor and Chair Ron Mellor, Karen Knapp, Ruth Ann Raftery, Mrs. Florence Saloutos, and the Graduate Students Association.

The *Journal* provides UCLA graduate students the invaluable opportunity to publish their work and to gain experience in the publications process. The *Journal* is run by and for graduate students. The editorial board looks forward to presenting thought-provoking graduate research and scholarship in the following future issues: Volume 13 will feature the usual eclectic collection of articles from various fields; and Volume 14 is a special issue on women and gender. I hope you enjoy this special issue of the *UCLA Historical Journal.*

Lisa M. Sousa

1

Introduction

Lisa M. Sousa

The indigenous voice has long been disregarded in studies of the Spanish Conquest and colonization of the Americas and the Philippines. The Quincentennial commemoration and debate has been no exception. The writings of Europeans, such as Cristóbal Colón and Hernando Cortés, and critics of secular Spanish activity, like fray Bartólome de las Casas, shape the discussion on both sides. Rarely is the indigenous point of view considered. Consequently, these historical debates often diminish the complexity of cultural contact and coexistence. The vitality of native cultures before 1492, and the survival of millions of indigenous peoples today, belie the death of a civilization despite epidemics, exploitation, miscegenation, and cultural change. This issue of the *Journal* attempts to fill in the historical gap between the arrival of Europeans and the modern age by examining the writings of indigenous peoples from the colonial period, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The advantages of studying indigenous societies and cultures based upon what the peoples themselves wrote are obvious; however, this approach is not always possible or expedient with all indigenous groups. In any case, we do not mean to suggest that the "complexity" of each indigenous group should be measured by the presence, extent, or absence of written texts.

After the Spanish Conquest, friars introduced alphabetic writing to indigenous communities. Many societies, especially in Mesoamerica (modern-day central and southern Mexico and northern Central America), already had fully developed writing and

record-keeping systems before the Roman alphabet was adopted. From around the 1540s to the beginning of the nineteenth century (and beyond in some places), native communities and individuals kept official and personal alphabetic writings in their own languages; a command of the alphabet spread rapidly to handle the requirements of the Spanish legal system and its many genres, such as testaments, land titles, petitions, town council minutes, and elections. When necessary, indigenous groups and individuals presented these documents in Spanish courts to defend their rights.

Select nobles also participated in the production of native-language Church texts, such as *doctrinas*, sermonaries, confessional manuals, *vocabularios*, and grammars. Indigenous informants and scribes supplied the substance of ethnographic works, like the twelve Nahuatl-language books compiled under the direction of fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Other learned indigenous writers, such as Chimalpahin, Ixtlilxochitl, and Tezozomoc, composed local histories and annals. Maya myth and cosmology were recorded anonymously in the Books of Chilam Balam, as local Quechua lore was written in the Huarochirí Manuscripts.

The seemingly unlimited corpus of indigenous-language sources has taken generations to even catalogue and identify, let alone translate and analyze, and there is no end in sight. Until recently, scholars associated indigenous sources with Nahuatl-language documents. Indeed, most studies have concentrated almost exclusively on the Nahuas of central Mexico. As early as 1950, Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble published their first transcribed and translated volume of the *Florentine Codex*. Thirty-two years later, they completed the twelfth and last book of this massive project. Their translations continue to serve as the basis of many studies on the Nahuas of central Mexico. Distinguished Mexican scholars, such as Miguel León-Portilla, Angel María Garibay, Fernando Horcasitas, Pedro Carrasco, and Luis Reyes García, also pioneered Nahuatl-language literary, historical, and anthropological research. The lone exception to all of this work with Nahuatl was the contribution of Ralph Roys, who transcribed and translated several collections of Maya texts during the 1930s and 1940s.

In more recent times, indigenous-language based scholarship has flourished within the UCLA Department of History, under the direction of Professor James Lockhart. Lockhart, his associates (especially Frances Karttunen), and his students have studied the language together and published extensively on the Nahuas since the mid-1970s. Almost two decades of intensive research and writing

has culminated in the publication of Lockhart's definitive and monumental study of Nahua society and culture, *The Nahuas After the Conquest.*

The tradition of indigenous-language based research in the UCLA Department of History is reflected in several doctoral dissertations. S.L. Cline transcribed, translated, and examined a rare collection of sixty-five sixteenth-century Nahuatl testaments from Culhuacan, Mexico. In her study of indigenous land tenure in Toluca, Mexico, Stephanie Wood made significant advances in the nascent study of Nahuatl-language false titles (see Chapter 3). Susan Schroeder's translation and interpretation of writings by the Nahua annalist, Chimalpahin, elaborated the sociopolitical terminology and organization of Chalco; Rebecca Horn unveiled the internal structure of the Nahuatl *altepetl* (local Nahua sovereign state) in Coyoacan. Robert Haskett's use of *cabildo* records in his study of postconquest indigenous municipal government, demonstrated the survival and retention of preconquest political concepts and practices in Cuernavaca. Doctoral students in Art History at UCLA have also utilized Nahuatl-language materials in their research. Jeanette Favrot Peterson links the role of preconquest and postconquest Nahua scribes with the indigenous artists who painted the sixteenth-century garden murals of the monastery of Malinalco. Dana Liebsohn, also a student of Art History, is presently writing a dissertation based on an explication of the *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca*. The above-mentioned scholars are only a few of the participants in a very exciting and promising field of study. It would be impossible in this present context to credit everyone who has contributed to this movement; however, a representative, but by no means exhaustive, compilation of works is presented in the references below.

The "UCLA School" has recently moved in many directions, finding new sources and addressing a wider range of historical concerns, but using the same methods. Though this movement may in some ways be considered new, it naturally follows previous work on the Nahuas, and social and cultural Latin American history in general. Our research now involves several additional indigenous groups, such as the Mixtec, Maya, Quechua, and Tagalog, and contributes to the deconstruction of the term "Indians." This volume constitutes a series of firsts: a Mixtec-language false title and map; Tagalog- and Ilocano-language texts from the Philippines; Maya-language petitions featuring sexually explicit language; Nahua history and myth from a satellite Nahuatl-speaking community in Oaxaca; changing colonial perceptions viewed through Nahuatl church

imprints; and Quechua-language myth embodied in the study of gender. The authors address social, cultural, and intellectual concerns, including: native identity, gender ideology, sexuality, literacy, multiethnicity, historical consciousness and myth. We have reprinted samples of each indigenous-language document under study in order to highlight the diversity of postconquest alphabetic writing and language, and to allow the specialized reader to inspect a sample of the original. We have adopted a book format, with a general chapter on indigenous writing, followed by five chapters focusing on various writing genres, indigenous languages, regions, and topics.

Chapter two, "Indigenous Writing in Colonial Mexico," provides a general overview of the evolution of writing in Mesoamerica from preconquest pictorial and phonetic traditions to postconquest alphabetic script, concentrating on the Nahua, Mixtec, and Maya. Kevin Terraciano and Matthew Restall survey the distribution of postconquest writing in central and southern Mexico and identify notarial genres that are known to exist in each region. Their article compares trends among these three major Mesoamerican groups and identifies significant regional variations.

Chapter three, "The 'Original Conquest' of Oaxaca: Mixtec and Nahua History and Myth," translates and explicates two seventeenth-century falsified land titles from the Valley of Oaxaca. Nahuatl-language titles from central Mexico have been studied in the past, but have not been fully translated. Kevin Terraciano and Lisa Sousa have identified the first known Mixtec title, and the first title from a Nahua satellite community in the Valley of Oaxaca. The texts and accompanying map constitute a complex discourse genre which manipulates myth and history to achieve a specific local agenda. The two titles, rooted in a strong ethnic identity and consciousness, present conflicting and competing views of the Spanish Conquest.

Chapter four, "'May They Not Be Fornicators Equal to these Priests': Postconquest Yucatec Maya Sexual Attitudes," employs Maya-language petitions and the Books of Chilam Balam to investigate the use of sexually-explicit language as a means to protect the interests of the community. Matthew Restall and Pete Sigal suggest that the Maya used both sex and writing as a source of empowerment against outsiders.

Chapter five, "Father Fiction: The Construction of Gender in England, Spain, and the Andes," compares indigenous gender organization with European models. Scholars have frequently and inappropriately described indigenous gender relations in patriarchal

terms; few have fully understood women's social, economic, and political roles in Spanish society. Kimberly Gauderman demonstrates the differences in gender models of three cultures. Using the Huarochirí Manuscript, Gauderman proves that indigenous-language sources can enhance our understanding of native gender roles and relations.

The last two chapters examine indigenous-language Church-sponsored publications from central Mexico and the Philippines, respectively. The explosion of research using Nahuatl-language notarial sources has tended to overshadow Church manuscripts and imprints as sources for the study of indigenous culture. Also, it was presumed that such texts were written exclusively by friars. In "'The Good Government of the Ancients': Some Colonial Attitudes About Precontact Nahua Society," however, Barry Sell reveals the vast potential of these extensive sources for cultural and intellectual history. Sell emphasizes the instrumental roles and contributions of Nahua scribes in the production of these materials, and shows how some friars were conscious of a "golden age" of colonial Nahuatl-language publications.

Chapter seven, "Tomás Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines," pinpoints the role of one such indigenous scribe. Pinpin wrote and published his own book and worked as a printer on several other Tagalog-language projects. Woods touches upon the larger issues of indigenous literacy and kinship organization which are revealed in Pinpin's work. The potential in this work for comparative study with Mesoamerica and the Andean region is intriguing.

Indigenous Writing in the Spanish Indies contributes to philological and historical scholarship in regions where ethnohistorical research has been dominated by archaeological, anthropological, ethnological and modern linguistic approaches. This research complements, transcends, confirms and sometimes contradicts previous ethnohistorical scholarship. Though the use of such sources has not been confined to historians, nor is it the only useful methodology for the study of indigenous society and culture, it has in many ways revolutionized the study of native cultures in Mesoamerica, with clear utility for the study of both precontact civilization and modern ethnographic and cultural studies. The following six articles represent further steps in a movement which promises to continue engaging future generations of historians.

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2

Indigenous Writing and Literacy in Colonial Mexico

Kevin Terraciano and Matthew Restall

Ma quimatican Yn quexquichtin quitasque yhuan quipohuasque Ynin esCritura de Benta ticchihua Yn tehuantin...
Let those know who should see and read this instrument of sale made by us...

cin ualic u >ibtabal in testamento tu tanil in yum Batab y Justicias...
I state my will for it to be written down before the batab and magistrates...

yodzanacahui tutu yaha dzaha ñudzahui...
Let this document in the "Mixtec" language be read...[1]

Introduction to Indigenous Writing

Soon after the arrival of Europeans in the land that they called New Spain, Franciscan and Dominican friars taught the art of alphabetic writing to members of the indigenous elite. As a result, indigenous peoples during the colonial Mexican period produced (mostly legal) documentation in their own languages using the Roman alphabet. The first group to do this were the Nahuas (sometimes called "Aztecs") of central Mexico; material in Nahuatl has survived in greater quantities than sources from other

language-groups and has been studied far more by scholars.[2] Additional work has also been published on Yucatec Maya and Cakchiquel sources and, more recently, on Mixtec documentation. There are also sources, known of but unstudied by scholars, in Zapotec, Chocho, Quiché, Otomí, Tarascan and no doubt other Mesoamerican languages.[3] Smaller bodies of documents that have not surfaced or survived may have been written in lesser-spoken languages (see Figure 1: Map of Mesoamerican Languages).

This chapter makes general remarks about indigenous-language documentation of colonial Mexico, but our specific comments refer only to the sources with which we are familiar--those in Nahuatl, Mixtec and (Yucatec) Maya. Our concern is to draw attention to the existence of these sources, to the ethnohistorical work in which they have been utilized, and to the potential this material holds for future study. In discussing the characteristics of indigenous sources in three different languages, we are hereby contributing a comparative framework that has yet to receive adequate attention, as well as working towards the disintegration of the term "Indian"--found by ethnohistorians to be increasingly inaccurate and unhelpful, save in its reflection of the Spaniards' racial perspective.

Preconquest Precedents

The indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica had their own systems of written communication, ranging from the hieroglyphs of the Maya and Zapotec to the pictographs and painted codices of the Mixtec and Nahua. The earliest examples of such writing are painted or carved on stone and pottery; those from the immediate preconquest period are painted on deer hide or native paper. Such texts tended to be restricted to the recording of dates, place names, personal names, and historical, mythical, or cosmological events; some pictorials elaborated entire origin myths and ritual, divinatory information, and approached an extended narrative form of expression. Literacy was presumably a privilege of the priestly and noble classes.

Although no Mesoamerican group had developed a full syllabary by the time of the conquest, syllabic writing was one of many devices employed. Indigenous writing combined pictorial representation (direct depiction by images) with a sophisticated numerical and calendrical system, logograms or images (which conveyed a word or idea), as well as phonetic representation of indi-

vidual syllables or roots of words. The possibilities of phonetic expression were expanded by the use of homonyms or "tone puns." All three fundamental techniques often operated simultaneously. At any rate, preconquest writing systems were not less capable of communication than the alphabetic system that ultimately replaced them.

The style and method of interpreting late preconquest-style codices were likely extremely subtle and complex. They were not "read" in the conventional sense of reading to oneself silently, but were rendered in a more public setting, like scores for performance; the meaning of the texts was elaborated orally and was subject to extrapolation with each recounting. Thus, there was probably never one "proper" reading, performance, or interpretation. It is unclear how interpretive the writing system was and to what extent memory and context guided the speaker/reader. Its rendition was flexible but not entirely subjective and definitely not random. Many of the texts were meant to be visibly displayed in a public setting before an informed audience.

Clearly, the existence of a time-honored and sophisticated writing system which included syllabic notation facilitated the adoption of the alphabet. This fact helps explain the readiness with which the Nahua, Mixtec, Maya and other native groups took to generating documentation in their own languages using the Roman alphabet.[4] In all three of these languages, postconquest terminology for the instruments and act of reading and writing is drawn from the preconquest tradition; for example, the indigenous word for "paper" continued to be used throughout the colonial period: *amatl* (Nahuatl); *tutu* (Mixtec); and *hun* (Maya). The Andean indigenous peoples, despite being fully sedentary, had not developed a writing system by the time of the conquest. Consequently, there are but a few examples of colonial-era documents in Quechua (see Chapter 5), and no extensive indigenous-language notarial tradition has yet come to light in any area outside Mesoamerica.[5] In the Philippines, a native syllabic writing system (using characters instead of pictorial images) already existed and may have competed with the Roman alphabet introduced by Spaniards. Despite the existence of postconquest Tagalog texts, there is little evidence of a widely-practiced notarial tradition in this area at this time (see Chapter 7).

The well-developed writing tradition in Mesoamerica did not preclude the primarily oral transmission of potential texts such as speeches, chronicles and perhaps even testaments before the intro-

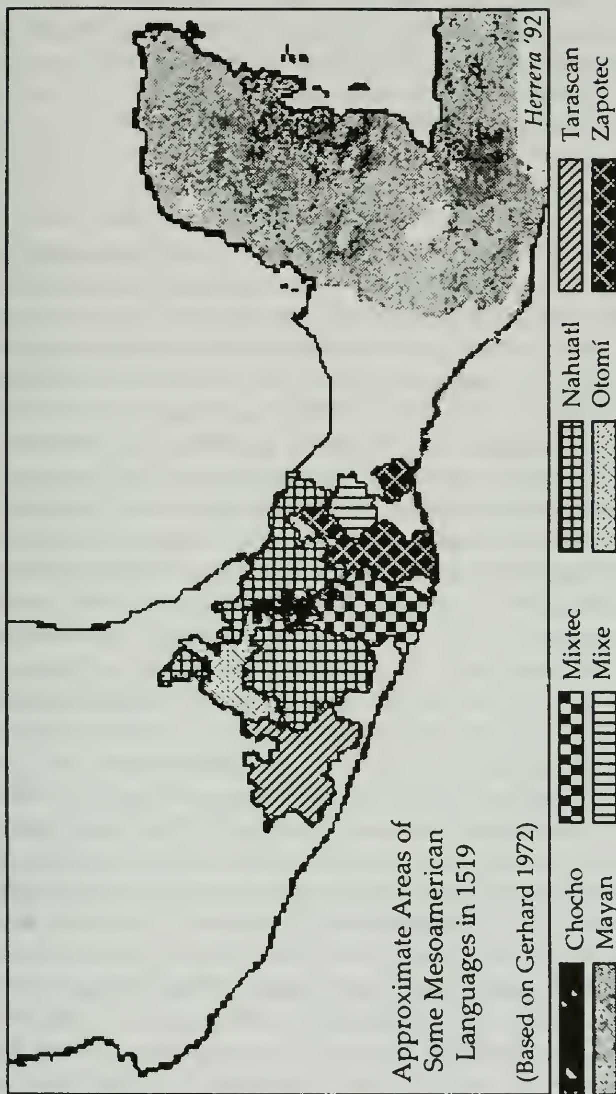

Figure 1: Map of Mesoamerican Languages

duction of the alphabet. Preconquest writing always complemented the oral tradition. Likewise, this oral tradition surfaces in the style and context of much postconquest indigenous documentation. While Mesoamerican writing may have eased the transition to the many genres of Spanish legal documentation, it proved difficult to reconcile this primarily pictorial writing with the exacting requirements of the Spanish legal system.

Postconquest Literacy

In the 1520s, friars in central Mexico began to experiment with pictorial communication but concentrated on rendering spoken Nahuatl in alphabetic form. Beginning in the 1540s, documents of many types and styles were produced in central Mexico as alphabetic writing in Nahuatl spread rapidly to become a dominant form of expression in the latter half of the century. The first extant Mixtec documents did not appear until the late 1560s, in part because the Mixtec pictorial tradition was too inveterate to be quickly superseded by pure alphabetism. Indeed, there are scores of pictorial manuscripts from the early sixteenth-century Mixteca, some of which contain alphabetic glosses in Mixtec (or Nahuatl or Chocho).[6] With significant regional variation, alphabetic text at first complemented, then shared space with, and eventually displaced pictorial text. The pictorial tradition in Yucatan, on the other hand, was far weaker, and the syllabic system perhaps more developed, so that alphabetic writing in Maya took root in the 1550s, just a decade after the conquest of the region.

In central Mexico literacy first passed from friars to their indigenous aides, and then to the *altepetl* (Nahua municipal community) elite. A similar process occurred in the Mixteca and in Yucatan. Many of the earliest examples of postconquest documents in Mixtec are authored by *yya toniñe* (native municipal rulers/governors, referred to as *caciques* by Spaniards), while the first postconquest generation of literate Maya appear to have come from the native ruling families of Yucatan. Literacy persisted among the Mixtec high nobility throughout the colonial period, but in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Yucatan there are signs that few *batabs* (native municipal governors) and virtually no other officials beyond the community notary were literate.

It is fair to say that in all three areas the indigenous *escribano* (notary) was the primary practitioner of literacy. Most documents in native languages can be defined as notarial, in that they were

written by the community notary, authored by local officials, and more or less conformed to Spanish legal practice. Unlike Spanish notarial material, most indigenous documents were products of the municipal community (the Nahua *altepetl*; the Mixtec *ñuu*; the Maya *cah*). Unlike their Spanish counterparts, native notaries were members of the local ruling elite and enjoyed a social standing close to that of the governor (the Nahua *tlatoani*; the Mixtec *yya toniñe*; the Maya *batab*). Native notaries were an integral part of the local political structure; for the Nahua and the Maya the office was a prestigious rung on the ladder that could lead eligible nobles to the governorship, but the Mixtec notary, despite being noble, never seems to have gone on to become yya toniñe.[7]

Literacy among Nahuas and Mixtecs, unlike Maya, spread beyond the male elite to include some men of lesser social status and, in the Mixtec case, some noble women. There is no evidence that any Nahua or Maya women were literate before the twentieth century. The nature of corporate documentation directed by the all-male *cabildo* and notaries tended to exclude indigenous women from the act of writing. Though women are represented in almost every genre in all three language areas, only in Mixtec-language sources have we found examples of women signing their own names to documents and, in a few isolated cases, apparently writing entire records.[8]

Distribution and Genre

A study of Maya notarial material concluded that there were five features of such documents which may be broadly applied to notarial texts in Nahuatl and Mixtec as well.[9] These characteristics include a date of completion, provenance, signatures or names identifying witnesses and/or local officers, an elaborate opening, and an explicit ending. The central importance of the community in indigenous society (altepetl; ñuu; cah) is the chief link between these features, in that the opening and closing phrases often contained formulas that stated the community of origin and the cabildo officers ruling in that year. Most of these documents were internal records written for a local audience.

Nahuatl-language writing evolved evenly throughout central Mexico, spreading rapidly from Spanish centers to most Nahua altepetl. By 1570, at the latest, every altepetl had its own notary. Sources written in Nahuatl first appear as early as the 1540s, reaching a peak in terms of variety and quality, and perhaps quan-

tity, in the period 1580-1610. After 1770 writing in Spanish eclipsed Nahuatl-language script, partly as a result of official decrees that Nahuatl cease to be used for notarial purposes, but mainly because many communities were now able to do so. Consequently, the numbers of surviving Nahuatl documents decline sharply and virtually disappear by the turn of the nineteenth century.[10] We must remember that surviving documents represent a mere fraction of the hundreds of thousands of indigenous-language sources produced in New Spain. The total number of extant Nahua sources is difficult to estimate, as it has been growing rapidly in the last fifteen years; in addition, the varied nature and length of texts makes it hard to define what is a single document and what is a corpus. Suffice it to say that in collections in Mexico, the United States, and Europe, there are probably tens of thousands of manuscripts.[11] The sources are complemented by material only now surfacing from other parts of Mesoamerica, where Nahuatl was written by both Nahua satellite communities and non-Nahua indigenous groups in lieu of their own spoken languages (such as Amuzgo, Mazatec, Trique, Ixcatec, Chocho, Cuicatec, Chatino, Totorame, Mixe, etc.), as far south as Guatemala and north to Saltillo.

Maya documents have likewise survived from the entire colonial Yucatec area, but their temporal distribution contrasts strongly with that of central Mexico. The sixteenth century is not well represented in Yucatan--a question, perhaps, of survival, as Maya writing skills appear fully developed within a generation of the conquest (1542). Manuscript numbers increase steadily after 1640, climaxing in the very period of written Nahuatl's decline (1770-1820). The last Maya notarial document that we have seen is dated 1850, a tribute to the perseverance of Maya-language writing in the relative absence of Spanish-language speakers. Variations in quality tend to be regional, rather than temporal (a reflection of a general Yucatec pattern). Only very recently has an effort been made to locate all Maya-language sources; so far, the total is some 1,500, but this many again may surface in the coming decades.[12] Collections exist in the United States and in archives in Seville, Mexico City, and Mérida, Yucatan. Unlike in other parts of New Spain, sub-regional collections in Yucatan have been lost, destroyed, sold, or acquired by archival and private collections in Mérida.

Mixtec-language documents were produced in the major centers of Dominican activity by the 1560s, though the length and sophis-

tication of these texts, and extensive *doctrinas* printed in 1567 and 1568, would indicate a much earlier date for the advent of alphabetic writing in the Mixteca Alta. By 1600, writing was well-known in all the larger Mixtec communities. The peak period of quantity and quality was 1670-1720, when writing in central areas such as Yanhuitlan and Teposcolula coincided with its practice in a number of smaller communities, many of which had won independence from parent municipalities during this time. Over seventy ñuu (pueblos) are represented and few years pass without a sample of Mixtec writing, until the first decade of the nineteenth century; extant documents abate steadily after 1770, ending in 1807. Bilingual Mixtecs were speaking and writing Spanish as early as the late seventeenth century, so that the decrease of Mixtec-language texts did not necessarily signal the end of Mixtec literacy. Thus, the temporal decline in Mixtec-language documentation seems to represent a midpoint in terms of the evolution of Nahuatl and Maya writing. The search for Mixtec-language sources in local and national archives has only recently begun but has already uncovered several hundred documents, most from the Mixteca Alta region.[13]

By quality of documentation we are referring not only to the legibility, length and condition of the papers--often ravaged by water, humidity, fungus, worms, ink acids, and maltreatment--but to the ethnohistorical potential of the sources. By this definition, a testament that consists solely of formula and a few lines is not as useful as one in which the testator details his/her estate and perhaps digresses with informal comments on the property and heirs in question. Similarly, a corpus of the same genre enables the reconstruction of social patterns, although the occasional single unique document can prove invaluable in revealing practices usually assumed and thus not recorded by the indigenous notary. Criminal records, for example, frequently diverge from a predictable, structured formula and reveal information on indigenous patterns of behavior which are otherwise difficult to address.

An obvious characteristic of indigenous writing is its visual appearance. The usual tidy clarity of native script stands in contrast to the often hurried, cursive hand of Spaniards.[14] This difference may be due to the influence of the more precise clerical hand on native notaries, to the high volume of writing demanded of Spanish notaries, and perhaps even to the tight and ordered style of traditional native depiction as found in codices, bas-re-

Figure 2: Nahuatl handwriting from 1575.

Figure 3: Spanish handwriting from 1575.

liefs, *lienzos*, and other pictorial genres (see Figures 2 and 3: Comparison of sixteenth-century indigenous and Spanish handwriting).

We might organize indigenous-language material into two categories: official notarial documentation, defined as legal cabildo-generated documents fulfilling the requirements of the Spanish ecclesiastical or civil court system; and unofficial, non-notarial manuscripts. With respect to central Mexico, much of the unofficial material has been classified by scholars as "Classical Nahuatl" and includes poems, annals and dialogues. There is also a fair amount of personal correspondence and records and a few census reports.[15] For the Yucatan, unofficial writing includes the Books of Chilam Balam (compilations of fables, myth/history, calendrical and medicinal information; see Chapter 4), with the so-called "chronicles" falling in between the two categories. In the Mixteca, personal letters and records constitute the unofficial category. Nahuatl and Mixtec "primordial titles," like the Yucatec chronicles, performed both official and unofficial roles and seemed to combine features of many genres at once (see Chapter 3). Naturally, the more these genres are studied in detail, the more simple categories become unhelpful. Much indigenous writing fulfilled functions in both the Spanish legal world and the local sphere of the native community--testaments are a prime example of this convergence.

Official notarial documentation comprises the vast majority of extant writing. Table 1 below lists the principal, known surviving genres and their incidence in the three areas under study. The intent is to give a broad impression; we use four relative levels of incidence (abundant, common, rare, and none).[16] A few brief words might be said about each genre.

About half of all surviving Maya and Mixtec documents are testaments; wills in Nahuatl are also plentiful and may account for a similar proportion of material in that language. The success of this genre can be explained by the fact that it represented a continuation of an indigenous oral tradition, and fulfilled both religious and secular requirements of the Church and the native communities. The existence of a model Nahuatl will in the 1569 edition of fray Alonso de Molina's *Confesionario Mayor*, and evidence of the inspection of Maya wills by eighteenth-century Yucatec bishops, demonstrate that the basic format of the native will was imposed by the Spaniards. A comparative study of the opening religious formula of early modern wills in Maya, Nahuatl, Spanish, and

TABLE 1: Incidence of Genres

Genre	Nahuatl	Mixtec	Maya
Testaments	abundant	abundant	abundant
Land transactions	common	common	common
Sales of other property	common	common	none
Petitions	common	common	common
Election records	common	rare	common
Criminal records	common	common	rare
Ratifications of Spanish records	none	none	common
Community budget records	rare	rare	rare
Tribute records	rare	rare	rare
Records of church business	common	rare	rare
Census Reports (*padrones*)	rare	none	none
Church-sponsored published texts	abundant	rare	rare

English reveals a common origin of form, while also showing that indigenous notaries varied this format according to community tradition and practice, ultimately reshaping it to suit their own needs.[17] For indigenous communities, testaments not only allowed the testator to die in a state of grace, to provide for his/her burial and purgatory mass, and to settle his/her estate, but also gave the community a written, legal record of property distribution and genealogical relationships. Thus, the role of indigenous testaments was far more expansive than that of the Spanish will. Many members of the native community acted as effective witnesses to the testamentary ritual, validated by the presence and signatures of the cabildo officers.[18]

After wills, the best represented genre is that of land transactions. Wills were in a sense also land documents, but legal transactions involving the exchange of land were more specific. The process of sale or donation of land under Spanish law entailed a number of stages, some of which were often not observed by either Spaniards or natives; furthermore, indigenous use of the relevant Spanish legal terms tended to be inconsistent. It is therefore not practical to break this genre down further, beyond observing that the most common sub-genres were bills of sale (*escritura/carta de venta*) and acknowledgments (*conocimiento*, sometimes called a title, deed, or receipt). Sub-categories of land documents, as well as civil categories of land classification, are abundant for central

Mexico; in the Yucatan, a common sub-genre is that of the boundary agreement; in the Mixteca, unlike Yucatan, there are records of land rentals and sales of other property, such as businesses. Geographical determinants appear to have been central to regional variation in land tenure; these variants have been studied to some degree by ethnohistorians.[19]

The remaining genres are unevenly represented; they are presented and analyzed in much of the work already cited.[20] We shall provide only a few examples in this limited context. Spanish legal investigations of criminal acts alleged in indigenous communities tended to produce more correspondence and testimony in Mixtec than they did in Nahuatl and Maya. Likewise Maya cabildo ratifications of Spanish business in rural Yucatan was a genre apparently not found in other regions. Additionally, there is a paucity of church records in Maya (such as dispensations to marry and lists of marriages). It is presently unclear why and to what extent such differences may exist; perhaps the survival of certain genres and languages is nothing more than a matter of simple fortune. In any case, the extant record may not be an accurate guide to the existence or absence of certain writing genres in a given region, for many documents have been lost or damaged over the centuries.

Church-sponsored materials done mainly under the auspices of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits were often the first indigenous-language alphabetic texts to be produced and usually the only writing to be printed. Manuscripts and imprints cover a wide variety of genres: dictionaries and grammars; confessional manuals and *doctrinas*; songs, plays, and ethnographic works such as the *Florentine Codex* (the latter exist for Nahuatl only). The impression that friars often took sole responsibility for these works should not conceal the fact that indigenous aides and bilingual (and sometimes trilingual) speakers were at least contributing authors, and often participated in every level of production and printing. It also appears that many of these ecclesiastical texts were intended for the use of literate indigenous laity as well as clerics.[21] There are about one hundred extant examples of Nahuatl church-sponsored publications (see Chapter 6), but there are less than a dozen for each of the other major Mesoamerican languages.

Multilingualism

The preeminence of written Nahuatl in the central area affected the development of writing in other indigenous languages, a result both of preconquest Nahua dominance and the prominence given to Nahuatl and the Nahua area by the Spaniards. While a province as relatively isolated as Yucatan reveals no written use of Nahuatl, this language was a lingua franca in much of the rest of New Spain (including coastal Guatemala); in Oaxaca, Nahuatl served as a mediating language between Spaniards and relatively small indigenous groups, like the Chocho, Cuicatec, Mixe, Chatino, and Trique. Nahuatl-language documentation in the Mixteca Alta predates alphabetic Mixtec writing for a brief period, but then is quickly supplanted in all but the most peripheral areas. The importance of Nahuatl is especially evident in the case of interpreters and notaries in sixteenth-century Oaxaca, who were often fluent in Nahuatl and one other language. Two interpreters would often be necessary for any translation assignment: one who knew Spanish and Nahuatl and another who spoke Mixtec and Nahuatl. Nahuatl was so instrumental in this early period that the term "Nahuatlato" became synonymous with "interpreter," even when this lingua franca was not one of the languages involved.[22]

Legal proceedings in New Spain tended to be bilingual. Whenever indigenous communities were involved as plaintiffs or defendants, indigenous-language testaments and land transaction records were placed in (or copied into) the case as evidence. The proceedings themselves, with the exception of the petitions that initiated the case, would be in Spanish. Some notable exceptions have survived (for example, a 1746 Amecameca case in Nahuatl, and three in Mixtec from Yanhuitlan in the 1680s), prompting the possibility that legal proceedings between indigenous groups may sometimes have started in the native language or even been carried out in the absence of Spaniards.[23] It seems as if the further an indigenous-language document traveled (in original or copied form) from its originating native community towards the pinnacle of the Spanish court system (Mexico City, or even Seville), the greater the likelihood of its survival.

Studies of the impact of Spanish on Nahuatl and Maya has made possible a comparison between the evolution of two major indigenous languages since the conquest.[24] Nahuatl evolved by contact with Spanish in three stages: the first extended from the arrival of Spaniards to around 1550, when linguistic change was min-

imal and confined to the adoption of Spanish personal names. Nahuas employed neologisms to describe newly introduced items in their own language. In stage two (around 1550-1650), Nahuas freely borrowed nouns of all types, revealing their increased contact with Spaniards. Stage three (1650 onward) was characterized by the full borrowing of verbs, particles and expressions, representing the many changes occurring within indigenous society itself.[25]

In comparison to the three stages outlined for Nahuatl, Maya appears to have almost immediately entered into "stage two" and remained in that acculturative state well into the nineteenth century. Variations from cah to cah do not appear to constitute an acculturative ripple-effect from Spanish centers, but rather reflect a broader pattern of cah individualism. Mixtec seems to exhibit Nahuatl's basic evolutionary pattern, though somewhat delayed as a result of a weaker Spanish presence, and shows greater regional variation. For example, Mixtec's transition to "stage three" may have occurred at least a quarter-century after Nahuatl's mid-seventeenth century shift, depending on the proximity of a community to a Mixtec/Hispanic center (especially the road running from Mexico City to Oaxaca). Change in Mixtec seems to correspond to the development and evolution of writing in that language, with greater retention in smaller, peripheral and monolingual places, in the relative absence of Spaniards and mestizos.

These linguistic changes, as general barometers of cultural interaction, reveal a complex process of adaptation and rejection, a tenacious maintenance of indigenous traditions as well as a willingness to embrace change when it was perceived as useful and/or prestigious. Thus, in some respects, continuity took the form of change. One aspect of this interaction which our brief comparative sketch of linguistic change does not directly represent is the degree to which indigenous individuals became bilingual and bicultural, either choosing from two terms or from two semantic worlds, or employing both, as deemed useful or applicable. Our rapidly evolving perspective of this process, and its relation to indigenous identity and consciousness, is a result of studying indigenous literacy during the colonial period.

Conclusion: Implications of Indigenous Literacy

The elaboration of the nature of Nahua self-perception in recent ethnohistorical work can be confirmed by the study of Mixtec and Maya material.[26] The discovery that Nahuas thought of

themselves primarily and overwhelmingly as members of a specific altepetl compares favorably with the revelation of a Maya self-identity and world-view based exclusively on the cah. Mixtec identity was clearly associated with the local ñuu but was complemented and transcended, at least in the Mixteca Alta, by a distinct linguistic and ethnic identity which originated in preconquest times. In both notarial and church texts, people from this region consistently referred to themselves, their region, and their language with the term *Ñudzahui* (see Chapter 3).

The most visible expression of community identity, autonomy, and empowerment, was the notarial document in Nahuatl, Mixtec, or Maya. Indigenous writing was cultivated by the friars and encouraged by civil authorities in order to facilitate the evangelization and colonial administration of the "Indians." Indigenous communities took the alphabet and gained access through the Spanish genres of notarial writing to the Spanish court system. Native communities used these skills and opportunities to fight for local land rights and political privileges--often confronting and sometimes prevailing over Spaniards. The strength of the indigenous community is evident in the fact that individual members could challenge each other using the court system without destroying the integrity of the community. This is not to say that indigenous litigants always gained justice; there was in many cases an inevitable bias toward Spaniards, despite the frequent provision of free attorneys to native communities. The inability of the system to cope with incoming volume could prolong cases for decades. Yet most native lawsuits were against other natives. Furthermore, part of the reason for this volume was the readiness of indigenous communities to take advantage of their access to the system, especially the right of appeal--against which only the king was immune.[27]

The transition from native-language writing to Spanish did not spell the end of indigenous literacy and need not signify the disempowerment of native communities. In many of the more centrally located areas, writing in Spanish became more practical and widely recognized, much like alphabetic writing had been more pragmatic than pictorials some two to three centuries earlier. Indigenous communities adopted alphabetic writing to preserve their own traditions while accommodating demands of the external Spanish world. The eventual use of Spanish reflects deep-seated changes within indigenous communities as they came into increasing contact with a steadily growing mestizo population.

Indigenous literacy ultimately facilitated the function of local indigenous self-government and daily business, recording the details of political office, land tenure, property exchange, the wishes of the dying, the complaints of the injured, and the collection, expenditure and payment of community funds and taxes. If this is the information of the text, the subtext conveys the matter of sociopolitical organization and of social relations among and within the subgroups of the altepetl, ñuu, and cah. Our knowledge of indigenous patterns and daily practices has been revolutionized by the study of these native-language sources.

Notes

1. Nahuatl: 1738 sale; McAfee Collection, UCLA Research Library. Maya: Testament of Rosa Balam, Ebtun, 1812; document # 269 in Roys 1939. Mixtec: 1684 criminal record; Archivo Judicial de Teposcolula, (Oaxaca), Criminal 5: 581.

2. See the historiographical essays in Lockhart 1991.

3. For recent studies using Maya sources see Thompson 1978, Restall 1992 and Sigal forthcoming; Hill (see 1991) has studied Cakchiquel sources; Terraciano forthcoming, uses Mixtec sources; Terraciano and Lisa Sousa have seen sources in the Oaxaca-region languages listed above, as well as rare samples of Cuicatec and Mixe writing. Studies of individual Maya and Mixtec documents by Restall and Terraciano have appeared in the *UCLA Historical Journal* volumes 9 (1989), 10 (1990) and 11 (1991). "Mesoamerica" is an anthropological term referring to a cultural area which to a large extent persisted after the Conquest and roughly coincided with the colonial jurisdiction called New Spain, which extended from modern-day New Mexico to El Salvador.

4. Karttunen 1982: 388-89.

5. It is thought that a system of colored, knotted strings called the *quipu* served a record-keeping function among the preconquest Andean groups similar to writing in Mesoamerica.

6. The early use of Nahuatl as a *lingua franca* in the Mixteca, the friars' difficulty with the tonality and dialectal variations of Mixtec, and the relatively small number of Dominicans in the area, all contributed to the delay in Mixtec alphabetic writing.

7. These remarks inevitably do not do justice to the complexity and variation of indigenous community politics (Wood 1984; Haskett 1985; Horn 1989; Restall 1992; Terraciano forthcoming).

8. The first known, extant archival document written in Mixtec concerns one doña María Lopez, who apparently could read and write; she el-

egantly signed her own testament and bequeathed several books, including a copy of one of the first published doctrinas. Significantly, this document is accompanied by a preconquest-style pictorial portion documenting the genealogy of the cacica. AGN Tierras v. 59, exp. 2. There is an example of a Nahua woman (though probably mestiza) signing documents: doña Petronila de Hinojosa from Cuernavaca, in Haskett 1991: 94.

9. Restall 1992: 44-46.

10. See Haskett 1985.

11. These sources are being electronically recorded in a vast catalog and correspondence system, a computer user service called Nahuat-l. See also Lockhart 1992: 434; Haskett 1985: chap. 3.

12. See Restall 1992; also William Hanks of the University of Chicago is currently cataloging Maya sources.

13. Terraciano forthcoming: chap. 2. Ronald Spores of Vanderbilt University is currently engaged in archival construction and restoration in the Mixteca.

14. See the various samples of indigenous-language handwriting at the beginning of each chapter below, and compare with typical sixteenth-century Spanish script.

15. See Karttunen 1982: 412.

16. Table 1 is based on a survey of the archival sources by the authors (see also Restall 1992 and Terraciano forthcoming), with assistance on Nahuatl sources from James Lockhart, personal communication.

17. See Restall 1992: 46-49. Mixtec and Cakchiquel wills also conformed to the basic structure of this opening religious formula. The Molina Testament is presented by Lockhart 1992: 468-74.

18. Nahuatl wills are the subject of Cline 1981, 1986; Cline and León-Portilla 1984, and are given much attention in Anderson, Berdan and Lockhart 1986 and Lockhart 1992. Maya wills are a major source of Thompson 1978 and Restall 1992. Mixtec wills are studied in Terraciano forthcoming. Hill 1991 includes some discussion of Cakchiquel wills.

19. The most detailed studies of Nahua land practices are Wood 1984, Horn 1989, and Lockhart 1992; see also Harvey and Prem 1984, and Harvey 1991. For a comparison of Maya and Nahua land tenure and description see Restall 1992: chap. 6. Terraciano forthcoming draws Mixtec-Nahua-Maya comparisons. Spores 1967 also discusses Mixtec land use.

20. Especially, for Nahuatl: Cline 1986, Wood 1984, Haskett 1985, Horn 1989, Lockhart 1992; for Maya: Roys 1939, Thompson 1978, Restall 1992; for Mixtec: Terraciano forthcoming.

21. Sell, forthcoming: chap. 2.; Terraciano, forthcoming: chap. 2. See also Chapter 7 below for a discussion of a Tagalog text directed to a literate indigenous audience.

22. "Nahuatlato" is "one who speaks Nahuatl" or literally "one who speaks clearly and intelligibly." See Terraciano, forthcoming for a discussion of Nahua and Mixtec interaction in the sixteenth century.

23. For the Nahuatl case, see Karttunen and Lockhart 1978.

24. Karttunen 1985; Karttunen and Lockhart 1976; Lockhart 1992; Restall 1992.

25. Karttunen and Lockhart 1976; Lockhart 1992.

26. See Lockhart 1992: 442-446.

27. On the Spanish legal system, see Borah 1982. That most indigenous litigants were suing other natives was partly the result of the demographic balance of New Spain and the relative isolation of most indigenous communities and individuals from Spaniards.

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3

The "Original Conquest" of Oaxaca: Mixtec and Nahua History and Myth

Kevin Terraciano and Lisa M. Sousa

Once upon a time, or in the 1520s, four Nahua warriors from central Mexico responded to a call for help from the great "Noblewoman of the Zapotec" in distant Oaxaca. She complained that the cannibalistic Mixtecs were threatening her children and had eaten members of a previous war party sent to help her. The warriors appeared before Hernando Cortés, the "Ruler of the Children of the Sun," and sought to convince him by staging a mock battle that they could succeed where others had fallen. Impressed by this show of force, Cortés sent them to war. They fought their way through the mountainous Mixteca and descended into the Valley of Oaxaca, where they confronted and defeated the voracious Mixtecs amid a windstorm and earthquake. In victory, they were given a place for their descendants to settle. Then Cortés himself came to Oaxaca and as the uneasy alliance disintegrated, the Spaniards and Nahuas prepared for war. As the battle commenced, the Nahuas frightened and confounded the Spaniards by unleashing a flood of water from underground. When the humbled Spaniards sued for peace, the Nahuas proudly proclaimed that they had defeated everyone, and had even captured a few black slaves. These "famous Mexicans" called their victory the "original conquest."

But there are two sides to every story. The Mixtecs naturally found this Nahua version of the "original conquest" a little distasteful. Their own account of these events differed considerably. They claimed to have welcomed and honored Cortés when he came

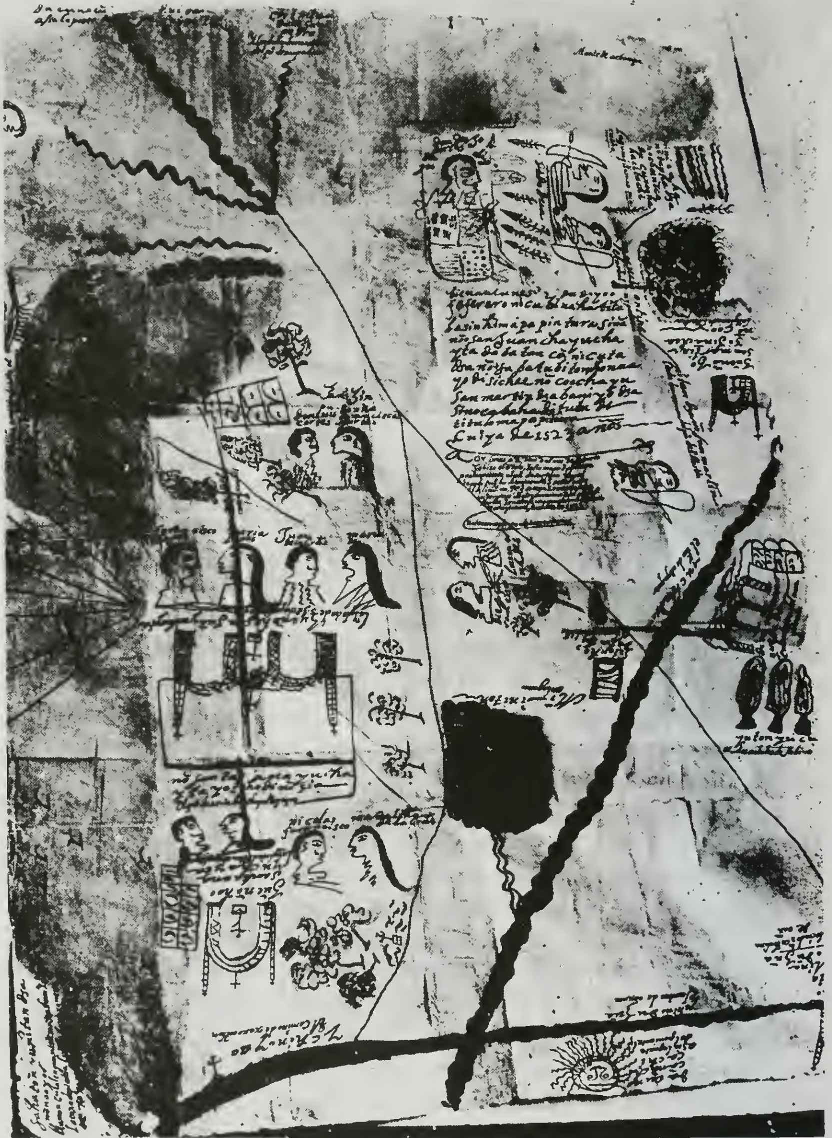

Figure 1: Mixtec map and painting of San Juan Chapultepec.

to Oaxaca, and to have given him and his men some land to settle when they were in need. All was well until he returned with a group of Nahuas from central Mexico, with whom they began to fight. The Spaniards intervened and the Mixtecs forced the Nahuas to surrender. The Mixtec ruler cooperated with Cortés and accommodated everyone's interests, even giving the Nahuas a place to settle. Thereafter, Mixtecs, Nahuas, Zapotecs, and Spaniards coexisted peacefully in the Valley of Oaxaca.

These two versions of the Conquest appeared in the 1690s, when a Mixtec and a Nahua community from the Valley of Oaxaca presented "titles" in their respective languages as claims to disputed territory. The documents were fraudulently dated from the time of the Conquest, almost two centuries earlier; representatives of the communities purported to have just found them before submitting them to Spanish officials. Both present interpretations of events surrounding the Conquest, relating how they came to possess the land which they claimed at the end of the seventeenth century.

In this chapter, we translate and explicate sections of the two lengthy manuscripts, written entirely in the Mixtec and Nahuatl languages. The Nahuatl version is ostensibly dated 1525 and consists of twenty-four pages; the eleven-page Mixtec document bears the date of 1523 and is accompanied by a simulated preconquest-style map.[1] Our transcriptions and translations of the titles are among the first to be published in either language. In fact, the Mixtec title is the only such document in that language to be identified to date; the Nahuatl text represents the only known title to be written by a Nahua satellite community outside of central Mexico. This chapter addresses several issues relevant to the little-known titles genre, as well as more specific questions concerning the interaction of indigenous groups in the colonial period. The titles from Oaxaca attend to the complex topics of Mixtec and Nahua ethnic identity and historical consciousness. Our chapter begins by describing this eclectic genre of indigenous writing from colonial Mexico.

The Titles Genre

The titles genre constitutes one of the most discursive, unpredictable forms of indigenous writing found in local and national Mexican archives. Indeed, very few historians who have encountered such documents, and can read them, have known what to

make of them. Titles have only recently been recognized as a distinct genre, though their conspicuous claim to early colonial dates and bizarre pictorials have beguiled historians for some time. Stephanie Wood recently remarked that "the study of primordial titles is still in its infancy."[2] James Lockhart confirmed that there have been very few studies of titles "first because only a small portion of the probably extant corpus has been discovered and second because of the enormous difficulty of the texts."[3]

The titles are in many respects unlike other indigenous-language sources. Rather than local records written for an internal audience, like most mundane documents, titles were aimed at a mixed indigenous and Spanish readership. Judging by language, handwriting, and dates of presentation, no known example predates the mid-seventeenth century. However, most purport to be early sixteenth-century accounts of the arrival of Cortés and the subsequent settlement and possession of lands. Many are accompanied by contrived preconquest-style pictorial components. Some modern scholars have adopted the term *títulos primordiales* (primordial titles) to refer to them: "título" denotes that the document is essentially a claim to land; "primordial" was added later by scholars in reference to the antiquated origins to which the titles usually lay claim. They were in some shape or form based on officially sanctioned Spanish land titles, though they rarely fooled Spanish officials and were usually promptly rejected.[4] We refer to them here as simply "titles" or "false titles."

Some of the best known documents associated with false titles are the so-called "Techialoyan Codices" from central Mexico. These manuscripts are predominantly pictorial with glosses and short texts in Nahuatl, painted on native paper.[5] Though the authors or artists intended to apply an ancient veneer to the manuscripts, European stylistic conventions abound.[6] False titles customarily contain fewer pictorial elements than Techialoyans and were usually done on European paper.

Both the Techialoyan codices and the false titles belong to an oral and written Mesoamerican tradition of asserting and documenting claims to land, and the tendency of indigenous communities and caciques to dispute boundaries *ad infinitum*. The documents may have been designed for local audiences as well as tools for litigation.[7] Some titles are little more than a founding leader's testament, with none of the more fantastic features associated with the genre; indeed, testaments accompanied both the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles presented below.[8] Though the written testament in

colonial Mexico was based on a European model, the indigenous will evolved to become a title to individual lands and proof of hereditary succession; it had never been such an all-encompassing legal document in Spain. Both testaments and titles, like many other genres of postconquest indigenous writing, fulfilled many preconquest written and/or oral functions and retained remnants of ancient discourse.

Some of the falsified documents were produced in response to Spanish demands of title verification. The *composiciones* (legalization of land titles) resulting from this program date from the 1690s until the 1720s. Leaders of communities who failed to submit legal titles were forced to produce some record of their claims for the surveyors, whether maps and paintings or other written materials. Community representatives were frequently consulted to substantiate territorial boundaries.[9] Official papers concerning land were prized and guarded possessions throughout the colonial period; those who had none would often suddenly "find" some. Retention of community landholdings was unlikely in the absence of such documents.[10]

The title verification program reflected changes in early Mexican society itself. It was not until the late seventeenth century that the need for producing such titles arose, when indigenous demographic renewal and an expanding Hispanic sector exerted new demands for lands. The program attempted to repossess all "vacant" land, which was legally royal domain, occupied without formal grant or proper title. Consequently, in the proceedings and subsequent sale of genuine titles, the Crown and its officials gained additional revenue.[11] Many indigenous communities were forced to respond to these increasing pressures, but few had the requisite Spanish legal documentation from the early colonial period. Some were tempted to produce their own titles, not fully aware of a legitimate title's format, content or language, and passed the manuscripts over to Spanish authorities as early colonial documents.

In addition to the verification program, other titles were produced to support claims to territory in disputes with neighboring indigenous communities. Though Hispanics were involved in the case presented below, the main issue concerned a dispute between Mexicapan and Chapultepec which may have originated around the time of the Conquest or even before. Internal conflicts also stimulated a demand for titles. The titles from Oaxaca involved a *cacique* (Spanish term for indigenous ruler derived from an Arawak

word) from Cuilapan who competed with both communities for lands; part of the dispute hinged on the question of whether the lands were held communally by Chapultepec, a subject settlement of Cuilapan, or belonged to the cacique's estate. Land disputes arising from an unclear distinction between private and public domain within indigenous communities were endemic in the late colonial period. Internal conflict is further betrayed by the fact that many titles were apparently conceived outside of local power structures. Wood has suggested that titles did not always serve the interests of the greater community, but rather often catered to the concerns of caciques or competing groups, documenting private as well as community landholding.[12] Factions which were outside of existing official power structures would have been more likely to rewrite history to their own advantage than nobles with official *cabildo* (indigenous Spanish-style municipal council) sponsorship.

Thus, most titles seemed to have been produced in an "underground" fashion. Accordingly, many of the documents were written not by the skilled notaries of the community but by relatively untrained hands.[13] The official Spanish format is either unknown, misrepresented, or combined with indigenous forms to create a new synthesis. As unofficial manuscripts, they tend to present a more unadulterated image of indigenous expression than genres which adhere closely to a Spanish model. They depict a popular, local impression of events, relying on stereotypes and vague remembrances of symbolic things past.

Many of these documents have been preserved in cases involving land disputes. Nahuatl-language titles are notorious in central Mexico, where a growing Hispanic population stimulated demand for land. The titles from Oaxaca originated in two neighboring communities across the river from the Spanish city of Antequera, the most densely settled part of the Valley in colonial times. The titles cannot be understood outside of the context in which they were written, and so we turn to the Valley of Oaxaca.

The Setting: The Valley of Oaxaca

Oaxaca stands at the crossroads of central and southern Mesoamerica, cradling over a dozen indigenous cultures and languages. The three major language groups of Mesoamerica (outside of the distant Maya and Tarascans)--the Nahuas, Zapotecs, and Mixtecs--converged, and bordered one another in the Valley of Oaxaca. In the centuries before the Spanish Conquest, Monte Albán

had declined as a classic site and was succeeded by myriad communities, united or disunited by shifting and unstable alliances and engaged in sporadic warfare. The Zapotecs were predominant in all three branches of the valley, while Mixtec and Nahua communities were clustered in the center; there were also some Mixtec groups scattered in more distant sections of the western branch. The Mexica and their central Mexican allies came to Oaxaca in various waves in the century before the Spanish Conquest, especially in the reigns of Ahuitzotl and Mocteuczoma II, and founded a tribute and trade post called Huaxyacac at the valley's intersection. Though they represented a very small minority, Nahua influence through intermarriage, third-party politics, and empire was considerable. In the sixteenth century, Dominican friars in the valley spoke Nahuatl as an intermediary language, employing bilingual Zapotec nobles as interpreters. The Dominican chronicler, fray Francisco de Burgoa, reported that many of the valley's caciques were fluent in Nahuatl at the time of the Conquest.[14] Nahuatl appears to have also served as a *lingua franca* among indigenous groups living in Antequera.[15]

According to the *Relaciones Geográficas* of Teozapotlan and Cuilapan, the first Mixtecs came into the Valley some three centuries before the Spanish Conquest by way of intermarriage. It is said that a lord from Mixtec Yanhuitlan married a sister-in-law of the cacique of Zapotec Teozapotlan, and Cuilapan was given to the couple as a gift. Cuilapan became one of the largest settlements in the valley by the late postclassic period (ca. 1300-1500). Teozapotlan (called *Zaachila* in Zapotec and *Tocuisi* in Mixtec) had been so prominent that the Mixtecs named the whole region *Tocuisi ñuhu* or "land of the white nobles."[16] Cuilapan eventually went to war with Teozapotlan, and the Zapotec lord fled to Tehuantepec.[17] The Mixtecs then subjugated many Zapotec sites which had owed allegiance to Teozapotlan. Later, a tentative arrangement between Mixtec Cuilapan and Zapotec Tehuantepec against Nahuas from central Mexico was undone by another pact between the Zapotecs and Nahuas, crowned by the marriage of the lord Cosijoeza and a relative of Mocteuczoma. With Nahua support, Zapotec lords eventually regained control in the valley by the time of the Spanish Conquest.[18]

The Spanish Conquest was relatively brief in most of Oaxaca. Francisco de Orozco and Pedro de Alvarado led small groups of Spaniards and a central Mexican contingent into the Mixteca, the coastal region and the Valley of Oaxaca with little incidence of

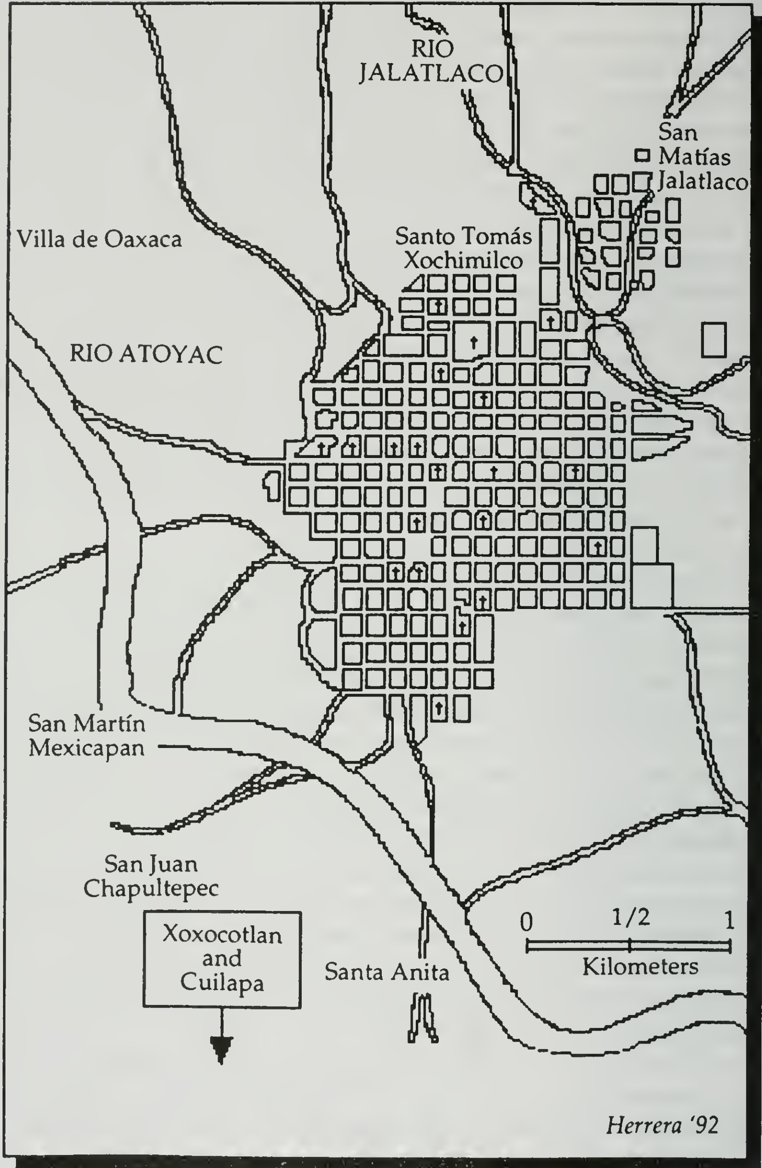

Figure 2: Map of Colonial Antequera and Indigenous Environs
(Based on Chance 1976)

conflict. Indigenous alliances dissipated upon their arrival. Spaniards encountered effective resistance only along the perimeter of the region. After the Conquest, Nahuas who had accompanied the Spaniards, roundly estimated at four thousand, settled in and around Antequera, in San Martín Mexicapan to the southwest, in Villa de Oaxaca to the northwest, Jalatlaco to the northeast, and Santo Tomás Xochimilco to the north [See figure 2: Colonial Antequera].[19] The Spanish city of Antequera, located just east of the Nahua garrison at Huaxyacac (later Hispanized to Oaxaca), eventually subsumed the settlement to the northeast called Jalatlaco and relegated it to an urban barrio. Its residents included Nahuas from various central Mexican *altepetl* (local, sovereign Nahua state), Mixtecs from Cuilapan and nearby areas, Zapotecs from the Valley and Sierra, and even Guatemalans. Nahua culture was confined to a very small area, but Nahuas apparently played a dominant role in the indigenous sector of Antequera.[20] Across the Atoyac river, San Martín Mexicapan maintained its separate status, and was also divided into barrios representing various central Mexican altepetl.

Cuilapan remained the largest native community in the valley throughout the colonial period. Cortés attempted to move many smaller Mixtec settlements to Cuilapan in the early decades. By the time the *Relaciones Geográficas* were written in the 1570s, Cuilapan had seventeen subject settlements, including Santa Cruz Xoxocotlan and San Juan Chapultepec (called *Ñuhuyoho* and *Yuchayta* in Mixtec, respectively).[21] In 1696, Chapultepec produced the Mixtec-language title in response to the claims of the cacique of Cuilapan, and the Nahuatl title of their neighbor, San Martín Mexicapan.

The Proceedings

Like many other cases in the *Tierras* section of the Archivo General de la Nación, this *expediente* is little more than a bundle of papers irregularly organized and haphazardly renumbered. Furthermore, some of the evidence was not preserved. Since the lengthy *expediente* contains many confusing and contradictory statements, we have done our best to reconstruct the proceedings. Typical of many legal disputes in New Spain, decisions were immediately appealed and the suit seems to have continued indefinitely. After at least two separate rulings and appeals, it is unknown how or when this case was ultimately resolved.

Nevertheless, the main contentions are reasonably clear and are highlighted by three indigenous-language documents which were preserved: a Mixtec-language title and painting dated 1523 from San Juan Chapultepec, a *sujeto* (subject municipality) of Cuilapan; a Nahuatl-language title and a testament dated 1525 and 1602, respectively, from San Martín Mexicapan. A fourth document exists only in translation--a Mixtec testament dated 1565, presented by don Andrés Cortés de Velasco and don Juan Manuel de Velasco, caciques of Cuilapan. The two titles from Oaxaca have been utilized by historians in the past, but none has acknowledged their spurious nature.[22]

In brief, the Mixtec community of San Juan Chapultepec, the Nahua community of San Martín Mexicapan and the Mixtec cacique of Cuilapan and Chapultepec, don Andrés Cortés de Velasco, all claimed the same land. The people of Mexicapan maintained that their Nahua ancestors came from the Valley of Mexico to Oaxaca in the 1520s, preceding the arrival of Hernando Cortés or any other Spaniard. They initiated the civil suit in 1688 and presented a Nahuatl testament of don Francisco de los Angeles y Vasquéz, ostensibly dated 1602.[23] This was the first of many attempts by the feuding factions to produce documents, authentic or forged, to substantiate their claims to the land.

In 1693, after the cacique of Cuilapan responded with documents to protect his *estancia de ganado menor* (sheep or goat ranch), Mexicapan submitted additional papers and paintings.[24] When the *alcalde mayor* (Spanish official in charge of a district), the representatives of Mexicapan, and the cacique of Cuilapan walked the borders together, it was clear that the documents provided by don Andrés made some impossible claims. In his defense, he could muster only "frivolous responses" to the alcalde mayor's questions.[25] Consequently, Mexicapan was awarded the land and the officials proceeded to "pull up grass, throw stones and perform other acts of true possession."[26] The cacique immediately appealed the decision.

At the same time, a faction from San Juan Chapultepec staked its own claim to the disputed land, challenging Mexicapan's possession as well as the cacique's pretensions to community lands. When they demanded that don Andrés Cortés de Velasco present his proof of ownership, he responded with the 1565 "title and testament" of cacique don Diego Cortés, which was translated into Spanish. Not to be outdone, the residents of Chapultepec retaliated with their own Mixtec title and painting, dated two years be-

fore the Nahuatl title and several years before the cacique's testament. The title of Chapultepec will be discussed below; the original version of the cacique's testament is missing from the expediente.[27]

By 1701, Chapultepec's title had failed to unseat Mexicapan from the land. They bitterly complained that despite the "obvious falsehood of the title" and its "insane contradictions and defects," Mexicapan still managed to maintain possession of lands to which they clearly had no right. Furthermore, they pointed out that the title from 1525 and the testament from 1602 were written by the same hand, a highly unlikely feat. Chapultepec accused a certain Juan Roque, an "intrusive, notorious Indian who had produced similar false titles" of forging the documents.[28] Juan Roque was a resident of Mexicapan, married to Tomasa María of the barrio Analco in distant Villa Alta, another Nahua satellite settlement in the Zapotec Sierra. He testified that the controversial documents belonged to the community of Mexicapan and that Nicolás Miguel, a native of the Nahuatl-speaking barrio of Jalatlaco in Antequera, had been temporarily released from jail to translate the title. Roque admitted to translating the Nahuatl testament. Incidentally, his signature on an affidavit matches the handwriting of the title from 1525 and the testament from 1602. Juan Roque, then, appears to have written these falsified Nahuatl documents.

Simultaneously, Mexicapan's grant came under attack from the cacique of Cuilapan, who refused to accept the untenable grounds of the title and insisted that Juan Roque had obviously forged the documents.[29] Despite the fact that Mexicapan's title had been fully discredited, they retained possession until 1707. After reviewing the evidence, a new alcalde mayor ruled in favor of Chapultepec and the heirs of don Andrés, thereby overturning the decision of a previous Spanish official in 1693. Predictably, Mexicapan challenged the decision. They acknowledged that even though the new alcalde mayor considered their titles "null and void of either value or effect," they had still retained "ancient and actual possession" for the past fourteen years, with houses and worked fields in the disputed territory.[30] In 1709 Mexicapan petitioned the *Audiencia* (viceregal court and governing body) in Mexico City. As far as we know, the case dragged on throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.[31] Similar disputes between the two communities apparently persist to the present.

The protracted proceedings between Mexicapan, Chapultepec, and the cacique of Cuilapan involved a number of separate but re-

lated charges, implicating Spaniards and other outsiders. For example, don Andrés Cortés de Velasco complained in 1674 that a certain don Diego de Ábalos owed him seven years of rent for using some of his *cacicazgo* (the estate or institution of cacique rule) lands. Alternately, Mexicapan, Chapultepec, Santa Ana, and Santo Tomás Xochimilco filed a joint complaint in 1691 against don Andrés Cortés de Velasco for usurping community lands and Cristóbal Barroso, a Spaniard, for damages caused by grazing animals. In 1696, Mexicapan accused Tomás Alonso, a mulatto *mayordomo* (estate custodian) of doña Margarita de la Cueva's hacienda, of allowing his animals to enter their land. Mexicapan claimed that the mayordomo had no title and attempted to deny them access to the entrance of the forest, where they gathered wood and pastured their animals, and which they had enjoyed since "time immemorial." Juan Roque, the alleged forger of Mexicapan's title, was among those who filed the complaint. Finally, a nearby estate owner named doña Margarita de Castillo filed a complaint in 1700 against a judgment in favor of Mexicapan. The assortment of related conflicts, to mention only a few, illustrate the dizzying complexity of land tenure near Antequera at the close of the seventeenth century. These were the circumstances under which indigenous communities were forced to present the following titles.

The Nahuatl Title

The "Noblewoman of the Zapotec" narrates the opening of the Nahuatl title, appealing to Cortés and the Nahuas for help in fighting the Mixtecs. This episode may be based on the historic rivalry between Zapotec and Mixtec contingents for control of the valley. The reference seems to mix preconquest and postconquest events, since the Nahuas arrived in the valley about a century before the Spaniards, and had temporarily allied with the Zapotecs against the Mixtecs. Her testimony legitimates Mexicapan's presence in the valley. She serves as both narrator and witness, introducing the Nahua characters and lending credence to their story. The noblewoman even advises the Nahuas to write these events on paper for posterity's sake.

Figure 3: The third page of the Nahuatl title, introducing the four warrior-rulers.

Nehuapol nisichuapile tzapotecal ca onicnotlatlanilito
ca huey tlatoani tonati pilhua ytocayoca cortes ytech-
copa huel nehcocolia oc sentlamantli tlacame nehmo-
yaotia yca mochti nopilhuantzitzi ca quinequi neh-
quixtilis notlal yhua tlen notlatqui ca melahuac onihual-
asito ynahuactzinco toeytlatoani tonati pilhua ytoca-
yoca cortes onicnotlatlanilito ma nechmopalehuilis qui-
motitlanilis ypilchua para nehmopalehuilisque yca yni
tlacame mixteco cani oquimocaquiti toeytlatoani tonati
ypilhua ytocayoca cortes oquimotitlanili ypilhuantzitzi
chicomenti yehuanti ca melahuac ca opoliucqui yca opa
oquimotitlanili oc nachunti aqui onehmopalehuilique ca
melahuac mexicatlaca ca yoqui quimatisque yteh yni
notlaquetzal ca melahuac onicnomaquili cani motlalisque
yhuan ypilhua ytehcopa amo aqui quimoyaotis ypilhua
ca yaxca ytlatqui yes ca yoqui onicnonahuatili mexica-
tlaca ca yechuanti quiamatlacuilosque san quen oquimo-
maquilique yca oquitlanque ca yca yaoyotica oquitlanque
omotemacque ynin tlacame misteco aqui nexmoyaotia ca
melahuac omotemacaque yoqui quimotlaquechilisque
yehuantzitzi mexicatlacal quenin oquimomaquilique cani
motlalisque ypilchua ca melahuac ycuac otehpaleuiqui
yni tlacame ca yca yno otictlatlanique motlalisquiaya
tonahuac ayac oquinequique yni yehuanti mixtecos yca
yno oquinemactique yn itlal canpa ~~yaca~~ motlalisque
ytocayoca acatepel ca melahuac yca yno oticahuaque ca
ya quimopielia yaxca ytlaqui yoqui oquimotlanilique ca
yoqui quimotlalilisque quenin oquimotlanilique ca tonati
ypilchua quimomachitia quenin oasico canatiuc teponas-
tli chimali macuahuil tlaminali omochiuc ahuiyol yao-
yotica yoqui motlatlanilisque yca moyectias ca oqui-
ximatique ca melachuac yehuanti moteneuctica mexica~~nos~~
ca melahuac yoqui omochiuc quenin onicmotlatlanilito
toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua ca melauac oquimictique
nopilhua yhua oquicuaque sano yoqui sa can quinamiqui-
aya nopilhua quiquexcotonaya ynin tlacacuanime mixteco
yca yno onicnotlatlanilito tonati ypilhua ma nehmo-
palechuilis ca melauac notlal amo nehquixtilisque ca
omochiuc ca tlen onicnotlatlanilito toeytlatoani tonati
ypilhua ca yoqui quimomachitia mexicatlaca yhua
motlaquechilisque yoqui topan opano --- omochiuc

I, the Noblewoman of the Zapotec, went to ask the Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés about the people who hate me and make war on me and all of my children, and who want to steal my land and property. It is true that I went before our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés, and asked him to assist me by sending his people to help with the Mixtec people. When our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés heard [our request], he sent seven of his children, who perished. The second time he sent four more, who helped me. It is true that the Mexican people likewise will know of my tale. It is true that I gave them and their children a place to settle, so that no one would make war on their children. It will be their property. Thus, I advised the Mexican people to write on paper exactly how it was given to them, because they won it. The Mixtec people who waged war on me surrendered because they [the Mexican people] defeated them. It is true that they surrendered, for the Mexican people will tell you in stories how they were given a place for their children to settle. It is true that when these people helped us, we asked if they would settle next to us. None of the Mixtecs wanted to accept them [the Mexican people], so they gave them a portion of their land to settle called Acatepetl. It is true that we left them with that and they now have their property. Thus they won it and have settled it. As to how they won it, the Children of the Sun know how they came bearing log drums, shields, obsidian-blade clubs, and arrows. It was happily done through war, as they wished. They were recognized as the truly famous Mexicans. It is true that it happened as I requested it of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun. It is true that they [the Mixtecs] killed my children and ate them. Likewise, my children who encountered these Mixtec cannibals were beheaded. Because of that I went to the Children of the Sun and asked: Help me. It is truly my land and no one will steal it. That which I requested of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun was done. Thus, the Mexican people know it and will tell others in tales what happened to us and what transpired.

The Zapotec noblewoman's exposition sets the stage for the four Nahua ruler-warriors of the second scene.[32] The setting flashes back to the noblewoman's plea to Cortés for help. This section evokes the elaborate ritual and accouterments of preconquest warfare. A mock battle before Cortés suggests an ancient war song and dance, accompanied by the beating of the log drum.

tlacayacanque oc ahtopa oquitlanique

tlacachuepantzi ca nehuapol yhua normano tonalyeyecatzi noprimo omenti chimalpopoca atxayacatzi ca tehuanti otimononotzque quenin oticmotlatlanilito toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua quenin yni sihuapile tzapotecal oquimotlatlanilico quititlanisquiaya ypilhua para quipalehuisque ca oquimotitlanili chicomenti yni yehuanti yey ocualoc oc nahuinte ca opoliucque yca yno otonasto yxpanctzinco tonati pilhua cortes otictlatlanque timochti tinahuinte ca ma tehtitlanis ca tehuanti timotlapaloa timoyaotisque ynahuac ynin tlacame mixtecos otehmonanquili tonati ypilhua queni huelitis techuanti sa tinahuanti yhua chicomenti opoliucque ca oticnanquiliqui ca tehuati tinahuinti ca yaoyotica tictlanis ca otehmotlatlanili tonati ypilhua queni huel ticchihuasque auylica otictomacahuaque yxpan tonati ypilhua otocontlalique otehnahati ma nacalaquisque ytec ahuiocali ma canasque ahuiol ca oticalaquique oticanaque teponastli otictilanque chimali macuahuil tlaminali ca oticonanque tecactli otiquisque otictonahuatilique toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua otechmonquili aso ya cuali tlen oticanque aso yca yno ya cuali yca timahuiltisque ca oticnanquilique ca ya cuali ca ycuac yno otehmotlatlanili quenin tichihuasque ahuiyol aso melauac nanquitlanisque tlali para mopilchua ca ycuac yno otictlalique oticnahuatique tonati ypilhua amo momauctis tlen ticchihuasque ca oquinitalhuiaya camo nimomauctis ycuac yno otipeucqui otimahuiltique yca chimali macuahuit tlaminali ycuac yn oquimitalhui tonati ypilhua ma sa yxquich ca melachuac quitlanisque tlali oquineltoca eyca yno otehtitlani otiquisque tinachuinte

First, the leaders requested it.

I, Tlacahuepantzin, along with my brother, Tonalyeyecatzin, and my two cousins, Chimalpopoca and Axayacatzin, conferred as to how we would go to ask our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun, and how the Noblewoman of the Zapotec came to request that he send his children to help her. He sent seven, of which three were eaten and four others perished. On account of that we went before the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun Cortés and all four of us requested that he send us, for we dare to wage war on the Mixtec people. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun responded: How will it be possible with just four when seven have perished? We answered him that we four would win it through war. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun asked us [to demonstrate] how we would be able to do it. We joyously consented to put it on [a mock battle] in the presence of the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun. He ordered us: Enter the fortress and wage war. We entered with the log drums, wielding shields, obsidian-blade clubs and arrows and wearing stone sandals. We emerged and sought the approval of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun. He responded that what we assembled was good, perhaps it was enough to entertain him. We responded: Good. Then he said to us: If you do it joyfully, perhaps you will truly win land for your children. Then we put it on [the mock battle] and advised the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun not to be frightened by what we would do. He said: I will not be frightened. And then we started to play with shields, obsidian-blade clubs and arrows. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun said: That's enough, it is true that they will win the land. He truly believed it for he sent us.

When the four warriors leave Cortés, the title abruptly shifts location for the third time. They fight their way through the Mixteca en route to the Valley of Oaxaca. The Nahuas arrange a time and place to fight the Mixtecs, and the leaders inform the women and children of the event. Overwhelmed by Nahua military superiority and natural forces, the Mixtecs surrender to the "famous Mexicans." The Nahuas, then, claimed to have conquered

Oaxaca before the Spaniards. By elevating their status to that of conquerors, rather than aides or secondary allies, their tale bolsters all subsequent claims. The references to "our land next to the Zapotec" suggests a heavy price exacted for their "help." The section concludes with an amiable agreement among all parties which promises to last forever.

> otihualaqui otonasico oc achtopa mixtecapa otictlanico tepiton tlali yaxca topilhua ca nima otiquisque tinahuixti otichualasito can yaoyo titlamachticayaya yni sihuapile zapotecal y tihualasico totoltepel can onahuati toteponas oquimatique mixtecatlaca otlatlanque tlen onahuatiuc oquilique quenin mexicatlaca oalaque oquitoque tlen quitemoa oalaque ca ma tiquitatihui ca oalaque otehtlatlanico tlen ca otihualaque tlen tictemoa ytic nanquilique queni otiquitaco totlal ynahuac tzapotecal aqui quimoyaotia quinequi quiquixtilis tlen totlatqui ca ycuac yno otehnanquili ca tehuanti mixtecal quen nanquinequi can yca auyol ca oticnanquilique ca yca auiyool ycuac yno otehnahuati canpa timonamiquique tlen tonati para timahuiltisque ca quinahuantis ypilhua tle tonatiuc yes auiyol ca otehnahuatiuc tlen tonatiuc otonpatlanque tepet iteh ytocayoca mexicatepelyan ca tomayec canpa canpa otepinia teponastli oquicaquiqui omonechicoque cantion catca para auiyol ca ycuac yno ome chicoque auiyol sihuame pipiltoton temachti auiyo quinotzayaya ca ycuac oasico canpa tioncate otipeuqui yca ahuiyol opeuc yeyecal tlali omoliniuc tel omomictique can otictlanpatlanque ycuac yno oquitlatlanque ynin tlacame mistecos yca melahuac ma yuc ties ca melahuac namehuantin motenehua mexicatlaca ca timitzmacaque canpa no motlalisque yca mopilhua ca ycuac yno otechmacaque totlal asta can tlantica otechmacaque ycuac yno oticnanquilique queni yni yehuanti tzapotecal timotlalisque sase caca ycuac yno oquitoque mixtecal ca amo huelitis ma moncahuasque ynahuac tzapopotecal tonahuac tehuantin ma mocahaque yca ya timitzmacaque canpa timotlalis ca melahuac oticnanquilique quenin timotlalisque ynahuac topilhua ypanpa amo quemania aqui momiqtis tiquitasque yoqui totlatqui ca ycuac yno otehnanquilique ma tel yectie ca ycuac yn otimocaueque ca

otimononotzque ynahuac tlatoani mistecal timotlalisque yoqui ermanos amo quemani tlen timomictisque amo quemania ycuac yno oticnanquilique ca ma yoqui mochihuas ma no necmacasque canpa motlalisque nopilhua hualosque canpa oticchiasque ca tehuanti acmo timocuepasque canpa niquimitzties nopilhua amo oc sepa yes auiyol ca ycuac yno otehmaca canpa timotlalisque ytoca acatepel y timocauique tinahuinte canpa oticchiaque topilhua oalaque

First, the four of us left and arrived in the Mixteca [where] we won a little land for our children. Then we four emerged and went to war. The Noblewoman of the Zapotec and we enriched ourselves. We reached Totoltepetl where our log drums sounded. The Mixtec people heard it. They asked: What's that sound? They were told that the Mexican people had arrived. They [the Mixtecs] asked: What are they looking for? Let's go see. So they came to ask us [the Mexican people] why we came and what we sought. We responded that we came to see our land next to the Zapotec, and to see who is fighting with them and wants to steal our land. Then they replied: We are the Mixtec. What do you want, war? We responded: War it will be. Then they instructed us where and which day to meet them, so that we could play. They will advise their children which day to wage war as they informed us. We flew to the hill near the place called Mexicatepelyan, on the right hand-side, where we beat the log drums. They heard, and they assembled to the war song. Then on both sides the war leaders summoned the women and children. When they came to where we were, we started the battle; the wind blew and the earth moved and they were killed. We withdrew only when the Mixtec people said: Let it be, for you are truly the famous Mexican people. We will give you a place where your children can settle. Then they gave us our land, up to where it [now] ends. They gave it to us. We responded how we and the Zapotec people would settle once and for all. Then the Mixtec people said: It will not be possible. Let the Zapotec stay next to us and we will give you another place to settle. It is true that we said we would settle next to our children, so that none of them would be killed, and we would regard it as our

> *property. Then they replied to us: It will be all right after all. We left and consulted with the Ruler of the Mixtec people in order to live as brothers, so that we would not kill each other. Then we said: Let it be done. Let them also give us a place to wait for our children to be brought to settle. We will not turn back; we will be awaiting our children. Never again will there be war. Then they gave us a place to settle called Acatepetl where the four of us went and waited for our children to come.*

This tale of war and peace with the Mixtecs is followed by a terse report that the alliance with the Spaniards has collapsed. Suddenly, a hostile Cortés invades the Valley of Oaxaca and begins to wage war on the Mexica. The Mexica retaliate by unleashing a torrent which bears a boat from beneath the ground, forcing the Spaniards to abandon their attack. Cortés appears startled and conciliatory upon this unexpected turn of events, but then becomes angry when the Mexica persist in raising the water. A furious battle ensues, and the Spaniards are forced to submit to the "truly famous Mexicans." The section closes with remarks and postscripts which herald their own victory within a specific Spanish context of war and conquest. Later, they boldly refer to their defeat of the Mixtecs and Spaniards as the "original conquest."

> ca melahuac oasico omoseuc yn tepet itech ytocayoca huaxacatzi cano motlalique omoseuqui cani omocues oc oquitemo yauiol tonahuac otimotlecotique ytech acatepec ca noca yo ye huel yehual aqui oquitlani tlali ca otehtzacuili al queni tehmictisquia quenin quinequiaya tehchihuas tlacotli ca ycuac yno otictlecoltique al yca se acal ytzintla tlali oquitac cortes quenin ayac omotlapaloc tehmictis ca ycuac yno otehnotza macamo panos ma ye uc tie auiyol ma timotlali ca yoqui ermanos ca yoqui noyolocacopa timotlalisque ynahuac mexicanos yoqui ermanos ca ycuac yno ca ycuac oquitaque otleco al opehua omoxicoque españoles caxtiltecal queni otictlecahuique al tepet itech opeuque auiyol huei chicahuac omochiuc tonahuac tehuanti mexicatlaca asta otictlanique tonati ypilhua ycuac yno oquitoque ma yxquih ma ye uc tie ca melauac motenehua mexical ca yoqui oquiteneuc yehuatzi melahuac tlatoani dios ca oticneltocaya

otitemoqui nica conquista timohinte mexical otimomictique auiyol ca sano yoqui caxtiltecal chimali macuahuil otictemoique

ome tliltic otiquilpique

ca sano yoqui caxtiltecal yca auiyol ycan tlequiquis tlali otictlanique

It is true that we went to rest near the hill called Huaxacatzin; also, they [the Spaniards] sat down and rested. It was there that they first sought to fight us. We climbed up Acatepec where we met those who had won the land. He [Cortés] rebuked us: Who would kill us and who wants to make us slaves? At that very moment we raised the water and a boat from beneath the ground. Cortés saw how no one dared to kill us. Then he told us: Let there be no more war. Let us live as brothers, we shall willingly settle next to the Mexicans as brothers. When they saw the water [still] ascending, the Spaniards were angry that we raised the water over the hill. They began to battle with great strength and fought us until we, the Mexican people, defeated the Children of the Sun. Then they said: That is enough, let it be. You are truly the famous Mexican people. Thus he [Cortés] declared. We believe in the true ruler God.

Just like the Spaniards we died in battle and we sought war.

We captured two blacks.

Also like the Spaniards, with war and gunpowder we won it.

Victory secured, the warrior-leaders exit. The fourth setting marks a transition in the document from fantastic narrative to mundane legal concerns. After the Conquest, leaders of various central Mexican altepetl establish barrios and walk the borders of their new jurisdictions. Though the boundary-marking section is not without interest, it is lengthy and generally conforms to the standard of the time. Most importantly, the contested lands are strate-

gically included within this passage, giving the appearance that this central issue had been decided long ago. The founders also establish Spanish-style government, though the officers' responsibilities reflect both a combination of preconquest and postconquest concepts of officeholding. In addition to keeping vigil over the borders and other tasks, the *alguacil* must supply food and drink (most likely *pulque*) to the members of the cabildo. These events transpire in the absence of any Spaniards, yet they invoke Spanish institutions. According to the title, the community acted autonomously in compliance with God and the King.

> ca tehuati otitlazontequique tieyxti titlatoanime timotocayotia oc ahtopa tlatoani marquesado don fabiab de serbantes de velasquez tlatoani mexicapa san martin don fran[o] de los angeles basques = tlatoani xuchimilco = don marcos de los angeles ca melahuac ca sase ca otitlatzontequique yoqui dios motlanahuatilia yhua Rey ca sase alguasil mayor yhua alguasil quenin quimocuitlahua yexca xohmilco san martin marquesado ca yehual ytequi yes quirrondosos quitlatzacuiltis yhua quitzacuas telpiloya aqui amo cuali sese juebes ytequi yes tetlamacos yhua tehmahuistilis tehatlitis semicac sese juebes ca yoqui otitlatzontequi queni tocabildo ca melahuac amo quemania tlamis ca sano yoqui mochiu ties ca sa ysel yni alguasil mayor quipias cuenta mochi cuaxohilque quetza cruscan tlanti ca sese yacu ycuenta quitotonis pintura ycuac yno tetlamacas teatlitis quinotzaque tlacame san pedro san jasinto cual huicasque tlen monequis cual huicasque neuctzintle monequis caya yoqui omochiuque obligar ----
>
> ca san yxquih totlanahuatiz otictlalique tieyxti para quipiasque topihua toxuihua semicac ca nymac yes yni orixinal conquista yca yno otimofirmatique tieyxte yni altepel cabesera ca toyxpa tieynti otiquixtique toamatlacuiloca ca nehuapol nitlatoani yni altepel san mar año 1525
> don Fabian de Serbantes y Belasquez [signatures]
> don Fran[co] de los Angeles Basquez
> don Marco de los Angeles

We three rulers decreed it: first, the Ruler of the Marquesado, don Fabian de Cervantes; the Ruler of San Martín Mexicapan, don Francisco de los Ángeles Vásquez; and the Ruler of Xochimilco, don Marcos de los Ángeles. It is true that once and for all we decreed as God ordered, along with the King, as to how an alguacil mayor and an alguacil would be responsible for three places: Xochimilco, San Martín and the Marquesado. It is his duty to patrol, and to punish and jail those who are bad each Thursday. It will be his duty to respect us and serve us food and provide us with drink on every single Thursday. In this manner we established our cabildo. It is true that this way that it is done must never stop. It will always be the alguacil mayor alone who will keep a record of all borders that stop at places with crosses, and with his account he will shed light on the painting. Then he will serve food and provide people with drink, and the people of San Pedro and San Jacinto will notify him of what he should bring. They will bring a little honey that is necessary. Thus it will be done as obliged.

These are all of our orders that we three have set forth for our children and grandchildren to keep forever. This "original conquest" will be in their hands. We three provide our signatures in this altepetl cabecera. We three witnessed our written document. I am the tlatoani of this altepetl of San Martín [in] the year of 1525.
[signed]
don Fabian de Cervantes y Velásquez
don Francisco de los Ángeles Vásquez
don Marcos de los Ángeles

In summary, the Nahuatl title consists of five sections or scenes. The first three feature the Zapotec-Mixtec conflict, which affords the Nahuas sufficient pretext to establish a foothold in the region, sanctioned by Cortés himself. Thereupon, they defend their newly won land from the Spaniards and establish an enduring settlement and a lasting peace in the Valley of Oaxaca. In the two final passages, the borders are marked in detail and local government is implemented. Each successive episode legitimates the Nahuas' historical presence in the area and, specifically, Mexicapan's possession of the contested land. But the Mixtecs of

Chapultepec espoused a different version of this same period, and presented papers which documented their own historic claim to the territory. Now we turn to these papers.

The Mixtec Map and Title

In 1696 sixteen citizens of San Juan Chapultepec introduced a Mixtec title to Spanish officials and protested that don Andrés de Velasco, cacique of Cuilapan, was usurping their lands. The document also implicitly responded to Mexicapan's Nahuatl title. They had not presented their titles earlier because they could not find them and supposed that the papers were in the Mexico City Audiencia archive from a previous dispute. However, the nobles purported that they had only recently found a document and map in the Mixtec language dated 1523, antedating the Mexicapan title by two years. The nobles requested a translation of the papers into Castilian.

The "antique painting" constituted the first "page" of the title and was translated separately by Gerónimo Galván, an interpreter of Antequera, and Nicolás de los Santos, a bilingual noble of Atzompa. They remarked that some passages in the map contained "defective" letters and words which were incomprehensible. The remaining eleven pages of alphabetic text were translated by the cacique of Guaxolotitlan. His version is more of a summary than a translation, condensing or omitting parts that he could not read or understand; the cacique ignored the practically illegible second page. The paper was probably buried or water-stained to produce a convincing antiquated appearance.[33]

The map was designed, in the words of the presenters, "to be viewed as one speaks with the said title."[34] The map does correspond loosely with a detailed border description in the text, serving as a guide for major landmarks. Chapultepec and its dependent are featured just left of center, defended at top by their cacique, don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi. A brief text is located beneath don Diego's coat of arms announcing that the map and title belong to San Juan Chapultepec, and that the border agreement has been verified by the people of Mexicapan.

bichan lunes 8 dubi yoo
feferero nicubiuaha titu-
lo sinhi mapa pintura siña
ñoo san Juan chayucha-
yta daba tan ca ni cutu
dsaño † sa batubi tonho naa
yodisi chee ñocoo chayu
san martin dsabani yodza-
sinocabahadi tutudi
titulo mapa pitura
cuiya de 1523 años

Today, Monday, the eighth day of the month of February, the title and map/painting belonging to the ñuu and tayu of San Juan Yuchayta were made, concerning all the borders † agreed upon and recognized by the Mexican people of the tayu of San Martín. Thus we conclude our title and map/painting in the year of 1523.[35]

The title fluctuates between the first-person narrative and dialog of the cacique of Chapultepec, and the third-person reporting of the notary. First, Hernando Cortés came to Chapultepec (*Yuchayta* in Mixtec) with a group of Spaniards and was treated as a high lord (*stoho*). He then renamed and baptized the nobles of Chapultepec beginning with the cacique, to whom he granted his own name and the honorific title of "don." The cacique's new name, *yya* don Diego Cortés *Dzahui Yuchi*, combined Spanish and Mixtec appellations and titles. The latter may be based on the ancient calendrical naming system, but employs two day signs (rain and flint) and no number--an unlikely arrangement. Moreover, the ritual Mixtec calendrical vocabulary used for naming was not employed.[36]

Like the Nahuatl title don Diego's story attempts to portray an early-colonial consensus among the Mixtecs and Spaniards. The Nahuas are conspicuously absent, undermining their claim of rescuing the Zapotecs from the Mixtecs. On the contrary, the Nahuas appear as uninvited meddlers who disturbed a peaceful status quo. Like Mexicapan's account, the Chapultepec version emphasizes their indispensable cooperation with the Spaniards.[37]

Figure 4: Detail of Mixtec text
and don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi on Chapultepec's map.

titulo dn diego cortes ñoo sa ju[o] yuchayta
sihi vario santa[a]

saha dzahua tnaha nicuhui quihui niquisi dzina ñoo stohondi cortes quihui nichacaya titni che cuisi nisaaya ñoo chayundi quihui dzahua niseenchatu niseedzihuindi sihi yyandi niseenchatu niseedzihui yyandi don diego cortes dzahui yuchi

...niseenducha yya don diego cortes sihi nicuhui uhui niseenducha ndihi taca toho sihi nicuhui uni ñanchehe niseenducha...ca noo ca dzina ñoo cuisi nicahua siyudad nicuhui cuachi huatuhui nducha cuhui [cha] ñe cua cuhui nisica españole chee niquidzatnaño nani ñoho yutno nduhua

quihui dzahua nidzahuidzo don diego cortes quehe tno cuihi tno nani nisiya ndihi taca chee cuhui nano nisahatahuiña yuhu yya don diego cotes quihui dzahua ninocoondahuindi sihi chee cuisi chee cuhui nano nisahañahandi nocahua huehe ñoho cano

Title of don Diego Cortés of the ñuu of San Juan Yuchayta
and the barrio of Santa Ana.

About the time when our lord Cortés first arrived, with a crowd of white people; he came to our ñuuchayu, then he came out to meet us and name us. He received and named our cacique don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi. [rain, flint]

...The cacique don Diego Cortés was baptized and second, all the nobles were baptized and third, all the commoners were baptized....Then, at first, he founded a city at the place called Ñocuisi, because there was no water where the Spaniards lived, those who made war at the place of the guaxe trees. [Ñunduhua, Huaxyacac, or Oaxaca]

And then don Diego Cortés responded in an elegant and honorable manner before all the great ones: I, lord don Diego Cortés, shall bestow unto you a gift. Then we lived together in peace with the white people and the great ones and we gave them a place to build the big church.[38]

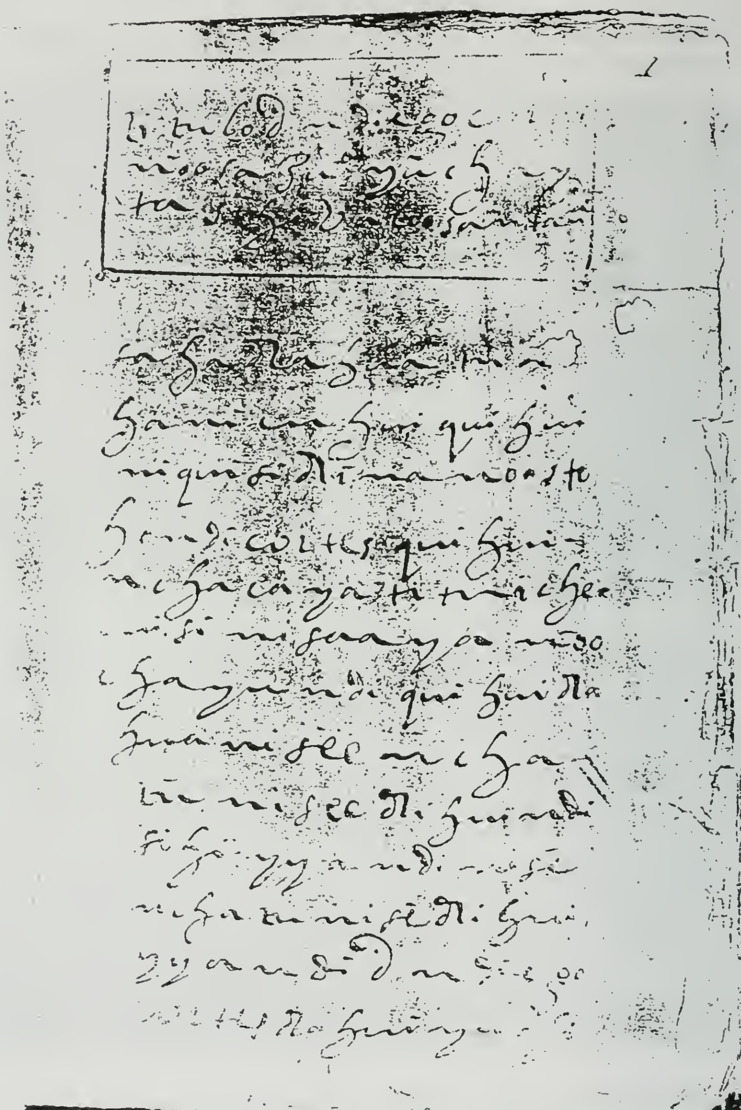

Figure 5: The first page of text of the Mixtec title recounting the arrival of Hernando Cortés.

All was well until Cortés came a second time with a group of Nahuas from central Mexico, with whom the Mixtecs promptly went to war. Chapultepec formed a Mixtec confederation with Cuilapan and Xoxocotlan to confront the Nahuas. Cortés intervened and then the Mixtecs "pacified" or helped defeat the Nahuas, acting on Cortés' behalf. In compliance with Cortés' decision, and *not* because they were defeated, they then gave land to the Nahuas as a gift. In serving Cortés, they demonstrated their allegiance, won his authorization, and controlled the terms of the exchange. The map's borders have frozen this early agreement which now must be respected. In contending that they accommodated the Spaniards and Nahuas by generously ceding half of their lands, an act resulting in the displacement of their people to other nearby Mixtec sites, the title's authors imply that Chapultepec has done its part and cannot afford to lose more land. In fact, reciprocity is in order. Furthermore, don Diego Cortés of Chapultepec independently arranged this settlement with no interference from the cabecera of Cuilapan or its cacique. Chapultepec attempts to portray itself as an autonomous entity rather than a subject of Cuilapan, and a faithful ally of Cortés. To the Mixtecs, the Nahuas were nothing more than bellicose intruders, and should have been grateful for what they had.

> nacuhui uhui sito niquisitucu stondi cortes ñaha caya chee ñocoo ninocuacañahaya dzini aniy ñocoyo nchacañaha stondi cortes
>
> nisacha ñoondi quihui dza ninaandi sihi chee ñocoo yucu saminoo nisahatnahandi nduhua yuchaticaha noyoo nicuhui ndihi sihindi quihui ninandi sihi chee ñocoo
>
> quihui dzahua niquisi chee cuisi españole nisadzino nocha ^{no} ninandi quihui dzahua nidzandeendi sihi chee saminoo chee ñocoo saha dza yni stondi cortes marques quihui dzahua nisahañahandi ñoho coo -- chee ñocoo nduyu chee ñodzahui ñoo sa ju^{o} yuchayta si vario santana sihi vario yucucuii yya uni vario siñaha yuhu do ndiego cortes dzahui yuchi

dzahua dzaya dzana yucua noho dzini ñoo yuchaticaha nisano sihi dzahua cadzaya yucua noho yu ñoo noyoo ño cano nicaa yuhuichayu sa ju° yuchayta sa nitahui dzahua

yuhu do ndego cortes ñoho nisahayu toho ñocoo saminoo chayu ñoo sa martin ñoo cano usa vario nisaquicha nchaqui saha si saha cumi sichi dzini ñoo marques siñahandi siñaha stohondi marque

saha huicha yosaahayu dzaño noondi taca toho nisano sa Ju° yuchayta dzaño yuhu do ndego cortes saha ni...ni yniyu yosahañahayu ñohoyu cucha cha sihi dzaya ñani dzaya dzacuacha nica nicuhui

The second time that our lord Cortés came he brought many Mexicans from the head palace of Mexico City, all in the company of our lord Cortés.

When they arrived in our ñuu, we went to fight with the Mexicans at the hill called Saminoo [Mexicapan] *and we were defended by arrows from Yuchaticaha* [Cuilapan], *and Noyoo* [Xoxocotlan] *also supported us when we encountered the Mexicans.*

And then the Spaniards arrived. They put an end to our fighting and then we pacified the Mexicans. Only because of the wishes of our lord Cortés the Marqués, we then gave the Mexicans some land to settle and we, the Ñudzahui, of the ñuu of San Juan Yuchayta [Chapultepec], *the barrio of Santa Ana, and the barrio of Yucucuii, were the three barrios belonging to me, don Diego de Cortés Dzahui Yuchi.*

Half of the commoners will settle there in the cabecera of Yuchaticaha the old [Cuilapan] *and the other half will settle there at the entrance of the ñuu of Ñuyoo* [Xoxocotlan], *the big ñuu which borders with the yuhuitayu of San Juan Yuchayta* [Chapultepec].

I, don Diego de Cortés, have given half of the lands belonging to us to the Mexican nobles of the tayu ñuu of San

Martín. It is a large ñuu with seven barrios, which all together make up the four parts or cabeceras belonging to our lord the Marqués.

Today I mark the borders before all the nobles and elders of San Juan Yuchayta. I, don Diego de Cortés, willfully give my lands on which my grandchildren and great-grandchildren will live.

The remainder of the title enumerates the borders of Chapultepec. Finally, like many testaments, the document admonishes all those who attempt to interfere with the agreement. Though the lands are his, he entrusts them to Chapultepec and thereby lays the foundation for their present claim. By asserting that this final agreement was sanctioned by and served the interests of Hernando Cortés, the title explicitly warns that interlopers who challenged Chapultepec would pay a stiff penalty to the Marqués himself.

saha dza huicha yodzandaayu tutu titulo siñaha yuhu don diego cortes sihi mapayu yonachihiyu ndaha ndihi taca toho ñoyu sa Ju° yuchayta saha conducucha dziñoho ndaha sitohondi marques chatna ñana dzaya ñani dzaya dzucuayu tna ndacu nehe ndacu cachi sa situtu yya saho dzico pessos pena ñandee sanu stohondi marques saha titulo siñaha ñoo yonduhuisi

Bi° cortes noo yuhu do luysi de salasar chee chaa tutu huicha martes 8 nduhui yoo febrero 1523 a[s]

Thus, today I guard the title which belongs to me, don Diego Cortés, and my map which I entrust to the hands of all the nobles of my ñuu, San Juan Yuchayta, so that they may acquire the tribute in gold for our lord Marqués, and for my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to keep and guard, to record and recount that which pertains to the lordly title. A 300 pesos penalty to he who attempts to interfere with our lord Marqués, for the title belongs to the ñuu. It is said and done.
Diego Cortés, before me, the notary, don Luis de Salazar. Today, Tuesday the eighth day of the month of February, 1523.

The Mixtec narrative is more condensed than the Nahuatl account. Chapultepec did not need to legitimate its presence in the area and thus did not raise some of the concerns addressed in the opening scenes of Mexicapan's title: the invitation by the Zapotecs; the appeal to Cortés for permission to fight the Mixtecs; and the dramatic entry into the Valley of Oaxaca. The cacique of Chapultepec simply forged an agreement from the Conquest that he bequeathed to his descendants in testamentary form. Above all, the Chapultepec version asserts autonomy from the cacique of Cuilapan while affirming a lasting settlement with Mexicapan. Similar to the Nahuatl title, it denies defeat, establishes an alliance with the Spaniards, portrays a consensus approved by Hernando Cortés, and carefully establishes the boundaries marked immediately after the Conquest.

We now proceed from translations and summaries of the two titles to an interpretation of their linguistic, stylistic, and thematic characteristics. First, we approach the documents as complex speech and writing genres from late seventeenth-century Oaxaca, with attendant linguistic conventions and forms.

Language, Writing, and Discourse

The fact that Nahuatl and Mixtec alphabetic writing did not even exist in the early 1520s proves the titles' impossible dating.[39] If genuinely dated 1523, the Mixtec title would predate the earliest extant example of Mixtec alphabetic writing by nearly half of a century. The language of these two documents confirms that they could not have been written in the early sixteenth century, or even the early seventeenth century; the orthography, vocabulary, and anachronistic content of the manuscripts also reveals that they are not copies of earlier sources. In both documents, the authors' vocabulary reflects a familiarity with Spanish, paradoxically combining late colonial Spanish loan words with remnants of archaic indigenous rhetoric and vocabulary.

The language of the titles exhibits many aberrant features which make them extremely difficult to translate. The unpredictable and unconventional orthography, grammar, and vocabulary are caused in part by the suspect training of the authors and by their conscious attempts to imitate an earlier style and language.[40] Perhaps most importantly, these two titles were written outside of central Mexico and the Mixteca Alta, the central areas of Nahuatl

and Mixtec writing. Thus, the Nahuatl contains expressions and conventions which had since gone out of practice in central Mexico. The valley dialect of Chapultepec diverges considerably from those of the Mixteca Alta. Lastly, the titles were written in the late colonial period, just outside the Spanish city of Antequera.

This example of Nahuatl from Oaxaca is unique in that it was written by migrants of central Mexico rather than non-Nahuas using Nahuatl as a second language, as is the case with most Nahuatl written outside of central Mexico. Still, the title's orthography is characteristic of other "peripheral" Nahuatl documentation. Peripheral Nahuatl diverges from classical central Mexican Nahuatl in grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and idioms.[41] Though peripheral Nahuatl clearly deviates from the better-known central Mexican standard, these variations may constitute an authentic form of Nahuatl.[42] Despite its differences, the title exhibits many of the same changes as central Mexican Nahuatl documentation in contact with Spanish. The use of Spanish verbs and particles in central Mexican Nahuatl texts did not occur regularly until the mid-seventeenth century.[43] In fact the rate of such change appears fairly homogenous; by the mid-seventeenth century Oaxacan Nahuatl had incorporated Spanish nouns, verbs and particles into its lexicon. All types of Spanish loan words are sprinkled throughout this document.[44]

The language of the Mixtec title represents the Valley of Oaxaca dialect, which combines elements from older dialects of the Mixteca Alta and Baja. Influence from the Yanhuitlan area reflects a pattern of eastward migration from the Alta to Cuilapan in the centuries before the Spanish Conquest. The influence of the Baja dialect on Valley Mixtec is intriguing, considering the distance between the two regions.[45] Regardless of the dialect, the quality and complexity of the grammar and vocabulary does not compare favorably with seventeenth-century documentation from the Mixteca Alta.

Like the Nahuatl title, the Mixtec document employs loan words which did not enter the language until the later colonial period, such as *siyudad*, *españole*, *vario*, *título*, *mapa*, and *pena*. The language of the glosses on the Mixtec map/painting and the corresponding title indicates a separate authorship, as they exhibit different handwriting and orthographies.[46] Despite the presence of loan words in the Mixtec title and map, the writings do not contain nearly as many linguistic indications of their later production as does the Nahuatl document. Although clearly not written in the

early sixteenth century, the language exhibits only minimal Hispanic influence. For example, there are no loan verbs or particles, as in the Nahuatl title. A comparison of the Nahuatl and Mixtec titles, confirmed by a preliminary survey of documentation from the Mixteca Alta, suggests that Mixtec did not change as rapidly or as evenly as Nahuatl in contact with Spanish. Many more sources need to be examined to determine the comparative rates of cultural interaction and linguistic evolution.

The writing style of the titles also betrays their late-colonial date of production. Its handwriting attempts to imitate the flourish of sixteenth-century paleography, while the map strikes the eye as bizarre or simply badly done. Glass and Robertson declined to even include this "crude" pictorial in their catalogue of Native Middle American Manuscripts because it is "too removed from the native tradition for inclusion in the census."[47]

Nevertheless, the documents evoke remnants of the form and function of preconquest writing. In function, preconquest and sixteenth-century codices painted on deer hide or native paper associated mythical and historical events with the genealogies of indigenous rulers in order to legitimate their power. The codices were mnemonic devices for speeches and performances before the local nobility.[48] In form, the pictorial portion of the Mixtec title reveals a conscious attempt to imitate preconquest style. The map portrays ruling couples viewed in profile and facing each other, like the codex and lienzo tradition of depicting dynastic couples seated in the same manner on a reed mat. This convention represents the Mixtec *yuhuitayu* (*yuhui* means *petate* or "reed mat"; *tayu* is "pair" or "throne"), one of two terms employed for the local state or sociopolitical entity. The *ñuu* was the term for the basic Mixtec "pueblo" in colonial documentation. The yuhuitayu (often simply *tayu*) was essentially a ñuu with a royal couple ruling by direct descent.[49] This "kingdom" or *cacicazgo* is akin to the Nahuatl *petlatl icpalli* (reed mat throne), though the Mixtec principle of direct descent bestowed greater authority to the female *cacica* (female cacique called *yya dzehe toniñe* in Mixtec).[50] In this painting, four yuhuitayu are depicted as considerably scaled-down versions of the older, ornate style [see figures 6 and 7]. Alphabetic glosses complement place name glyphs scattered along the edges of the map.[51]

However, this "pintura y mapa" obviously mixes preconquest and postconquest elements. The drawings appear to be distorted representations of an earlier art style and betray certain European

Figures 6 and 7: Depictions of the Mixtec *yuhuitayu*.
Above: from the Codex Columbino.
Below: from the 1696 map of Chapultepec.

influences. Unlike their ancient predecessors, men have mustaches and women wear their hair unbraided. They lack the detail and fullness of preconquest figures as well as their elaborate clothing and regalia. Besieged by Nahuas, don Diego de Cortés Dzahui Yuchi defends himself with a nondescript coat of arms instead of the traditional Mixtec *yusa* (*chimalli* or hand-held shield) and brandishes a lance instead of an obsidian-blade club. Though hills are still prominent features bordering the map, they are more shaded blobs than the stylized glyphs of the earlier period. A smiling sun, leafy trees, and an attempt to draw perspective are all European traits. Other features of the map are plainly anachronistic; the four churches conspicuously displayed in the painting could not have been built within two years of the Conquest. The church is an important structure depicted in both titles and early pictorials. In many sixteenth-century Mixtec lienzos and codices, the church is centered, adjacent to the lord's palace. Here, the ruling couples appear before the churches, just as the codices depicted rulers seated by or inside the preconquest temple. Incidentally, Chapultepec's church is twice as large as any other on the map.

Whereas the Mixtec map and title are vaguely reminiscent of preconquest pictorial practice, the Nahuatl title has all the flavor of indigenous speech and performance. As products of an oral tradition, titles retrieve events from the collective memory of local myth, where they are reshaped by each succeeding generation. The narrative of titles recounts past events real or unreal to suit present needs, just as the codices had combined myth and history to legitimate rulership. The Nahuatl title especially relies on dialog, narrative, and characters, like a drama or oral performance. The first three sections exhibit the most archaic and dramatic language and content because this part was most likely based on an older oral tradition. A specific style and language is adapted to each changing context; the straightforward language of the Nahuatl land survey, for example, diverges considerably from the rhetorical style of the mock battle before Cortés. Sections of quoted speech within the narrative make the title appear more intimate and believable, as if it were the product of "on-the-scene" reporting. The frequent assertion of truth (*ca melahuac*, "it is true") imparts the character of a legal deposition to the narrative, if not plain propaganda. The fact that witnesses sign their names further "officializes" the title as an authentic document authorized by prominent community representatives.[52] According to the Nahuatl title, the Zapotec noblewoman advised the Nahuas "to write exactly how it happened

on paper," thus providing a convenient motive for creating this would-be objective history.

Titles are like Nahuatl songs and annals in that they were often concerned with history and the altepetl.[53] Immortalized culture heroes narrate titles just as they perform songs. The rhythmic and repetitive qualities of titles further associates them with song and discourse.[54] León-Portilla has observed that chronicles and histories "contain a certain rhythmic style which undoubtedly helped in memorizing." In the Nahuatl title, the Noblewoman of the Zapotec speaks in rhythmic verse by prefacing each statement with *ca melahuac*. Similarly, the Mixtec text uses *saha dzahua* and *quihui dzahua* ("when" and "then") to pace the narrative. Semantic parallel phrasing and repetition of words or morphemes contribute to the titles' lyrical style. The titles are as difficult to follow as indigenous song because they violate temporal and spatial conventions, and lack the linear organization and conventions for encapsulating dialog of Western song and drama. They frequently shift back and forth from narrative to dialog, from the historical past tense to the active present. The non-linear narrative could be based on an indigenous cyclical conception of time, but it is more likely that the precise chronology and timing of events were either misconstrued or condensed by myth and speech conventions. The "telescoping" and layering of events is typical of the oral tradition.[55] The elusive nature of titles is also due to the simple fact that this speech genre was not easily reduced to written form. Though titles were not exactly meant to be spoken or performed before an audience, they share many characteristics of song and drama because they are drawn from the oral tradition.[56]

The variant metaphors and flowery speech of the Nahuatl title parallels the Hispanized Mixtec pictorial component, signaling both retention and loss of ancient traditions. The Nahuatl employs an altered version of a metaphor for war, *chimalli macualli* (instead of *mitl chimalli*), revealing a faint familiarity with the conventions of high speech. The Mixtec portrays the cacique speaking elegantly, occasionally using words from the distinct lordly (*yya*) vocabulary. But the titles are a far cry from the reverential, eloquent forms characteristic of preconquest and early colonial discourse.

The most striking difference between the two titles is that the Mixtec version of the Conquest exhibits few of the more fantastic features of the Nahuatl title's shifting narrative, dramatic dialog and supernatural events. It remains to be seen whether these char-

acteristics, which have been observed in several other central Mexican Nahuatl titles, are singular to the Nahuatl title genre. In this sense, the Mixtec title resembles the Maya chronicles more than some of the fanciful versions from central Mexico. One may consider whether the shared characteristics of Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Maya titles represent the diffusion of a colonial genre or a common Mesoamerican oral and written tradition, or both.

Though far removed from the intended model, the style and language of the titles leave an impression of how some Mixtecs and Nahuas perceived early colonial writing. The painting demonstrates the extent to which alphabetic writing had supplanted the ancient pictorial tradition by the end of the seventeenth century. As a distinct genre, titles appear rather late in the evolution of indigenous-language writing (especially for Nahuatl), when literacy had spread far enough to reach non-nobles, such as the alleged authors Juan Roque and Nicolás Miguel. By this later period, Spanish had exerted considerable influence on indigenous language and writing, reflecting the overall interaction of Hispanic and indigenous society. If it is clear how writing and language were perceived nearly two centuries later, and reshaped within this new discourse genre, it is less clear how the titles' content reflects a general historical consciousness. In other words, what did they *really* think happened?

Historical Consciousness and Myth

Titles intertwine local history, oratory, myth and propaganda. In describing their content, both Woodrow Borah and Wood have evoked the image of a tapestry interwoven with "myth, fantasy and falsehood."[57] Charles Gibson described the typical title as representing "an individual or collective memory of lands possessed or once possessed and endangered...[which] might be misguided or deliberately contrived to support a claim."[58] And Lockhart demonstrated in a study of four titles from the Chalco region that the documents were in some cases "deliberately falsified."

Falsification was clearly intended in many titles, especially considering the aging process, the impossible dating, and the intentional archaic language and pictorials. In central Mexico, an underground network of writers producing Nahuatl-language false titles functioned in the late seventeenth century, as well as a Spanish-language title-forging business in the second half of the eighteenth

century.[59] The issue of fraud and forgery raises the unsavory prospect that indigenous groups or individuals may have knowingly lied to obtain their goals. The scholars who first examined such manuscripts often denied the possibility of falsification.[60] Only recently, in fact, have they been acknowledged as spurious.[61] Wood has defended their false nature by calling them "the product of reasonable people trying to meet an impossible demand--to produce a written and/or pictorial record that they either never had or had lost."[62]

If duplicity is suspected in a title's origin, how reliable is its content? The lack of distinction between how the authors genuinely perceived the past and what they contrived in order to achieve their immediate goals further complicates this question of historical accuracy. An understanding of traditional behavior and custom may have led authors to consciously distort historical events. Most central Mexican titles deny military defeat either at the hands of the Mexica or Spaniards, since such an admission would have been tantamount, in preconquest terms, to renouncing one's claims to disputed territory. The same phenomenon can be observed in the typical response to question fourteen of the *Relaciones Geográficas*, concerning preconquest tribute arrangements; practically every place claims that it never gave tribute to anybody, even when evidence plainly points to the contrary. The Nahuatl title claims that they were "invited" to Oaxaca and subsequently defeated both the Mixtecs and Spaniards. Similarly, it seems an affected Mixtec view of the Conquest when the Spaniards are cordially welcomed and their Mexican allies are "given" land in the spirit of cooperation. Such interpretations are likely based on an awareness of the relation between conquest and tribute in pre-Hispanic times. Titles are not simply empowering myth or confused history; by their nature, they manipulate and reinterpret events of the past to serve present and future concerns.[63]

Nevertheless, a title's fabrication need not totally compromise its historical value; though submerged in fiction, fable, and deceit there is a factual residue to be gleaned from these versions of the past. In spite of their false nature, many titles were based on actual historical events distorted and reshaped as they were passed along orally from one generation to the next. The resulting concoction is a blend of the mundane and fantastic, an anachronistic account mixing preconquest and postconquest elements. As Miguel León-Portilla observed: "Although it is often difficult to separate legend from history, in some ways fantastic accounts may be consid-

ered historical, since they show traces of ancient forms of thinking and acting."[64]

Indeed, titles preserve many traces of the ancient past. The Nahuatl title features four ruler-warriors who were preconquest Mexica *tlatoque* (Nahua caciques) and/or warriors especially known for their martial prowess. Three of these characters are mentioned in the *Florentine Codex* and the *Cantares Mexicanos*.[65] The recollection of historical/mythical figures attests to the retention of central Mexican lore in Nahuatl satellite communities nearly two centuries after the Conquest. The Zapotec noblewoman of the Nahuatl title could also be an historical figure, since women appear to have ruled more frequently in Oaxaca than in Nahua society.[66] Furthermore, her presence may represent a marriage alliance between Nahua and Zapotec nobles, such as the historic union between Ahuitzotl's daughter and the Zapotec lord Cosijoeza. The beleaguered Zapotec's tale of reliance upon the Mexica for protection may also have an historical basis. According to sixteenth-century sources, the Zapotecs forged an alliance with the Nahuas against the Mixtecs and other groups surrounding the Valley of Oaxaca.[67] Interestingly, the two hills on which the Nahuas first confronted the Spaniards according to their title, Huaxacatzin and Acatepec, were sites of Mexica garrisons in the years before the Conquest.[68]

The first part of the Nahuatl title focuses on war and subsequent tribute arrangements as a result of the so-called "original conquest." Yet this alliance between the Nahuas and the Zapotecs was created before the arrival of the Spaniards, and could not have been sanctioned by Cortés. The Nahuas exploited the Mixtec-Zapotec rivalry to establish a foothold in the area; implicit in Nahua aid to the Zapotecs was the promise of new lands and tribute. Similarly, "helping" the Spaniards on expeditions guaranteed the Nahuas land to settle and favored status in the conquered region. Clearly, fundamental preconquest conceptions of conquest and alliance dictate titles' content.

The Nahuatl title pays special tribute to preconquest warfare, its paraphernalia and protocol. War is depicted as ritualistic play, symbolized by the sounds of log drums, dramatic displays of arms and authentic battle accouterments like shields, obsidian-blade clubs, arrows, and stone sandals. The attention to detail is reminiscent of the ritual recorded by Sahagún's informants in Book Twelve of the *Florentine Codex*. Supernatural events such as earthquakes and floods round out the Mexica arsenal, wielded to defeat

both the Mixtecs and Spaniards. Women and children were invited to witness the fighting, perhaps according to preconquest protocol. The derogatory allusion to the Mixtecs as cannibals is probably an oblique reference to preconquest sacrifice directly linked to ritual warfare; in this context it appears as a barbarous act of the past, and a further justification of Mexica conquest. This indictment of the Mixtecs demonstrates an aspect of the Nahuatl title's appeal to a Spanish audience's sensibilities. The Nahuas attempted to validate their own conquest in Spanish terms. They affirmed at the end of the narrative that they wanted to fight, died (and killed) in battle, fought with gunpowder, and captured black slaves--"just like the Spaniards." This process of "regulation," whereby the speakers/writers strategically appeal to the ethical values of the addressee, is typical of this genre and has been observed in the Maya chronicles.[69]

In reference to better-known versions of this period, León-Portilla asserted that "native records of the Conquest are dramatic proof of the persistence of what can be called a deeply rooted historical consciousness."[70] This assertion applies equally to the titles, which testify to the monumental effect of these apocalyptic events on all subsequent discourse. Yet this consciousness is tempered by a healthy disregard for the Conquest's negative repercussions; in both titles the actual Spanish Conquest is either denied or completely ignored.[71]

Once these events have transpired, titles proceed to all the symbolic events highlighting a community's evolution into a Spanish-style municipality, graced by God and King. First, community members received baptism and Christian names and then the local church was built, seemingly overnight. The founding of the local *cabildo* is another landmark event which conveyed status and legitimacy to the community.[72] Despite being modeled on a Spanish institution, the offices retain preconquest responsibilities. The transition to municipal government is portrayed as an autonomous process undertaken by the community rather than an external imposition.

Finally, all titles focus on land. The survey of lands and borders witnessed by the indigenous community is the part of the document which most corresponds to Spanish procedures of investigation, and thus is the most predictable. Since the customary procedure of walking borders usually demanded a number of witnesses, many community members were likely familiar with this part of titles. Each side attempted to demonstrate that a boundary dis-

puted with another community was a matter which had been settled earlier, witnessed and approved by both indigenous and Spanish officials. Both sides also denied instigating the dispute. Accordingly, the Mixtec map contains a suspicious addendum to the main text: "no tenemos pleito con los mexicanos" (we don't have a legal dispute against the Mexicans). This curious statement does not appear in the original Mixtec passage. In reality, the dispute with Mexicapan and the cacique of Cuilapan is the very reason for the map's existence. Chapultepec had to portray an amicable resolution of conflict in the 1520s in order to support its claim in the 1690s, which might be jeopardized by admission of ongoing conflict.

As Wood has observed, there is no nostalgia for earlier times in the titles, as in some of the high rhetoric or *huehuetlatolli* of the sixteenth century.[73] The genre transformed historical reality by rewriting it from a present-minded perspective. In the titles from Oaxaca, a distinct ethnic identity played a prominent role in this reinterpretation of the past. Ethnic identity helped distinguish the community's historic right and unique origins. In spite of pretense and myth, the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles exhibit evidence of ethnic identity as functional in the 1690s as it was in the 1520s.

Ethnicity and Identity

In titles from central Mexico, James Lockhart has noted that a "broader ethnic awareness or solidarity is no more to be found in the titles than anywhere else."[74] He described titles, like most Nahuatl-language documentation, as primarily altepetl-centered documents which tend to emphasize their identification with the local altepetl and *calpolli-tlaxilacalli* (subdivisions of the altepetl, frequently associated with *barrios*) rather than broader ethnic categories.[75] The titles from Oaxaca also focus on the Nahua altepetl or Mixtec ñuu (or yuhuitayu), attempting to preserve or extend privileges in the name of that sociopolitical unit, represented by its elected leaders. The Nahuatl title describes how groups from specific central Mexican altepetl came to settle in separate barrios, retaining their corporate identity in distant Oaxaca. Likewise, Chapultepec's map and title focus on the narrowly defined interests of the community and its nearby dependent.

However, the two titles from Oaxaca also enunciate a broader, overarching ethnic identity and make repeated references to a distinct ethnic awareness. The titles exalt Nahua and Mixtec roles in the Conquest to the extent that the Spaniards were one more ethnic

group who were ultimately accommodated. The multiethnic setting of the valley contributed to such an acute awareness of origin and language.[76] Ethnic solidarity is evident in both titles; the three Nahuatl-speaking communities of Mexicapan, Xochimilco and the Marquesado forged an alliance based on common ethnicity. Similarly, San Juan Chapultepec received help in fighting the Nahuas from the other two Mixtec *yuhuitayu* of the valley, Cuilapan and Xoxocotlan.

The Nahuatl title evokes events and dialog from a distant past which justify and explain the historic presence of the *Mexicatlaca* (Mexica people) in the area. The narrative features various indigenous ethnic terms: the Nahuas were known as *mexica, mexicatlaca*, and *mexicanos*; the Mixtecs were called *mixteca, mixtecatlaca*, and *tlacame mixteco*; the Zapotecs were *zapotecatl*. The title even mentions separate border markers demarcating the lands of the *teomixtecal* or "Mixtec deities" belonging to the Mixtec yuhuitayu of Chapultepec and Xoxocotlan.

Although the Nahuas who accompanied the Spaniards were from various central Mexican altepetl, they were collectively called "Mexica" or some derivative in the title, and were thus associated with the one prominent Nahuatl-speaking group from Tenochtitlan.[77] It is unclear whether this reference to the Mexica was applied to Nahuas in general in the early colonial period, or if it was a later development affected by the Hispanic term. Twice in the document's opening sections, the last three letters of "mexicanos" were crossed out, perhaps in recognition that it was the Spanish version of the original Nahuatl term (*mexica*). Later in the document, however, the term was employed unabashedly. Sixteenth-century Nahuatl-language documentation from the Mixteca also called the Nahuas "Mexica." The widespread use of "Mexica" reflects the complexities of Nahua ethnic identity. The term "Nahua" does not seem to have been employed consistently by Nahuas themselves. It was most frequently employed in reference to their language, particularly in ecclesiastical publications (*doctrinas,* confessional manuals, dictionaries, etc.), rather than any profound cultural identification. Though it was probably the best term adopted, it is not common in the archival record.

The authors of the Mixtec title also exhibited a conscious ethnic identity, distinguishing themselves as *tay ñudzahui* ("people of the rain place"), distinct from the *tay ñucoyo* (Nahuas or Mexica) and *tay españole* (Spaniards). Thus, the so-called "Mixtecs" did not go by that name.[78] In Nahuatl *mixtlan* means

"place of the clouds" and *mixteca* is (plural of *mixtecatl*) "people of the cloud place." This name implies that Nahuatl speakers recognized the people of the area as a homogenous group and presumably derived this name from an association with the meaning of Ñudzahui (i.e., "rain" and "clouds"). After the Conquest, Spaniards and friars adopted the Nahuatl term, and they are still known as "Mixtecs" to this day.

In Mixtec-language colonial documentation and church publications from the Mixteca Alta, the term *Ñudzahui* has been attested dozens of times. The term is common in both the early and later colonial periods, and especially during the period in which Mixtec alphabetic writing seems to have reached a peak in quality and quantity, from the 1670s to the 1720s. The self-appellation appears in reference to language, the region, the people as a group, individuals, and cultural artifacts such as *metates* (grinding stones), clothes, paper, soap made from herbs and confraternity images (an image of Jesus Christ, for example).[79] Judging by the context of its usage in the title and other documents, Ñudzahui identity was prevalent when accentuated by the presence of others, whether Spaniard, mestizo, mulatto, Nahua, Chocho, etc. Contact with Spaniards and other racial and ethnic groups occasioned the need to express one's ethnicity in writing. But the concept and term also existed in preconquest times.[80] This broader cultural and linguistic identification, however, did not compromise a more specific, local identity with the indigenous community or one of its subunits. Such a well-defined sense of ethnic identity has not been documented for other indigenous groups of postconquest Mesoamerica.

The Ñudzahui also applied a broader designation to the Nahuas--*tay ñucoyo* or "people of the reed place." The term is based on the place name for Mexico Tenochtitlan *ñuu coyo,* instead of the more abstract "Nahuas."[81] Thus, the terminology of both titles makes no distinction between the Nahuas and the Mexica. The Ñudzahui title also refers to the Nahuas as *saminuu*, a term apparently associated with warfare and conquest. This name has not been attested elsewhere in Mixtec-language sources and may be a more archaic, metaphorical term.[82] Just as the Mixtecs associated the Nahuas with Tenochtitlan, they also named the Zapotecs after the largest site in the Valley of Oaxaca, Teozapotlan (called *Zaachila* by the Zapotecs). According to sixteenth-century accounts, *tay tocuisi* ("white noble people") was the term applied to the Valley Zapotecs, as Teozapotlan was called *Tocuisi*.[83] The entire region of the Valley was called *Tocuisi ñuhu*. The Mixtec

title states that Spaniards settled in a place called Ñucuisi or "the white place," perhaps in reference to its Nahuatl equivalent in the Valley, Tlalistaca ("white land place"), or possibly Teozapotlan.[84]

Indicative of their late production, both titles refer to the Spaniards as "españoles."[85] Both titles also employ unusual and enigmatic names for the Spaniards. The Nahuatl title curiously calls Cortés the "ruler of the children of the sun" and the Spaniards "children of the sun." It is unclear whether this is a completely contrived term or one based on myth. Perhaps it is akin to the legendary Nahuatl nickname for Alvarado, *Tonatiuh* ("sun"), in apparent reference to his light complexion. The term may be more complex, however, rooted in preconquest and/or postconquest myth.[86] Similarly, the Mixtec title calls the Spaniards many complementary but rare names, such as *tay cuhui nano* "the great people" and *tay cuisi* "white people." The last term would accord with the interpretation of the "children of the sun" as a reference to skin color.[87] The use of "whites" for Spaniards in the Mixtec parallels the use of "blacks" for Africans in the Nahuatl. Nahuas continued to use the term *tliltic* ("[something] black") for Africans rather than the Spanish loan word *negro* throughout the colonial period.[88]

The most conspicuous aspect of identity absent from the titles is any reference to "Indians." In Ñudzahui-language documentation from the Mixteca Alta, Baja, and Valley, the term "indio" has not been attested a single time. Likewise, "indio" is extremely rare in colonial Nahuatl documentation.[89] There is no evidence in indigenous-language sources that a generic "Indian" identity eclipsed Nahuatl or Mixtec ethnic identities, especially not by the end of the seventeenth century.[90]

Few studies have attended to indigenous ethnicity after the Conquest. Historians have traditionally focused on Spaniards or "Indians," or the interaction between the two. The titles from Oaxaca seem to diminish the theory or presumption that ethnicity was more salient in preconquest times, or that the Conquest and contact with Spaniards rapidly destroyed ethnic identity.[91] In light of developing pressures for land on the community, identity may have been maintained or revived by drawing selectively on remembrances of the past and using them to cope with the reality of changing circumstances. As internally produced writings striving to articulate and confirm a community's historic right, these titles

testify to the vitality of indigenous identity and consciousness nearly two centuries after the conquest.

Conclusions

Historians have proposed that official titles, histories, títulos primordiales, the "Techialoyan" manuscripts, and Spanish-language forgeries constitute a continuum of documents representing indigenous attempts to protect and further the interests of the corporate community, or special interests therein.[92] We further propose that the function and style of the indigenous title extends beyond land documentation to encompass a much broader spectrum of indigenous writing and expression which embodies certain preconquest characteristics. If the day-to-day documentation of notarial and personal records is juxtaposed with products of high culture (the *huehuetlatolli* of annals, songs, plays, and the chronicles of Chimalpahin and Tezozomoc), the titles genre seems isolated. Yet titles seem to display traits and traces of all genres: testamentary information (if not separate testaments); the boundary talk of land documents; the flowery and antiquated language of high speech; the repetition and rhythm of song; a pictorial component reminiscent of preconquest and sixteenth-century writing; the performance-oriented narrative of plays and speeches; the tendency of annals to focus seemingly haphazardly on symbolic events; and the legal conventions of official petitions and depositions. Titles constitute a collage of indigenous writing forms and functions. Some attempt to replicate preconquest pictorial style and convention, and serve as visual testimony to the lost but not entirely forgotten art of preconquest writing; others conjure up a spirited oral tradition. In spite of its anachronistic and inaccurate archaisms, the false title still resembles more a syncretic, synthetic indigenous form than a Spanish title.

Many of the themes elaborated in the discussion of these titles, such as writing and discourse, historical consciousness and myth, and ethnicity and identity, are best studied from the perspective of native-language sources. Yet few of these indigenous-language sources have been studied from Oaxaca, where several distinct culture and language groups interacted both before and after the Conquest. The confluence of cultures and languages that characterizes this complex region runs through the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles from the Valley of Oaxaca. The two carefully constructed accounts of the Conquest bristle with local patriotism

and proud identity. One title declared victory over the Spaniards, the other spoke of cooperation for the common good. In the end, the titles emphasize triumph, accommodation, and adjustment over conflict and defeat. The titles merged indigenous and Spanish representations and genres to create a new history. Rewriting the past to suit present purposes, the Nahua and Ñudzahui authors transformed the Spanish Conquest of Oaxaca from certain defeat into self-serving history and myth. These accounts of the "original conquest" prove that the pen *is* mightier than the sword.

Notes

1. The two titles are located in the Archivo General de la Nación: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6. We gratefully acknowledge James Lockhart's help with the initial translation of the first three sections of the Nahuatl title. We also thank Barry David Sell for his comments on the final transcription and translation of this document. The final translation is ours.

2. Wood 1991: 177.

3. Lockhart 1992: 410. The difficulty lies in the context, language, origin and narrative of the texts, as we shall see. False titles also exist in Zapotec, Yucatec Maya, Chontal, Quiche, Cakchiquel and perhaps other Mesoamerican languages. For recent research on the titles genre see: Wood 1984, 1989, 1991; Lockhart 1991: chap. 3, and 1992: 410-418; Borah 1991. For "chronicles" in the Maya region, see: Scholes and Roys 1968; Brinton 1969; Carmack 1973; Hill 1991; Hanks 1987; and Restall 1991.

4. The ever-increasing number of identified "titles" in local and national archives, however, suggests that enough of them succeeded to encourage their production.

5. Borah 1991: 216-221 summarizes the main points of agreement and disagreement among scholars who have studied the "Techialoyan codices" and "títulos primordiales." For a more detailed discussion of the Techialoyans, see Robertson 1975; Wood 1984, 1989; and Harvey 1986.

6. Wood 1984: 302-322; and Glass and Robertson 1975.

7. Wood 1989: 259.

8. Lockhart 1992: 416, note 154.

9. Wood 1984: 257.

10. Wood 1984: 300.

11. Borah 1991.

12. Wood 1991: 189.

13. Deviant orthography was often purposely employed to antiquate documents, so it is difficult to ascertain whether the language is simply "bad" or contrived to look out-of-date.

14. Burgoa 1934 (I): 42-43.

15. Chance 1978: 82.

16. Similarly, the Mixtecs referred to the Valley Zapotecs collectively as *tay tocuisi* or "white noble people"; the meaning of this term is unclear.

17. Acuña 1984 (I): 178-181; Acuña 1984 (II): 157-158. The *Codex Santiago Guevea* documents the Zapotec migration to Tehuantepec.

18. Spores 1965: 964-966.

19. Taylor 1972: 23.

20. Chance 1978: 21.

21. Taylor 1972: 22-23. Nearly all of the Mixtec communities were intact by the end of the colonial era. Mixtec pueblos included San Juan Chapultepec, Santa Cruz Xoxocotlan, San Pedro Ixtlahuaca, Santa María Atzompa, San Jacinto Amilpas, and San Lucas Tlanichico. Additionally, Santa Ana Tlapacoya, Santa Ana Zegache, and Zaachila each contained a Mixtec barrio, and there were also Mixtecs in the eastern Etla branch of the valley at Guaxolotitlan, Santiago Xochilquitonco, and Tenexpan.

22. In his study of land tenure in the Valley of Oaxaca, William Taylor mentions a certain Mixtec manuscript and map from a 1696 land dispute which he supposed "may be the original 1523 cacicazgo title or a copy" (Taylor 1972: 40-41; 115). He subsequently interpreted the document as a description of the cacicazgo lands and the foundation of the municipality. Taylor had considered the title's function but apparently not its falsified nature. John Chance also used the false titles in his study of colonial Antequera. Employing the Mixtec document, he claimed that Mexicapa was founded on land "ceded" by the Mixtec cacique of neighboring Chapultepec and suggests that it had seven barrios as early as 1523. He referred to the Nahuatl title as "a document of the period [which] suggests that by this early date [1525] the Spaniards had already introduced their concept of local government into these Indian towns" (Chance 1978: 32, 83). Like Taylor, Chance considered the document an authentic copy of an earlier original, though this is never stated or implied in the proceedings. Significantly, his interpretation of the document as an early- rather than a late-colonial product affects his perception of changing ethnicity throughout the colonial period. Chance's treatment of the document led Borah to the interpretation that "the first instances of European-style towns with Spanish-style government may well have been the new settlements of Indian allies close to Spanish, such as San Martín Mexicapa and Santo Tomás Xochimilco near Huaxyacac for Mexican and Tlaxcaltecan Indians" (Borah 1982: 269). It must be reiterated that at the time of these works, the identification and study of false titles was just beginning and little was known of the genre.

Based on an analysis of the pictorial portion, Mary Elizabeth Smith noted the distinct possibility that both the document and painting had been artificially aged, doubting the painting's date based on its "deficient"

native iconographic style. She supposed that it was probably done in 1696, when it was presented (Smith 1973: 207). Glass and Robertson shared this view (1975: 75). Genaro Vásquez thought that the Nahuatl text was written in Zapotec (1931: 22).

23. The testament, translated by Juan Roque, enumerates the lands which belong to Mexicapa. But the language of the testament reveals that it could not have been written in 1602, as it contains Spanish loan vocabulary and phenomenon of a later period, including prepositions.

24. They were said to present "papeles, recaudos, mapas y pinturas." The painting was apparently lost.

25. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 20.

26. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 21.

27. This 1692 Spanish translation of the 1565 Mixtec testament and title of don Diego Cortés was allegedly based on the original, which he claimed was in Mexico City. The testament's opening overlaps in content with the Mixtec title from Chapultepec, and is typical of many testament/titles. For example, don Diego (whose Mixtec name *Dzahui Yuchi* is translated as "aguasero como cuchillo") speaks of Cortés' arrival and proclaims that he was the first to be baptized and given the honorific title of "don" in the church of Cuilapa, followed by the nobility, and then the commoners. The testament quickly dispenses with religious formula and launches into a full description of borders. The document concludes with a list of witnesses described as the "principales deste pueblo, hombres que hisieron la conquista, en el serro delgado de Theosopotlan." The last line refers to a competing claim: "Asi mesmo el titulo de don Jeronimo de Lan[da], padre de doña Magdalena Melchora, que el traya quando yo hasía testamentyo, no abla con berdad el, no dise berdad el, no tiene fuerssa." The precise nature of this claim is unknown. The overlapping content of the titles may indicate a common oral and/or written source on which the documents are based, or the possibility that one was seen first by authors of the other. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, ff. 33-33v.

28. The officials of Chapultepec decried "la falsedad patente del titulo presentado por los naturales de San Martin...el dicho titulo es falso, avido y adquirido por la malicia de dichos naturales de San Martin y especialmente por Juan Roque indio yntruso de conosida malicia y factor de semejantes titulos...y sin embargo de todos los defectos de falsedad y nulidad ynsanables patente justificados...adquirieron dichos naturales posecion de tierras que en ninguna manera les pertenesen" AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 99.

29. Don Andrés Cortés de Velasco berated the alcalde mayor: "el que ynjustamente se amparo a dichos naturales con tan flacos fundamentos como fueron un quaderno supuesto y falso titulo que hiso Juan Roque yndio del mismo pueblo suponiendo ser antiguo...como se lo con prueba con la otra letra suya" AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 135.

30. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 132.

31. For example, in 1760, a survey determined that Chapultepec possessed only half its *fundo legal* (the 1695 law which provided each community with a radius of 600 varas, measured from the parish church), so adjoining lands were taken from Mexicapa to make up the difference. Though Mexicapa was the community primarily responsible for Chapultepec's loss of land, they were forced to rent out many lands to pay off debts accumulated in various lawsuits. One of these lawsuits was the long-standing dispute with Chapultepec (Taylor 1972: 69).

32. That there are four rulers is significant, for this number is ubiquitous in Nahua organization and thought. See Lockhart 1992: 436-442.

33. Smith has confirmed this observation (1973: 207).

34. AGN Tierras, v. 236, exp. 6, ff. 10-11. The nobles requested a "licencia para traducir un titulo que tenemos que agora nuevamente hemos hallado en lengua misteca--traducir lo en la lengua castellana juntamente con una mamapa [sic] para ber como platica con el dicho titulo."

35. The actual sociopolitical terms employed in the documents have been retained in the translation, instead of using the rough equivalents of "community" or "pueblo." This terminology will be discussed in more detail below.

36. In the ritual calendrical vocabulary, "rain" is *co* and "flint" is *cusi*. This could be alternatively considered a personal name, which would have been represented as a glyph in the preconquest codices. Early colonial Mixtec-language documentation, however, invariably employs the calendrical vocabulary for naming, accompanied by a Christian first name.

37. We have purposely separated the Mixtec text into "paragraphs" or complete statements, for the sake of matching the corresponding translation which follows below with the original language. The text contains no such identifiable breaks in its prose.

38. Some parts of this translation are exceedingly complex, because of the faded second page, the little-known Valley dialect, the inattention to conventional grammar, and the use of metaphors and contrived archaisms.

Much of the linguistic detail is covered below in the section on language, but there are a few questions of interpretation which bear directly on the translation. First, this section employs four terms in reference to groups of people: *chee cuisi*; *españole*; *chee niquidzatnañu*; and *chee cuhui nano*. "Chee cuisi" means "white people" and by extension could be understood as "clear [-skinned] people"; the term was translated by the cacique of Guaxolotitlan in 1696 as "Spaniards."

There are two reservations to this interpretation. First, such a reference to Spaniards, by a perceived difference in skin color, is almost unprecedented in both the Nahuatl- and Mixtec-language documentary

record. Second, the Mixtecs called the Valley of Oaxaca *Tocuisi Ñuhu*, after the most important Zapotec place, Zaachila (Reyes 1593: Prologue II, 91). By extension, the Zapotecs were called *tay tocuisi* ("white noble people"), much like the way Nahuas *tay ñucoyo* were associated with Tenochtitlan. Likewise, another prominent group in the area, the Chocho or *tay tocuii*, were asssociated with the color green. Perhaps the color reference for Zapotecs is associated with their entirely white traditional dress, still worn today by women in the Zapotec Sierra. But this is mere speculation. Due to the paucity of extant Mixtec-language documentation from the Valley, the term for Zapotecs has not been attested, whereas those for the Nahuas and Chochos have been. The mention of *Ñocuisi* "white place" may be a reference to either Zaachila (Tocuisi in Mixtec; Teosapotlan in Nahuatl), Tlalistaca (Ñucuisi in Mixtec, Zapotec unknown), or merely some fictitious place associated with the "white people."

On the other hand, there is good cause to support the translation of *chee cuisi* as Spaniards. Here and elsewhere in the title, many of the terms in reference to Spaniards suggest semantic parallels. The term *chee cuhui nano* or the "great people" is also unattested and is probably nothing more than a flattering, false archaism; it may refer to "Spanish nobles," thus avoiding the more Mixtec-specific *toho*. The term *chee niquidzatnañu* seems like a contrived metaphor related to war and conquest. The following *ñuhu* and *nduhua* seems to refer to Oaxaca but could also be a tone pun for war: some of the older expressions for "batallar" and "conquistar" (*caha-nduvua-ñuhu; chihi-nduvua-ñuhu-ñaha*) involve thrusting an arrow *nduvua* into land *ñuhu*, reminiscent of the symbol for a conquered place in the Mixtec codices--an arrow sticking out of a place name glyph (Alvarado 1593: 33, 52). These ambiguous and curious expressions are typical of titles; the Nahuatl title similarly refers to the Spaniards as "children of the sun," perhaps in reference to their complexion. Also, considering the fact that Africans were usually referred to as "black" by both Nahuas and Mixtecs, we might expect to see more references to Europeans as "white." We know of only one example in Nahuatl where Spaniards were referred to as *iztaque* or "whites" and possibly *chipahuacatlaca* as "light [skinned] people" (León 1611: 18 recto, quoted in Sell forthcoming: chap. 3). For a discussion of such racial and social terminology in postconquest Nahuatl, see Lockhart 1992.

After a careful consideration of all these factors, we have translated this term as "white people" in reference to Spaniards.

39. A further indication of its dubious date is the claim that the map and title were done on the same day (February 8, 1523), though one refers to the day as Monday and the other as Tuesday. Each was written, in fact, by a different author.

40. A consciousness of linguistic change is rather rare among indigenous writers. It is glimpsed, however, when Sahagún's informants con-

sciously attributed older words and expressions to speeches of the past. See Lockhart 1992: 283.

41. For example, one of the standard central Mexican absolutive suffixes "-tl" is commonly written as "-l" or "-t" in peripheral Nahuatl, suggesting that the "-tl" sound had only recently been developed in the central area and had not been adopted in Oaxacan Nahuatl. Therefore, words, such as *tzapotecatl*, appear in the document as *tzapotecal*. Also, "ch" and "h" were interchanged, rendering *neh-* instead of *nech,-* and *ypilchua* in place of *ypilhuan*. In some cases, "ch" is replaced by "x". The glottal "h" in central Mexican Nahuatl is replaced by "c" so that *moteneuhtica* appears as *moteneuctica*. As in standard Nahuatl, "n" is frequently omitted and included.

Unlike central Mexican nouns, which are altered when possessive prefixes or plural markers are added, the basic word does not change in peripheral Nahuatl with these additions. Peripheral Nahuatl combines the possessive form with the agentive to create words such as *toeytlatoani*. When the Nahuatl plural can be formed by omitting the absolutive suffix, peripheral Nahuatl still adds the plural "-me". Thus, in central Mexico the "-tl" is dropped from *tlacatl* (singular) becoming *tlaca* in the plural; but in Mexicapa it was sometimes written as *tlacame*. The use of plurals further indicates Spanish-language influence; for example, Spanish ethnic terms are mixed with *tlaca* (people), as in *tlacame mistecos*.

The title also contains unusual vocabulary; the very first word of the document carries the "-pol" suffix which usually has a derogatory connotation, but its addition to the pronoun *nehuatl* may suggest some form of mock humility. Another rare term in this document is *ytocayoca* ("the place named") employed here to signify a personal name; alternately, the term *ytoca* is occasionally used with place names rather than personal names.

Also characteristic of peripheral Nahuatl is the use of *nahuac* as the main relational, whereas in central Mexican Nahuatl it specifically means "next to, near" (see Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #30). Other common features include: *yca yno* "with that" or "at that time"; *ynin* rather than *yn* (also attested in Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #23); inconsistent use of the clause introductory particle *"ca"*; the infrequent appearance of *yhuan*; and the lack of *cuix* as interrogative. Also, the second- and third-person singular and plural reflexive "mo" is frequently employed to mark first-person singular and plural; thus *timotlasotlasque* appears in the document, though we would expect *titotlasotlasque* in central Mexico (see Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #30).

Finally, the imperative form rarely adds either the "xi-" prefix to the second person singular and plural or the "-can" suffix to the plural, as is customary in central Mexico. Thus, *ma nehmopalehuilis* clearly means "(you) help us," but lacks the obligatory "xi-" prefix.

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42. Peripheral Nahuatl has never been thoroughly studied and described. A comparison of Nahuatl documents from the Oaxaca region indicates many characteristics of peripheral Nahuatl which, to those trained in classical central Mexican Nahuatl, might appear as mistakes. Our preliminary work with Nahuatl written by members of Mixtec and Mixe communities suggests that some irregularities may be explained by the fact that the authors of these documents were only familiar with Nahuatl as a second language. In sixteenth-century Nahuatl documents from the Mixteca, some Mixtec influence on vocabulary and orthography can be detected. Most of these sources, however, appear in areas of languages which were probably never written in colonial times, such as Trique, Chatino, Cuicatec, Ixcatec and Chocho (though the latter *was* written in the colonial period). On the other hand, Nahuatl from this area could simply have its own conventions, which differ from the Nahuatl of central Mexico.

At present, one of the only published sources with examples of peripheral Nahuatl is the collection of mundane documents by Anderson, Berdan and Lockhart 1976 (see documents #23 and #30). For a translation and brief analysis of a document from the Sinaloa region, see Braun, Sell and Terraciano 1989.

43. Frances Karttunen and Lockhart have outlined the evolution of Nahuatl after the Conquest, based on a philological and linguistic analysis of Nahuatl-language writing from central Mexico. In the first stage (ca. 1521-1550, or roughly the first postconquest generation), Nahuatl altered very little, incorporating only Spanish proper names but pronouncing them according to the Nahuatl phonetic inventory. Nahuas also developed descriptive terms and neologisms in their own language for new items introduced by the Europeans. During the second stage (ca. 1550-1650), Nahuatl borrowed Spanish nouns freely rather than creating new words, but still pronouncing them with Nahuatl sounds. The borrowing of Spanish verbs, particles and expressions characterizes a third stage in the evolution of the language (ca. 1650-onward). See Karttunen and Lockhart 1976.

44. Examples of Spanish nouns as they appear in the text include: *normano* (*"hermano"* with the Nahuatl first-person, possessive prefix); *noprimo; toeytlatocatzi Rey; tobarrios; tomarques; laudensiatl; tocabildo; ofissyo; siudad.* Stage three phenomena of borrowing verbs and particles are evidenced by the following: *entregar; obligar; para;* and *hasta.* Finally, the use of *panos* (to occur) in the sense of the Spanish verb *"pasar"* is a calque also typical of stage three Nahuatl.

45. The Mixtec grammarian, fray Antonio de los Reyes, observed in 1593 that the Cuilapan dialect combined aspects of Yanhuitlan and the Mixteca Baja. Reyes wrote: "La lengua de Cuylapa tiene mucho de la de Yanguitlan, de donde dizen aver salido sus señores antiguos, tienen tam-

bien de la Mixteca Baja, de que no se puede dar regla por ser singular con lo de Guaxolotitlan y algunos pueblos de aquella comarca" (Reyes 1976: VII). This fact has interesting implications for the patterns of migration from the Mixteca to the Valley.

Dialectal variation of written colonial Mixtec is often quite predictable; there are roughly six written dialects which are mutually legible and comprehensible, and were in all likelihood mutually intelligible. Possessive and personal pronouns most noticeably vary from one dialect to another; for example, the first-person pronoun in this document, *yuhu*, is written as *nduhu* in Teposcolula and *njuhu* or *nchuhu* in Yanhuitlan. For these same three areas, verbal pronoun suffixes (first-person) are "-yu", "-ndi", and "-nju" respectively. In this document, first-person plural is "-ndi", not "-ndo" like everywhere else. Mixtec also has a complete set of reverential pronouns which transcended dialectal differences, but these were not employed in the title. The text does, however, contain some terms from the reverential vocabulary as well as a few metaphors.

Many orthographic differences are the result of regional phonetic differences. I will use the Teposcolula area dialect as the standard form, the same used by Hernandez (doctrina of 1568), Reyes (grammar of 1593) and Alvarado (dictionary of 1593). In this document, the consonant "t" is written as "ch" before "a" and "i" (*tayu* becomes*chayu*, *nduta* becomes *nducha*), and initial "nd-" is written as "nch-" before "a" and "e" (*ndatu* and *ndehi* become *nchatu* and *nchehe*). The vowels "a" and "e" are often interchanged (*nisaiduta* becomes *niseenducha*), whereas "ai" (or "ay") is usually written as "ee" (*tay* becomes *chee*). In Mixtec, there is a sixth short vowel ("i") which has no equivalent in the Spanish phonetic inventory. The Mixtec tendency for nasal-initial consonants and vowel-final morphemes have a predictable effect on Spanish loan words, so that *ndiego* (Diego) and *njua* (Juan) and *españole* (españoles) are typical occurrences (in the last example, there is also no plural marker in Mixtec). Like in the Baja, *aniñe* ("palace") becomes *aniy*, and *huitna* ("today" or "now") is written as *huicha*. These dialectal differences are confirmed by other documentation from the area. For example, in a document from Xoxocotlan in 1716, *chee, yuhu, andihui, daya,* and *ñoo ñayihui* appear in place of their Teposcolula equivalents: *tay, nduhu, andehui, dzaya,* and *ñuu ñayehui*. Orthographic changes, once they are observed and recognized, do not hinder the translation as much as the rudimentary grammar and inconsistent orthography employed in the document. See Josserand 1983 for a discussion of modern dialectal variation in the Mixteca, and Terraciano forthcoming: chap. 3 ("Language and Dialect") for the colonial period.

46. The most obvious difference is that "bi" in the map is written instead of the "hui" and "vui" of the text (as in *nicubi, bichan*). There is generally more omission and intrusion of nasals in the map.

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47. Glass and Robertson 1975: 75, note 42. Smith reproduced the map in her landmark work on Mixtec pictorial writing but concurred that there were no vestiges of preconquest native iconography. She translated its boundaries and notes its relation to the 1771 map of Xoxocotlan (1973: 202-210, figure 164 on p. 340; for map of Xoxocotlan, see figures 162-163 on pp. 338-339).

48. See Monaghan 1990 and King 1990 for a discussion of performance and song in the Mixtec codices, and for a general theoretical discussion, Bauman 1977.

49. See Spores 1967: 131-154 for a discussion of royal succession in the Mixteca Alta.

50. For some of the latest work on Nahua sociopolitical terminology, see Lockhart 1992: Schroeder 1991; Haskett 1991.

51. San Juan and Santa Ana are on the left; San Martín and the Marquesado are on the right. The glosses include the names for: Oaxaca (ñoduvua); Santa Catalina de Oaxaca (ñodzoduhua); the *cabecera* of the Marquesado (dzini ño marquesado); various churches (hue ño, hue ñoho, hue ñoho sam martin sihi siña chee ñocoo); the road to Oaxaca (ychi ñoduhua); the road to Xoxocotlan (ychi ño yoo); the Atoyac river (yuchadzaño). See the interesting correlation between this map and the 1771 Map of Xoxocotlan in Smith 1973: 202-210.

52. Hanks 1987: 678-680; Bourdieu 1977.

53. Lockhart 1992: 392.

54. León-Portilla 1969: 119.

55. Hanks 1987: 685; Bricker 1981: 149-154.

56. Lockhart has observed that songs "appear to have been performed before an audience (idealized as a noble company) and at times have a strong flavor of theater or pageant." However, he has also noted that the "strictly speaking narrative element" is uncommon in ancient Nahuatl songs. Lockhart 1992: 394-395.

57. Borah 1991: 217; Wood 1984: 324.

58. Gibson and Glass 1975: 321.

59. Wood 1984: 305; Lockhart 1992: 414.

60. See Borah 1991 for a summary of this debate.

61. Gibson 1975; Lockhart 1982; Wood 1984; Borah 1991.

62. Wood 1984: 313.

63. Thus, a title is more complex than merely a "document [which] reflects the Conquest and its aftermath as it was seen from a couple of centuries later" (Restall 1991: 127).

64. León-Portilla 196: 119-120.

65. Sahagún 1950: 82. Anderson and Dibble cite Tlacahuepantzin as one of the famous warriors in the reign of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin (ca. 1494), who were memorialized in song (1969: bk. 6, p. 13, note 11). Axayacatzin was tlatoani of Tenochtitlan from ca. 1468 until 1481. See also

references to these personages scattered throughout the *Cantares Mexicanos* (Bierhorst 1985).

66. Women cacicas were common in Mixtec society. Cuilapa had a cacica named doña Isabela in 1529 (Chance 1978: 17). The Zapotec case is unclear at this point.

67. For a synthetic account of these events, see Spores 1965: 964-967.

68. Assuming Huaxacatzin can be be taken as Huaxyacac. Acatepec was referred to in the Relacion of Teozapotlan as a garrison. Smith associates the hill called Yucuyoo depicted on the map with Acatepec (1973: 207-208).

69. Hanks 1987; Bourdieu 1977.

70. León-Portilla 1969: 124.

71. Though it is true that the Conquest was not as violent in Oaxaca as in central Mexico, it is even played down in titles from places where it is known that the arrival of the Spaniards was extrememely violent; battles are rarely discussed, but rather confined to laconic statements such as "Cortés came." Wood 1991; Lockhart 1982.

72. Wood 1991: 184; Gibson 1964: 33-57.

73. Wood 1991; see, for example, the speech of the *Bancroft Dialogues.* (Karttunen and Lockhart 1987)

74. Lockhart 1992: 417.

75. Lockhart 1992: 115. Likewise, the Maya apparently had little sense of an ethnic or cultural identity or identification with any entity beyond the local *cah.* In fact, the Yucatec Maya may represent the extreme case in that there appears to have been no clear designation for themselves as a cultural group; they rather defined everybody else as *dzulob* or foreigners (personal correspondence, Matthew Restall). The absence in the documentation of such a term could be partly explained, however, by the lack of need to employ one. Of course, this may also be the same reason for its non-existence.

76. Stephanie Wood has also documented the use of false titles and codices among multiethnic or non-Nahua communities, involving the Matlatzinca, Mexica, and Otomí. She has even observed a few examples of an indigenous identity not compromising an immediate identification with the altepetl. See Wood 1984: 332-343; Wood 1991; Lockhart 1991 and 1992.

77. Similarly, Mexico [City] eventually eclipsed the term "New Spain" for the Viceroyalty and, of course, the Republic.

78. Just as the Mixtecs did not call themselves as such, Yuchayta did not call itself Chapultepec. In fact, Chapultepec is actually the Nahuatl name of the hill next to Yuchayta, named Yucutica, depicted on the map with a grasshopper glyph. Yuchayta means "river of flowers," not "grasshopper hill." This is an illustration of the rather haphazard Nahuatl naming pattern for foreign places which was adopted by the Spaniards.

Mixtec-language documentation never refers to the Nahuatl versions of place names.

79. Terraciano forthcoming: chap. 4 ("Ethnicity and Identity"). The term is first attested in the doctrina of Hernandez 1567 and also appears in Reyes 1593 and Alvarado 1593, as well as many locally produced notarial and personal documents. The reference to the image of Jesus Christ *Jesus Christo tay ñudzahui* is juxtaposed with an image of *Jesus Christo tay es-pañole*. This ethnic deity resembles the Nahuatl title's mention of a *teomixtecal* or "Mixtec deity." See Terraciano 1991 for the attestation of the term in a 1684 murder note from Yanhuitlan, written in the Mixtec language.

80. Jansen 1982: 226-228 and note on p. 490. He also suggests that the name survives in many parts of the Mixteca today.

81. The reference to "place of reeds" is associated with Tula; this is probably an association of the Mexica with their mythical/historical Toltec predecessors, or merely a reference to the physical landscape of Tenochtitlan, or a more metaphorical allusion. The depiction of Ñucoyo in the *Codex Sierra* is very similar to the place sign for Tula in the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, except the latter has no corresponding Mixtec ñuu frieze symbol at the base.

82. This word is related to the verb "to conquer." Alvarado lists "ganar conquistando" as *yosamindi ñuu*, "to burn a place (ñuu)." (1962: f. 114v.) The origin of the term may be associated with the Mexica tradition of burning conquered subjects' temples, as depicted in codices from the Nahua area. Alternately, *saminuu* (i.e., not ñuu) means "burnt face/eyes." In fact, Nahuas (Toltecs, Aztecs) were often represented in preconquest Mixtec codices with black circles painted around their eyes or blackened faces. This could be a homonymic device, unless the Mexica actually wore black around their eyes in battle. Alvarado lists "saminuu" as one of four definitions for "mexicanos." (1962: f. 149v). Other ethnic groups were also indicated by specific attributes.

83. Reyes 1976: prologue II, 91.

84. It is unclear whether *tay tocuisi* was reduced to *tay cuisi* in reference to the Zapotecs, as the term appears in this title. Due in large part to the paucity of Mixtec-language documentation from the Valley of Oaxaca, this term for the Zapotecs has not been previously attested.

85. In the sixteenth century, Spaniards were called *caxtiltecatl* by Nahuas and *tay castilla* by Mixtecs (the latter term was also used once in the title).

86. In 1910, Abraham Castellanos used myth to intepret the Mixtec Codex Columbino and spoke of the Spaniards as false "children of the sun" and "white men" who came from the east. He referred to the Quetzalcoatl myth of central Mexico which mistook the Spaniards as warriors sent by "our father the sun." To Castellanos, the real "children of

the sun" were the ancient indigenous ancestors. Mixtec myth involved the conquest of the sun. Regardless of the source or precise meaning of their associations, Castellanos' myths reveal that some of the terminology which appeared in the titles trickled down to the twentieth century.

87. As discussed above, the Mixtec title apparently refers to the Spaniards as "white people" (tay cuisi). This possible racial or simply descriptive reference is unique in the Mixtec-language documentary record. Nevertheless, this term would surely be an aberration in comparison to the dozens of attested cases of tay castilla and español.

88. Lockhart 1992: 115. The equivalent term for "black" meaning "African" has also been attested in Mixtec (*dzoo*).

89. The term's rare appearance in Nahuatl-language documentation involved non-Nahuas, and the translation of a Spanish document into Nahuatl. See Lockhart 1991: 8 and 1992: 115.

90. In Jalatlaco, just northeast of Antequera, John Chance reported that residents considered themselves "indios" and were regarded as such by others. To support this claim he cites the fact that accusations of being "mestizo" were countered by the affirmation of Indian status ("indio puro") in order to justify claims to officeholding (1976: 620).We believe that this was more a legal, formulaic response than a genuine self-conception. In spite of the assertion that members of the Jalatlaco barrio were "urban" residents and therefore more likely to assimilate, it is questionable whether they truly considered and referred to themselves as "Indians." A systematic review of indigenous-language documentation from the area would produce a more reliable sketch of identity than Spanish-language sources. Chance also notes that by the mid-eighteenth century there was no evidence that residents of the Nahua barrios and pueblos (including Mexicapan) traced their ancestry to the Nahuas (1978: 152). He calls this scenario the "demise of Nahua identity." The titles from Oaxaca, however, indicate a strong ethnic identity as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century.

91. Chance has contributed much to the subject of ethnicity in Oaxaca. He seems to waver on the question of whether indigenous groups in the Valley of Oaxaca retained or lost much of their ethnic identity. He proposed that each of the three groups "...succeeded in maintaining its language and ethnic identity well into the eighteenth century" (1978: 82). Yet he contends that "ethnicity was probably more salient in pre-Hispanic times than it was during the colonial period," due to a tradition of warfare and a language free from Spanish intrusion, but that the arrival of the Spaniards "changed all this" because "colonial policy treated each Indian community as a quasi-independent *republica de indios*." Eventually, "this policy of divide and conquer pushed regional ethnic ties into the background and heightened identification with one's community of origin" (1989: 10-11). We believe that identification with the socio-political

entity was neither compromised nor enhanced by ethnicity, and was always strong.

92. Borah 1991, in reference to the studies of Lockhart and Wood.

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4

"May They Not Be Fornicators Equal to These Priests": Postconquest Yucatec Maya Sexual Attitudes[1]

Matthew Restall and Pete Sigal

ten cen ah hahal than cin ualic techex hebaxile a uohelex yoklal P^e[2] torres p^e Dias cabo de escuadra P^e granado sargento yetel p^e maldonado layob la ma hahal caput sihil ma hahal confisar ma hahal estremacion ma hahal misa cu yalicobi maix tan u yemel hahal Dios ti lay ostia licil u yalicob misae tumenel tutuchci u cepob sansamal kin chenbel u chekic ueyob cu tuculicob he tu yahalcabe manal tuil u kabob licil u baxtic u ueyob he p^e torrese chenbel u pel kakas cisin Rita box cu baxtic y u moch kabi mai moch u cep ualelob ix >oc cantul u mehenob ti lay box cisin la baixan p^e Diaz cabo de escuadra tu kaba u cumaleil antonia aluarado xbolonchen tan u lolomic u pel u cumale tutan tulacal cah y p^e granado sargento humab akab tan u pechic u pel manuela pacheco hetun p^e maldonadoe tun>oc u lahchekic u mektanilobe uay cutalel u chucbes u cheke yohel tulacal cah ti cutalel u ah semana uinic y xchup ti pencuyute utial yoch pelil p^e maldonado xpab gomes u kabah chenbel Padresob ian u sipitolal u penob matan u than yoklalob uaca u ment utzil

maçeuale tusebal helelac ium cura u >aic u tzucte hetun lae tutac u kabob yetel pel lay yaxcacbachob tumen u pen cech penob la caxuob yal misa bailo u yoli Dios ca oc inglesob uaye ix ma aci ah penob u padreilobi hetun layob lae tei hunima u topob u yit uinicobe yoli Dios ca haiac kak tu pol cepob amen ten yumil ah hahal than.

I, the informer of the truth, tell you what you should know about Father Torres, Father Díaz, squad corporal, Father Granado, sargeant, and Father Maldonado: They say false baptism, false confession, false last rites, false mass; nor does the true God descend in the host when they say mass, because they have stiff penises. Every day all they think of is intercourse with their mistresses. In the morning their hands smell bad from playing with their mistresses. Father Torres, he only plays with the vagina of that really ugly black devil Rita. He whose hand is disabled does not have a disabled penis; it is said he has up to four children by this black devil. Likewise Father Díaz, squad corporal, has a woman from Bolonchen called Antonia Alvarado, whose vagina he repeatedly pokes before the whole *cah*, and Father Granado bruises Manuela Pacheco's vagina all night. Father Maldonado has just finished fornicating with everyone in his jurisdiction, and has now come here to carry out his fornication. The whole *cah* knows this. When Father Maldonado makes his weekly visit, a woman of Pencuyut named Fabiana Gomez provides him with her vagina. Only the priests are allowed to fornicate without so much as a word about it. If a good *macehual* does that, the priest always punishes him immediately. But look at the priests' excessive fornication, putting their hands on these whores' vaginas, even saying mass like this. God willing, when the English come may they not be fornicators equal to these priests, who only lack carnal acts with men's bottoms. God willing that smallpox be rubbed into their penis heads. Amen. I, father, the informer of the truth.[3]

Postconquest Maya Documentation

It is not surprising that the explicit and unambiguous language of the above petition, submitted in Yucatec Maya to the Spanish authorities in 1774 and eventually ending up in the files of the Holy Office in Mexico City, shocked the Inquisition official whose task it was to translate the document into Spanish. He was, it seems, so offended that he added his own opinion to the translation, condemning the allegations of the petitioner as "scathing, audacious," and "grossly excessive," especially in view of the fact that the clergy treated the natives with "respect and veneration."

Certainly this document could be looked at from the perspective of a concern for veracity, or an interest in Maya-clergy relations. Taking these viewpoints, one might investigate the nature and extent of complaints against clergy in Spanish America as a whole; or, more specifically, the petition might productively be placed in the analytical context of the series of petitions drawn up by Maya municipal councils (*cabildos*) throughout the colonial period accusing parish priests of violence, sexual misconduct, and malpractice. However, the study of such petitions tells us less about the quality of priests in Yucatan (for example), less about the acceptance of the Church and of Christian values by the Maya, and more about the skill with which the Maya (like the Nahuas) exploited the insecurities and preoccupations of Church officials while working the Spanish legal system to their advantage.[4]

In the end, we cannot ignore the fact that a document such as this petition of 1774 was authored by the Maya in their own language. Whereas not so long ago the *Spanish* translation of such a document would have been treated as a source for the study of relations between clergy and Indians in a colonial province, today we must take the opportunity to use *native* language material to penetrate aspects of indigenous culture after the Conquest. This chapter therefore places the above petition in the context of other Maya-language colonial-era notarial material dealing directly or indirectly with indigenous sexuality.

The broader context of the study is the full body of postconquest Maya documentation, whose genres and constructive features are discussed in Chapter 2 of this volume. Suffice to remark here that within a generation after the conquest of Yucatan (1542), the Maya elite had adapted a pre-existing writing tradition and begun writing their own language in the Roman alphabet, producing notarial documentation for local, ecclesiastical, and legal purposes--usually within Spanish genre formats such as testaments and bills

Figure 1: anonymous 1774 petition against four priests.

of sale. This tradition soon settled on a single key official in the Maya cabildo, the *escribano* (notary). The irony of postconquest Maya literacy is that it enabled native cabildos to advance their interests in the Spanish courts even at the expense of individual Spaniards. Furthermore, Franciscan friars initially taught the Maya alphabetic writing, ironically giving the Maya a weapon with which to attack the clergy--as in the 1774 petition.

Notarial documents, particularly petitions and testaments, can often speak somewhat indirectly to a study of sexual norms. Petitions may relate sexual misconduct. They more often talk about crimes against the community, excessive tribute demands, and Spanish social and economic norms, but even these complaints can have indirect sexual import, showing the processes of social change within the community. Testaments always relate to a discussion of kinship, and they also often demarcate the process of social change. Within Maya society, the kinship structure relates directly to sexuality as this structure establishes who is and who is not an appropriate sexual partner. We shall refer below to testaments in general and make specific use of the 1774 petition as well as two additional Maya petitions of the 1580s.

In addition to the escribano, a native church official, the *maestro*, seems often to have been literate himself; either he or the notary were also responsible for the writing of unofficial documents intended solely for local consumption. Such sources are concerned not with the detailed business of daily life but with broad statements of ideology; they include, in particular, historical texts, fables, and codices. The Maya used these documents to state their own understandings of the world and, therefore, to set norms for society. The examples used in this chapter are the Books of Chilam Balam from Chumayel and Tizimin.

The purpose of this study is to form a picture of Maya sexual attitudes by examining both official and unofficial Maya notarial documents. In looking at the 1774 petition above we are concerned with the following questions: Is this document a deviant genre? How do its references to sexual activity differ from such references in other Maya notarial sources? Does the document reflect Maya sexual attitudes revealed directly or indirectly in unofficial material? What do these attitudes tell us about how the Maya used sexuality, and what role did sexuality play in power relations within Maya communities and between Maya and non-Maya people?

Sexual Theory

Information on postconquest Maya sexuality (by which is meant sexual characteristics and activities beyond the sphere of gender roles) is sparse. If sexuality is a subject with which Latin American scholars have had little experience, the topic has only partially been undressed with respect to indigenous peoples and remains an undoubted virgin in the case of the Yucatan. Scholars have often shied away from talking about sexuality, even within a Western context. Despite the lack of prior scholarship, we find that we can study Maya sexual behavior. Most importantly, and most fundamentally, we find that, despite a relative scarcity of documents, the Maya *did* actually talk about sex, both directly and indirectly. A linguistic analysis of Maya documents presents us with the meaning of the language used and the importance of that language to a discussion of Maya sexual acts.

Historians of early Latin America have just recently begun to study sexuality. For the past twenty-five years, many historians of the period have researched social history, attempting to uncover various facets of people's daily lives. This research has given us a much broader understanding of early Latin America, allowing us to discuss social and ethnic differentiation within society.[5] It has also led scholars to more recent focuses on indigenous groups and on women.[6] Despite the many attempts at understanding people's daily lives, few scholars have tried to research sexuality. Those who have studied sexual behavior often have either focused on the pre-conquest period or have based their conclusions on Spanish chronicles and other documents of relying variability.[7] Nonetheless, two recent collections of articles edited, respectively, by Asunción Lavrin and Sergio Ortega, as well as full length works by Ramón Gutiérrez, Louise Burkhart, Carmen Castañeda, and Irene Silverblatt, all of which deal with sexual themes, have begun to fill the gap.[8]

In many ways scholars studying Europe and the United States seem further ahead in their understanding of sexuality, particularly regarding the importance of sexuality to history and to theory. They have accurately stated that sexuality does not have a given nature with no historical variation, but rather that it is a changing ideological construct, developed by society and by historical circumstance. Society implements sexual norms and penalties for transgressing those norms. Most importantly, society does not construct sexuality primarily through penalties for transgression of

norms, but rather through a discussion which promotes a division of behaviors into deviance and normality.[9] Society delves into the human unconscious and regulates sexual behavior through a perception of "choice."

Sexuality, as a socially and culturally constructed form of power relations, develops control over the individual conscious and unconscious, not by some set of natural urges, nor by a group of legal prohibitions, but rather by a form of rationalization of particular sexual behaviors that any one society promulgates through a complex series of discourses.[10] In modern Western societies, for example, religion, science, feminism, and various sectors of sexual identity politics all promote a variety of views around sex that lend to these societies' constructions of sexual options. In arguing for this type of analysis of the relationship between sexuality and power, Michel Foucault notes that, as opposed to sexual repression, his study shows that "power in modern societies has not governed sexuality through law and sovereignty," but has rather governed sexuality through "a veritable 'technology' of sex, one that is much more complex and above all more positive than the mere effect of a 'defense' could be."[11] Here we should not confuse Foucault's concept of power with some sort of conspiracy theory. Rather, social and cultural constructs develop power relations which affect and even determine the unconscious. In this chapter we discuss the ways in which the Maya constructed people's sexual behaviors--the ways culture and society constructed Maya thoughts about sex.

The Petition of 1774

The 1774 petition with which this chapter opens may present a unique insight into Maya sexuality. Its placement in New Spain's legal archives, its petitionary nature, and its prosaic language, all label the document as notarial. Yet its anonymity means it lacks the other defining hallmarks of Maya notarial material referred to in Chapter 2: opening and closing formulas; names of the cabildo officers, witnesses and the notary himself; stated provenance and date.[12]

Another unusual feature of the petition--the partial cause, no doubt, of its anonymity--is its tone. Notarial documents usually fulfilled specific purposes within the Maya community, or the Spanish legal arena, or both. Maya testaments, for example, recorded a ritual declaration of material status witnessed by the principal men of the *cah* (Maya community) that served to defuse

potential conflicts among surviving relatives; at the same time they satisfied the requirements of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities. Similarly, Maya petitions took prescribed Spanish legal forms in an attempt to advance local native interests. The 1774 petition, however, seems only indirectly to be concerned with local interests; its assault upon the reputation of the four accused priests is not only done with utter contempt, but with such apparent relish, as to suggest that the attack was intended in part to amuse the petitioners.

Modern ethnographies of the Maya detail a vivid and pervasive culture of sexual humor.[13] This humor is linguistically intensive (that is, it turns on puns and *double entendres*), which are not (to our knowledge) in evidence in this petition. Yet this culture of sexual expression implies a signal lack of prudery, among the modern Maya at least. If this existed in the late-eighteenth century, the 1774 petition would represent an ironic exploitation of the repressed sexual values of Catholic dogma by the Maya as a weapon against the perpetrators of that dogma--all the while providing the Maya a potentially humorous opportunity to send sexually explicit written material into the heart of the Spanish church. Speculation this may be, but it sits most comfortably with the indirect evidence.

Let us now look at some of the elements of interest to us from a linguistic standpoint, and then summarize the importance of these elements in understanding Maya sexuality. An analysis of the meanings of several words related to sexual norms shows that the Spanish and the Maya themselves reinterpreted many of these words during the colonial period. Moreover, some words reveal much about Maya sexuality.

The first mention of sex in this petition states that the priests say mass while they have "stiff penises." This is a literal translation of the Maya *tutuchci u cepob*. Clearly the writer means that the priests say mass with erections, yet he does not use the Maya word that apparently means erection, *thech*.[14] As we will see, the author chooses to describe sexual acts. He often does not use shorthand terms even when they exist in Maya. The petition later states that a priest "pokes" the vagina of a woman. The Maya *u lolomic u pel* represents the phrase "pokes her vagina." This seems to clearly mean intercourse, but again the author writes out a description of the act, despite the availability of several words for the act itself.[15] An accompanying Spanish translation does not help as it simply uses *joder* ("to fuck") for *lolomic*. This translation

uses *joder* for several sexual terms, and in no case does the translation seem entirely accurate. The next line also substantiates this point. Here another priest "bruises" the vagina of a certain woman. The Maya *u pechic u pel* is likely slang for having intercourse, but it could also refer to rape or to some sort of violent sexual encounter. The Spanish translation does suggest slang, using *apretar* ("to screw") for *pechic,* but we cannot tell if this is accurate. At this point, we can just appreciate that the writer of the petition describes actions, as opposed to giving us the Maya term for the action itself. We cannot determine the precise nature of what it means to "bruise Manuela Pacheco's vagina." Toward the end of the petition, the author objects vehemently to anyone who has "carnal acts with men's bottoms." Even these priests don't do that. This extended description clearly refers to sodomy, but the author does not use the Maya words for sodomy.

The various extended descriptions suggest that the author, despite a knowledge of the terms that could have shortened his statement, believed that he needed to delineate the exact nature of each priest's sexual violation. This may suggest that the Maya often used sexual descriptions instead of particular terms to differentiate between many sexual actions. We could also argue that the author used these extended descriptions in order to maximize the insult to the priests. Here, we clearly need more documents to pinpoint the accurate interpretation.

On several occasions, the author uses the word *chekic* or one of its derivatives. We have translated *chekic* as "intercourse." While we do believe this is the closest translation of the word in this context, the *Diccionario Maya* contains several other translations, the relevant one here being "to cover a male and female animal in order to make them fruitful and reproduce." We also find a phrase *ah chek* translated as a "stud of any species of animal," *ah* being a masculine agentive, meaning "one who does" something.[16] The word *chek* thus appears to have changed from a reference to human sexual acts to a reference to sexual acts among animals or vice versa. A Spanish translation attached to the petition again simply translates *chekic* as *joder.* Without more research, we cannot determine with any precision the linguistic development of this word. Likewise, the word we translate as mistress comes from *uey,* which could mean mistress, concubine, or girlfriend. We can see that sexual matters may be confused in translation, as, without context, *uey* might be seen as a non-sexual reference from one person to

another, despite the fact that the word clearly implies some sort of sexual importance.[17]

The author goes on to seem disgusted by "the bad smell" of the priests' hands from "playing" with their mistresses. The word for play, *baxtic* or *baxtah*, can also mean to "handle" or to "paw."[18] If we take all of these interpretations together, we can suggest that *baxtic* signifies some type of play that involves pawing at somebody or handling them. The author also uses *baxtic* in the very next line of the petition, saying that one priest plays only with the vagina of a black woman. It seems likely that the first quote refers to a stench which the author perceives as coming from the vagina. He sees this smell as particularly disgusting, and he also believes that the smell proves the validity of his petition.

The reference to the "very ugly black devil, Rita" says much of the author's racial views. Here it seems that there is little worse than a priest having sex with a black woman. Rita could represent the temptation of evil demons who tempt society's leaders, particularly religious people, to have sex with them. The Africans thus are seen as somehow evil, and their evil is connected to sexual temptation, a theme very familiar to U.S. historians who study the slavery period.[19] We could also interpret this reference as a critique of interracial sexual relations, similar to the critique by Huaman Poma of Spanish sexual practices which he states led to the creation of an evil mestizo population. Racial views thus play a role in our author's views on sexual behavior.

We also find that Fabiana Gomez provides Father Maldonado with her vagina. This may or may not suggest some form of prostitution. The Maya word *och* translates as "provide," and it carries the image of providing food for someone for his or her sustenance.[20] Here the author feels comfortable using the word for a woman providing her vagina to a man, possibly implying some relationship between a woman serving a man his food and a woman providing sexual service for a man.

For the last portion of the document, the author uses the word *pen* to describe the sexual acts of the priests. In each case where the writer uses *pen* he refers to fornication in general, rather than discussing specific acts, where he either uses an extended description or the word *chek*. *Pen* may have thus implied an abstraction of the immediate act, while *chek* and the descriptions clearly evoked a sense of the immediate situation. The Maya word *pen* does present some problems in translation. The dictionaries translate *pen* as "the sin of lust," "to fornicate," "the sin of

sodomy," "the nefarious sin," "to sin one man with another," and "to prostitute oneself."[21] While we do not know the accuracy of these translations, the context here does convey "to fornicate." The variety of meanings may suggest that the Maya at some earlier point did not distinguish clearly between sexual acts between men and sexual acts between men and women. Further, as we find later in the document, this author describes the priests as *ah penob*, translated here as "fornicators."[22] The word for sodomite, *ix pen*, simply switches the feminine agentive, *ix*, for the masculine agentive, *ah*. This again suggests the lack of a clear distinction between male-male sexual acts and male-female sexual acts. We should not, though, interpret such terminological similarity to suggest tolerance for male-male sexuality.[23] As we have seen, the author ends his petition with a strong note against male-male sexual activity, suggesting that the only thing worse than the priests' excessive fornication is sodomy.[24]

The final statement regarding rubbing smallpox into the priests' penis heads points out the use of body parts within this petition. The extensive descriptions often refer to particular body parts. The author sexualizes penises, vaginas, men's bottoms, and hands; all appear as sexual organs. Body parts seem sexualized. The author sees the individual as perverted, as the priests perform sexual acts in an illicit ritual context. Thus, the author mentions and sexualizes the individual as well as body parts. He does not mention or sexualize the body itself. The body only plays a role as divided among its parts and as part of the larger entity, the individual.[25]

We can also see the entire document as both an attack on priestly privileges and an attempt to keep the priests in line with their own declarations of celibacy. Our author uses the power of Church ideology against itself in an attempt to maintain particular standards of conduct supported both by the Church and by indigenous standards of conduct for religious leaders. The author thus reins in the power of certain priests.

The Petition of 1774 and Other Postconquest Maya Documentation

Elsewhere in the notarial record we find two pieces of evidence to suggest that Maya sexual language was imbued with levels of nuance and euphemism that we may not fully grasp. Both sources date from the late sixteenth century: One is a 1589 petition against a parish priest by a group of five Maya communities

(*cahob*); the other is a complaint by a Maya noble against his *batab*, or municipal governor.

Three-quarters of the 1589 petition is taken up with introductory and reverential phrases to the addressee, an Inquisition commissioner, including the typical expressions of faith in the addressee's able commitment to the protection of the cahob. Not until the end do the nobles and officers produce their ace:

> *hahilae he tilic u >aic confesar ti chuplalobe tilic yalic ua matan a >ab aba tene matan y >ab confesar tech lay licil u payic chuplalti matan u >ab confesar ti ua matan u talel chuplal tamuk u pakic u keban chuplalob matan u >ab confesarti lay u hahil tulacal baix u coilob tu >acan chuplal*
>
> This is the truth: When he gives confession to women, he then says, "If you don't give yourself to me, I won't confess you." This is how he abuses the women: He won't confess them unless they come to him, unless they recompense him with their sins. This is the whole truth about how the women are so disturbed.[26]

Those few lines may represent the archetypal anti-clerical complaint; the abuse of the confessional, the proximity of priest and female parishioner recounting her sins, was one of the prime causes of the creation of the confessional box.[27] Part of what makes this example noticeably Maya is the rhythm of the language, with *chuplal*, "woman," acting as a marker of repetition that simultaneously emphasizes that precious aspect of local (cah) society under attack. Yet the terminology to describe exactly what is transpiring between priest and penitent is idiomatic, largely euphemistic, seemingly vague, albeit notably varied for such a brief passage: *>abab*, "to give oneself;" *pay*, "to pull, extract, borrow, deprecate, call;" *tal*, "to come;" *pak*, "to recompense, repair;" and the final phrase *u coilob tu >acan*, which literally translates as "they are poisoned with madness." The similarity between these terms and those used in contemporaneous petitions in Nahuatl suggests a style common to this petitionary subgenre that is not exclusively Maya; a 1611 complaint from Jalostotitlan, for example, accuses the priest of seizing the alcalde's daughter in church and "wanting to have her."[28] Either this style is common to the Nahuas and the Maya as a possible Mesoamerican culture trait;[29] or the influence is

Figure 2: 1589 petition by five Maya communities against a parish priest.

Spanish, presumably (ironically) clerical. We tentatively suggest the latter in this case.

In a complaint of c. 1580 filed by a Diego Pox in connection with a lawsuit against his *batab* (municipal governor), this largely euphemistic language becomes more vivid. After detailing a number of objections to the actions of the batab, the petitioner states that:

> *U lobil u beel uicnal can muc u kuchul ychil u otoch u chochopayte in chuplal u pakic keban yetel u kati ti lolob maix tan u >ocabal yolah*
>
> the worst of his deeds was that four times he came inside my house to grab my wife by force to have intercourse with her. He wished it in vain. His desire was not fulfilled.[30]

The verb *pay* in the previous example, where the best translation seems to be "abuse," in this example becomes *chochopay*, a more explicit "grab by force." The phrase *u pakic u keban*, which in the context of a confessional and of the tone of the 1589 petition seems best glossed as "recompense with sin," in the context of a man trying to rape another's wife in her own home seems best read as "fornicate." This ambiguity is possible because Maya notaries did not diacritically indicate when a *k* was glottalized--*pak* means "recompense" (and *k'eban*, "sin"), but *pak' k'eban* is "fornicate."[31]

All three examples of sexual language are used to describe sexual activity in circumstances that are offensive to the authors. Diego Pox's complaint, however, is straightforward almost to the point of being dispassionate--after all, the alleged rape attempts were unsuccessful. The description of the 1589 petition is veiled, influenced perhaps by the prudish concerns of the Spanish clergy. The petitioners must shock the Inquisition into investigating and hopefully removing the priest accused, but at the same time they must avoid offending the addressee. In this comparative context the 1774 petition is even more outrageous, in that it was clearly intended to be just that. In going beyond the boundaries not only of veiled reference but of normal description, the document openly flouted any official or unofficial clerical prohibitions on vulgar expression--all in the cause of an attack on priests in a document addressed to a priest.

In the sixteenth-century examples the victimized women are in the Diego Pox case the petitioner's wife, and in the 1589 case the women of the five Maya communities responsible for the document. The cultural context is that of the role of prominent males in Maya society as protectors--in particular husbands and cabildo officers. Maya communities functioned in part through a system of paternalistic representation, whereby the batab represented the cabildo who represented the entire community, just as the senior male in a household or clan (patronym group) represented the group through nominal ownership of that group's landholdings. Duties of protection accompanying roles of representation are reflected in the linguistic imagery of rulership in Maya documentation.[32] By the same token, this system of representation is also one of authority--it is a determinant of power relations in the Maya community. Thus when Diego Pox's batab attempts to rape Pox's wife he is asserting his power over Pox and his wife within the sociopolitical structure of the cah, and when Pox objects before the Spanish courts he is asserting his power as protector of his family.

The objections of the sixteenth-century petitions, therefore, are not necessarily derived from prudish sensibilities or moral opposition to sexual activity on the part of the Maya; they are based on a concern to protect specific women, Maya women of the petitioners' own communities, foremost among whom may be their own wives. In contrast, the 1774 petition is concerned with no such thing. The women in question are not of the petitioners' community and in fact appear to be mestizas and mulattas rather than Maya. Far from being the object of protective Maya designs, these women are insulted along with the priests with whom they are seen; they are, in other words, accomplices to the alleged sexual crimes. The concerns of the 1774 petitioners seem to relate not to the interests of specific victims, but to the moral safety and high standards of the entire community--a position that is not entirely convincing in view of the language employed. The petition also represents an assertion of power by its author (possibly a cah) over outsiders, both Spanish clergy and non-Maya women.

The accusations in all three documents may well be exaggerated if not contrived: Maya officers were certainly aware of the kinds of tactics and accusations that aroused Spanish interest and action. Yet veracity is of minimal relevance. What is significant is the dialectic between the priorities of Maya cabildos and the sexual values of Maya society. A Maya woman enjoyed the protection of her cabildo, her community officers; where that system failed

her, she could fall back on the social values of the cah and rely on her husband to protect her through the Spanish courts (in possible contrast to the modern-day situation in which a Maya woman alone, even on her own property, is susceptible to rape without recourse[33]). Yet women who were not Maya, such as those described in the 1774 petition, and certainly not of that cah, were not subject to the protection of the cabildo and were thus an appropriate subject for lewd discussion and moral condemnation--possibly made in an ironic and humorous spirit. The fact that these women were named (unlike those in the other examples), and their home towns identified, highlighted their location on the wrong side of the Maya social fence.

Turning now to the broader body of Maya notarial documentation we find of relevance two corpora of testaments, those from mid-seventeenth-century Cacalchen and eighteenth-century Ixil. With respect to women, Maya wills indicate a division of labor by gender, a male-dominated hierarchy in politics and land tenure, and the use of marriage as a formalization of links between clans. The female position in society was defined, often dignified, not always equal.[34] Yet the social status of a woman was not necessarily tied to that of her father or husband. Widows do not seem to have been economically disadvantaged; unmarried women received property more or less evenly with their brothers, property that could be used to support them should they not get married.

Nor was a woman apparently disadvantaged by an extramarital relationship with a man. Pedro Mis of Ixil provides in his will for a woman and her child, both of whom he claims to have adopted. It is clear that the woman is his mistress: Pedro Mis' wife is still alive, and the mistress' child has his mother's name; there is no question of charity, as the woman was a Pech; and the use of "adoption" to cover extramarital relationships occurred likewise among the Nahuas of central Mexico.[35] We can only guess at the dynamics here, but the existence of other wealthy men bearing their mother's patronyms implies that it was socially acceptable to form an extramarital sexual union, at least under the circumstances on record (i.e., union between individuals from prominent families leading to the birth of a son). Another Ixil testator, a woman, has a son who bears her patronym, implying that he was born out of wedlock. A third testator from this cah, Juan de la Cruz Coba, fails to mention his father's name--it was customary to do so in that cah--and bears his mother's patronym. If he was illegitimate, it is significant that his will shows him to be a wealthy man

by Ixil standards, with some of that wealth inherited from his mother.[36] There is, in fact, nothing in the Maya record that justifies the use of a word as loaded as "illegitimate." The use of "adoption" to give extramarital union a respectable veneer might have been a smokescreen to avoid Spanish ecclesiastical condemnation, but may also have been a device that the Maya considered normal, not deceptive, particularly as such relationships would have been public knowledge within the cah.

The Books of Chilam Balam

The Books of Chilam Balam are anonymous historical/mythological Yucatec Maya documents.[37] Munro Edmonson often seems to think of the Books as vast riddles that the Maya produced. Yet, if we look closely at them, they clearly have tremendous interest in conflicts between nobility, between small areas that we may identify as cahob, and between three larger groups: the Itza, the Xiu, and the Spanish. In other contexts, historians of early Latin America have successfully analyzed similar statements of ethnic and social norms.[38] In this study we analyze portions of the Chilam Balam texts that relate to sexual behavior. In many cases, we find that the Maya, as in the 1774 petition, use sexual statements in attempts to define their power relative to outsiders. They use sexual imagery to denigrate outsiders as well as to tell cosmological stories and to interpret the meaning of daily sexual behavior.

Statements in the Chilam Balams regarding sexual norms largely fall into three categories.[39] First, sexual fables tell of leaders and eras destroyed by excessive sex. They also tell of the ritual importance of sexuality. Second, many riddles relate sexuality to other elements of Maya society. They particularly discuss the relationships between sex, food, and nobility. Finally, by far the most common use of sexual terminology is the insult. The Books extensively use sexual insults to denigrate some gods, former leaders, and people the authors determine as outsiders to the community.

We need to understand both Books as historical texts. They contain much discussion of calendrical systems, but primarily they relate events important to Maya history. Within this historical discussion, the Books talk about sexual acts as they believe these acts relate to history. Thus, we cannot simply deduce from these Books a complete understanding of Maya sexuality, but rather we

can attempt to understand the historical place of sex within Maya thought.

Both Books extensively utilize the imagery of flowers to represent a variety of things. The Chumayel states: "As they were two-two day people, infinitely crazy and lustful, the young in the end did not look, and shamed the prudent people among the youth in the flowers" (*Licil ca ca kin uinicil tucal coil tz'itz'i mehenil t u xul ca satmail ylil y etel subtalil cux y ol ca mehenob t u nicteob*).[40] Here, the flowers seem to represent sexual acts. The youth, not prudently thinking about the future, became very lustful and had inordinate amounts of sex. Flowers also often represent war and sacrifice in these texts, suggesting some linguistic similarity between these elements and sexual acts. The Maya word for flower, *nic*, has alternative meanings including "mountain," "to end," and "to destroy." The word used in the Books for flower has an additional *te* on the end, forming *nicte*, which in modern Maya translates as a particular type of flower. In colonial Maya, *nicte* translated as the "vice of the flesh and the mischief of women," clearly relating the term to sexual behavior.[41] Roys translated the ending, *te*, as a Maya patronymic related to trees and wood.[42]

We clearly need to further explore the linguistic relationship between flowers and sex. Studying the modern Maya, William Hanks has determined that, within ritual discourse, "the body is made up of the same elements as is the rest of the material world."[43] Moreover, he finds that Maya discussion of sex often uses a variety of metaphors, some related to the earth.[44] Within the Books of Chilam Balam, the Maya viewed sex as somehow related to flowers, possibly relating sexual behavior to the reproductive capacities of the earth and of sun and rain. Still, we should not allow ourselves to be misled by the relationship between flowers and sex. Such a relationship does not suggest that the Maya automatically saw sex as a beautiful and natural element of life. In the case of this quote, the authors of the Chumayel clearly condemn youthful excessiveness. Their excessive lust led them to the flowers--to sex. The text then goes on to say how bad times returned and the Maya began to kill each other, rejected the Christian God, and almost ended up destroying Maya society.[45]

Another example of Maya use of flowers comes from the Tizimin, which states an extensive fable about the downfall of an era caused by the sins of the lords:

> *Amayte Kauil u u ich t u canil ti y ahaulil hopic ci u tz'ocol u toppol ix bolon y ol nicte nicteil uah nicteil haa y aal tz'am lic u hal ach uinicil bal cah tz'am lic ah kin tz'am lic ah bobat ma mac bin u toc u ba t u halal can y ahaulil ti u u ich y etel u pucsikal i hunac tzuc ti cab ppen cech cal pach y an i ti pulan y oc t u lacal i la u tucul ti akab u keban kin u keban akab u munal u pucsikal hal ach uinicob ah bobatob ti u y ekabtic u che y etel u tunich ix ma na ix ma yum i chaan u ba xaxak y oc*

> Amayte Kauil was the face of the sky of the lordship who enflamed and ended the germination of the nine-hearted flower, the painted-heart flower, flowery tortillas, and flowery water. He worked as the provincial leader of the world, worked as a sun priest, and worked as a prophet. Nobody will escape from the true conversation of the lordship which is the face and the heart: The land was very lustful, abundant adultery existed, which was carried and taken everywhere. Such was the thought in the day, such was the thought in the night. The sin of day, the sin of night softened the hearts of the provincial leaders, the prophets. They blackened the trees and the stones. Those without mothers, those without fathers, they saw themselves in disarray.[46]

Such a fable seems to represent Maya concerns with excessiveness. Excessive sex could lead to the downfall of society. The false prophet and leader, Amayte Kauil, promoted this excessive sexual behavior, and thus the people would later overthrow him.[47]

The use of flowers in this fable appears to not directly represent sex. The flower has nine-hearts, a painted-heart, and it is related to food and water. The flower here seems to represent life. The heart, food, and water all maintain life. Amayte Kauil destroys the flower, thereby destroying life, through excessive sex. The flower and excessive sex thus negate each other, a seeming contradiction from the above-stated role of the flower. Yet, while excessive sex negates the flower, sex in moderation might relate positively to the flower. It seems clear from the above that the flower relates to sex in a variety of complex ways.

As others have mentioned, the flower maintains a symbolic identity in many areas of Mesoamerican thought. Among the Nahuas, the flower appears to have represented production and

reproduction. It also appears to have had a complex relationship to sexuality. The *Florentine Codex* shows a man and a woman sitting across from each other with a flower in between them. The caption to this picture reads "the sodomite."[48] Miguel León-Portilla and others also show that the flower relates to Nahua origin myths, philosophy, and war as well as sexuality.[49] It certainly appears that Mesoamerican cultures gave the flower many qualities related to life and death.

This passage also touches on the relationship between sex and sin in Maya thought. The sins of day and night relate back to the "abundant adultery." The word for sin, *keban*, seems related to feelings of uneasiness rather than the commission of actions defined as wrong by religious authorities.[50] Here, the wrong done could be the feeling of uneasiness among the population because of the excessive nature of the sexual behavior. We need to further investigate the development of *keban* in order to analyze the role of sin in Maya sexuality. This statement seems to find most objectionable the amount of lustful thought occurring in the period. It seems worthwhile to closely analyze the phrase here used for "abundant," which was also used in the 1774 petition to mean "excessive." The Maya is *pen cech*. Edmonson translates the phrase as "there was lust."[51] As stated above, we can translate *pen* as lust, but *cech* has several meanings, including "you who are," and many meanings related to deception.[52] The *Diccionario Maya* translates the phrase *pen cech* as "excessive" or "abundant."[53] This term for "excessive" obviously relates to the word *pen*. The Maya seem to have clearly related excessiveness to sexuality as two of four words used to mean "excessive" derive from *pen*. In fact *pen cech* seems to simply be a restatement of the phrase *pen cach*, also meaning excessive. The Maya probably simply decided to make the vowels agree. *Cach* has several meanings, the relevant one being "only."[54] If we translate *pen* as "to fornicate," then *pen cach* means "only to fornicate." The Maya then used this word as a general word, "excessive." Believing in moderation, the Maya probably used such a definition to condemn those believed to have too much sex.

This passage, or fable, goes far toward showing Maya concern with excessive sex, but we should not take it as an accurate portrayal of the period. The authors probably wrote this fable after the downfall of this particular leader as an effort to explain his ruin to later generations. They simply wanted to blame sex. The text has more value as one which tells Maya people the difference between right and wrong forms of sexual behavior. The fable, like

the 1774 petition, clearly presents excessive lustful thoughts and excessive adultery as wrong.

What is the correct form of sexual behavior? The Book from Chumayel contains many riddles that appear designed to make fun of the selection process of nobility.[55] In each case, the authors describe the scenario as an older noble asking a younger one a riddle which the younger one needs to answer appropriately. Should the younger one answer the riddles correctly, he would become accepted as a noble with true lineage. Should he fail to answer the riddles, society would assume him a commoner. These riddles suggest an attempt by the nobility to make fun of themselves and their tests of consanguinity and kinship. Many of the riddles have telling sexual connotations. The current lord says to the new:

> *Mehen e tales t en ah canan colob noh xibob hun tuch u tal u choon e y etel y atan e t ix mumil chac tal e cex uay e y etell ix ah canan col ch'uplalob e bin çaclah ch'uplalob e t en ix bin luksic u picob y okol e ca tun in hante lay chicam e*
>
> Son, bring to me the field guards, the grown men who have navels that come down to their pubic hair, and their wives are very soft, bring them over here and also the guards of the fields of young women. The girls will be white-faced that I will free them from their skirts. Then I will eat them. This is gourdroot.[56]

We again find sex and the human body related to food. The riddle suggests peeling the gourdroot as similar to a man taking off a woman's clothes (probably representing the Maya wrap-around skirt). Sex is likened to eating. Nobles here make fun of commoner men and women, particularly emphasizing the relationship of their bodies to food; commoner men are so fat that their navels come down to their pubic hair. The riddles also make fun of nobles, including the actors within the riddles. The authors discuss several cases where the lord takes off the clothes of a noblewoman and then eats her, again connecting sex and the female body with food.[57] Noble men do not escape such humor either, as the riddles often discuss their anatomy, also looking at their bodies as food, sometimes suggesting a relationship between male to male sex and eating.[58] We find clear relationships between the body and food as well as between eating and having sex.

The Books of Chilam Balam also use sexual terminology in the form of sexual insults. Here, we will give but a few examples of the many insults used. The Chumayel states that a certain pre-conquest era ended because of the misdeeds of two lords, *kak u pacal* and *tecuilu*.[59] *Kak u pacal* means "the ascending fire." *Tecuilu* comes from the Nahuatl *tecuilonti*, meaning "sodomite."[60] The insults clearly treat these lords as inferior leaders who destroyed the society. The authors use the word "sodomite" to insult the memory of the lords. The use of the Nahuatl could stand as a further insult, suggesting that the lords went beyond the linguistic construction of Maya sodomy into a different linguistic construct (one which the Maya could further denigrate), Nahua sodomy. While the above is the only mention of sodomy in the Chumayel, the Tizimin mentions it several times. The authors of the Tizimin focus on a period in which people had "overflowing anuses" (*u cucul it*).[61] This passage mentions "sons of the anus" (*u mehen tzintzin*), again using a derivative of a Nahuatl term for anus, *tzintli*,[62] and very likely referring to sodomy. The passage goes on to state the insanity (*coil*) of such "sons of the anus."

Sexual insults do not limit themselves to sodomy. The Books also use prostitution, adultery, fornication, pederasty, and more obscure elements of sexuality as insults. The Tizimin, insulting the Itza, say that under Itza leadership, *t u kin y an tzintzin bac toc*: "In that sun, there were robbers of children's anuses."[63] Note again the use of Nahuatl, "tzintzin," to refer to the anus. The Books so often use Nahuatl to describe the anus, that the Maya must have understood some connection between Nahuatl speakers and the anus. The Books, like the 1774 petition, thus attempt to insult outsiders by using what the Maya would have considered a sexually derogatory image.

The Tizimin also states that those who illegitimately covet the lordship are "children of the road to a good time" or "children of a loose woman" (*yal ti ti be*).[64] More often the meanings of the sexual insults themselves are elusive. In one case in the Tizimin, the authors insult a ruler because he does not know his mother or his father, and because he was born "through the nose and the tongue" (*tu ni y ak tz'etz'ec e*).[65] While we can understand this as an insult, we cannot know to what, if any, sexual act the "nose and tongue" refers.[66]

We should not understand the use of sexual insult in the Books of Chilam Balam to imply Maya hostility toward sexuality or toward any specific act. Although sodomy, prostitution, and ped-

erasty are used as insults, it seems that, in each case we can interpret those insults as condemnations of excessive sexual behavior. The fables, riddles, and insults of the Books condemn excess, not moderation. In fact, the riddles often make fun of sex, but clearly show that a wide variety of sexual acts, like a wide variety of foods, are good and important to maintain life within the proper context. The context to which the riddles refer seems to suggest that sex should have a ritualized element, and that people should only have moderate amounts. Excessive non-ritual sex would lead to the destruction of society--the death of the social body.

Conclusions

What can we say in general about Maya sexuality from these documents? The Maya petitions and testaments discussed earlier back up some of the Chilam Balam statements on sexual activity and contradict others. The clearest of such statements is the condemnation of sexual excess. The Books appear to define this excess by looking at the categories of lust, adultery, sodomy, pederasty, and prostitution. The relationship of the words for excess, *pen cach* and *pen cech*, to sex seems clear, and suggests that many struggles took place among the Maya over controlling excessive sexual behavior. While the Books of Chilam Balam never give us a clear idea of what the Maya would have determined excessive, the petitions of 1589 and 1774 do help with this problem. There, excessive sexual behavior seems to be that which interferes with the religious connection between the people and the deity, specifically when priests fail to control their own sexual proclivities. In the Chilam Balams excessive sexual behavior leads to disaster: the destruction of a society or the overthrow of a leader. They imply that these disasters occurred because of the dissatisfaction of the deities with the state of existence of the Maya people. This dissatisfaction stemmed both from the sexual indulgences of the priests and from the excessive sexual behavior of the society as a whole. The people could not communicate with the deities because their minds and the minds of the priests were occupied with constant sexual thoughts.

The Books of Chilam Balam do not condemn all sexual activity. The relationship between flowers and sex suggests a Maya interpretation of sexuality as something natural and connected to the earth as well as to the cosmos. The Maya see both the allure and the danger of the flowers, similar to the allure of sex but the dan-

ger of excessive amounts of sex. The riddles also seem to suggest that people should have moderate amounts of sex. Indeed, the petitions condemn not sexual activity per se, but what the Maya perceive as undesirable sexual variants--priests' public sexual activity, sexual relations between priests and Maya women, the sexual relations of non-Maya women, rape, sodomy, and digital sex. The 1774 petition appears to condemn even moderate amounts of sodomy and digital sex, no doubt--due to its anti-clerical intent--a reflection of greater Christian influence.[67] The Books of Chilam Balam do not mention digital sex and give sodomy a relatively minor role.

In a study based on field work in the Maya community of Hocaba in the 1970s, Barbara Holmes seems to suggest that Maya men and women live in very different sexual cultures, with ribald humor being a strictly male preserve.[68] If this was the case in the colonial period--and one might speculate that it was, considering the frequency of a gender division in sexual humor--it is significant that document production was also a male preserve. In other words, the Maya-language notarial evidence, while offering great insight into the role of women in Maya culture, reflects male concerns and offers us a male perspective on many aspects of that society. This perspective ranges from the sexual humor of an anonymous and highly explicit denunciation of Spanish priests as licentious perverts, to the practice of representational and protective roles by husbands and male community officers, to the different ways in which the Maya used sexual language when the women involved were from outside the Maya community--from outside the world of the cah.

We can begin to see sexuality as evidenced in extant Maya-language texts as a formulation of male power. Still, the evidence suggests that sexuality for the Maya held much more than this. The sources of this study well illustrate the view of sexuality as an indicator and expression of power relations in general. Some Maya men discussed sexual activity in order to assert their power over other men and women within the community. The author of the 1774 petition attempted to use sex in order to empower the Maya cah over people perceived as outsiders. Maya nobles used sexual perceptions as insults against Nahuatl-speaking people, clearly another attempt to assert the power of the Maya people against non-Mayas. The only exception to this rule is the treatment of the English: a group of outsiders whom the Maya author of the petition could not have known. A male member of the community discussed sexual violence both to assert his "benevolent" power

over "his" woman and to challenge the power of the batab. The woman's physical resistance also challenged the power of that batab. A series of jokes within the Books of Chilam Balam turned the power dynamic between nobles and commoners upside-down, if only for a moment. The Maya connected food, excess, and sexual activity in order to assert a variety of power relationships. Maya nobles created sexual insults against various Maya leaders (probably reflecting inter-cahob rivalries) to cut down the power of those leaders. The Maya clearly developed varied discourses on sexual activity which they used in both official and unofficial notarial documents in order to consciously or unconsciously assert power.

For us to come to further conclusions about the ways in which the Maya understood and performed sexual activities, we need to engage in more research. First, other scholars should stop shying away from the study of sexual behavior. We have shown how such a study is a legitimate form of historical inquiry. Second, historians need to study a wide variety of documents, and not become discouraged by the paucity of documents talking directly about sexual activity. Research into more Maya official and unofficial notarial documents, the pictorial and hieroglyphic codices, and criminal trials and Church records would help further our understanding of Maya sexual norms. It seems that sodomy, other male-male sexual activity, female-female sexual activity, rape, incest, adultery, intercourse, concubinage, and pederasty all took place in Maya society as in most other societies. Yet there is more to be learned of the meaning the Maya gave to such behaviors, of their perception of the relationship between sexual norms and gender and social stratification, and of the influence of Christianity on Maya sexual acts and attitudes.

Notes

1. This chapter originated in separate papers given by Restall and Sigal at the 1992 Salt Lake City meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory in a panel entitled "Indigenous Sexuality in Latin America." The broader research contexts of the chapter are Restall 1992 and Sigal forthcoming.

2. This abbreviation stands for "padre." We have attempted to keep everything as in the original text, leading to the following notes and abbreviations (in order of appearance): "y " is an abbreviation for *yetel;* and

">" stands for the glottalized Maya "ts," written in colonial documents as a backwards "c."

3. AGN-I, 1187, 2, 59-61. We are grateful to Kevin Terraciano for finding this document in the AGN and passing on a copy to Restall; it was initially translated by Restall, James Lockhart and Marta Hunt, but Restall and Sigal are fully responsible for the above version. An earlier version can be found in Restall 1992.

4. Maya petitions against priests are discussed by genre, as well as in the context of all colonial-era Maya petitions, in Restall 1992: 49-79.

5. See Bakewell 1971; Brading 1971; Lockhart 1968; Schwartz 1973; and Taylor 1972.

6. For strong works on Indians using indigenous language sources, see: Bricker 1981; Burkhart 1989; Cline and León-Portilla 1984; Karttunen 1985; Karttunen and Lockhart 1976; Lockhart 1992; Restall 1992; Roys 1933, 1939, 1965; Schroeder 1991; and Thompson 1978. Also important to the present study, but using Spanish documents, are Farriss 1984; Gibson 1952, 1964; Gutiérrez 1991; Taylor 1979.

7. For the former, see: Hidalgo 1979; López Austin 1984; and Quezada 1974. For the latter see, for example, Guerra 1970.

8. Burkhart 1989; Castañeda 1989; Gutiérrez 1991; Lavrin 1989; Ortega 1985; Silverblatt 1987. Clendinnen 1982 is a partial attempt to approach Maya sexuality through Landa's (1982 [1566]) comments on Maya women. The only two works on same-gender sexual relations in colonial Latin America include Serge Gruzinski, "La Cenizas del Deseo: Homosexuales Novohispanos a Mediados del Siglo XVII," in Ortega 1985; and Spurling 1992.

9. Weeks 1985; Foucault 1978; and D'Emilio and Freedman 1988.

10. For one of the most articulate enunciations of this theory, see Foucault 1985.

11. Foucault 1978: 90.

12. The year date is indicated on the Spanish translation; the provenance could presumably be easily deduced by Spanish officials at the time from the visita records of the accused priests. A longer definition of notarial documentation is Restall 1992: Chap. 2.

13. Hanks 1990; and Burns 1991.

14. DM Part I: 782.

15. DM Part II: 78.

16. DM Part I: 88.

17. DM Part I: 921.

18. DM Part I: 42-43.

19. Unfortunately there has been little work done on Africans in colonial Latin America, and none for the Yucatan.

20. DM Part I: 593-594.

21. DM Part I: 686-687.

22. Note that *ah penob* could easily be translated as "carnal sinners, lustful sinners" or even "villains." DM Part I: 687. We have used "fornicators" to establish consistency, and because we believe this to be the most accurate translation in the context.

23. Here, we do not mention female-female sexual activity because we do not find any mention of such activity in the documents used. Obviously, such activity did exist, but because of the nature of these probably male-written documents, they do not discuss female-female sexuality.

24. This petition also contains a place name which has sexual meaning. Father Maldonado has sex with a woman from Pencuyut, which has several possible sexual translations, including the "fornicating coyote," "the lustful coyote," and the "sodomizing coyote." This place does exist in Yucatan (it is in the Mani region), but the author may have used it in this petition in order to make a particular point (or joke): that lustful women come from oversexed communities.

25. For further elaboration, see Sigal forthcoming.

26. AGN-I, 69, 5, 277.

27. Bennassar 1979; Christian 1981: 253, n. 37; González 1985.

28. Reproduced with translation in Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart 1976: 166-173.

29. Many others are suggested by Nahua-Maya similarities presented in Restall 1992: 421-25 et al.

30. Tabi collection, folios 32-33, in T-LAL.

31. DM Part I: 619, 626.

32. See Restall 1992: 142-45, 268-69, 405-10 et al.

33. This is according to Holmes 1977: 245.

34. Restall 1991a; 1991b; 1992: chap. 5.

35. The Pech were the dominant clan (patronym group) in Ixil (Restall 1992: chap. 5); on the adoption of mistresses by Nahuas, James Lockhart personal communication.

36. Ixil wills 30, 36, 51 in Restall 1991a.

37. CBT; CBC; Roys 1933.

38. See, for example, Burkhart 1989; Schroeder 1991.

39. In this chapter, we restrict our discussion to the two most important books, the Chumayel (CBC) and the Tizimin (CBT). (There are at least three additional smaller Books, and fragments of nine possible others.) While they have clear differences, these two Books do present a cohesive Maya history and ideology.

40. CBC: lines 661-666. Note that on many occasions our translation varies somewhat from that of Edmonson.

41. DM Part I, 569-570.

42. DM Part I, 782.

43. Hanks 1991: 86.

44. Hanks 1991: 120-122.

45. CBC: 79.

46. CBT: lines 1349-1382.

47. CBT: 63.

48. Dibble and Anderson 1961: illustration 61. We thank Lisa Sousa for pointing out this and other illustrations in the *Florentine Codex.*

49. León-Portilla 1961.

50. DM Part I: 392-393.

51. CBT: 62.

52. DM Part I: 308.

53. DM Part I: 687.

54. DM Part I: 279.

55. Burns 1991.

56. CBC: lines 4525-4534.

57. See, for example, CBC: lines 4271-4296 and lines 4639-4650.

58. See, for example, CBC: lines 4111-4120 and lines 4519-4524.

59. CBC: lines 298-299.

60. Fray Alonso de Molina translates *"tecuilonti"* as the active partner in sodomy. The passive partner is trenslated as *"cuiloni."* Molina 1992 Part II: 93, 16.

61. CBT: line 2788.

62. CBT: line 2803.

63. CBT: line 1958.

64. CBT: line 3838.

65. CBT: lines 1089-1090.

66. Of course, this could be an oblique reference to oral sex. Without further evidence, though, we are not willing to suggest that conclusion.

67. While we normally are not willing to impute particular assertions to either pure Christian influence or pure indigenous influence, in this case the intent of the petition seems clear: its author wants to use Christian morality against Christian clergy. Given this intent, it seems that we can credit much Christian influence to the ideas expressed in this particular petition. No doubt, though, this is also a Maya response to Christian influence.

68. Holmes 1977: chap. 6.

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5

Father Fiction: The Construction of Gender in England, Spain, and the Andes

Kimberly Gauderman

"*Do* we decide questions at all? *Answers*, no doubt, but surely the questions decide *us*." Lewis Carroll

"Who is your father?" Historically, the answer to this question could determine your racial and class position in society, your access to property and political power. Your father named you, thus inscribing you in a cultural matrix in which the biological ambiguity of paternity was socially regulated and reinscribed as an absolute position of power. Your social identity was defined through your relationship to a patriarch: to the male head of a household, the King and to God. Thus, the questioning of your paternity was intelligible because it was embedded within a historically and culturally specific construction of social relations emanating from a central and fixed source of power. Asking about one's father reaffirms the existence and potency of power relations organized around patriarchy. To glimpse other possibilities of existence, other formulations of power and points of resistance, historians must be theoretically self-conscious; we must ask different questions.

This essay is part of a larger project examining the connection between gender and power in indigenous societies in the Andean region during the colonial period. My goal here is to demonstrate the necessity to reconsider the universality of the patriarchal model of gender organization and to show the explanatory potential of a gendered history of Latin America. Because this work is in progress, my propositions should be seen as suggestive rather than

conclusive. I am working from two premises: first, that patriarchy has been used as a metahistorical concept to understand relations between men and women. I will argue that the promiscuous use of the concept of patriarchy has problematized historical research in two ways. The present use of the term patriarchy is more suited to English traditions of gender organization and thus leads to the imposition of alien cultural values onto other societies. Related to this issue is the implicit notion that gender relations are historically stable. This has led to the anachronistic application of gender codes from one era onto the gender relations of another. My second premise is that gender reflects and conditions relations of power. Because the concept of patriarchy has obscured our vision of other forms of gender organization it also masks more than it reveals about Spanish American social, political and economic relations.

Gender and Binarism

Sexual difference is based on the biological differences between men and women. Gender differences are constructed by societies on the basis of their perceptions of this sexual difference. Because gender refers back to the anatomical differences between men and women, there is a tendency for researchers to attempt to fix gender differences in binary opposition to each other. Strength and weakness, for example, are associated with male and female categories. But, as Foucault writes, even the body itself does not escape the influence of history.

> The body is molded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest, and holidays; it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits and moral laws; it constructs resistances....Nothing in man--not even his body--is sufficiently stable to serve as a basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men.[1]

Thus, even if one could construct gender as the ideological counterpart to the palpable concept of the human body, that body itself is unstable, molded through the regime of history. The strengths and weaknesses of material bodies are as prone to historical manipulations as are our attitudes concerning them. There is no reason to assume, then, materially or theoretically, that binary oppositions, such as strength and weakness, have been conceptualized by all so-

cieties as representing male and female principles.

Joan Scott attempts to escape this gendered binarism in her analysis of gender and politics.

> The point of new historical investigation is to disrupt the notion of fixity, to discover the nature of the debate or repression that leads to the appearance of timeless permanence in binary gender representation.[2]

A gendered analysis of history would then reveal points of rupture, contestations in a field of discourse regulated through normative gender roles. However, perhaps because Scott is focusing on Western cultures, the power which is being disrupted is still constructed through binary oppositions based upon sexual difference.

> To vindicate political power, the reference must seem sure and fixed, outside human construction, part of the natural or divine order. In that way, the binary opposition and the social process of gender relationships both become part of the meaning of power itself.[3]

The construction of power, then, requires legitimation through a referent seen as immutable, the biological differences between men and women. Gender, as the social manipulation of sexual difference, becomes an intrinsic element in the creation and maintenance of power.

Gendering power, however, and defining its basis as gender binarism are two separate operations. Gender refers to, but is not contained by, sexual difference. The social inscription of men and women does not necessarily encode their bodies as oppositional forms. Scott's analysis of totalitarian and democratic regimes in the twentieth century convincingly demonstrates that gender relations condition and are conditioned by relations of power.[4] The cultures she examines are bifurcated through gendered distinctions that polarize sexual difference and invest power unequivocally in male experience. Cultural attempts to construct power through gender binarism, however, cannot be universalized. Patriarchy, reconfigured as gender binarism, cannot remain the anchor for gendered analyses of history; it cannot remain the subject of historical research, "a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history."[5] The object of historical inquiry should not be limited

to an examination of how cultural interpretations of sexual differences have been used to bifurcate human experience into the powerful and powerless. Rather, the focus should be on how discourses on gender are implicated in power relations, realizing that domination may be maintained on other axes than fixed binary oppositions.

Gender and Power

Power is the ability to determine and enforce differentiations between what is true and false. Thus there are many possible codifications and recodifications of power relations.

> Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.[6]

Power is not unified or centralized but instead is dispersed throughout a discursive field composed of both material and symbolic referents. Power is constructed from a variety of discourses which are subject to constant subversion and overdetermination. The discourse of gender has historically operated persistently and recurrently in enabling the signification of power.

> Established as an objective set of references, concepts of gender structure perception and the concrete and symbolic organization of all social life. To the extent that these references establish distributions of power (differential control over or access to material and symbolic resources), gender becomes implicated in the conception and construction of power itself.[7]

A gendered historical analysis then will recognize the historic and cultural mutability of concepts of Man and Woman. It comprehends gender systems as both reflecting and conditioning other modes of cultural, political, and economic organization and experience. This analytical model does not deny the efficacy of underlying economic

and empirical forces; rather it insists that these forces must manifest themselves through discourse alongside other more purely discursive entities, such as cultural definitions of masculine and feminine. "Effective" history rejects metahistorical significations and recognizes that the possibilities of identity are projected onto a subject, that identity is not separate from history. "It disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself."[8] History of the local and the particular shatters the universal by revealing myriad struggles over the social production of truth. Gender structures these relations of power and thus is an important analytic category for understanding the past.

The State and Normative Discourse

This essay will survey cultural attempts to establish normative gender roles by looking at English and Spanish civil and religious legislation concerning family organization and Spanish and indigenous chronicles. I will also examine the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, a seventeenth-century Quechua text, which contains information about Andean social structure. I am not imposing the state as central to these societies but view it as an arena of struggle where cultural gender codes have been temporarily fixed.

> The state is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship knowledge, technology, and so forth...[it] consists in the codification of a whole number of power relations which render its functioning possible.[9]

Effective history would examine these other discursive realms and expose challenges as well as support for normative discourse. Such a history must focus on culture beneath the institutional level, where individual struggles over meaning climax in blood and gold. It requires knowledge of mundane details and the vast accumulation of source material; it requires patience and constant erudition. That is not my goal in this essay. Here I will remain nomadic, describing the precarious outcomes of a multitude of struggles crystallized into rules of conduct. Because the serene and omnipotent gaze of patriarchy has obscured even the outcomes of these struggles over meaning, an examination of the metapower of the state can

propose new directions for historical research, even if it cannot offer a definitive path.

The Potency of the Patriarch

The term patriarchy is based upon *pater* Latin for father. The extension of *pater* into patriarchy connotes much more than mere fatherhood but "a social organization marked by the *supremacy* of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line."[10] Researchers have tended to use patriarchy as synonymous with fatherhood, however, conflating the male's discovery of his usefulness in reproduction with his perceived seizure of complete authority in society. The male claim to paternity has thus been seen as a revolution, "one of the most decisive ever experienced by mankind," an evolutionary step inaugurating male creation and control of a nuclear family, private property and the state apparatus.[11] This preferencing of the male reproductive experience as the "revolutionary" moment in social evolution, has led researchers to extend the patriarchal model to all societies where men have discovered their paternity, and fatherhood is socially recognized. The social regulation of fatherhood, however, is contextually, not metahistorically, connected to patriarchal power relations. Rather than naturalize this patriarchal negation of female experience, I will examine how such relations arose within a specific, historical moment, that of medieval England. I am not positing this epoch as the origin of patriarchy. The importance of British models of normative gender relations lies not in originality but in the resonance such paradigms continue to have in our analyses of other cultures.

Normative gender relations were codified in England using common law, jurisprudence concerned primarily with regulating relationships to property under feudalism. Under common law, the King had ultimate ownership of all land. Control over land parcels was given to citizens in exchange for loyalty and military service. Under British traditions, only men were capable of performing these feudal duties of homage and fealty and thus all land had to be in the possession of males. Common law granted a husband control over his wife's estate because only he could perform the required feudal duties. "Whether the wife's interest arose before or after marriage, the husband was entitled to the possession, use, and income of her estate for the duration of the marriage and their joint

lives."[12]

In marriage under common law, the husband had the status of head and master of the household. In a relationship analogous to that between a vassal and a lord, the wife was required to render obedience, domestic service and submission to her husband. Under common law, marriage resulted in the "civil death" of the woman, or coverture. Under coverture a woman could not convey or contract real property to or from her husband or acquire or dispose of property to third persons without her husband's consent. A wife could not draw up a testament, as she had no property to bequeath. She could not engage in trade or business, sue or be sued. A woman's property was owned absolutely by her husband and was held liable for her husband's debts. Even a wife's paraphernalia, her apparel and ornaments could be claimed by creditors. Her husband was responsible for her debts and all other wrongful or injurious acts committed by her before or after marriage. Though a husband was compelled to make suitable provision for his wife and children, he legally controlled his wife and had sole custody of his children. Even at his death, his wife did not necessarily gain custody of her children; he could entrust their children to someone else's care. If a wife survived her husband, she was only entitled to dower, one third of his estate, until she remarried. Normal inheritance patterns left the estate to a single heir, the eldest son.[13]

The only provision for a woman married to a man who was squandering money or had abandoned her was to appeal to the King for relief through equity. Those who "lamented that they were too poor, too sick, too old, too powerless or too disadvantaged by the rigidities of the law"[14] could appeal to the King's chancellor for special treatment. Not specifically a remedy for women, the notion of equity, or fairness as opposed to legal strictness, developed into a body of precedents by the seventeenth century which in some circumstances could ameliorate the situations of wives, usually those from the upper class with access to competent legal advise. For the majority of women, however, the rigidity of marital unity, or female coverture, was not altered until the middle of the nineteenth century. (This occurred in the US, the recipient of British cultural values and common law jurisprudence, when states began to pass statutes that allowed married women to own some forms of property.)[15] Until then, a wife's ability to control property was seen as a rupture in the normal course of law. To obtain the status of an "honorary single woman" she remained dependent upon others: "her husband for an antenuptial agreement, on relatives for a trust

estate, and on the state in abandonment, separation, and divorce."[16]

Marriage was, however, only one relationship among others in which "superior" protected and legally represented the "inferior." Common law was not interested in the family per se. As long as the family was intact, common law was only concerned with its head, the father.[17] The father was the sole public representative of the family. The family unit itself was legally separated from community scrutiny; it became invisible, cloaked by a single male identity. In this system, marriage acted to fracture off individuals into households legally and economically dominated by a male; women's experiences and concerns were mediated through men. Through coverture, a man gained his power as a patriarch by causing the "civil death" of the woman he married. The ability to negate another, vested in the male as father, lord and king, regulated not only gender relations but a whole series of power relations concerning the economy and the state. The will to fix normative male and female roles in binary oppositions came to its most complete realization in the specific historical and cultural configurations particular to the English tradition. The negation of the other through binarism is not the only basis for power; power is much more malleable to the inventiveness of the humans who create it.

A Family Affair: Patriarchal Permeability

At the time of the Spanish invasion of Latin America, Spaniards had a long tradition of operating within a social structure characterized by its decentered power relations. Spanish governments during this period were not centralized bureaucracies representing activist, unitary states. The Crown's main function was to legitimate the outcomes of economic and social struggles occurring quite autonomously at local and regional levels. The state consisted of "various entities largely independent of each other, under loose control, competing with each other for a domain of action that was not tightly compartmentalized."[18] Agencies, such as the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the local city council, had overlapping jurisdictions and were encouraged to watch and report on each other. The dynamism of this system depended upon the strength of each entity to operate autonomously rather than in compliance within a hierarchical chain of command. It is within this system, where power is maintained through dispersal rather than negation, that Spanish gender relations gain meaning.

Unlike the English legal tradition of male-dominated households, under Spanish law the extended family was a major institution performing all operating functions of society. The family unit included extended kin as well as those not related through blood or marriage but brought into the family network through the tradition of *compadrazgo*, or god parentage. Spanish households also included slaves and servants who were highly integrated into the family life and frequently took on the names of their masters or employers. Illegitimate children were incorporated into this network, receiving some recognition from the usually Spanish father, often taking his name and getting some support. The ideal model for the Spanish family encompassed many social levels and stretched from the city into the countryside.[19] Both men and women were active agents in extending the family's social, economic and political influence into the community. Like the state, power was generated through extension and inclusion rather than consolidation and exclusion. The strength and dissolution of this network of power relations is codified in the changing nature of Spanish legislation concerning the family during the colonial period.

Scholars have paid scant attention to the cultural specificity or the historical fluidity of Spanish legislation concerning the regulation of gender norms. Some view Spain as belonging to an "Anglo-European" tradition where a woman was an "imbecilitas sexus," an imbecile by her very nature.[20] Others interpret colonial gender relations through nineteenth-century legislation and travel accounts.[21] These ahistorical practices insert a model of patriarchy based upon a male-centered household into colonial society and define women as "chattel" and their three hundred years of colonial heritage as subjugation. This simplification of the colonial experience is caused in part by the mistaken belief that little documentation is available concerning gender relations during this period.[22] In fact, a great deal of scholarship on gender has been generated from a number of Spanish colonial sources: testaments, letters, financial records, church and government reports and records of litigation, as well as state and local legislation.

In addition to the methodological procedures used by researchers, late colonial Spanish officials themselves are implicated in the fabrication of a colonial patriarchal tradition. The Royal Pragmatic of 1776, promulgated in the colonies in 1778, extended parental control over children's marriage decisions. During this same time the father's authority was designated absolute in important family issues such as marriage decisions. The govern-

ment ministers who designed this legislation cited the practices of other Catholic nations of Europe, two minor eighteenth-century Italian canonists and Spanish civil law and the Toledan councils from the early medieval era.

> The completed Pragmatic...relied on the creation of a myth of "national" tradition. It cited the *Fuero Juzgo*, lib. III tit. 2, and without specific reference to any subsequent legislation intimated that Spanish law had always followed this early precedent, when, in fact, it had not.[23]

Thus there are at least two displacements separating us from understanding colonial society. The first is found in the historians themselves, in their unexamined preconceptions within which they frame the source material. The second is found in the historical documents, containing the conscious or unconscious agenda of their authors. It is within these displacements that the apparent stability and universality of patriarchy has been created.

Castilian private law was based primarily on Germanic, Roman and canonical precepts and was reformulated throughout the colonial period. The seventh century *Fuero Juzgo* (mentioned above as the basis for the Pragmatic) was based on Germanic law and was modified, expanded and recodified as the *Fuero Real* in the thirteenth century. *Las Siete Partidas*, based on Roman and cannon law, was also codified during this century and formulated the legal guidelines governing the bridal dowry. Both the *Fuero Real* and the *Partidas* became the basis for the *Leyes de Toro*, enacted in 1505. The *Leyes de Toro* paid special attention to the status of women in Spanish society. This body of legislation outlined women's legal capacities, the dimensions of husbands' authority, the rules governing community property, inheritance, the dowry (*dote*) and the *arras* (groom's contribution to the bride).[24]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Spanish women, unlike their English contemporaries, could own, bequeath, and inherit property on their own account. Wives shared the *Patria Potestas* (parental authority) with their husbands which gave them custody of their children.[25] Legally, a woman could choose to live separately from her husband, which gave Spanish women the right not to join their husbands who had left Spain for Spanish America. In fact, the burden was on the husband to seek certification from his wife allowing him to remain apart from her or legally he could face deportation back to Spain.[26]

A wife's separate private estate consisted of her dowry, the *arras*, and any supplementary goods or capital obtained prior or during marriage. A woman's dowry was the basic element of her estate and, though administered by her husband, the dowry remained her private property. In addition to her dowry, a groom often gave his bride a gift of capital and goods, an arras, legally limited to ten percent of his total worth at the time of marriage. A wife was free to retain for her own administration any part of her estate not explicitly incorporated into the dowry or arras. The dowry and arras were unalienable from her estate and legally the husband's authority over his wife's property was not absolute. Legislation spelled out that "his function as an honest, prudent manager was to redound more to the good of wife and family than to his personal aggrandizement and profit."[27] If her dowry and arras were badly administered, she could sue her husband to compel him to surrender them to her. When the marriage ended, the husband was compelled to return the value of both to his wife's estate and his private estate was forfeited if he did not meet this obligation.[28]

Because a wife's property was legally separate from her husband's, it could not be seized by his creditors. This provided economic insurance for the family and gave her husband mutual interest in preserving its value and in keeping her capital apart from his estate. The desire for a sound economic base for the family superseded the husband's individual interest in increasing his own private estate. This ability to shelter a part of the family's income from creditors promoted the artificial inflation of the wife's estate through increasing the wealth of her dowry. At the time of marriage a husband could claim that his wife had brought with her more money than she actually had, sometimes even more than the entire worth of the couple, in order to safeguard the family income.[29]

In addition to the husband and wife's private estates, they also shared community property, all property acquired jointly during the marriage. When the marriage ended, usually at death, their joint property was divided equally between their separate estates. Husbands and wives bequeathed their estates separately to their children; the same legal guidelines for testaments applied to both. All legitimate children, regardless of their sex, inherited equally from both their parents. If no children were living, the law mandated that the estates be divided between grandchildren, parents, the surviving spouse or, in some cases, illegitimate children.

Only a person who "lacked both descendants and ascendants was at liberty to dispose of the estate as he or she saw fit."[30]

Proper functioning of the Spanish family required that husbands and wives retain separate legal and economic identities. Power relations within the family were therefore similar to those at other levels of society. Like the state as a whole, the prosperity of the family depended upon the power of its members acting semi-autonomously within a union in which their interests both converged and remained distinct. This model also extended to the relations between parents and their children. Though the economic and social status of the original family and the children's future families were linked, parents did not have ultimate authority over their children's marriage choices. The Council of Trent in 1545 codified the right of sons and daughters to exercise free will in marriage choice and prevented their parents from disinheriting them.[31]

The Council of Trent decreed that church courts had exclusive jurisdiction over marriage. Though the doctrine of free will and the sacrament of marriage had long been upheld by the Church, the Council sought to codify these traditions in reaction to the Protestant Reformation. Protestant doctrine relegated marriage to the control of civil authorities and mandated parental consent for children to marry.[32] The Council's decrees were embraced by the Spanish Crown. "Philip II sent no less then 14 *cedulas* urging prelates, *corregidores* and town councils to observe the decrees of Trent."[33] The decrees were not, however, accepted by Protestant countries or even in other Catholic countries. In France, the King refused to receive the decrees and issued laws mandating parental consent for marriage.[34]

Not only was Spain unique in accepting the Council's decrees, the Church was also empowered to enforce its codes through access to the state apparatus and community support. The Church married children without their parents' knowledge, temporarily took custody of children whose parents attempted to reverse their marriage choices through psychological or physical abuse, and could call on the support of the Royal Police to enforce the parents' compliance with Church doctrine.[35] In addition, Church litigation records show that members of the community were eager to involve themselves in family disputes. Witnesses intervened to stop family violence and volunteered to testify about what they considered parents' unjust interference in their children's marriage plans.[36]

Community involvement in the family could even extend into

conjugal relations. The Church only condoned sexual relations if they occurred within marriage. Married couples were expected to satisfy the sexual desire of their partner whenever it was requested; to refuse a partner's request was a mortal sin.[37] This marital duty (*debito matrimonial*) was conceptualized in contractual terms. Couples were encouraged to seek balance in their requests and payments of this debt. Excessive requests were considered unjust and, though sexual problems were usually veiled in litigation, a couple's disagreement over the frequency of their sexual relations could become the basis for legal action.[38] In a Mexican divorce case in 1715 the ecclesiastical judges called on the husband and wife's friends and neighbors to give their opinions on the couple's sexual relations.[39] The willingness of members from the community to testify in these cases exemplifies the extent to which public intervention could be considered legitimate even in the most intimate relations between family members.

The cultural specificity of Spanish gender norms during the majority of the colonial period has been largely overshadowed by the changes which occurred in the late eighteenth century. Codified through the Royal Pragmatic, civil authorities gained control over marriage and parental consent was mandated for all persons under the age of twenty-five. This was followed in 1783 with legislation preventing wives from bequeathing to children who had married without their father's consent.[40] By 1787 the Council of the Indies ruled that the father's veto of a marriage partner was absolute; even if children accepted disinheritance, the couple could not marry.[41] The growing power of the father in the family coincides with the Spanish state's increasing centralization during the late colonial period. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, a single body, the Council of the Indies, controlled appointments and promotions for both ecclesiastical and royal officials in Spanish America.[42]

Historians have tended to posit the state and the father as the stable centers of colonial relations of power. In fact, for most of this period, the power matrix was maintained on a much different basis than the English model of a patriarchal hierarchy. The power of the father in Spanish America was simultaneously produced and constrained by his position in a larger network of competing and overlapping interests. The family was represented by both the husband and the wife and their family was in turn part of a larger kinship network. The ideal family extended visibly into the community, incorporating many generational and social levels. At

the same time, the community intervened in relationships within the family. The concept of patriarchy conceals the inclusive and permeable nature of the colonial Spanish American family.

***Tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic.* "We are all of one birth."[43]**

In 1532, when Spaniards seized the Incan emperor Atahualpa in Cajamarca, Andean cultural transmission occurred primarily orally. Though statistical records were kept through the *quipu* method (knotted-string calculation), Andeans used no writing.[44] Thus, for the first generations after conquest, we are dependent upon records and chronicles in Spanish for information on this region. The earliest work in Quechua only dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Because the available documents were created largely under Spanish auspices or influence, one must be circumspect in using these sources to interpret Andean cultural practices. Nevertheless, with careful reading, these texts reveal concepts and beliefs which are strikingly different from Spanish traditions. In this essay, I will establish Andean gender norms using information drawn from Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous chroniclers, including the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, the earliest known source in Quechua. This last text, an early seventeenth-century composition on Andean indigenous religion, was written by Quechua speakers and was written in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native traditions.[45] This manuscript thus provides a unique perspective for interpreting Andean cultural norms.

Some historians have characterized Andean society as rigidly hierarchial with a centralized state controlling the roles and responsibilities of all individuals. Regional identities and kinship relations were meaningless. The state controlled all land; even personal clothing, cooking implements, etc. were considered state property. There was no inheritance as there was no private property to pass on to heirs. Society was patriarchal; women held no positions of power or prestige. Instead, women were considered property.[46] Recent scholarship has shown, however, that the Inca state operated as an imperial network connecting provincial kingdoms that retained their languages, religion, internal organization and dynasties. The state incorporated these local entities through a system of reciprocity wherein the Inca supported the local ruling powers in exchange for tribute in goods, labor, and people. In fact, some provincial kingdoms actually expanded their power base in alliance with the Inca. Even local deities could become state spon-

Figure 1: Quechua-language writing from the *Huarochirí Manuscript.*

sored cults. The power of the Inca depended upon the ability of these regional kingdoms to retain their own productive resources and ruling structures so that tribute could be produced and channeled through the local ruler to the Inca state.[47] The Andean region was incorporated into the Inca empire through a complex system of alliances legitimated through cultural traditions of reciprocity rather than a rigid hierarchy. It is within this cultural matrix that one must interpret Andean gender norms.[48]

Environmental and social relations in the Andean region were conceptualized in explicitly gendered relations of reciprocity and complimentarity. Deities were gendered depending on their particular arena of activity. In general, the earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. These gendered associations could be partially overdetermined by a second set of associations: altitude and motion were conceptualized as male, while depth and stability were considered female.[49] Much of the action in the *Huarochirí Manuscript* revolves around female deities of low lying plains seducing the male mountain deities to irrigate them. The prosperity of a region depended upon the cooperation of both male and female ecological forces.[50]

Social activities were also specifically gendered in the Andean region. Weaving and spinning, both of economic and religious importance, were associated with women, while plowing and combat were considered male activities. The Inca tributary system recognized the interdependence of male and female activity for social reproduction and thus the household, not the individual, was the minimal entity responsible for payment of tribute.[51] Pictures drawn by Guaman Poma, an indigenous chronicler, at the beginning of the seventeenth century show that the complimentary tasks of men and women were essential for the maintenance of Andean life. He shows men and women involved in all aspects of agricultural production: plowing, sowing and reaping. Men, associated with altitude, are pictured as standing, while women are shown closer to the earth.[52] Pachacuti Yamqui, an early seventeenth-century indigenous chronicler, drew a schema of Inca perceptions of the universal order. In his drawing a deity of ambiguous gender heads male and female parallel descent groups which are united on earth through the depiction of a native storehouse, the product of the labor of both men and women. For the Inca, universal and social harmony was not the product of a rigid hierarchy. Instead, balance was created through the separate activities of gendered entities of equal importance in the maintenance of social order. The

relationship between gendered entities was conceptualized as relativistic. Pachacuti's work shows that in any given realm of activity male and female power relations were contextually driven. Male or female could predominate depending upon the activities, interests or associations involved.[53]

Concepts of gender complimentarity and parallelism are central themes in the *Huarochirí Manuscript*. In this region's cosmography no single central deity emerges; instead, a pantheon of male and female deities are interrelated through kinship. Pacha Camac, a widely worshipped coastal deity who Garcilaso claimed as the forerunner of the Christian God the Father,[54] here is depicted in complex interactions with other powerful deities. According to some religious accounts, Pacha Camac was married to Chaupi Ñamca, the region's supreme female land and river deity.[55] Chaupi Ñamca's relationship to Pacha Camac is ambiguous in the manuscript as she is also noted as being married to a poor man.[56] Whatever her conjugal status, marriage is not seen as a stable relationship or source of identity for her. She is characterized in the manuscript as traveling around in human form and seducing other deities.[57]

Chaupi Ñamca's ambiguous marital situation and her frequent trysts are characteristic of the instability of conjugal unions throughout the manuscript. All couplings are seen as contextually defined, requiring constant rearticulation to achieve positive social value. Chaupi Ñamca must be continually wooed in her pastoral festival by men dancing around naked singing "Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it to no end when she sees our private parts" (*chaymantaca llatanlla caytam runacuna taquispa chaupi Ñamca pincayninchicta ricuspam ancha cusicon ñic carcan*).[58] In irrigation myths, the complimentary pairing of female land deities with male mountain deities is always portrayed as an active, potentially conflictual, social process. Agricultural fertility is only achieved through negotiations whose outcomes are not predetermined but are open to renegotiation. Thus Chuqui Suso, a female land deity, and Paria Caca, the region's supreme mountain deity, consummate their relationship not when her field is initially irrigated as they had originally agreed, but only after she renegotiates for the building of a canal.[59] Likewise, flooding caused by the union of two other deities is prevented later in the manuscript through renegotiations over water distribution. The resulting accord required constant intervention by men and women in the region to maintain balanced distribution.[60]

As Salomon notes, "all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union."[61] Only through negotiations could tensions inherent in unions of opposing principles be submerged and the ideal of complimentarity instituted. Male and female power relations were not static but were socially dynamic and contextually defined. Harmony, based on the ideal of gender complimentarity, resulted from fluid interactions between gendered agents whose positions of power were precariously and temporarily fixed through a constant process of negotiation, intervention, rearticulation.

Conjugal relations, then, were sites of social dynamism, arenas where the ideal of complimentarity bred its own negation, conflict and competition. Relations between husbands and wives symbolize the uncertainty of history; it is relationships between siblings which provide the paradigm of social stability. Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, sister and brother, were the supreme deities in the Huarochirí region. Each represented opposite ecological and social concepts. Chaupi Ñamca, the original deity of the region, represented low lying plains and rivers and the original valley inhabitants. Paria Caca, a mountain deity, represented the high land invaders. The symbolic integration of these two groups is represented through fraternal, not conjugal, ties between the deities.[62]

Both Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca were five-fold deities; the nature of the plurality of their persons is ambiguous in the manuscript. Both deities are referred to in both plural and singular tenses. This could arise from the little distinction made between plural and singular in the Quechua language at this time. But, descriptions in the manuscript of Chaupi Ñamca's idols depict both a singular stone with five arms, or wings, representing her five elements, as well as singular idols dedicated to each of her persons, conceptualized as five sisters.[63] The ambiguous distinctions between plurality and singularity, then, are not simply grammatical quirks of an inexperienced writer but indicate broader patterns in Quechua symbolic representation.[64] It was not, however, the ease with which the Quechua writers slid between plural and singular representations which demanded explanation by the Spanish clerics who partially edited the work. In fact, they may have felt relief in finding an indigenous religious concept that expressed the same ambiguity as the Christian Trilogy. It was the specific relationship between Paria Caca's five selves which needed clarification.

Paria Caca emerged as five eggs, which turned into five falcons and then into five people.[65] Throughout the manuscript the re-

lationship between these five selves remains unclear. The elements are represented as brothers as well as sons of Paria Caca. At one point the Spanish note in the margin demands a clarification of the status of these five selves.[66] For the Quechua scribes, however, identifying the father in Paria Caca's existence was not considered imperative. In chapter fourteen it is mentioned that he might have been the son of Cuni Raya Viracocha[67] and yet in chapter one the writers comment that it's not known which one of these deities existed first.[68] The same ambiguity arises in establishing Chaupi Ñamca's paternity.

> Others say,"she was Tamta Ñamca's [a deceptive lord] daughter." Still others say, "she was the Sun's daughter." So it's impossible to decide.
>
> *hucmi tamta Ñamcap churinsi carca Ñincu...huaquinmi canan yntip churinsi Ñincu chay ynam mana hunanchaypaccho*[69]

For Chaupi Ñamca, not only is her father not identified but it is clear that her identity is entirely separate from the possibilities mentioned. Whether she is the daughter of a lord who cheats his people or that of the supreme Inca deity, neither impacts upon her own status as the supreme female deity of the region. Neither Chaupi Ñamca nor Paria Caca derive their power through marriage or through their father; rather, it is their relations to each other as siblings which provides the stable base for the humans who are their descendants.

Inhabitants of Huarochirí viewed Paria Caca as their father and Chaupi Ñamca as their mother.[70] Symbolic descent from a sibling pair is a recurrent theme in creation myths throughout the Andean region.[71] The Inca not only legitimated their political power through their symbolic descent from the siblings, the sun and the moon, but within the Inca dynasty itself, the emperor married his own eldest sister.

> They also said that the princes married their sisters so that the heir might inherit the kingdom as much through his mother as through his father....As an additional reason, they considered that the majesty of being the queen should not be granted to any woman unless she inherited it in her own legitimate right and not as the king's con-

sort.[72]

The power of the queen did not stem from her husband. Furthermore, the legitimacy of an heir depended upon his descent from both his father and mother, who were brother and sister. Likewise in Huarochirí, "To be an ancestrally entitled worshipper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca...was the crux of belonging."[73]

The law of Paria Caca, ("We are all of one birth") exemplifies the unifying concept of descent from a sibling pair. The word used for birth (*yuric*) in this phrase is a different term than patrilineage (*yumay*); male descent, or kindred (*ayllu*), localized descent. The focus is not on the creative agents but on the process of creation, the birth. It is the inhabitants' descent from the product of this birth, the sibling pair, which unites the region through kinship.

> Insofar as all the people of the region are "born" of unions between descendants of a brother and a sister, all are siblings at the apical level of kinship and religious reckoning.[74]

Though both men and women claimed Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca as their mother and father, they credited these deities with engendering same sexed images of themselves. "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women and Paria Caca of men" (*cay chaupi Ñamucas ancha runa camac carcan huarmipac caripacri paria caca*).[75] Likewise, the Inca believed that women were descendants of the moon and men of the sun.[76] In fertility rituals in Huarochirí, the engendering of men and women was considered separate activities. Festival participants invoked male and female offspring through separate, parallel activities given equal importance. Set up as a competition between ayllus, men threw spears at straw effigies gendered male and female, while women danced and chanted. The engendering of males was not given priority. The goal was to strike specific targets in both effigies to engender both male and female offspring. This same ritual was used for the fertility of llamas, animals of economic and religious importance.[77]

The separate parallel engendering of males and females operated in a larger system of religious parallelism common to the Andean region. Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca were worshipped in separate festivals considered of equal importance for the well- being of the community.

> This time of worship [for Paria Caca], as we know, is called the Auquisna. Similarly the worship of Chaupi Ñamca is called the Chaycasna.
>
> *cay muchacuy pacham auquisna sutioc ynatacmi chavpi Ñamca muchacoypas chaycasna sutioc*[78]

The manuscript's writers later describe parallel rituals.

> People, would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca....They'd lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca.
>
> *payta muchaypacri yma nam paria cacaman yallinacuspa rircan ynallatacsi ña chayaipac yallinacuc carcan llamanta ymantapas catispa chay llama paria cacaman ric quiquillan(ta)tacsi chaymanpas pusac carcan*[79]

When people asked for supreme advice, they addressed their requests to each deity separately. In responding, the deities did not consult with each other but with their component selves.[80] To the inhabitants of Huarochirí, Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca's union did not dissolve their individual identities, desires, or gifts.

Physical as well as symbolic unions of men and women did not negate their individual attributes in order to solidify the two into a single entity. Individuals retained their identity constructed through their participation in communal kinship and gender specific activities. The Western concept of a family as a sphere closed off from the community is not descriptive of Andean experience. In fact, there is no single word for family in older Quechua. Instead, the concept of family relies on multiple word constructions that refer to those who share or were raised in a certain household.[81] An Andean family, then, could include not only the nuclear family but extended kin as well as individuals not related through blood. Families were not isolated from the larger community; their access to productive resources was based on their membership in an ayllu, or larger kinship structure.[82] Ayllu membership was the basis for a man or woman's identity and carried much more importance than their household affiliation. Men and women acquired their rights

to community lands and herds through parallel transmission from their parents. Men inherited from their fathers and women from their mothers.[83]

Women's occupations were not confined within the household but extended into the larger community. In vital projects such as insuring a community's access to water, women not only fulfilled the ritual role as receivers of water rights for their households but also participated with men in the physical labor of damming lakes and channeling water.[84] Women were active in trade and curing.[85] In religion, women acted as priestesses and even founded cults that became community and state sponsored religions.[86] Women, alongside men, participated in important public festivals by leading worship, drinking, playing music, singing and dancing.[87] Indeed, representation by both men and women at all levels of society was considered essential for the community's economic and spiritual wellbeing. When twins were born to a couple the entire community considered it a portentous event. Both the mother and father, overseen by extended kin and representatives of the community, underwent elaborate rituals of purification for one year after the birth. If the twins were of the same sex, the community considered the birth a bad omen. Only if they were born male and female did people interpret it as a good sign.[88]

Their Names

Social relations are exemplified in naming patterns. The three cultures examined in this essay all used different means to mark the identity of their members. In the English tradition of coverture, a woman took the name of her husband, symbolizing her civil death.[89] She and her original family's interest in her person and property was severed; her husband was the legal representative of a nuclear family and she became "Mrs. Man."[90] This tradition, one of the last vestiges of coverture operating in the United States today, is still practiced by the majority of women.[91] Though more women are choosing to keep their own last names, this practice is still considered controversial. Hilary Rodham Clinton's decision to retain her surname after her marriage to Bill Clinton had negative political consequences for her husband in Arkansas. Her eventual decision to add his name to her's, rather than deleting her own, formed part of the basis for the national debate over her proper role as the President's wife.

In Spanish tradition, naming patterns for men and women were

far more fluid. Women did not take on the names of their husbands at marriage. In fact, there are examples of husbands taking on the names of their wives. In mid-seventeenth Catalonia, a woman inherited a house that had remained in the family for centuries through heiresses whose husbands had taken on the women's family name upon marriage. In general, both men and women, as their social positions rose, sought out the most prestigious sounding names throughout their family trees. Names were therefore not fixed; changing status resulted in changing names and some people switched back and forth, never deciding which surname they preferred.[92] The fluidity of Spanish naming patterns reflect the importance of men and women in promoting the social and economic success of their extended families. Both men's and women's identities did not lie within the nuclear family but were based in a larger kinship network.

Andean men and women headed parallel lineages through which property and surnames were transmitted. Daughter's took their names from their mothers, sons from their fathers.[93] An individual's access to community wealth depended upon her gendered lineage's incorporation into the larger community, itself defined in gendered kinship terms. Gender parallel transmission of names, thus, located an individual temporally within a lineage extending back to creation and spatially within a specific community. Individuals' relationship to this gendered social organization provided a stronger basis for their identity than their relationship to their spouse or their household. Within this cultural matrix, representation by both men and women was considered essential to the preservation of lineages and the community.

Concluding Thoughts

In this essay I have examined the gender norms of three different cultures. I have given patriarchy an historical and cultural context, showing how it operated within English legal tradition. Within this tradition a woman's identity was subsumed by her husband, and the father was the sole representative of the family. Under Spanish tradition, women were not defined by their husbands, the family encompassed extended kin and was extended out into the community. Both men and women were legally acknowledged as representing a family's political, economic, and social status. In the Andean region, gender roles were complimentary with households integrated into the community. Symbolic and social space was

explicitly gendered; yet the relationship between men and women was not fixed but contextually determined.

I have used information drawn from legal and ecclesiastical texts to establish normative gender roles in England and Spain. For the Andean region I have used chronicles and indigenous manuscripts. I am not positing that these documents reflect the actual behavior of men and women. I examine these texts to understand how these cultures imagined ideal gender relations. I have also considered that these gender norms are incorporated into other power relations. In the case of England, the ideal of a strong, centralized bureaucracy mirrors the position of the father as lord of his household. In Spain, the decentered state encouraged the autonomy of individual entities within overlapping jurisdictions. The Spanish family also promoted the separate interests of husbands and wives while recognizing their joint interest in community property. The Inca empire legitimated its expansion through the model of complimentarity, supporting existing structures while imposing obligations. The Andean community reflected this model in its own parallel organization of gender roles. Unlike gender binarism, which promoted one identity by negating another, here, gendered identities were strengthened through social interaction. The model of patriarchy has obscured then, not only our understanding of male and female relationships but, by defining power as a centralized force, has distorted our view of ways in which the Spanish and Inca constructed their state power.

In this essay, I am not trying to answer the question of how women have been historically constrained and repressed. Concurrently, I am not attempting to identify societies in which gender relations were more or less "equal." In fact, I would argue that the very questioning of gender equality can only be meaningful within a society bifurcated into the powerful and powerless, social relations which arise specifically out of patriarchy. The concept of gender equality thus becomes more problematic and nebulous in societies organized around different power relations. The Spanish model based on inclusion and the Andean model of gender complimentarity do not in themselves guarantee social justice. But the discourse of equality is not more certain of a path, as recent Supreme Court decisions limiting affirmative action, to ensure the rights of historically dominant groups, attest to. Instead, my interest lies in understanding how male and female identities were historically and culturally constructed and used to support relations of power. Gender thus becomes an element of power, power,

> that traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression.[94]

Patriarchy must be seen as a cultural and historical construction, not as a universal paradigm for understanding human behavior. Used generically to label male domination, the definition of patriarchy tells us nothing about the form of that domination. If given a precise definition of centralized control by males, its use simplifies the mechanics of domination. Naturalizing patriarchy masks other forms of power relations and colonizes the experiences of "non-Western" cultures.

Notes

1. Foucault 1984: 88.
2. Scott 1988: 43.
3. Ibid., 49.
4. Ibid., 46-50.
5. Foucault 1980: 117.
6. Ibid., 131.
7. Scott 1988: 45.
8. Foucault 1984: 82. Effective history is Foucault's term for the genealogical approach to historical research. The history of the genealogy of a topic does not seek the origins of a concept, but instead traces its effects on the construction of power relations. For an example of an application of this methodology, see Seed 1983. Her work is an analysis of discourses competing to define the nature of marital relations on the basis of love or economic interest in colonial Latin America. The subject of her analysis, marital relations, is not prefabricated and projected back on to history. The concept of marriage becomes discontinuous, continually redefined by societies within their specific historical settings.
9. Ibid., 64.
10. *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. Springfield, MS: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1984. Emphasis mine.
11. Engels 1979: 67.
12. Rabkin 1980: 20.
13. Ibid., 19. See also, Basch 1982: 17, 54 and 55. For inheritance pat-

terns see, Vries 1984: 63, 76 and 223.

14. Basch 1982: 21.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 26-27.

17. Ibid., 17.

18. Lockhart 1983: 11. For a detailed analysis of Spanish bureaucratic agencies and their struggles over competing jurisdictions, see John Leddy Phelan. *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1967. For an alternative view of the colonial Spanish state as a strong, centralized bureaucracy, see for example: Stein, Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein. *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

19. See Lockhart 1983: 7-9.

20. See for example: Pescatello, Ann M. *Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Families, Societies, and Cultures.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976. Pescatello conflates British and Spanish legal and social traditions. For example, she finds that primogeniture existed in Spain, with a son always inheriting the family estate (p. 23). In fact, Spanish law mandated that all children inherit equally, regardless of sex.

21. See for example: Arrom, Silvia Mariana. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. Stanford, CA: Stanford, 1985. This book contains a section on Spanish women's legal status in the colonial period and uses predominantly nineteenth century sources to establish women's status throughout this period.

22. Pescatello 1976: 150.

23. Seed 1988: 299.

24. Korth and Flusche 1987: 396.

25. Seed 1988: 235.

26. Lockhart 1976: 120-121.

27. Korth and Flusche 1987: 401.

28. Ibid., 401.

29. Lockhart 1968: 156. This often occurred when a man of wealth but of lower social status, such as a merchant, married a woman of less wealth but of higher status.

30. Korth and Flusche 1987: 399.

31. Seed 1988: 32-40.

32. Ibid., 34.

33. Ibid., 255.

34. Ibid., 35.

35. Ibid., 77-79.

36. Ibid., 44.

37. Lavrin 1992: 53.

38. Ibid., 73.

39. Ibid., 75-76.

40. Seed 1988: 285.

41. Ibid., 204.

42. Ibid., 167. This growing trend towards centralization of power coincides with the growth of capitalism and economic rationalism. "Capitalism, or more accurately the changes in attitudes about control of property and acquisitiveness that accompanied capitalism, provided for the reevaluation of the role of fathers by stressing the significance of their economic function and by strengthening their authority as consequence of their management not only of the immediate family's well-being but also of its ambitions within new realms of economic activity" (235).

43. The Law of Paria Caca, in *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, translated from Quechua by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste. The introduction by Salomon includes information on linguistic and cultural traditions in the Andean region.

44. Lockhart 1983: 48.

45. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 2. Salomon suggests that the Quechua writer was attempting to preserve Andean myth rather than rework it within Spanish norms. He also notes that Avila, the cleric who later used this text to identify indigenous religious practices and idols in his extirpation campaigns, would have achieved much more information by not interfering with his informants' accounts.

46. See Pescatello 1976. See also Burkett, Elinor C. "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*. Ed. Asunción Lavrin. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.

47. Lockhart 1983: 46, and Karen Spalding 1968 and 1984. See Garcilaso, p. 209, "After they were conquered by the Incas, just as they were not deprived of their estates, so they were allowed to keep the customs they had in former times."

48. Silverblatt 1987: 44-47.

49. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 15.

50. Ibid., 62, for an example of Andean conceptualization of the irrigation process as a gendered activity.

51. Silverblatt 1987: 14.

52. Ibid., 11-13, for an example of Guaman Poma's work.

53. Ibid., 44-45, for a discussion of Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing.

54. Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca 1989: 71. Garcilaso was a mestizo of Inca and Spanish noble descent, whose chronicle dates from the early seventeenth century. His claim for Pacha Camac's status as a forerunner to the Christian god must be seen in his overall strategy of representing Inca imperial expansion as the civilizing precondition for Christian occupation of the Andes. This depiction of the Inca as necessary forerunners of the Spaniards was used by Garcilaso to legitimate his claims to continued privileges for Inca descendants in Spanish colonial society.

55. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 9 and 47.
56. Ibid., 56.
57. Ibid., 78.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 62-63.
60. Ibid., 139-143.
61. Ibid., 10.
62. Ibid., 9, for discussion of the principle of fraternal ties as representation of the union between aborigines and invaders. See p. 77, for declarations in the manuscript of the deities' fraternal ties.
63. Ibid., 77 and 84-87.
64. Modern Quechua has a precise and complex system for differentiating between plural and singular linguistic elements.
65. Huarochirí Manuscript 1991: 54 and 59.
66. Ibid., 68.
67. Ibid., 89.
68. Ibid., 44.
69. Ibid., 87.
70. Ibid, 75 and 77.
71. See for example creation myths recorded by: Juan de Betanzos, 1551, quoted in Zuidema 1990: 9; Bernabe Cobo, 1653, quoted in Silverblatt 1987: 46; Garcilaso, (1609) 1989: 42.
72. Garcilaso 1989: 207-208.
73. Salomon and Urioste 1991: 7, emphasis in original.
74. Ibid., 71, for the original phrase in the manuscript as well as Salomon's discussion of the terms used in this phrase and his interpretation of its significance.
75. Ibid., 84.
76. Silverblatt 1987: 51.
77. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 121-124.
78. Ibid., 72. See also Salomon's discussion of parallel religious practices p. 9 and p. 21.
79. Ibid., 77.
80. Ibid., 78 and 79.
81. González Holguin, (1608) 1989: 523, defines family using derivatives of the word for house, *huaci*. *Huacipicak cuna* and *Huaciyoccuna*: those who reside in or possess the same house. Also *Huyhuascca cuna*, those who have been raised or cared for.
82. Ayllu is a difficult term to define. González Holguin (Ibid, 39) defines it as a lineage. Salomon (1991: 22) defines it as "a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-ayllu settlement." See also, Karen Spalding 1968 and 1984.
83. Silverblatt 1989: 5.

84. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 142.

85. See Ibid., 73 and Cobo 1990: 160 and 164.

86. See Cobo 1990: 123, for women priests acting as confessors to other women. Also see *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 65, 85, 131, 140 for women as priests. See p. 101, for example of a woman who found an object in her field which later became the basis for a state sponsored cult. The object remained in her home, which was enlarged and supported by the community, and she acted as the cult's priestess.

87. See Huarochirí Manuscript 1991: 72, 80, 100, for examples of men and women worshipping together. See also Cobo 1990: 136 and 244 for examples of women dancing, drinking and playing music.

88. *Huarochirí Manuscript* 1991: 147-150.

89. See Basch 1982: 53.

90. See Basch 1989: 49, for the legal doctrine of coverture.

91. Unfortunately, the belief that husbands possess their wives is not limited to naming practices. Many states do not recognize marital rape and in those where it is recognized, such as California, it is prosecuted under more lenient statutes than other forms of rape.

92. See Lockhart 1968: 154.

93. See Spalding,1968 and 1984.

94. Foucault 1980: 119.

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6

"The Good Government of the Ancients": Some Colonial Attitudes About Precontact Nahua Society

Barry D. Sell

Colonial Nahuatl Church Texts

Like writings in a number of other native languages of the Spanish Indies, almost all colonial Nahuatl texts are associated with two institutions: the indigenous city-state and the church. Records generated by the former have dominated current research utilizing indigenous-language materials, while the latter is still largely unexplored and unknown even by specialists. These two main divisions of the Nahuatl corpus share a number of important similarities and deserve more attention than they have received.

One of the least-known facts about Nahuatl church texts is that there are so many of them. Extant publications in the vernaculars of the Spanish Indies (for example, Nahuatl in Mexico, Quechua and Aymara in Andean South America, and Tagalog in the Philippines) number approximately 330.[1] Nahuatl has by far the largest share of the total, a little more than a third. More significantly, there is at least one extant Nahuatl imprint for every decade from the 1540s to the 1990s. No other language in the Americas, local or introduced, can boast of such a long and uninterrupted presence in the world of publications. Even when Nahua notaries ceased keeping records in their own language at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, Mexican presses still kept producing various Nahuatl materials.

The thousands of pages of printed text are dwarfed by an even larger body of handwritten materials. Among the many church manuscripts in just the Biblioteca Nacional de México is an early colonial sermonary which contains 888 pages; there are others almost as large.[2] These publications and manuscripts include dictionaries, grammars, confessional guides, books of Christian doctrine, manuals for priests, sermonaries, collections of pre-Hispanic and Christian religious songs, and the first major ethnographic work of the Americas, the *Florentine Codex*. At the very least, ecclesiastical texts in Nahuatl--like their mundane counterparts--constitute an immense corpus of indigenous-language writings.

Ecclesiastical and mundane documents also share far more than just large numbers of extant examples. Authors and readers of both types of texts came from the indigenous world. It seems self-evident that this would be the case for documents generated by a particular indigenous community's notaries, but it is also becoming increasingly obvious that this was true for many church writings as well. One of the most significant colonial Nahuatl publications was a sermonary of 1606; the person who officially took responsibility for its contents (the author of record) was a noted Franciscan expert in Nahuatl, fray Juan Bautista. In his prologue to the book Bautista lists the literate, trilingual (Nahuatl/Latin/Spanish) Nahuas who played a role in its creation. He mentions eight of them by name. Some of them were heavily involved in all phases of the book's production; they served as scribes and translators, provided Spanish and Latin glosses for the Nahuatl text, and even worked in the printshop to ensure that the written text was not garbled when set in type.

The most ambitious, extensive, and unique handwritten Nahuatl text was a massive twelve-book work known today as the *Florentine Codex*. The Franciscan fray Bernardino de Sahagún was what might be called the editor-in-chief, but this sixteenth-century study of the pre-Hispanic Nahua world and the conquest of Mexico Tenochtitlan (the site of today's Mexico City) was actually written by trilingual Nahuas like those who produced "Bautista's" sermonary. Sahagún explicitly names the Nahua authors and scribes of the *Florentine Codex*. In fact, the very person that Sahagún called his principal and most learned Nahua collaborator on it was the glossator of the sermonary of 1606, don Antonio Valeriano.

Many of the most significant Nahuatl imprints were explicitly directed towards a Nahua readership. For example, at the beginning of a work published in 1569 the famous Nahuatl expert, fray Alonso de Molina, explained in plain words who were the readers of his

Doctrina chꝛiſtiana. Fo. 1.

A b c d d e f g h i k l m n

p q r ꝛ ſ s t v u x y z ...

Comiēça la doctrina chꝛiſ-tiana en lengua Mexicana.

Nican ompehua in doctrina xp̃iana mexico tlatolli tiquiſto hua in nemachtiliz in xp̃ianome cēca moneq̃ inixq̃ch tlacatl: qui mo machtizque ynic huel yxtlamatizq̃. Yni huic pa yxp̃ianoyotl: ca ye-huatl ychuel quimiximachilizq̃ yn tote-cuiyo Dios inin teouhin tlatocatzin yn Jesu xp̃o. Camochi ypā motenehua yn inquexq̃ch intech monequi in xp̃ianome yn quineltocazq̃ in quipiezque. Y huā in quitelchihuazq̃ in amo qualli. Y huā yn quenin q̃motlatlauhtillizq̃ yn totecuiyo dios: in quenin quica quizque in missa in

a

Figure 1: A folio from the 1553 Nahuatl *Doctrina Christiana* of fray Pedro de Gante.

widely-used small and large confessional manuals:

> *oniquilnamic: ynic nimitzicuilhuiz ynin ontetl neyolmelahualoni. Ynic centetl achi hueyac, motech monequiz, inyc achitzin nimitzpalehuiz yn ytechpa monemaquiztiliz [sic] Auh ynyc ontetl, çan tepiton neyolmelahualoni, itech pohuiz yn moteyolcuiticauh, ynic huel quimocaqtiz monauatlatol Auh y yehuatl yc centetl neyolmelahualoni ym motech mopohui, oc cenca tlapanahuia ym motech monequi, inic cemicac motlamachtiz, mocuiltonoz manimã, ipaltzĩco totecuiyo dios.*
>
> I thought that I would write you these two confessional manuals. The first rather long, necessary for you, with which I will assist you a little concerning your salvation. And the second, small confessional manual, will belong to your confessor, so that he will understand properly your Nahuatl language. The first confessional manual, which belongs to you, is more necessary for you, so that your soul always will be happy and enriched through our Lord God.[3]

Throughout the work he assumes literacy among some members of Nahua society. This is also true of some other key imprints as well.[4] In addition, literate indigenous people who helped produce church texts can be found elsewhere in Mesoamerica and the rest of the Spanish Indies. The bilingual Tagalog printer and writer, Tomás Pinpin, is an excellent example of this (see Chapter 7 in this volume).

The line between mundane and ecclesiastical writings blurs even further when one considers the nature of many texts and how they are studied. There presently exist at least two copies, dated 1552, of confraternity rules written by Molina[5]; however, the handwriting is that of a local Nahua notary, not of Molina. These works outline regulations to be followed by a Nahua municipality. It would be a mistake to assign the rules exclusively to either the colonial church or the altepetl; they belong to both, and in fact such overlapping between the secular and the religious spheres was common throughout Mesoamerica and beyond. Furthermore, some church writings are also invaluable sources for the study of notarial documents. The most consistently used Nahuatl text from the sixteenth to

the twentieth centuries, printed or manuscript, is Molina's Spanish-Nahuatl/Nahuatl-Spanish dictionary of 1571. Hernando de Ribas, one of the trilingual Nahuas alluded to above, helped compose it. In spite of the fact that the two compilers were a Spanish cleric and a church-educated Nahua, the dictionary is often indispensable when modern scholars attempt to find the meaning of secular terms in notarial records. Thus, ecclesiastical texts are relevant to the study of mundane documentation. Scholars working on secular texts in other indigenous languages, such as Mixtec, also make great use of dictionaries generated by clerics with the assistance of native speakers.

Yet for all the similarities between the two, church texts obviously differ from mundane writings in the emphasis they place on certain subjects and how they treat them. For example, church writings typically put greater stress on sexual improprieties. This could be looked at as a rough division of labor, since land sales or the selection of municipal officers take up far more space in notarial texts than they do in ecclesiastical ones. The exact way such subjects are handled is also different. In general, notarial documents are quite specific as to time, place, and circumstance, while church texts are usually quite general in their examples, questions and admonitions. Ultimately such differences can be attributed to the respective positions of the writers and the groups they represented. In spite of some intermingling of the civil and ecclesiastical spheres, Nahua notaries mainly wrote about many of the details of running their communities because they were officers of the local altepetl. As the guardians and interpreters of the officially-approved, colony-wide system of religious belief and morality, clerics and their aides were left to describe in general terms normative behaviors and beliefs.[6] As a consequence, a confessional manual may speak of categories of sexual misconduct, while a petition in Nahuatl directed to colonial authorities may accuse a particular priest of specific unsavory acts committed against named individuals in a certain time and place.

At first it may seem rather disappointing to move from the immediacy and ever-varying details of the notarial record to the moralizing and repetitious generalities of ecclesiastical texts. Yet the single most compelling reason for these characteristics of church sources--the need to fit into a single ideological mold--is also responsible for one of their enduring contributions to scholars studying indigenous-language documents. Content and form in official religious writings were inseparable: priests needed to exercise great care in what was said in order to ensure that the proper messages were imparted. Hence, gifted clerics with the assistance of bilingual and trilingual

indigenous collaborators produced many dictionaries and grammars, themselves invaluable tools for all present-day investigators. This also explains the inclusion of glosses in key Nahuatl imprints which explain grammatical, or sometimes cultural, dimensions of words and phrases used in the body of the text. The most significant single contribution in this area was by don Antonio Valeriano, the Nahua who provided the Spanish and Latin glosses of the Nahuatl text in Bautista's sermonary of 1606. All the major guides to the indigenous languages of colonial Mesoamerica came from those more closely associated with the ecclesiastical, not secular, sectors of colonial society.

Closely related to this clerical obsession with precise speech was a concern with persuasive speech and high rhetoric. It may seem ironic, but the church was the single agency most responsible for the written preservation of the traditional *huehuetlahtolli* ("speech of the elders" or "ancient discourse") of the Nahuas. The most celebrated part of the *Florentine Codex* mentioned above is Book Six, dedicated to "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy." There was even a publication devoted to illustrating this pre-Hispanic high speech. In 1600 there appeared under Bautista's name a book called (appropriately) *Huehuetlahtolli.* I provide a sample here of its opening lines, dedicated to illustrating what a father says to his son when he admonishes him to be good:

> *Nopiltzè, nocozquè, noquetzalè, otiyol otitlacat, otimotlalticpacq'xtico in itlalticpactzīco in Totecuiyo omitzmoyocolili, omitzmopiquili, omitzmotlacatilili in ipalnemohuani Dios. Auh mixco mocpac otitlachixque in timonanhuā in timottahuan, yhuan im mahuihuan, im motlahuan, im mohuayolque, omixco mocpac tlachixque, ochocaque, otlaocoxque mopampatzinco: ynic otiyol, inic otitlacat in tlalticpac.*
>
> O my child, O my jewel, O my precious feather, you have come to life and been born, you have emerged onto the earth of our Lord; God the Giver of Life has created you for someone, forged and given birth to you. We your mothers and fathers have looked into your face, and your aunts and uncles, your relatives, have looked into your face, cried and been sad on your account, that you have come to life and been born on earth.[7]

These and other samples of such speech (many of them contained in more routine texts like confessional manuals and sermonaries) deserve close study. Oftentimes they are the direct result of the close collaboration between clerics and those literate indigenous people who guided and instructed them in the finer points of traditional discourse. Examples are not confined to Nahuatl sources. Mixtec books of Christian doctrine of 1567 and 1568 also contain numerous features of the polite high speech of the time. Even if it were only for the study of indigenous rhetorical traditions, many church texts deserve to be given far more attention than they have received.

Furthermore, the content of all types of church texts, and not just their form, can be creatively explored. Perhaps only in Inquisition records can one find an equal preoccupation with describing and promoting normative behavior in such sensitive and private areas of colonial indigenous life as those of sexual activity and proscribed non-Christian religious beliefs and practices. Scholars have often used church texts to describe pre-Hispanic religion, for example, and the assumptions and attitudes expressed by clerical observers are often so patently obvious that some of the hostile and biased reporting one finds there can be easily filtered out. Sources in Spanish (sometimes translations of indigenous-language texts) have traditionally served for these purposes. Nonetheless, much more could be done with texts in the languages themselves where the original terminology is often used to name, describe, and explain the preconquest gods and the practices associated with them.[8] This approach merits further scholarly investigation from those working in other types of indigenous-language texts than it has received.

Finally, ecclesiastical writings put a great emphasis on describing and proscribing attitudes and behaviors; this is useful when studying the cultural/intellectual dimensions of colonial Mexico. I discuss below how by the later sixteenth century Nahuas and Hispanics coincided in their appraisal of a previous "Golden Age," even though each side had different reasons for bemoaning its loss, and definitely had different periods of time in mind. Ecclesiastical texts typically explicitly articulate (what their composers consider) proper behaviors and beliefs and, therefore, are invaluable sources for tracing the evolution of the "Golden Age" sentiment. In addition, because many times the authors are Nahuas and Hispanics, the attitudes expressed are often neither purely Nahua nor purely Spanish, but a combination of the two, i.e., Mexican. Thus, church texts in Nahuatl and other indigenous languages may help illuminate not only the colonial past but also the living present.[9]

"The Gods of Your Ancestors"

The writings of the friars who led the Christianization of Nahua Mexico constitute much of the formally expressed, self-conscious, well-articulated early Spanish attitudes towards pre-Hispanic Nahua society. The first officially authorized group of evangelizing clerics was "Los Doce" (the Twelve) Franciscans who came in 1524, followed by the first Dominicans in 1526 and later the Augustinians in 1533. As religious professionals their attitudes were decisively colored by their ferocious battles to obliterate all non-Christian beliefs; as people educated in the European manner they tended to defend their actions through the medium of writing. A common theme running throughout the colonial period is an officially fierce hostility to all non-Christian religious beliefs and practices. Like its precontact counterparts Catholicism was supported by the state, but unlike the indigenous city-states of Mesoamerica the new Spanish-dominated colony refused to incorporate the old gods into the new official religion. Christianity in the colony brooked no rivals.

This hostility is well-expressed by the following three friars, each the author of record of a major publication in Nahuatl during the early years of the seventeenth century and each a representative of one of the three orders mentioned above. The first is a Dominican, fray Martín de León, whose *Camino del Cielo* (Road of Heaven, 1611) was an eclectic manual which contained numerous details about precontact beliefs and practices so that priests could uproot them:

> *ic neci, ca in izquintin in inteteohuan, in amottàhuan, in amocolhuan, in quimoteotiaya, in huitzilopochtli, copil, quetzalpatzactli, toçancol, quetzalcohuatl, tepuztecatl, yhuan huel oc miequintin tetica quiximaya quimoteotiaya ça çan tlacame, ye o moch mìmicque, Mictlā tlayhiyohuia, auh ìcuac oc nemia tlalticpac mococoaya, ciahuia, chocaya, mamanaya...moch ahuilli, camanalli, çaçanilli, àtle ipan pouhqui.*
>
> Thus it is clear, the gods of your ancestors that they worshipped were so many--Huitzilopochtli, Copil, Quetzalpatzactli, Toçancol, Quetzalcohuatl, Tepuztecatl, and the many others they fashioned with stone and adored--[they] were just men, all have died already, are suffering in hell, and when they still lived on earth they were ill, tired, weeping,

> discontented. All [this] is frivolous, a joke, fables, counting as nothing.[10]

The second selection is from a noted Augustinian writer, fray Juan de Mijangos, whose *Espejo Divino* (Divine Mirror, 1607) of almost 600 pages of polished Nahuatl presented basic Christian tenets in the form of a dialogue between a Nahua father and his son. Here "Augustin" explains to his son "Ioan" how things were in the time before Christianity:

> *Xiquitztimotlali (nopiltze) xiquilnamiqui intla otiquincaquili mocolhuan, in quenin cēca huey netlacuitlahuiloya in ye huecauh nemilizpan, in nican amochan amotlalpan, quenin mahuizchichihualoya in momuztli, inihquac mahuiztililoya, tenyotiloya, neteotiloya in ahmo neteotiloni, ahmo yectenehualoni, ahmo mahuiztililoni, in çan tlayelittaloni Diablo Tlacatecolotl, in oncan teomachoya, in ahmo yectenehualoni Tzitzimitl, inihquac ahmo iximachoya in nelli mahuiztililoni, nelli neTeotiloni toTecuiyo Dios.*
>
> Ponder, my son, and remember if you heard what your grandfathers said, how very great care was taken in life long ago here in your home and land, how the altars of the idols were marvelously adorned, when the detestable Devil, unworthy of worship [or] praise [or] honor, was honored, famed, and worshipped. There was regarded as divine the Air Spirit, unworthy of praise, when our Lord God was not recognized [as] truly worthy of respect and adoration.[11]

The last selection is from the sermonary (1606) of a Franciscan, fray Juan Bautista. It is a direct attack on traditional beliefs regarding certain heavenly phenomena:

> Contra los que dizen qualo in Tonatiuh, qualo in Metztli al Eclypsi del Sol, y de la Luna. *Ma xicyehuacaquican notlaçopilhuane, ca in itechpa in Tonatiuh miectlamantli yc mixcuepque, yc motlapololtique in huehuetque, in ilamatque in amoculhuan, auh cequintin amehuantin nohma yc*

anmotlapololtia in intlahtol, in inçaçanil, in imixpopoyotiliztlahtol catca, in quiteilhuiaya, inic tetlatlaquechiliayah...in huel nelli mutquitica iztlacatlahtolli....Izcatqui in quiteilhuiaya in huehuetque. In axcan ommani Tonatiuh, ye yc nauhtetl Tonatiuh, yhuā ye yc nauhtlamātihua ī tlalticpac.... Inic cētetl māca Tonatiuh in ihquac nēca tlaca (quil) tlacamichtiq̄ apachiuhque, yhuā aneneztiq̄...Inic ontetl Tonatiuh (quilmach) ipā ehcatocohuac, in ihquac nencah (quilmach) quauhtla quintepehuato in ehecatl, yhuan (quil) oçomatique: auh quihtohuayah in oçomati (quil) totlacapohuan. Inic etetl Tonatiuh (quilmach) impan tlequiauh in ihquac nencah. Auh (quil) in axcan mani Tonatiuh, ytoca Tonacatonatiuh...yehica (quil) necuiltonollo, netlamachtilo. Inin izquitlamātli, ca muchi iztlacatlahtolli.

Against those that say "the sun is eaten," "the moon is eaten," for an eclipse of the sun and the moon. My dear children, listen attentively, for concerning the sun the old men and old women, your ancestors, bewildered and confused themselves with many things, and some of you still confuse yourselves with their words and tales, with what were their words of blindness that they used to tell people, with the truly and completely false words with which they used to tell people fables. Here is what the old men used to say to people. Now there is a sun, the fourth sun, and there have been four [of them] on earth. When there was the first sun the people (it is said) were inundated. They became large fish and small. In the time of the second sun (it is said) there were sweeping winds, and (it is said) the wind drove those who lived then into the mountains, and (it is said) they became monkeys; and they used to say the monkeys (it is said) are people like us. The third sun (it is said) rained fire on those who then lived. And (it is said) the present-day sun is called "Our sun of sustenance," because (it is said) there are riches and prosperity. These many things are all false words.[12]

One of the most renowned early European scholars of Nahuatl and Nahuas commented in 1576 that the rites and ceremonies of "idolatry" permeated all aspects of pre-Hispanic Nahua society.[13] Given the expressed hostility of clerics to all the religious beliefs and practices of precontact Mesoamerica, one would expect a thorough condemnation of every feature of that society. However, some clerical specialists in the language and culture of the Nahuas came to look with great favor on many aspects of the flourishing culture Spaniards found, conquered and colonized in the early sixteenth century. Why they came to hold those views is the subject of this chapter.

"No One Used To Get Drunk"

One of the most fervent battles of the colonial church was against Nahua idolatry. Another was against alleged "Indian drunkenness." A late sixteenth-century Franciscan chronicler echoed contemporary attitudes when he wrote of "vino y tabernas, el mal que hacen á los indios" (wine and taverns, the damage they do to the Indians).[14] The damage allegedly included friends killing friends, husbands killing wives, married and unmarried women selling themselves to get a drink, and people giving themselves entirely over to idleness, games, and playing the guitar.[15] A century later a chronicler of the same order asserted that drunkenness was "la perdicion total de los Naturales in sus vidas, en sus haziendas, y en sus almas" (the total ruination of the Natives in their lives, property, and souls).[16] The blame for such a sorry state of affairs was placed at the feet of--postconquest Christian society! The same late seventeenth-century writer also asserted in no uncertain terms that "el vicio de beber" (the vice of drinking) was so hated and severely punished in the time of idolatry that even a king would have his own wife stoned to death (the same punishment for adultery) for excessive drinking. It was only after the conquest that Nahuas, nobles and commoners alike, began to drink without restraint.[17]

The assertion that preconquest Nahua society strictly regulated drinking and postconquest colonial society loosened all restraints on it was a staple of church literature long before the late seventeenth century. In the same sermonary by Bautista which condemned beliefs regarding the "four suns" is a spirited condemnation of colonial drunkenness and praise of the pre-Hispanic situation. The discussion of drinking and the need to respect priests is tied into the theme of community solidarity against outsiders. Many of the synonyms in

the original have been retained in order to convey the traditional Nahua preference for this rhetorical device:

> *Auh intla quinequi Castiltecatl, ahnoço Mestizoton, in amehuātin anquineltilizque, anquintestigotilizque in intetentlapiquiliz in inneteilhuil, yhuicpa in teoyutica amottatzin in amechpalehuiya...ahmo monequi yc motequipachoz: ca ōcatqui in itetlahtoltiaya, oncatqui in itetentlapiquiya, yehuatl in cuetlaxtli, bota, bota, bota, cuero, cuero, cuero: ca yehuatl amechtlahtoltia, ca yehuatl amechquayhuinti....Omotlahueliltic in nican Nueua España....Ca in ye huecauh in intlateotoquilizpan in amoculhuan, in amachtotonhuan, ayaxcan miya in Vino, ayac ihuintia, ayac xocomiquia. Ipampa mahuiztic yc quimoyacaniliaya ī imaltepeuh, auh tetecuhtin tlahtoque oquihueylique in impetl, in imicpal, vmpa caxiltique in Cihuatlampa, (a la parte del mediodia) yhuan in Mictlampa: (la parte del Norte) auh in axcā ye muchi tlacatl qui, ye muchi tlacatl tlahuana, auh ahmo çan tlapohualtin in tequitlahuana, in xocomiqui: auh yehuatl ipampa yc ammomahuizpolohua, yhuan yc ammahuizpololo, yehuatl yc ammotolinia.*
>
> And if some Spaniard or a miserable little mestizo wants you to verify and be a witness for their false testimony and accusations about your spiritual fathers who help you, it is not necessary to be upset, for behold his instrument of making people talk, behold his instrument of making people give false testimony, it is the tanned leather [wine skin], the leather wine bag, leather wine bag, leather wine bag, the wine skin, wine skin, wine skin, for it makes you talk, it makes you faintheaded. O woe are you here in New Spain! For long ago in the time of idolatry of your ancestors wine was hardly drunk, no one used to get inebriated, no one used to get drunk. Wherefore they honorably led their cities, and the lords and rulers enlarged their kingdoms, they made them reach "Towards Where the Women Are" (to the south) and "Towards Dead-People Place" (the north). And now everyone drinks, everyone gets inebriated, and those who drink too much

> alcohol and get drunk are countless, and because of it you defame each other, and thus you are defamed, thus you mistreat each other.[18]

So that any priest using the sermonary as a model for presenting this material would not miss the intent of this passage, the following marginalia was included: "*O desuenturada tierra, particularmēte, &c. El buen gouierno de los antiguos, porque à penas auia borrachos*" (*O unfortunate land, particularly, etc. The good government of the ancients, because there were hardly [any] drunkards*).[19]

Not all comparisons painted the preconquest past in such bright colors. Elsewhere in the same sermonary the author states that the lords and rulers used to oppress their subjects, but "inin ca ahmo huey tetzahuitl, ca ayamo quimiximachiliaya in Dios" (as for this, it is not a great marvel, for they did not yet know [the Christian] God).[20] While the past may have been bad, the present was even worse. Even though the common people now were "in Dios itlaneltocacatzitzihuan, in itetlacamatcatzitzihuan" (the believers in and obeyers of God), the Nahua upper classes treated them even worse than did "in tlateotocanime in onemicoh, in oyaque, in opoliuhque, in Mictlan tlaihiyohuitoque" (the idolaters who came to live [here], went, perished, and are suffering in hell).[21]

These favorable or mixed reviews of the precontact Nahua past are particularly striking in that they were not the earliest reactions of the European clerics who first came to Nahua Mexico. One of the Franciscans who made up the contingent of "Los Doce" in 1524 wrote sometime between 1536 and 1543 in much less flattering terms about preconquest Nahua attitudes towards alcoholic beverages. While discussing a particular part of Nahua Mexico where there were "indios quitados de vicios y que no bebían vino" (Indians removed of vices and that did not use to drink wine), he remarks that this was a great surprise to Spaniards and natives alike for "en todos los hombres y mujeres adultos era cosa general embeodarse" (in all the adult men and women it used to be a general thing to get drunk).[22] His descriptions of intemperate precontact drinking (especially that connected with the numerous non-Christian festivals) betray no admiration for the preconquest past.[23] Yet this initial reaction did not become the predominant colonial opinion regarding the pre-Hispanic Nahua world. The circumstances responsible for changing revulsion to approval are detailed in the following section.

"What Your Grandfathers Trained You In"

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún of the Franciscan order arrived in New Spain in 1529, barely five years after the conquest of present-day Mexico City. Seven years later he was one of the first teachers in the Franciscan-sponsored Holy Cross College of Tlatilolco in the Valley of Mexico. The college was dedicated to providing a good European-style education to the most promising young Nahuas who served as interpreters and aides to the early clerical evangelizers of New Spain. Among the many Nahuas Sahagún taught was the future governor of the Nahua wards of Mexico City and noted Latinist, don Antonio Valeriano.[24] By the late 1540s Sahagún and some of his most accomplished trilingual (Latin/Nahuatl/Spanish) students from the college had begun a massive work in Nahuatl and Spanish on preconquest society. His work went through several versions; in its most finished form it has come down to us in twelve books known as the *Florentine Codex*. While Sahagún functioned as general editor and supervisor of the project, his former students actually composed the work, and they tended to present the preconquest past in the most favorable way possible.[25] Far more than any other body of work, the *Florentine Codex* influenced all later views on the immediate preconquest past as preferable to the colonial present. Sahagún's own views on this subject thus become very important.

Sahagún's attitudes towards Nahuas underwent a significant change between the time he arrived in 1529 and the 1570s (he died in 1590). By 1576 he had a perspective on Nahua colonial life and the immediate pre-Hispanic situation which explains why he and many others often idealized the past. When the Spaniards first came it was necessary to destroy all idolatrous things, including "las costumbres de la república que estaban mezcaladas con ritos de idolatría y acompañadas con ceremonias idolátricas, que había casi en todas las costumbres que tenía la república" (the customs of the republic that used to be mixed with idolatrous rites and accompanied with idolatrous ceremonies, that there used to be in almost all the customs that the republic had).[26] The problem was that when the Spaniards destroyed idolatry they also destroyed a (supposedly) well-ordered and proper society. Sahagún's own words to this effect are telling:

> *ellos derrocaron y echaron por tierra todas las costumbres y maneras de regir que tenían estos naturales, y quisieron reducirlos a la manera de vivir de España, así en las cosas divinas como en las humans, teniendo entendido que eran*

> *idólatras y bárbaros, perdióse todo el regimiento que tenían.*
>
> They [the Spaniards] overthrew and destroyed all the customs and ways of governing that these natives used to have, and they wanted to reduce them to the Spanish way of living, both in divine things and human ones, having understood that they were idolatrous and barbarous, [as a consequence] all the [good] government they used to have was lost.

Thus the key to understanding his attitude about the preconquest past lies in his stance towards the acculturating Spanish present.

Sahagún's views on Hispanization are clear. From the 1540s to the 1570s there is evidence of an initial massive impact of Spanish language and society on Nahuas. This is most sensitively reflected in the many hundreds, if not thousands, of Spanish words adopted by Nahuas to describe and label the new things, people, beliefs, and behaviors introduced by colonial rule.[27] At the beginning of this period Sahagún was unequivocally in favor of Nahuas adopting the "Spanish way of living." In the prosaic but revealing words of a 1540 sermon (of which we have a copy made in 1548), he clearly states:

> That which the Spanish people eat, because it is good food, that with which they are raised, they are strong and pure and wise. Indeed, good food helps them. You will become the same way if you eat their food, and if you are careful with your bodies as they are. Raise Spanish maize [wheat] so that you may eat Spanish tortillas [bread]. Raise sheep, pigs, cattle, for their flesh is good. May you not eat the flesh of dogs, mice, skunks, etc. For it is not edible. You will not eat what the Spanish people do not eat, for they know well what is edible.[28]

Sahagún offers a very different assessment of Hispanization some forty years later in 1579:

> Because there are Spaniards among you I shall inform you in a few words how not to lose good judgment about them. If you will live as Spaniards, or if you wish to speak as they speak, it all makes

> them laugh. I have said that you are not to care much about the array of Spaniards, nor their food, nor their drink; nor are you to imitate the way they speak, nor are you to imitate the way they live. Only this is especially necessary for you: what your grandfathers trained you in, as is said above. As to the Christian life, imitate the good Christians, those of righteous life who live according to God's commandments, who do not get drunk, who do not steal, who do not mock one. As to your array, as I have said, you are not to wear [Spanish-style] shirts, to wear [Spanish-style] knee pants, to wear [Spanish-style] hats, to wear [Spanish-style] shoes. This is all my discourse about prudence as to your bodies.[29]

Nahua dissatisfaction is beautifully captured by the following excerpt from language lessons originally written by a Nahua for Franciscans. The writer drew on the ancient traditions of the *huehuehtlahtolli* or "ancient speech" in order to create a series of vignettes about marriage, the death of a king, a young boy greeting a priest, etc., to demonstrate every nuance of the polite, indirect and metaphorical Nahuatl of the upper classes. Included in the formulaic but lively sketches is the speech of an elderly woman who compliments a younger woman on how she has raised her children. The contrast between a desirable preconquest past and an undesirable Hispanic present is evident when she praises how strictly children were disciplined in the past:

> Oh, this is how the ancients who left us behind lived and ordered things; they took very great care. But how we raise our children today is a very different thing; bad behavior is no longer feared, for they no longer fear adultery, theft, drunkenness, and other kinds of bad behavior, because it is no longer punished as it used to be punished long ago, when they forthwith hanged...and destroyed people.[30]

Not surprisingly, the above sentiments (like others cited previously) were penned sometime during the 1570s, after the first great wave of Spanish influences had affected Nahuas. During the same period, others also decried changes in Nahua society. The noted

Franciscan chronicler, fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, remarked in 1570 on the bad influence of the Spanish language on Nahuatl in the course of praising the language skills of Sahagún and his fellow Franciscan, fray Alonso de Molina:

> *entiendo que ninguno de ellos calará tanto los secretos y propriedad de la dicha lengua cuanto estos dos que la sacaron del natural hablar de los viejos, y los mozos ya comienzan á barbarizar en ella.*
>
> I understand that none of them [other non-native speakers of Nahuatl] will penetrate into the secrets and propriety of the said language as much as these two who took it out of the natural speech of the ancients, and the young people already are beginning to [speak] barbarously in it.[31]

Molina arrived as a young boy to Mexico in the 1520s and learned Nahuatl fluently while playing with Nahua children. He began working with the Franciscans as an interpreter and aide while still a child, and later joined the order. He was the first author to include praise of the preconquest past in a mainstream church publication. In a *doctrina* of 1578 Molina sternly admonished his Nahua audience to respect the sixth commandment. He praised a preconquest practice, evidently hoping that by doing so colonial Nahuas would be encouraged to seriously heed the prohibition against adultery: "in aquique tetlaximaya, omaxac quinquatepipitziniaya" (in the crossroads they used to break with stones the heads of those who committed adultery).[32] By the 1570s both Nahuas and Spaniards felt compelled to react to and analyze the cumulative effects of the changes that had transformed colonial Nahua society.

The reasons why Nahuas might be dissatisfied with their colonial situation are both obvious and not so obvious. The introductory study to a modern version of the above mentioned language lessons explains the state of mind of those Nahuas who served as the principal aides, teachers and collaborators of the priests:

> The looking back to a Golden Age when everything was done right and austerity and severity prevailed, in contrast to one's own sad days, when no one obeys or has respect, is characteristic of the time two or three generations after the conquest more than

> other times, of high nobles more than commoners, and especially of the nobles of the former imperial centers more than those of other towns. It was the nostalgic dynastic nobles of Tetzcohco and Tenochtitlan who convinced Spaniards that before the conquest hardly anyone drank pulque, and all adulterers were forthwith stoned to death. The writer [of the language lessons]...has caught the Golden Age sentiment of his time to perfection.[33]

The motives of the Spanish clerics who participated in the same "Golden Age sentiment" are less apparent. Unlike their Nahua counterparts they would seem to have been on the winning side of the colonial situation and, therefore, more inclined to unrestrained feelings of triumph rather than to a yearning nostalgia for "the good old days." Something more than the (perhaps peculiar) ideological bent of Sahagún must have been responsible for his change of attitude and that of others towards the precontact past and Hispanic present.

Nahua nostalgia found a ready audience in growing numbers of the regular clergy[34] for both international and local reasons. A type of Golden Age sentiment espoused by friars already had appeared in Spain by the late sixteenth century. The following excerpt is from a Spanish sermonary printed at the turn of the century:

> *Nunca el mundo ha estado peor que agora; más codicioso, más deshonesto, más loco y altivo; nunca los señores más absolutos y aun disolutos; los caballeros más cobardes, y aun sin honra; nunca los ricos más crueles, ávaros; los mercaderes más tramposos; los clérigos más perdidos; los frailes más derramados; las mujeres más libres y desvergonzadas; los hijos más disobedientes; los padres más remisos; [etc.]...Y los predicadores, ¿vivimos en sana paz, estimados, queridos, regalados, ofrendados, nadie nos quiere mal, todos nos ponen sobre la cabeza?*

> The world has never been worse than now; more greedy, more dishonest, more crazy and arrogant; never the lords more despotic and even dissolute; the gentlemen more cowardly, and even without honor; never the rich people more cruel, miserly; the merchants more crooked; the clerics more lost; the

> friars more extravagant; the women more loose and shameless; the children more disobedient; the parents more remiss; [etc.] And the preachers, do we live in healthy peace, esteemed, loved, regaled, offered to, nobody hates us, everyone honors us?[35]

Local factors also played a powerful role in making friar-intellectuals receptive to corresponding Nahua feelings. European friars were obviously not enamored with the pagan past, but they did have a strong attachment to the immediate postconquest decades when colonial pre-Hispanic traditions were the strongest. The perceptive Franciscan chronicler Mendieta points to the period from the 1530s to the 1560s as being "el tiempo dorado y flor de la Nueva España" (the golden age and flower of New Spain).[36] He self-servingly asserts that this was true in both the ecclesiastical and secular spheres, but what he actually is referring to is the "golden age" of the regular clergy in Nahua Mexico, and particularly of his own order. Once the orders (led by the Franciscans) had established themselves in the many hundreds of Nahua communities through the indoctrination of young noble children, they enjoyed for a few decades an unrivaled supremacy in pastoral activities among Christianized Nahuas. During the first decades of the colony local Hispanic society was relatively weak and incapable of producing secular clerics in sufficient numbers and with the necessary training to displace the first-arriving friars. As a consequence, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians rightfully could claim for some years that for all practical purposes, they were the church in Nahua Mexico.

The friars' greatest triumphs coincided with the earliest years of the colonial *altepetl* (Nahua city-state) when precontact traditions and discipline were the strongest. They also occurred when Nahuas numbered in the millions and Spaniards only in the thousands. Friars like Mendieta would later idealize this period, in part because they had come at a time when there was the largest number of "Indians" to be divided among the smallest number of Spanish claimants like themselves. The all-important question of how to exploit Nahua labor is closely related to this whole situation. The system of *encomienda* (lifetime grants of the labor and tribute of entire Nahua communities to individual Spaniards) and *repartimiento* (temporary assignments by royal officials of smaller groups of Nahuas to individual Spanish employers) prevailed during the period in question. Encomienda was dominant until the 1550s, when repartimiento began. Both systems built on, and in part maintained,

pre-Hispanic practices; the altepetl could function much as it had in the late preconquest period and still satisfy colonial demands. Just as whole communities or large groups worked together as a unit in the encomienda and repartimiento systems, they also came initially in the largest possible units and numbers to be baptized, indoctrinated, and subjected to the full gamut of Christian rites. From the point of view of the first friars (and of the early holders of encomiendas) the first decades of the colony were an unparalleled golden era.[37]

This ideal state of affairs did not last long. By the 1570s European-introduced diseases and increasing contact with Spaniards had greatly reduced Nahua numbers and changed Nahua communities. They were no longer as able or amenable as they had been earlier to satisfy the demands of any Spaniard, lay or clerical. At the same time that indigenous Mexico was drastically decreasing in size (from perhaps 25 million in 1519 to about 1 million at the beginning of the seventeenth century), local Hispanic society was growing. More and more locally-born secular clerics were appearing; by the 1570s they had begun in earnest their long and generally successful campaign to replace the regular clergy in most Nahua parishes. From the 1570s on, the regular clergy often perceived itself as being in a slow but irreversible defensive retreat. Their best years seemed to lay behind them, and all that was left was to ponder what had gone so terribly wrong.

There was never any question about whether conquest, colonization and Christianization were correct. Christianization had only been possible because of conquest and colonization, so these foundations of Hispanization were never blamed for the increasingly sad condition of the orders and their work in colonial Nahua communities. The problem, as observers like Mendieta perceived it, lay in both colonial Nahua and colonial Hispanic society. Mendieta asserted that Nahua society had become too Hispanized following conquest and Christianization due to the malevolent influences of "bad" Spaniards, mestizos, mulattos and blacks. The rigor and moral code of preconquest society had gradually eroded as increasingly large numbers of these (allegedly) degenerate people spread out into every nook and cranny of the Nahuatl-speaking world. He also stated that the problem with local Spanish society was that after the 1560s the political leaders of colonial Mexico had inexplicably cast aside the founding fathers of the church in Nahua Mexico, generally favoring the secular clergy over the regulars (and all--in his view of course--to the detriment of Christian Nahuas).

Mendieta's (and others') solution was simple but hopelessly unrealistic: exclude the secular clergy from the Nahua parishes and isolate Nahuas from contact with everyone in Hispanic society except for members of the regular clergy. In a certain sense this was a call to return to the earliest days of the colony when the regular clergy had almost unlimited access to Nahua communities and few rivals. Such calls are always destined to be heard but politely ignored by bureaucrats and others interested in more pragmatic and immediate concerns. In the face of change the orders stood firm theoretically, but in practical terms they kept losing ground to the seculars and to changes in Nahua communities until the end of the colonial period.[38] This would reach such extremes that a late seventeenth-century Franciscan chronicler would write about the Nahuas of his day that "el amor que tenian à los Religiosos los antiguos, lo han convertido en odio los modernos" (the love that the ancients had for the religious [the friars], the moderns have converted into hatred).[39]

"Los Indios Viejos"

A valuable by-product of the Golden Age sentiment I have described was the increasingly favorable attention paid to the language and culture of pre-Hispanic Nahua Mexico. In 1600 an unusual book appeared in Mexico City entitled *Huehuetlahtolli* ("ancient speech or discourse" or "words of the elders"). It contains almost 80 folios of traditional oratory, some with only a thin veneer of Christianity, and gives eloquent testimony to the heights that ancient rhetoric had reached. The author speaks of finding some "platicas que los Indios antiguos hazian à sus hijos y hijas" (speeches that the ancient Indians used to make to their sons and daughters). Considering that the young Nahuas of his time were wretched in so many respects and that the "Indios viejos" (old Indians) had such good "criança, vrbanidad, respecto, cortesia, buen termino y elegancia en el hablar" (manners, urbanity, respect, courtesy, good bearing and elegance in speaking), he decided to bring those speeches to light.[40] Whatever his motives were, the effort he made was not wasted. His generation, and those that have followed, have benefitted from such attempts to record and preserve examples of the pre-Hispanic Nahua world. They help shed yet a little more light on Nahua language and culture that might otherwise have been lost, the kind of light of understanding that is so eloquently described in this translation by a modern scholar of some lines from the *Florentine Codex*:

Grant me, Lord, a little light,
Be it no more than a glowworm giveth
Which goeth about by night,
To guide me through this life,
Wherein are many things on which to stumble,
And many things at which to laugh,
And others like unto a stony path
Along which one goeth leaping.[41]

Ye ixquich/That is all.

Notes

1. I refer here to the period up to, and including, 1821 (the date of independence for most regions of the Spanish Indies).

2. I came across a copy of this on microfilm during the course of my own research on colonial Nahuatl publications. It convinced me that my original idea of covering all printed <u>and</u> handwritten church sources was impossible.

3. Molina 1984: 6 verso; this is a photoreproduction of the second edition of 1569.

4. Mijangos 1607 and León 1611.

5. Schwaller 1986: 375.

6. I must stress here that I am speaking strictly about Nahuatl-language writings.

7. Bautista 1600: 1 recto.

8. Burkhart 1989 is the most advanced current example of this.

9. The information in this introduction is taken from my dissertation. I have included footnotes here whenever I cover something not mentioned there.

10. León 1611: 12 recto. Unless otherwise noted, all Nahuatl and Spanish citations followed by a translation are mine. Where I am using someone else's translation I simply give the English version. I give all citations in the same form as I found them (abbreviations, variants in spellings, etc.) except where not supported by my Word 5 program. All brackets mine unless otherwise indicated.

11. Mijangos 1607: 421.

12. Bautista 1606: 196-7. I here acknowledge the generous help of Arthur J. O. Anderson with the translation although I accept all responsibility for any of its deficiencies. The initial sentence that is not in italics was in the margin but helps to explain the whole passage.

13. Sahagún 1982: 579. This section was originally written in 1576.

14. Mendieta 1980: 503. Originally written 1595-6.
15. Ibid.
16. Vetancurt 1982b: 96. Originally published 1698.
17. Ibid., 95.
18. Bautista 1606, 49.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 692.
21. Ibid., 693.
22. Motolinia 1973: 82. Originally written 1536-43.
23. Ibid., 19-20, and passim.
24. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar wrote a series of Latin dialogues in 1554 to fulfill part of the requirements for a degree in the newly (1553) opened University of Mexico in Mexico City. Two experienced locals show a newcomer around the capital of New Spain, and explain that in the Tlatilolco area "Hay un colegio donde los indios aprenden a hablar y escribir en latín. Tienen un maestro de su propia nación, llamado Antonio Valeriano, en nada inferior a nuestros gramáticos, muy instruido en la fe cristiana, y aficionadísimo a la elocuencia" (There is a college where the Indians learn to speak and write Latin. They have a teacher of their own nation, called Antonio Valeriano, in nothing inferior to our grammarians, well instructed in the Christian faith, and very attached to eloquence)[Cervantes de Salazar 1975: 55]. My translation from the Spanish. For a short description of Valeriano's tenure as governor of Mexico City, see Gibson 1964: 169-70. Valeriano also is responsible for the italicized Spanish glosses in the citation to which note 10 refers.
25. I say this with some reservations because the composers of this work had their own biases which could work in the opposite direction. Sometimes they exaggerated the negative qualities of the Mexica (the particular Nahua subethnic group to which "Montezuma" belonged and the main subject of Sahagún's research) because their own communities had suffered under pre-Hispanic Mexica rule.
26. Sahagún 1982: 597.
27. For a more extended look at this sensitive indicator of Hispanization, see Karttunen and Lockhart 1976. This is updated in some particulars in Lockhart 1992: 261-325.
28. Burkhart 1989: 166. Brackets hers. I have changed her translation in one respect: everywhere she had "Castilian" I have placed "Spanish."
29. Sahagún 1579: 1 recto. I have edited his translation; brackets mine. This unpublished translation is by Arthur J. O. Anderson, co-translator of the *Florentine Codex* and a lifelong student of the work of Sahagún. I here acknowledge myself grateful for his permission to use it.
30. Karttunen 1987: 155-7. See also pages 2-13 and 19-21 for the history of the manuscript and a description of its contents.

31. Mendieta 1570: 69. For a more extensive explication of his views regarding "language mixing" see Mendieta 1980: 552-3.

32. Molina 1578: 35 verso.

33. Karttunen 1987: 10-11.

34. The regular clergy would be those that lived "by the rule" and would encompass orders like the Franciscans, Dominicans and Agustinians. Secular clerics would be those that "lived in the world" and generally did not have the same number or kinds of rules that governed the members of the regular clergy. Looked at from the organizational point of view, regular clergy, like the Franciscans, functioned as part of disciplined groups with an international scope, which could conduct big campaigns on behalf of the church and support members who engaged in intellectual pursuits like writing books; secular clerics usually were on their own and often engaged in secular business activities since they had no automatic means of support like regular clerics did.

35. Smith 1978: 112-13. This sentiment was not exclusively shared by friars. Smith comments that the passage "belongs to the [Spanish] Golden Age topic of present-day degeneracy contrasted with a more innocent and admirable past" (113).

36. Mendieta 1980: 559.

37. In the late sixteenth century, the time up to the mid-1560s was referred to as a golden age (Mendieta 1980: 559; see also 415).

38. The point of view I have just outlined is cleary and eloquently stated at great length in fray Gerónimo de Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (1980: 491-563). The manuscript was finished sometime during the winter of 1595-6.

39. Vetancurt 1982a: 142. Originally published in 1697.

40. Bautista 1600: "Prologo" (unnumbered).

41. Simpson 1974: xi.

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7

Tomás Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines

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In 1610, several books were printed by the Dominican press located in the town of Abucay, in the province of Bataan, Philippines. One of those books, authored by Tomás Pinpin and entitled *Librong pagaaralan nang manga tagalog nang uicang Castila,* has long been recognized as the first book ever written by a Filipino.[1] It was not. It was simply the first work ever written by a Filipino to be published.[2] This distinction is important because Pinpin lived in a society that was literate before and after Spanish contact. He wrote to a public that could read and write--a fact he recognizes and assumes, and a fact which was widely acknowledged through the first half of this century. This scenario drastically alters our perception of the indigenous population at the time of Spanish contact, the work of the friars, and the process of Hispanization.

Beginnings: The Spaniards in the Philippines

In 1565, Miguel López de Legazpi arrived in the Philippines with six Augustinian friars in his expedition. The Franciscans followed in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, and the Dominicans in 1587. On April 27, 1594, Philip II instructed Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, governor and captain-general of the Philippines:

> together with the bishop of those islands, to divide the

> provinces, for the said instruction and conversion, among the religious of the orders, in such a manner that where Augustinians go there shall be no Franciscans, nor religious of the Society where there are Dominicans. Thus you will proceed, assigning each order to its provinces.[3]

This order was contrary to official Crown policy, which had been to disallow any one Order from controlling any "contiguous, ethnic-territorial area."[4] The reason for this open change from established policy, which in any case had only been partially effective up to that point, was the linguistic situation in the Philippines.[5]

The Philippines lacked anything resembling a *lingua franca,* unlike Central Mexico and Peru where Nahuatl and Quechua, respectively, were used to communicate in multilingual settings. Based on *encomienda* lists and tribute records compiled in 1591, the numbers of the indigenous population in the areas of the six major languages were: Tagalogs, 124,000; Ilocanos, 75,000; Bicols, 77,000; the Pangasinans, 24,000; the Pampanga, 75,000; and the Ibanag, 96,000. In fact, "on the island of Luzon alone there were six major languages, many minor ones and a host of dialects."[6]

By dividing the Philippines according to linguistic groups, each Order was able to concentrate its conversion efforts and linguistic studies on "two or three or at most four languages."[7] Each was assigned parishes in the Tagalog provinces which surrounded Manila, along with their assignments away from Manila. Thus, the largest number of indigenous-language works done by friars is in Tagalog. Between 1593 and 1648, twenty-four books in Tagalog were published, whereas only five in Bisayan, three in Pampanga, two in Bicol, and one in Ilocano were during the same period.[8] Each of the religious orders had its own printing press. The Dominicans established their press in 1593, which was first moved in 1602 to Binondo and later in 1608 to Abucay, Pinpin's town. It was probably there that he met fray Francisco Blancas y San José. Within two years, Pinpin's *Librong Pagaaralan* and Blancas' *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* were published.

The Life and Work of Tomás Pinpin

Tomás Pinpin was born in Abucay, Bataan, between 1580 and 1585. Unfortunately, the records pertaining to Pinpin were probably destroyed either in 1646 by Dutch marauders[9] or in 1896 during the conflict between Filipino revolutionaries and the Spaniards.[10]

While we know nothing of his ancestry or early life, the evidence clearly shows that Pinpin was a Filipino. He is referred to as a "natural de Bataan (tauo sa Bataan)."[11] Fray Roque de Barrionuevo, the censor of Pinpin's book stated that the work was composed by "Tomás Pinpin, a Tagalog,...the author being a native Tagalog."[12] Pinpin identifies himself as Tagalog in the introduction: "Paralang sulat ni Tomas Pinpin, tauong tagalog sa manga capoua niya tagalog na nag aabang magaral nang dilang macagagaling sa canila" (The letter from Tomás Pinpin, a Tagalog person, to his fellow Tagalogs waiting to learn the tongue that will do them good).[13] Furthermore, Bienvenido Lumbera refers to him as a *ladino* (a bilingual native).[14]

Pinpin was not the first or the only non-Spanish printer in the early colonial period in the Philippines. Two brothers, Juan and Francisco de Vera, and Luis Beltrán, all full-blooded Chinese, had served before as printers for the Dominicans. Vicente Rafael notes that the editor of the 1910 edition speculated that "Pinpin probably learned his trade from the Christianized Chinese Juan de Vera, who is credited with having printed missionary works in the vernacular in the sixteenth century."[15] Pinpin continued to work as a printer until at least 1639, working on some of the more significant religious and linguistic works of that era, including confessional guides, dictionaries, and grammars.[16]

Pinpin had a dual purpose for writing *Librong Pagaaralan*: to teach Tagalogs aspects of Catholic doctrine, particularly to prepare them for confession, and to teach them Spanish. Thus, his book is a bilingual production in a Tagalog/Spanish format. The Tagalog fits the first purpose, the Spanish the second. As a result the Spanish text dictates much of the meter, subject matter, and other aspects of the writing.[17] Lumbera describes Pinpin's book as five chapters of lessons,

> ranging from simple vocabulary to complete sentences, all meant to be memorized....The part of *Librong Pagaaralan* for which Pinpin has been linked to the history of Tagalog poetry is the six songs (*auit*) inserted at certain points in the book as exercises to be chanted by the students.[18]

Thus, the book combines lessons, songs and a section on the Ten Commandments. Traditionally, the songs have been the focus of most studies of Pinpin.[19] Pinpin concludes his book with a glossary.

The Text

On first reading the section I have translated below, the reader may be struck by the frankness of language and description of sexual activity, especially in the context of a religious work.[20] However, Pinpin wanted to help Tagalogs understand the questions they would be asked about their sexual behavior in confession. Compared to some of the works in Nahuatl, this material is mild.[21] Most importantly, however, in this section Pinpin reveals information about indigenous kinship organization and concepts and refers to Tagalog literacy.

ANG ICANIM(ICAANIM) UTOS NANG
P.(PANGINOON) DIOS.
EL SEXTO MANDAMIENTO[22]

(1)*Nagcasala ca caya sa di mo asaua nang gauang masama?* Has pecado con varon ó muger agena? (2)*May asaua caya yaong quinalaro no, con bagong tauo caya siya,t, con bauo caya?* Tiene muger aquel con quien pecaste ó era mozo ó viudo? (3)*Dalaga caya yaong babaying pinagcasalanan [mo], con bulandal caya?* Era doncella, moza por casar aquella con quien pecaste, ó era de las solteras de mayor edad que ya tuvieren marido? (4)*Dalaga caya yaong totoo na ualang bacas lalaqui, ay icao ang naunang nacasiea [nacasira] nang pagca dalaga niya?* Era virgen por ventura, de manera que tu fueses el primero que la corrompiese? (5)*Opan hinlog mo yaon?* Por ventura era pariente ó parienta tuya? (6)*Anong paghihinlog ninyo niyon?* Que parentesco hay entre vosotros? (7)*Opan anac mo yaon at ama caya at ina caya sa pag binyag at sa pagcocompilman caya?* Era hijo ó hija ó padre ó madre de Bautismo ó de la Confirmacion? (8)*Opan casama mong, nag anac sa pag binyag at sa compilman caya?* O era tu compadre ó comadre de Bautismo ó de la Confirmacion? (9)*At cundi mo man hinlog yaon ay opan hinlog nang asau mo?* O aunque no fuese tu pariente por ventura los es de tu marido ó muger? (10)*Anong paghihinlog nila nang asua mo?* Que parentesco tienen aquel y tu marido ó aquella y tu muger? (11)*Yaong dalaua catauong pinag casalanan mo ay opan maghinlog sila?* Eran parientes entre si aquellas dos

personas con que pecaste? (12)*Anong pag hihinlog nila con mag capatid con mag pinsan caya,t, con magdaga caya,t, con mag amain caya?* Que parentesco tienen si son hermanos ó hermanas, si primos ó primas, si tia y sobrina ó tio etc.? (13)*Nang magmula ca nang magcasala doon sa isa ay nacailan cang nagcasala doon sa isa?* Habiendo ya pecado con la una persona, cuantas veces pecaste con la otra? (14)*Opan nang magcasala ca doon sa icalaua minsan man lamang ay hindi na holi holing nagcasala doon sa nauna, opan at baquin at nagcasala ca na sa icalaua ay nag panibago ca ding nagcasala doon sa nauna?* Por ventura habiendo ya pecado con la segunda, no volviste ya jamás con la primera, ó es que habiendo ya pecado con la segunda volviste otra vez de nuevo á pecar con la primera? (15)*Opan pinaghahalihalili mo na ualang saysay?* O por ventura pecabas ya con esta; ya con la otra persona su parienta asi confusamente. (16)*May doon ca cayang salang ano anoman sa capoua mo lalaqui at sa capoua mo babayi caya?* Has pecado en alguna manera con otro varon como tu ó con otra muger como tu? (17)*Turan mo din con anong asal na calibugan ninyo, niyong catongo mo con nagsisiping cayo at con nag daramahan cayo at con nagbabauan caya cayo at con ano,t, con ano: icao na ang bahalang mabala?* Di ya en que manera de deshonestidad pecastes, si estabais juntos ó si habia entre vosotros tactos ó si os pusfstes [pusistes] uno sobre el otro, ó si esto ó si solo [lo] otro ó si [a ti] se remite de declararlo? (18)*Con nagsisiping cayo nang asaua mo may doon cayang anomang di ugaling asal na sucat maguin sala [sa] P. (Panginoon) sa Dios?* Cuando estais juntos tu y tu muger, usais de algún modo no ordinario de manera que pueda ser ofensa de nuestro Señor Dios? (19)*Pinababao mo caya ang asaua mo sa iyo?* Mandaste á tu muger mudar su debido lugar, que es decir subir encima de ti? (20)*Gongmaua ca caya nang anomang icalabas niyon con [ano] yaong marumi sa cataoan mo na dili na pa sa cataon nang babayi, at nabobo din?* Haces algo que sea causa de tener polución de manera que lo que sale cuerpo se derrame fuera del lugar ordinario que es el cuerpo de la mujer? (21)*Sinadhiya mo caya yaon?* Hiciste esto de propósito? (22)*Pinagquiquimis mo ï pinag dararama mo ó pinaglalamas mo ang caataoan [cataoan] mo nang malabasan nang tobod?* Has manoseado

tus partes vergonzosas ó tu miembro natural para tener polución? (23) *Binobotinging,t, tinitiltil mo ang quinalalaquinan mo nang dumating yaoñg mahalay?* Andas jugando con tus verguenzas provocandote a que llegue aquella inmundicia? (24)*Nalabasan caya ang cataoan mo niyon?* Tuviste polución? (25)*Opan nang icao ay gongmagayÖc nang maquisiping sa asaua mo ay nabigla na di mo loob at labasan na ualan bahala?* Por ventura estando ya para llegar á tu muger se aceleró sin tu pretenderlo, y sin más ni sin menos se derramo? (26)*Opan caualan mong iñgat yaon?* O por ventura fué la causa el no tener tu cuidado en ello? (27)*Tinatanguihan mo caya ang asaua mo con siya,y, macaibig macaisiping sa iyo?* Resistes á tu marido cuando quiere llegar á ti? (28)*Masaquit caya ang pag tangui mo sa caniya?* Es mucho y con fuerza la resistencia que le hases? (29)*Mapilit man siya ay dili mo din siya ibig pasipingin sa iyo?* Aunque lo procuras con veras tu le despidas de ti? (30)*Dati [ca] cayang maliuag sumunot [somonod] nang loob niya sa gayong gaua?* Suelo [Suele] ser eso de ordinario en ti, que te le muestras dificultosa? (31)*Nacapanaguinip ca caya nang mahalay na panaguimpan?* Has soñado sueños torpes? (32)*Nang maguising ca na natotoua ca caya doon sa panaguimpang yaon?* Cuando dispertaste tenias gusto de [en] aquel sueño? (33)*Ang uica mo caya sa loob mo ay siya naua yaon?* Decias por ventura en tu corazon ojala fuera ello asi? (34)*Opan inauacsi mo?* Desechastelo de ti? (35)*Na pa Jesus ca caya at ga nagsisi ca na sa loob mo?* Dijsite [Dijiste] Jesús y tuviste pesar ó pena por ello? (36)*Nang icao ay natotua doon sa panaguimpang yaon ay naguiguising ca cayang totoo, opan na aalimpongatan ca lamang?* Cuando [Queando] te holgabas de aquel sueño, estabas del todo despierto ó estabas todavía medio dormido? (37)*Nag hatol ca samañga capoua mo tauong magcasala sa P. [Panginoon] Dios?* Has aconsejado á algunos para que pecasen? (38)*Anong lagay niyong mañga tauong pinag hatulan mo con mañga may asaua etc.* Que estado tenian aquellos á quien concertaste si son casados etc.(39)*Icao cay,y, napasolohan sa capoua mo tauo?* Has sido alcahuete ó tercero de otros? (40)*Anong asal niyong mañga tauong pinag solohanan mo con may mañga [mañga may] asaua caya at con mañga baong tauo caya at manga*

dalaga at con ang isa man lamang caya ang may asaua? Que estado tenian aquellos á quien serviste de tercero para amancebarse si casados, si mozos solteros, si mozas ó si alguno de los dos era persona casada? (41)*Nacailan mo cayang pinagsohannan [pinag solohanan] yaong mañga may asaua at nacailan naman yaong ualang asaua?* Cuantas veces serviste de eso á los que eran casados y tambien cuantas veces á los que no lo eran? (42)*Casang bahay ca caya niyong nag sosolohan say iyo?* Vives en las misma casa de aquel de quien [aquien] sirves de alcahuete? (43)*Pinilit ca caya niyang utusan nang gayon?* Hacete fuerza a que le sirvas de oso? (44)*Napautos ca at napapintacasi ca caya sa capoua mo tauo nang anomang gauang calibugan?* Obedeciste y ayudaste a alguna cosa tocante a deshonestidad? (45)*Con baga nasa [nagbasa] ca caya nang sulat at cong songmulat ca caya nang canilang ipinagparparalahan?* Es decir si leiste cartas ó si escribiste sus demandas y respuestas? (46)*Pinatutuloy mo caya sa iyona [yiong(iyong)] bahay ang mañga tauong nagaagolo?* Has dado posada en tu casa á los que se amanceban? (47)*Naaalaman mo caya yaong canilang loob na masama bago mo binasa yaong sulat at bago mo caya tinangap sa bahay mo?* Sabias su mal designio é intención antes que leyeses sus cartas ó recibieses en tu casa? (48)*Di mo man natatanto,y, alli [dili] caya nahahalata mo din?* Dado que no lo supieses de cierto: no se te traslucia? (49)*Ay nahahalata man ay sinunod mo din ang loob nila?* Y no obstante que lo imaginabas con todo eso viniste en lo que querian? (50)*Nagsosolohan ca caya sa capoua mo tauo?* Haste servido de algun tercero? (51)*Ilan caya yaong sinosolohan [sinolohan] mo?* A cuanto has hecho alcahuetes tuyos? (52)*Yaong mañga sinugo mo at mañga pinipintacasi mo nang ganang [gauang] masama con ilan caya?* Cuantos habran sido aquellos de que te has ayudado enviandolos con mensajes ó por otro modo alguno? (53)*Anong pamimintacasi mo sa canila con pinabasa mo caya nang sulat at con pinatanod mo caya sa inyong pagcacasala?* De que manera te ayudaste de ellos, si leyendo las cartas, ó guardandote las espaldas? (54)*Yaong babaying yaon,t, yaong lalaquing yaong sinisinta mo opan pinag dayaan mo ñg [nang] anomang icaiibig niya sa iyo, con bagà guinayuma mo siya,t, con*

inisalat mo caya at pina parayaan mo caya siya nang gayon sa ibang tauo? Aquella persona á quien amabas, por ventura le has hecho algunos hechizos para que te quisiese ó has procurado que alguno otro la hechizase? (55)*Nagsasabi ca caya sa capoua mo tauo nang mahalay na sabi?* Has hablado con tus projimos palabras torpes y deshonestas? (56)*Nag auit ca caya nang auit na masasama?* Has cantado cantares malos y torpes? (57)*Con nag sasabi ca at nag aauit caya nang masasama [masama] ay taos na taos caya yaon sa loob mo?* Cuando tratas ó cantas cosas deshonestas, aquello pasa al corazon? (58)*May aha din caya ang loob mong gumaua nang masama?* Tiene tambien el corazon aquel deseo deshonesto? (59)*Con cabirobiroan lamang caya yaon at con ano?* O es burla todo, y palabras al aire, ó que? (60)*Nanasa ca caya nang sulat na pinagpapalamnan nang mahalay na uicang sucat icaalaala nang masama?* Lees libros, que contienen cosas sucias y palabras que traen a la memoria torpezas? (61)*Quinatotouaan mo cayang paquingan an mañga sabing calibugan di ca man naquiqui dugtong nang uica?* Haste holgado de oir conversaciones deshonestas aunque tu no hablases en ellas palabras? (62)*Nag bubuti ca caya sa cotaoan [cataoan] mo?* Engalanas y hermoseas tu cuerpo? (63)*Anong dahilang ipinagpapacabuti mo?* Que es el motivo que tienes en hermosearte? (64)*Opan ang ibig mo ay [ycao ay (icao ay)] ibiguin nang tauo sa masama?* Por ventura, por ser deseada para mal? (65)*Opan nag papapurí ca laman at caparañgalanan lamang nang loob mo?* Por ventura solo porque te alaben de hermosura y por aquella vana ostentación? (66)*Tiquis ca cayang hahanda handa at napatatanyag sa manga lalavui [lalaqui]?* De propósito andas de aca para aculla placera mostràndote á los varones? (67)*Anong sadya mo niyon?* Que protendes [pretendes] en eso?

THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT OF THE LORD GOD

(1) Have you sinned against someone who is not your spouse by doing something wrong? (2) Does the one you played with have a spouse, is he/she young or a widower/widow? (3) Is that woman you sinned with young or a spinster? (4) Was she really a virgin untouched by a man, were you the first to destroy/break her womanhood/deflower her? (5) Is she your relative? (6) How are you related to each other? (7) Is he/she your child or mother or father by baptism or confirmation? (8) Were you together as godparents in baptism or confirmation? (9) If she is not related to you, is she related to your wife? (10) How is she related to your wife? (11) Were the two you sinned against related? (12) How are they related, sisters or cousins or aunts or uncle/stepfather? (13) Since you sinned against the one, how many times have you sinned against the other? (14) When you are sinning with the second, not once were you caught with the first, then why after sinning with the second did you sin anew with the first? (15) Did you go back and forth with them senselessly? (16) Do you have any other sin against your fellow man or fellow woman? (17) Tell me also what are your sexual habits when you are in bed with the one with whom you are relating and if you were touching and if you were on top of each other or whatever you wish. (18) When you are in bed with your spouse, do you have any bad habits which became sin to God? (19) Did you allow your spouse to be on top of you? (20) Did you do anything so that something filthy came out of your body but did not enter the woman's body and was spilled? (21) Did you do it on purpose? (22) Did you caress or squeeze your body with your hands so that your semen would come out of your body? (23) Did you play with your manhood to bring about something obscene? (24) Did it come out of your body? (25) When you were preparing to be in bed with your spouse, were you surprised when it unintentionally came out? (26) Was it because of your carelessness? (27) Do you refuse your spouse when he/she wants to go to bed with you? (28) Is your refusal painful? (29) Even if she insists, do you still not wish to be in bed with her? (30) Has it always been hard for her heart to obey that? (31) Do you dream obscene dreams? (32) When you wake up, are

you happy about that dream? (33) Did you say in your heart that you wished it were true? (34) Did you turn away? (35) Did you utter Jesus in your heart and have regret in your heart? (36) When you were happy about that dream, were you really awake or half asleep? (37) Did you judge your fellowman who sinned against the Lord God? (38) What is the status of those you judge, were they married, etc.? (39) Have you been taken advantage of by other people? (40) What was the status of those you took advantage of, were they married, widowed, virgins, or was either one of them married? (41) How many times did you take advantage of those who are married and how many times those who are not married? (42) Did you live in the same house with the one who took advantage of you? (43) Did he/she force you to do that? (44) Did you allow yourself to be ordered and to be admired by anyone for doing something obscene? (45) Did you read the letter and did you write their demands? (46) Do you allow into your house those who engage in concubinage? (47) Did you know their bad intentions before you read that letter and before you received them into your house? (48) Even though you were not certain, did you become aware? (49) When you became aware, did you still follow their ways? (50) Do you take advantage of others? (51) How many did you take advantage of? (52) How many did you send and how many admired you for doing wrong? (53) Do they admire you for letting them read the letter or for letting them watch you in your sin? (54) That woman and man, the one you care for, when you cheated that person of something that he/she loved in you, did you touch him or her or did you let others touch him or her? (55) Do you say something obscene to another person? (56) Do you sing bad songs? (57) When you say something or sing something bad, was it from your heart? (58) Do you desire in your heart to do wrong? (59) Or was it only a joking matter or what? (60) Did you read writings that contain obscene words? (61) Do you delight in listening to lustful words even if you do not add words? (62) Do you do good to your body? (63) For what reason do you improve your body? (64) Do you want to be liked by people for doing wrong? (65) Do you want in your heart to be praised and honored? (66) Do you intentionally prepare yourself so as to be

well-known to others? (67) What is your purpose in that?

Terminology and Social Implications

Unlike some other religious books, Pinpin's work is not merely a translation from a Spanish text. Consequently, Pinpin's original composition reveals a great deal about indigenous customs and social organization. In questions 7 and 8, Pinpin uses a Tagalog form of the Spanish verb *confirmar* (to confirm), *compilman*. In question 7, he adds the Tagalog prefix *pag* and duplicates the first syllable to create the word *pagcocompilman*.[23] However, he does not indigenize the Spanish word for baptism (*bautizar*). Instead, he takes an indigenous word, *binyag*, and substitutes it for the Spanish *bautismo*. The origin of the word "binyag" as the Tagalog word for baptism (*bunyag* in Bisayan and Ilocano) is worth noting.[24] In his Tagalog dictionary of 1613, San Buenaventura defines "binyag" as "to wet with a certain washing" and explains:

> This word is not Tagalog but Borneo, which a minister brought from that country to teach the law of Mahoma, and in teaching it to them, made a certain washing and they called it binyag, and those such manga binyag, i.e., the purified and renovated in the law.

Another Tagalog dictionary (circa 1610-15) by fray Francisco Blancas de San José describes "binyag" as "the act of baptizing. Binyagan: a Christian. This word is derived from a ceremony which the Borneans used anciently, purifying themselves with water."[25]

Dictionaries in other languages confirm the origin and evolution of buñag. The Bisayan dictionary (circa 1615) by Mateo Sánchez states: "Buñag: To sprinkle with water or liquid...and metaphorically they call baptism pabuñag. It is to be noted that the word buñag cannot be used in the formula of baptism." Alonso Méntrida's Hiligaynon dictionary of 1637 defines "buñag" as "to water plants by throwing water over them, or the floor of the church...it has been introduced for baptizing: the use has a meaning it never meant among the indios." Andrés Carro's late eighteenth-century Ilocano dictionary lists the following:

> Buniag: A word the ancients used in baptism, and it means, to give a name. It was abolished as improper in

> the Synod which Señor García held in Calasiao in 1773, and fixed *buggo*, which instead means to wash. Despite this, the natives of Ilocos Sur take it in the sense of baptism even today.

According to Raul Pertierra, in Ilocano the word "buñag" means to give someone a name. His explanation is intriguing but unconvincing.[26] Rafael also states that in Tagalog, "binyag" means "literally to give one a nickname." That is the modern meaning, which no doubt is the result of the child receiving a name at baptism. In the same way, "binyag" has taken on the meaning of initiation or initial experience. Yet, as late as 1754, Noceda and Sanlucar noted the term's Islamic origin. Rafael points out that friars were cautioned in this work to avoid the use of "binyag."[27]

Pertierra states that in contemporary Ilocano society, "buniag" is "reserved for the more formal church ceremony officiated by the priest or minister in the presence of sponsors and followed by a feast." On the other hand, the Spanish term *bautizar* ("to baptize") is used for the indigenous ceremony employed when a child is seriously ill, at which a senior kinsman baptizes the child.

> This informal rite, called bautizar, employs the standard Catholic baptismal formula...two interchangeable forms: (1) 'Buniaganka iti nagan ti ama ken ti anak ken ti spiritu sancto, amen' (I name thee in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen) or (2) 'Bautizarenka iti nagan etc.' (This ceremony is performed in the house of the child and does not involve sponsors).[28]

In his article "Anak ti Digos: Ilokano Name Changing and Ritual Kinship," Daniel Scheans shows that the ritual kinship ties established in baptism (*compadrazgo*) occur also in the events surrounding the bathing of the sick child.[29]

While a close philological analysis of Pinpin's book elucidates the origins and development of Filipino traditions and concepts, his text also reveals some basic underlying patterns of kinship organization. Adultery was (and is) considered a sin by the Catholic Church regardless of the relationship of the two parties involved. However, Pinpin makes ritual kinship ties an issue by extending the laws of consanguinity to include godchildren, godparents and co-godparents. Therefore his concern is not adultery, but rather incest in questions five through twelve. In questions five

through twelve, Pinpin asks about the nature of the relationship between the person confessing and the other party involved in the adultery. Question 5 begins with the broad question, "Is she your relative?" and question 6 "How are you related to each other?" asks for a precise definition of the adulterers' relationship. He also asks in question 7, "Is he/she your child or mother or father by baptism or confirmation?" and in question 8, "Were you together as godparents in baptism or confirmation?"

In *Compadrazgo: Ritual Kinship in the Philippines,* Donn Hart gives historical background to compadrazgo and its development in the Philippines. Using Pitt-Rivers' definition, he writes:

> The participants recognize a bond which is likened to, though it is not confused with, kinship. These are commonly defined under the headings of blood brotherhood and ritual co-parenthood, or compadrazgo, and they are all best classified as ritual kinship. To refer to them as 'fictive kinship,' as many authors have done, is to invite confusion, since no fiction is involved; these institutions are conceptually distinct from and frequently contrasted with natural kinship.[30]

Ritual kinship is created through Church-required sponsorship at baptisms, confirmations, and marriages (Hart does not include marriage). Three sets of relationships are created: between godparent and godchild--"if there is more than one sponsor, they are ritually linked among themselves"; between the sponsor and the parents of the godchild; and between the godchild and the godparents' children.[31] Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf have also shown in their study of the historical antecedents of ritual kinship that as early as the ninth century, "The incest group, biological as well as ritual, was extended to cover seven degrees of relationship." They assert that, "The outstanding characteristic of the *compadre* mechanism is its adaptiveness to different situations. As the structure of the situation changes, so we may expect to see the compadre mechanism serve different purposes." In modern Latin America, the emphasis appears to be on the co-parenthood aspect where, "The compadre-compadre relationship outweighs the godparent-godchild relationship." To Pinpin, both are important. Ritual kinship is unlike the involuntary ties of natural kinship, in that the relationship is based on choice.[32]

George M. Foster examined the *cofradía* and compadrazgo in

Spain and Spanish America. I would include the Philippines in this discussion. He asserts that "In all societies there is a minimal cooperating group which is necessary for the functioning of daily life." He argues that in the late Middle Ages, there were two such groups with "remarkable facilities for meeting the challenge of crisis periods and for integrating society." One was the cofradía or religious brotherhood and the other was,

> what is known in Spanish America as the compadrazgo, a web of interpersonal relationships based on spiritual kinship recognized by the Catholic Church, achieved through sponsorship of a neophyte at baptism, confirmation or marriage.

He concludes that the cofradía became more prominent in Spain, while the compadrazgo "won the preeminent place" in the New World.[33] In Spain the basic relationship is between the godparents and the godchild, while in Latin America it is between the godparents, or the compadres. The concept of compadrazgo quickly became a part of social and religious life in the New World. Foster argues that among the reasons for its quick acceptance are: the tremendous changes experienced by the indigenous population, requiring new adaptive mechanisms; its similarity to existing indigenous forms; and a direct substitution for a clan system. I believe that its adaptability to different situations and it similarity to existing forms best explains it acceptance in the Philippines. The problem is the absence of any evidence to support that conclusion.[34]

That the concept of compadrazgo had taken root in the Philippines is seen in a Spanish edict of the Philippine Audiencia on May 17, 1599, a decade before Pinpin's book, which prohibited Chinese from serving as sponsors. According to the edict, the Chinese supposedly had "a great number of godchildren, both Christian and infidel, in order to have them ready for any emergency that may arise."[35] One wonders what was the nature of the relationship involving a godchild that was an infidel.

Pinpin's book shows that compadrazgo had also taken root in Filipino society. That an alternative system of kinship could take root so quickly is even more interesting in light of the fact that the Philippine society was "just emerging from the kinship stage" in contrast to societies in Latin America which "had developed a political state."[36]

Indigenous Literacy and PreHispanic Precedents

While the section translated is rather extended, I have included the entire passage for two reasons. First, it is a unit in Pinpin's work, encompassing his discussion of sexual impropriety in the context of the sixth commandment.[37] Second, it is within that context that Pinpin casually mentions the fact that his audience can read and write; that they can do so is not questioned. His primary concern is whether or not they have used those abilities to participate in what he considers sexual misconduct.

When Pinpin asks: "Did you read the letter and did you write their demands? Did you know their bad intentions before you read that letter and before you received them into your house? Do they admire you for letting them read the letter or for letting you watch you in your sin? [and] Did you read writings that contain obscene words?" he refers to sexual impropriety which involves reading and writing (questions 45, 47, 53, and 60, respectively).[38] Questions 45 and 47 mention the use of letters (sulat/cartas) as a means of communicating. Today, the exact nature of such letters remains unclear, but Pinpin assumed that the Filipinos of his time would understand his reference. In question 53, Pinpin asks if the reader is somehow admired for allowing others to read "the letter" or for allowing them to watch him in his "sin." Pinpin continues with another issue in question 60 by asking about the reading of obscene material. This is clearer in the Spanish "Lees libros" than the Tagalog because "sulat" simply refers to writing.

Leaving aside the specifics of the letters or obscene material, I wish to point out the manner in which Pinpin brings the issue of literacy into his presentation. That Tagalogs read and write is not questioned by Pinpin; he simply assumes as much. Pinpin explicitly wrote to a literate Tagalog audience. Furthermore, he did not exclusively associate literacy with dutiful Tagalogs who read Church material. Instead, he suggests that Tagalogs independently wrote letters to each other and read material which the Church would have considered obscene.

There seems to be little disagreement that pre-Hispanic Filipinos had a system of writing and an alphabet called *"baybayin"* that could be found from the north to the south. Scholars debate the nature and origin of the alphabet, as well as the direction in which Filipinos wrote; however, scant attention has been paid to the related topics of indigenous literacy and social history.

Ama Mi

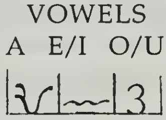
Amá mi á addá cat sadi Langit, pasantificar mo ti nagan mo: pagténg mo cadacam(cadacami) ti paghariam: paannugut mo ti naquemmo ditoy dagá, cas sadi Langit. Itdém cadacám iti aldáo itoy ti canén mi á patinayon á aldáo, quet pauaném muet ti utang mi, cas muet pammaauán mi iti utang daguiti mautang cadacami. Duna cam muet baybayáan á umannúgut iti sairo, isalcannacám quet iti daques. Amén Jesús.

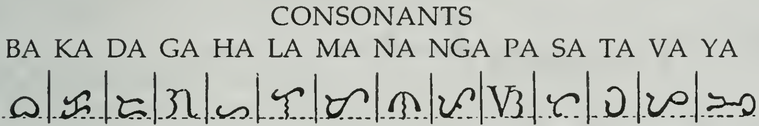
Figure 1: The Lord's Prayer in Tagalog
written in the indigenous script, *baybayin*.

William Henry Scott defined baybayin as one of twelve or more:

> indigenous alphabets from such Southeast Asian islands as Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi, which are ultimately derived from ancient India and share the Sanskrit characteristic that any consonant is pronounced with the vowel *a* following it, diacritical marks being added to express other vowels.[39]

It is generally considered to have consisted of three vowels, which could serve for five, and between twelve and fourteen consonants.[40] The consonants included both a consonant and a vowel value. The following are the Roman alphabet equivalents:





The consonants without diacritical marks (called *kudlit* in Tagalog, *corlit* in Spanish) included the vowel *"a."* The consonant with a dot above it meant that either *"e"* or *"i"* was added. A dot below meant that either *"o"* or *"u"* should be pronounced with the consonant. The letters designating vowels were used when placed at the beginning of a word or syllable.

Such a system presented problems for non-Filipinos because it could not be used to write consonant-final words. "The final consonants are supplied in all expressions. Thus, in order to say 'cantar' [i.e., 'to sing'], one writes 'cata,' only a 'c' and 't.' To say 'barba' [i.e., 'beard'], two 'b's' are sufficient."[41] Fray Gaspar de San Agustín pointed out that often baybayin letters could signify many possibilities in Spanish-based orthography.[42]

In the first book published by the Spaniards in Ilocano, *Libro a Naisurátan ámin ti bagás ti Doctrina Cristiana*, (Book in Which is Written all the Contents of Christian Doctrine[1621]), fray Francisco López tried to solve the problem of paired consonants and

Figure 2: A sample of fray Francisco López' innovation: a small cross underneath the character to indicate a consonant-final syllable.

vowels in order to be able to end words with consonants and to write the double consonants common to Ilocano.[43] He introduced another diacritical mark: a little cross to cancel the vowel value, similar in function to the Sanskrit *virama*. His work seems to be the only Philippine text to make use of the virama.[44] (See Figure 2: The Lord's Prayer in Ilocano for an example of this diacritical mark.)

Fray Cipriano Marcilla y Martín, who served in Batac, Ilocos Norte in the late nineteenth century and whose work was published in 1895, also criticized baybayin:

> This script...cannot be any less than illegible...it presents great difficulties not for him who writes it but for him who reads it....[We are thus] far from believing that this alphabet could provide the simplicity and clarity of Latin. Also it is absurd to say that with a few points and commas these characters can be made to signify everything that one might want to write as fully and as easily as our own Spanish alphabet.[45]

This prejudice against the indigenous method of writing says more about those who objected to its weaknesses than it does about the system of writing itself.[46] As Geoffrey Sampson states, "It is well-known that written language is not straightforwardly a transcription of spoken language."[47] Apparently, some non- baybayin writers saw it as inferior for its alleged inability to communicate as do languages written with the Roman alphabet.

While López sought to correct what he and others considered a problem, Father Pedro Chirino, S.J., a sixteenth-century figure who often wrote about Filipino literacy, had no objection to vowel-final syllables.

> Final consonants are omitted in all words....In spite of this, they understand and make themselves understood wonderfully well and without ambiguities: the reader easily and skillfully supplies the omitted consonants.[48]

In addition to debating the usefulness of baybayin, scholars have discussed the number of alphabets and the direction of writing. As to the number of baybayin-based alphabets, there were examples listed for each area of the Philippines. Cipriano Marcilla y Martín mentions at least seventeen baybabyin-based alphabets in his book[49]; however, Scott argues that any variations are simply

the result of different handwriting.[50]

Another debate surrounding baybayin centers on the direction of writing. If one writes vertically, a possible ambiguity arises with regard to the diacritical mark--does it represent an "e" or an "i" for a certain letter or an "o" or "u" for the letter above it? Conflicting testimony remains regarding the direction of writing.

> A variety of opinions have been expressed as to the direction of the writing. Chirino, San Antonio, Zuñiga, and Le Gentil say that it was vertical, beginning at the top. Colin, Ezguerra, and Marche assert that it was vertical but in the opposite direction.[51]

Although Chirino suggests that the direction of writing changed after the arrival of the Spaniards this seems unlikely.[52] Antonio de Morga noted that "the method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left, in the Arabic style."[53] Scott suggests that the direction of reading has always been left to right, though the writer may have appeared to be writing from top to bottom. The reason for the discrepancy was the result of the materials used. Writing on bamboo with a sharp object would be better done if pointing away from the body.[54]

In addition to the speculation over the direction of writing, there are a number of theories regarding the origin of the alphabet used in the Philippines.[55] This topic captured the attention of the earliest writers. López wrote that it derived from the Malays; Chirino held the same position. The issue of the when and where this system first take root remains unresolved. Vicente Rafael notes that baybayin refers to

> the seacoast, or the act of coasting along a river. This sense of the word highlights the seeming randomness involved in the reading of the script as one floats, as it were, over a stream of sounds elicited by the characters.[56]

A simpler explanation is that the name reflects its origin, from or across the sea.

Antonio Pigafetta, who reached the Philippines in 1521 with Magellan, noted that the natives were apparently much taken with the European art of writing, as they did not have any such practice. He reported that Rajah Colambu, "a gold-bedecked

chieftain of sufficient attainment to be able to use Chinese porcelain as containers for unpounded palay [unhusked rice], was amazed to see this art demonstrated from the first time."[57] Yet López reported some forty-six years later that "they can all read and write." Miguel de Loarca, an *encomendero* on the island of Panay, wrote in 1582 that the Bisayans had no script; Chirino himself confirmed Loarca's report saying that they had only adopted one a few years before. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, Francisco Colín and Francisco Alcina explained that the Bisayans had an alphabet that they derived from the Tagalogs.[58] Thus, it appears that baybayin developed first in the Tagalog provinces and later spread throughout the Philippines.[59]

Overwhelming evidence of Filipino literacy comes from the statements of friars and others, publications, and manuscripts. Reports dating from 1567-1750 from throughout the Philippines attesting to Filipinos' ability to read and write are abundant. López wrote in 1567 from Cebu:

> They have their letters and characters like those of the Malays, from whom they learned them; they write them on bamboo bark and palm leaves with a pointed tool, but never is any ancient writing found among them nor word of their origin and arrival in these islands, their customs and rites being preserved by traditions handed down from father to son without any other record.[60]

Referring to Tagalogs in the Manila area, Father Alonso Sánchez, S.J. recorded in 1587 that "Almost all of them read and write in the language they have of their own."[61] Moreover, Chirino, who was assigned to a variety of locations including Balayan in Batangas, Taytay in Rizal, Tighawan in Panay, Carigara in Leyte, and Silang in Cavite,[62] wrote that Filipino literacy was so common that there existed, "scarcely a man, and much less a woman, who cannot read and write in the letters proper to the island of Manila, very different from those of China, Japan and India."[63] He further commented:

> There is scarcely any man and much less a woman that does not possess one or more books in their language and characters, and in their own handwriting, on the sermons they hear or on the sacred histories, lives of the saints, prayers and pious poems composed by them. This is some-

> thing unheard of among any other people so recently Christianized. And I can bear witness of this because I was recently charged with the *examen* of those books in this year 1609 by order of the Treasurer, Procurator and Vicar General of the Metropolitan See of Manila, who had them all inspected in order to correct the errors.[64]

Even more detailed remarks can be found in a late sixteenth-century manuscript. The author is anonymous, but C.R. Boxer believes it was compiled for the then-Governor General Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas:[65]

> They have certain characters that serve them as letters with which they write what they want. They are very different looking from the rest that we know up to now. Women commonly know how to write with them and when they write (they) do so on the bark of certain pieces of bamboo, of which there are many in the islands. In using these pieces which are four fingers wide, they do not write with ink but with some stylus that breaks the surface and bark of the bamboo, to write the letters. They have neither books nor histories, and they do not write at length except missives and notes to one another. For this purpose they have letters which total only seventeen. Each letter is a syllable and with certain points placed to one side or the other of the letter, or above or below, they compose words and write and say with these whatever they wish. It is very easy to learn this and any person can do so in two months of studying. They are not so quick in writing, because they do it very slowly. The same thing is (true) in reading; which is like when schoolchildren do their spelling.[66]

Moreover, fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, O.F.M., added in 1601 that although Filipinos had their own writing system, " the natives had no knowledge of the sciences, or any acquaintance with knowledge as in laws or schools."[67] In 1609, Antonio de Morga observed that, "Almost all the natives, both men and women, write in this language. There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly."[68] Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, O.F.M. attempted to explain why writing was more common among women:

> they do not have any other way to while away the time, for it is not customary for little girls to go to school as boys do, they make better use of their characters than men, and they use them in things of devotion, and in other things that are not of devotion.[69]

Nearly a century later Fray Juan José Delgado commented on the survival of baybayin in the Visayas even after the introduction of the Spanish alphabet.[70] The testimony of Morga and López and the anonymous sixteenth-century report are not church sources; thus they answer Scott's objection that reports of indigenous literacy were merely "pious exaggeration." Confirming Spanish testimony, Pinpin attests to indigenous literacy in his address to other Tagalogs:

> It is not good that I continue this lesson of mine if I do not first teach you, my fellow Tagalogs, how to recognize and remember other letters that we are not accustomed to recognizing and remembering, and that are absent from our Tagalog language, but that are often used in Castilian, and that are difficult to recognize for one who is not used to them. Though they are difficult, you can learn them well if you force yourself.[71]

The numerous statements by secular and ecclesiastic Spaniards and by Pinpin about Filipino literacy are verified by the existence of church imprints and notarial documents that contain words in baybayin. These materials are the subject of the following section.

Books and Notarial Documents with Tagalog Characters

To cope with the difficulties of the many new languages in colonial Mexico alone, the friars wrote books for their own use and that of the indigenous population. These included grammar books, dictionaries and "the *doctrinas*, or catechisms, the *confesionarios*, translations of the Gospel, the Epistles, lives of the saints, etc., manuals for every day services."[72] In 1593, the first two books printed by the Spaniards in the Philippines were produced. Both were doctrinas (books of Christian doctrine); one for China and one for the Tagalog population in the Philippines.[73] On the reverse of the titlepage of the Tagalog doctrina is written, "Tassada en dos rreales" (priced at two reales), with the signature and rubric of

Juan de Cuéllar. "It will be observed that the price is half that allowed for the *Shih-lu* (the doctrina in Chinese), which in fact has nearly twice as many pages."[74] The Tagalog doctrina covered the usual subjects: the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, Salve Regina, the fourteen articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the five commandments of the Church, the seven sacraments, the seven capital sins, the fourteen works of mercy, and the act of general confession.

In 1602, the *Libro de Nuestra Señora* (Book of Our Lady) by fray Blancas de San José was printed "en lengua y letra tagala de Filipinas (in the Tagalog language and letters of the Philippines)."[75] P. Van der Loon notes that according to Alonso Fernandez, it was exclusively in Tagalog script.[76] The following year in his *Libro de los Sacramentos* (Book of the Sacraments), Blancas de San José used "ambas letras, suya y nuestra," (both scripts, theirs and ours).[77] In the dedication to, *Libro de las quatro postrimerías del hombre en lengua tagala y letra española* (Book of the Last Stages of Man in Tagalog and Spanish Letters [1604]), Blancas wrote:

> This opuscule will at least serve to inform you, Reverend Fathers, how through the mercy of our Lord God we now have in these islands complete and perfect printing for a more perfect fulfillment of our ministry. For we shall now be able, not only verbally by preaching but also in writing, to teach these our brothers, and write for them, either in Spanish characters for those who know how to read them, or in their own Tagalog script, everything which will seem to us to further the progress of this mercy which the Lord has done to them in making them Christians.[78]

Yet in his next book, *Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua tagala* (A Memorial of the Christian Life in Tagalog [1605]), Blancas in the dedication "defends his use of the Latin alphabet and rejects the Tagalog script as being unpractical."[79] By impractical, he referred to the mechanics of printing, rather than linguistic problems.[80]

There is disagreement as to the number of words printed in baybayin found in Blancas' *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (Grammar and Rules of the Tagalog Language [1610]). More important than the number is the statement by the author:

> For which reason those who wish to talk well should learn to read Tagalog characters, since it is such an easy matter that they can be learned ordinarily in one hour, although reading the Tagalog language in its own characters without faltering as we read our own Spanish language no Spaniard will ever be able to do in all his life, though it might be as long as Adam's.[81]

Librong ang pangalan ay Caolayao nang Caloloua na quinathang bago published in 1610 and *Enchiridion de la Conciencia* in 1617 also contained words in baybayin.[82]

The first book printed in Ilocano was published in 1621. Entitled *Libro a Naisuratan Amin ti Bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana (nga Naisurat iti Libro ti Cardenal Agnagan Belarmino Quet Inaon ti Fr. Francisco Lopez)* (Book in Which is Written all the Contents of Christian Doctrine Written in a Book of the Cardenal Named Belarmino and Translated by fray Francisco López), it was significant, as mentioned above, for López' introduction of a new diacritical mark to indicate that a consonant symbol should lose its vowel value. The book contains twenty-three pages of text in baybayin. López explained that he used the Tagalog letters as they were most widely recognized.[83]

Other imprints indirectly reveal the presence of an indigenous system. In his *Arte*, Blancas used the verb *sulat* (to write) as the example for conjugation.[84] Moreover, San Buenaventura's dictionary (1613) defined "pen (*pluma*) as 'Panulat: instrument with which they write, a pointed tool, knife, etc., from sulat because they write with it on bamboo, palm leaves and other things."[85] Pinpin writes in one of his *auit* that is also a vocabulary list: ang panulat, pluma,(pen) ang sulat, la letra (writing).[86]

The existing physical evidence of the use of the indigenous script is not limited to colonial publications alone. There are notarial documents and other kinds of manuscripts which use the baybayin, showing that Spanish authorities recognized indigenous documents as legally valid. In his work, *La Antigua Escritura*, Ignacio Villamor includes fascimiles of two bills of sale (see appendix). One is dated February 15, 1613, and the other December 4, 1615. Beyond the fact that they are written in baybayin, these documents reveal the role of women as buyers and sellers of property and, therefore, can be used to assess women's socioeconomic status. Additionally, the documents refer to irrigated land, implying the existence of other types. They also mention a potential dispute and

possible solutions, and economic mechanisms including credit and interest. Santamaría also mentions two complete notarial documents in his article, "El 'Baybayin' en el Archivo de Santo Tomás" (1938). While one of them could be one contained in Villamor's book, the other dated 1625, is undoubtedly another document. Moreover, in *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (1859), Sir John Bowring reproduced a sale of land in Bulacan dated 1652 which he copied from the work of Sinibaldo de Mas. Though Bowring doubted its antiquity and its authenticity, he did include a reproduction of it in his book. These types of Tagalog notarial records can be used to illustrate indigenous concepts and adaptation to the Spanish system during the colonial period.

Finally, while signatures may not provide evidence of full literacy, the presence of Tagalog signatures in baybayin on indigenous and Spanish documents reveal at least some degree of literacy. Villamor reproduced fifty-three signatures in his book: forty-two with the title "don"; four with the title "doña"; and nine without any title.[87] Santamaría also included reproductions of signatures. Scott reports that the archives of the University of Santo Tomás contain "more than a hundred specimens of Filipinos' signatures between 1603 and 1645, as well as two complete documents."[88] He states that the baybayin "continued to appear in testators' signatures all during the seventeenth century--and as late as 1792 in Mindoro--and was still being used for poetry in Batangas in 1703."[89] Perhaps among the strongest evidence for the literacy of the Tagalogs and other Filipinos at the time of Spanish contact is the continuing existence and use of similar systems of writing among the Tagbanuas of Palawan and Mangyans of Mindoro.[90]

The Distribution of Literacy

Unfortunately, the material on the nature of the classes within Tagalog society is unclear. It appears that one can safely divide Tagalog society into the following categories: *datu*, the head of the village (barangay)--referred to as *cabeza de barangay*; *maginoo*, the noble group from which the datu came; *maharlika* and *timaua/timagua*, clients or followers of the maginoo--referred to as *gente común* (Morga) or *plebeyos*; and *namamahay* and *alipin*, two different groups of "slaves"--referred to as *pecheros* and *esclavos*. Since Pinpin wrote his book within the context of a class society, to whom is he writing--one particular group or all of society? The answer to this question could help reveal the extent of literacy

among Filipinos before and after the conquest and deserves careful analysis.

The evidence presented above could be argued in two ways: that literacy was universal or that it was restricted to a particular class within Filipino society. The arguments for universal literacy include the testimonies of the Spaniards and the availability of materials for writing. Some scholars deny universal literacy. They insist that the Spaniards primarily dealt with the elite of society and spoke of them as if they represented all of society. The Jesuit scholar Father Horacio de la Costa, S.J., is one of the most articulate proponents of this view. He disputes the claim by Father Alonso Sánchez, S.J., who wrote: "They have a lively wit, and easily learn Christian doctrine and how to read and write in our alphabet; most of them read and write in their own." De la Costa argued that:

> Sánchez probably got this impression of a high degree of literacy among the Tagalogs because of the proximity of Malate. In the days before the coming of the Spaniards, Malate was where the *maharlika* of Maynila had their country seats, their orchards, and their pleasances. When Maynila was taken away from them, it was here that they removed.[91]

The argument for limited literacy can be based on the manuscript evidence which consists of documents acknowledging and recording the buying and selling of land, activities limited to the elite. Thus, one finds in the two documents above, that the seller is designated as a maginoo or *principal* in Tondo; the titles don and doña also show elite status. Another document recording the formal acceptance of Spanish sovereignty, describes the particpating Filipinos as, "all the governors, chiefs, headmen, and lords of the barangay, and most of the timaguas, and common people of all the villages of the said provinces."[92] Beyond this is the fact that after the matter was explained to them, "those who could do so signed their names, also the said father definite and guardian and the said lieutenant, as I certify."[93] It appears that the leaders of the various villages are those who signed their names to the document.

The issue then becomes one of society. How was it divided and what abilities or skills were true of each division? Using Spanish sources, Scott attempted to reconstruct Filipino class structure before and after Spanish contact. Benedict Anderson criticizes Scott's re-

construction of indigenous society at the time of Spanish contact, saying that the "'class structure' of the precolonial period is a 'census' imagining created from the poops of Spanish galleons."[94] Rafael points out the impossibility of extracting a "pure" image of Tagalog society. Scott also contends that Tagalog social structure was undergoing changes in the period of 1590-1630, the time of Pinpin's writing. Thus, the problem of securely defining early colonial Tagalog society remains.

Pinpin may also be pointing to an elite. He writes to his audience of the desire to imitate Spaniards:

> No doubt you like and imitate the ways and appearance of the Spaniards in matters of clothing and the bearing of arms and even of gait, and you do not hesitate to spend a great deal so that you may resemble the Spaniards. Therefore would you not like to acquire as well this other trait which is their language?...Would not a person who dressed like a Spaniard but did not have the other trait of the Spaniard be like a corpse? So why should you bother to appear Spanish in your dress if you do not have the traits of the Castilian: so that when you are spoken to in Castilian, you merely gape like fools. And if this happens, then what?...Therefore it is this [Castilian] that is the source of a lot of other things and it is like the inside of things, and everything else is only its external covering. So if we look like them in our manner of dressing but speak differently, then where would things come to?[95]

Pinpin also writes of the possibility of being laughed at for speaking incorrect Spanish, further suggesting that his audience consisted of the elite members of society, who would be in contact with Spaniards:

> It is indeed wrong, and the Spaniards will laugh a great deal at this statement, bueno casa es esto, which should be buena casa es esta[this is a good house]....Well, what else but laughter will meet this statement, mucha palabras, and this one, casa grandes, and others of this sort; and it should be changed to muchas palabras [many words] and casas grandes [big houses][96]

Conclusion

In his pioneering work *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700,* the eminent historian of the Philippines, John Leddy Phelan, insisted that:

> The Filipinos were no mere passive recipients of the cultural stimulus created by the Spanish conquest. Circumstances gave them considerable freedom in selecting their responses to Hispanization. Their responses varied all the way from acceptance to indifference and rejection. The capacity of the Filipinos for creative social adjustment is attested in the manner in which they adapted many Hispanic features to their own indigenous culture....I have placed considerable attention on the religious aspect of Hispanization. Events themselves suggest such a stress. The Spaniards put a heavy emphasis on Christianization as the most effective means of incorporating the Filipinos into Spanish culture, and the Filipinos themselves responded enthusiastically to the multiform appeal of the new religion.[97]

By adding that Filipino society was a literate society at the time of contact, one could argue even more forcefully that they were not passive recipients of Hispanization (but then no indigenous population ever was). Filipinos such as Pinpin who wrote, published and printed books, participated in the intellectual life of society. What the Spaniards did seek to impart was their version of Christianity, which was in some ways open to adaptation. The presence of Filipino literacy in baybayin made the possibilities of adaptation and/or misunderstanding even greater.[98] While it is true that the Spaniards gave Filipinos Spanish terms for particular religious concepts (*Dios, virgen, Espíritu Santo, cruz, doctrina cristiana*), they undoubtedly understood these terms somewhat differently than the Spaniards intended.

Chirino's report from the central Philippines suggests one way that syncretic religion may have developed:

> Not only do they, as good students, write their lessons (Doctrina), mainly in their own characters, and using a piece of reed as a book of memorandum, and an iron point as a pen; but they always carry with them these materi-

> als, and whenever one ceases his labors, whether at home or in the field, by way of rest he takes his book and spends some time in study.[99]

Not only did Filipinos learn Christian doctrine, with Spanish terms for various aspects of the faith, but they also wrote them down in baybayin.[100] Thus, they took a foreign concept expressed in word(s) introduced into their language and wrote it down in baybayin. Spanish and Tagalog terms underwent changes, sometimes as strikingly ironic as the use of the Ilocano term "buniag" (from the Tagalog binyag) to describe Christian baptism, and the Spanish "bautismo" to connote an indigenous rite, which itself may have been an indigenized Catholic practice.

It is striking that the early Spanish records and their authors are not the least bit reluctant to inform the reader about the ability of the Filipinos to read and write. The silence about this matter is purely a late twentieth-century phenomenon. Those who do mention it, fail to explore its significance. Lumbera (1986) oversimplifies the matter, stating: "The result [of the Conquest] was a loss of literacy, that was characteristic of Tagalog society at contact times."[101] Indigenous literacy at the time of Spanish contact merits further scholarly investigation, for it changes the complexion of the colonial relationship between Spaniards and Filipinos.

In time, the use of baybayin among most Filipinos faded. The explanations for its disuse are conjectures at best. From the evidence, we can say that at the time of the Spanish contact and even before, some segments of Filipino society were literate. They used their writing for religious as well as personal use. The Spaniards knew this to be true.

The Filipinos were not helpless or passive in their response to the new ideas, new ways and a new religion brought by the Spaniards. They were literate and had the capacity to interact with the different aspects of the forces of colonialism. Tómas Pinpin composed his book, not only to teach his fellow Tagalogs some basic tenets of Catholicism (for example, how to respond in confession), but also to teach them Spanish. He did this to help them interact with and better understand both secular and ecclesiastic Spaniards. Pinpin's readers selectively chose what aspects of Spanish life they wanted to imitate and decided what to ignore. This was also true of their response to Catholicism, which Pinpin hoped to propagate. Pinpin's book was unique because it was written by a Filipino for Filipinos (perhaps with help from fray

Blancas de San José--just as Pinpin undoubtedly helped Blancas with his works). Since Pinpin's book is not simply a translation of an European work, it reveals that at least to some degree Tagalog society was composed of literate individuals.

Appendix: Samples of Tagalog-language Notarial Documents
Document A

Sa bayan nang Tondo, sa ika labing limang araw nang buwan nang Febrero sa taong isang libo't anim na daang taon at labing tatlong taon, Ako si Doña Catalina Bayiya, maginoo sa Tondo, ako'y may lupang manga kabahagui ko sa kapatid ko na si Doña Cecilia. Ipinagbili ko i kay Don Andres Kapiit taga Dilaw nang pitong poong salapi ang ganang kahati niyong tubigang yaon ang tipan namin ni Don Andres Piit ay kung itong lupang ito'y magkausapin ay siyang magbabayad si Doña Catalina Bayiya at kung diyan ang salaping pitong puo siyang isasauli kay Don Andres Piit at yaong lupa'y mauuwi kay Doña Catalina Bayiya na gang kahati na tubigan na ipinagbili ko. At pagkatotoo ay saksi namin nitong aming tipanan si Don Agustin Casa, si Doña Maria Guitui na may asawa. Ako'y pumirma nang ngalan ko sampua nang mang saksi. Akong sumulat Luis Paudata.

In the town of Tondo on the fifteenth day of the month of February in the year one thousand six hundred and thirteen, I, doña Çatalina Bayiya, a principal woman in Tondo, own land in common with my sister doña Cecilia. I have sold to don Andrés Kapiit of Dilaw, for seventy half-pesos one half of that irrigable land. Our stipulation with don Andrés Piit is that should the same land be disputed, the expenses will be defrayed by doña Catalina Bayiya and should the seventy half-pesos be returned to don Andrés Piit and the land shall revert to doña Catalina Bayiya which is one-half of the irrigable land which was sold by me. And as this is true, our witnesses contract (are) don Agustin Casa, doña María Guitui who is married. I sign my name, likewise the witnesses do. I wrote (this), Luis Paudata.

Document B

Sa ulat bilang libo anim na raan taon may ikatlong limang taon sa iaapat na araw nang buwan nan Diciembre. Ako si Doña Maria Sila, maginoo dito sa bayan nang Tondo, ako nagbili nan lupa kay Doña Francisca Luga na isang pabuwisan salapi na may halaga. Ang kahangga sa dapit Timug, si Don Pedro Salukila, ang kahangga sa dapit Hilaga ang kahangga sa dapit Hilaga ay si Doña Maria Gada. Ang pagbili ni Doña Francisca Luga kay Doña Maria Sila ay tatlong daa't limang puong salapi ang pagbili nang tubigan apat na puong salapi ni Doña Francisca Luga maginoo sa bayan nang Dilao yaon lupang tubigan sa Sumada ang kahangga si Doña Maria Gada a nagmula kay Amadaha sa libibs nang Sumada munting tubigan. Ang halga nitong tubigan apat na puong salapi. Sa pagkatotoo nitong sulat ko pumirma ako. Ang saksing humahanda si Don Agustin Casa, kolas patalunan Mateo Domingo, Lucia Tayasi, Doña Maria Sila.

As reckoned in the year one thousand six hundred fifteen, on the fourth day of the month of December, I doña María Sila, a principal woman here in the town of Tondo, have sold land to doña Francisca Luga for money value with interest. The adjacent land-owner (is) on the South, don Pedro Salukila, the land-owner on the North, the adjacent land-owner on the North is doña María Gada. The purchase made by doña Francisca Luga from doña María Sila is for three hundred fifty half-pesos, the purchase of the irrigable land for forth half-pesos was made by doña Francisca Luga, a principal woman in the town of Dilao. Of that irrigable land in Sumada, the adjacent owner (is) doña María Gada which came from Amadaha on the terminal of Sumada, a small irrigable land. The price of this irrigable land (is) forty half-pesos. And as this writing of mine is true, I sign. The ready witnesses (are) don Agustin Casa, the only one certifying Mateo Domingo, Lucia Tayasi, doña María Sila.

(The signatures on this document are puzzling. There are no women among the signers. The signers are don Antonio, don Mateo Pasabongan, Banaag, and don Agustin Casa. Only don Agustin Casa is mentioned in the document.)

(The documents are from Ignacio Villamor 1992: 92-97, translations my own.)

Notes

1. In his work, *From Indio to Filipino*, Domingo Abella explains the mistake that historians can and have made in identifying individuals referred to as Filipinos prior to the nineteenth century as natives of the Philippines. A peninsular was a Spaniard born in Spain, a criollo one born in Latin America, and a Filipino was a Spaniard born in the Philippines. Thus, the Filipino Miguel Lino de Espeleta, who became Archbishop of Manila in the second half of the eighteenth century, was a "full-blooded Spaniard born in the Philippines" (1971: 30). The indigenous inhabitants were referred to as *indios* or *naturales de la tierra*. I will use Filipino in this paper to refer to the indigenous population and at times I will use Tagalogs and Filipinos interchangeably.

2. This must be clarified, as there were poems written by one Fernando Bagongbanta which were included in a book printed in 1605. The book was *Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala*. It included poems by Bagongbanta, an anonymous native poet, and a Spanish friar, Francisco de San José. It was a religious work meant to explain the basic doctrines of the Catholic Church. Lumbera 1986: 27.

3. Blair and Robertson 1903-1909: 120-121. This 55 volume set, which is a massive collection of Spanish materials translated into English, will be referred to as BRPI in other endnotes.

4. "A notable exception to this policy was the Seven Missions that the Jesuits organized in Paraguay in 1630. The Crown tolerated such a territorial concentration of power because these missions acted as an effective barrier against further Portuguese penetration from Brazil" (Phelan 1955: 157). This exception also occurred after the precedent had been set in the Philippines.

5. The question inevitably arises: Which came first, the policy as stated by the Crown or the situation to which the Crown simply assented? That is, did the friars wait for the Crown to divide the Philippines among them or had they already done so and the Crown simply made official Crown policy what in fact was already a reality?

6. Phelan 1955: 153.

7. Ibid., 157.

8. Ibid., 159.

9. Zaide: 409-410.

10. Zoilo M. Galang. *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, p. 185. This is mentioned in the introduction to the 1910 version of Pinpin's work, in which the priest of Abucay wrote to Artigas that no record of Pinpin's baptism can be found since the revolution has destroyed all records. "Enterado de la atenta de V. referente á la partida de Bautismo de Tomás Pinpin, debo participarle que los libros canónicos viejos de esta Parroquia, ya no existen y has desparecido por la revolución, principalmente el de Baustimos," 1910: 132.

11. From the title page.

12. Fray Roque de Barrionuevo was the examiner of Pinpin's book before it was published. "Por mandado del Señor Gobernador Capitan General y Presidente de estas Islas, yo Fr. Roque de Barrionuevo, Prior del Convento del santísimo nombre de Jesús de Tondo, de la orden de N.P.S. Agustin, ví y examiné con advertencia este libro intitulado, *Librong pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila*, que en nuestro castellano, quiere decir; libro en que aprendan los tagalos la lengua Española, compuesto por Tomás Pinpin Tagalog" (no page available).

13. Cited in Rafael 1988: 57. The English translation is Rafael's.

14. Lumbera 1986: 27. It has been suggested that his surname points to some Chinese ancestry. See Zaide, p. 410. This argument is strengthened by the fact that almost all the early printers for the Dominicans were full-blooded Chinese.

15. Rafael 1988: 57, note 6.

16. Books listing Pinpin as the printer (authors in parentheses): 1610, *Librong Pagaaralan Nang Mga Tagalog nang Uicang Castilla* (Tomás Pinpin); 1610, *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* (Fr. Francisco de San José); 1613, *Vocabulario Tagalog* (Fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura); 1623, *Relacion Verdadera del Insigne y excelente Martyrio* (Fr. Melchor de Manzano); 1623, *Virgen San Mariano* (Fr. Juan de los Angeles); 1625, *Relacion de Martirio* (anonymous); 1625, *Relacion Verdadera y Breve de la Persecucion y martyrios* (Fr. Diego de San Francisco); 1626, *Triunfo del Santo Rosario y Orden de S. Domingo en los Reynos del Japon* (Fr. Francisco Carrero); 1627, *Arte de la Lengua Iloca* (Fr. Francisco López); 1630, *Vocabulario de Iapón declarado primero en Portugues* (anonymous); 1630, *Ritual para Adminstrar los Sanctos Sacramentos Sacado casi todo del Ritual Romano, i lo de mas del Ritual Indico* (Fr. Alonso de Mentrida); 1636, *Confesionario en lengua tagala* (Fr. Pedro de Herrera); 1637, *Sucesos Felices* (anonymous); 1639, *Relacion de lo que asta agora se a sabido de la Vida y Martirio del Jesuita P. Mastrilli* (Fr. Geronimo Perez). In W.E. Retana 1911: 79-128.

17. Lumbera 1986: 38. Lumbera's section on Pinpin focuses on his place in Tagalog poetry. He describes the relationship between the Tagalog and Spanish--while Pinpin is writing to Tagalogs, giving the Tagalog first then the Spanish, it is in fact the Spanish which dictates the structure of the auit. "The Spanish lines are consistently hexasyllabic with assonantal *a-e* rhymes. The Tagalog lines do not follow a consistent meter and they do not rhyme....Pinpin himself refers to the songs as 'songs in Spanish' (manga auit sa Castila)."

18. Ibid. Pinpin's book begins with a song followed by the first chapter which contains eight lessons and the second chapter with three. Chapter three consists of two lessons and three songs, followed by a third lesson and another song. The fourth chapter begins with a lesson which is largely made up of a song, followed by two lessons. The fifth chapter has nine lessons, the ninth being made up of sections of each of the ten commandments. I have included the entire section on the sixth commandment (taken from the fifth chapter) in this paper.

19. The obvious exception is Rafael's work. While doing research for this paper, I was struck by the fact that most Filipinos were familiar with Pinpin as a printer and a writer of songs. Students in elementary and secondary schools in the Philippines are taught about Pinpin's *mangaauit* (songs).

20. There are several things I need to explain about my handling of the Tagalog text. First, I have worked from the 1910 version edited by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva and published under the title, *La primera imprenta en Filipinas* (pp. 135-259). Pinpin's book was republished in 1752 as an appendix to Blancas de San José's *Arte y Reglas de la lengua tagala*. During a recent visit to the Philippines, I was given access to an original copy of the 1752 version (which had been mislabelled as the 1610 version). I have used the 1752 version to correct mistakes in the 1910 version. Second, there are differences between spelling and pronunciation of certain words in Pinpin's work and modern Tagalog. Pinpin uses *con* (if) for the modern *kung*. The "c" is Spanish and changed to the Tagalog "ka." The "o" is changed to "u." Perhaps the most significant is the shift from "n" to "ng." This is found in other words

such as *gongmaua* to *gumawa* (to do or perform) and the ever present *opan* to *upang* (in order that). However, Pinpin is not consistent in his use of "n", sometimes using "ng" in *cong*, as in question 45.

21. For example: *"Cuix aca ticcuilonti, anoce aca mitzcuilonti: aco tehuatl ticpeualti, ticcuitlauilty?"* ("Did you commit sodomy with (literally, pierced) someone, or did someone commit sodomy with you? Did you persuade and provoke him [to do it]?") The Spanish reads: "Has tenido parte con algun varon, o el contigo: persuadistelo tu y provocastelo?" From the same text cited above: *"Cuix ytech tacic, ytzcuintli, anoco ychcatl, anoco totolin?"* ("Did you have sex with a dog, a sheep, or a chicken?") The Spanish reads: "Tuviste parte con alguna perra, oveja, o gallina?" Fray Alonso de Molina. *Confessionario breue, en lengua Mexicana y Castellana*. Mexico: Antonio de Espinosa, 1565, 11 verso -12 recto.

I am grateful to Barry Sell for this material, but more importantly for the discussions we have had about the issue of translation in the Americas and the Philippines. It has made it easier for me to compare and contrast the colonial situation in the two areas.

It is interesting that Pinpin does not deal with sodomy, an issue which is mentioned in some Nahuatl confessional guides. Phelan includes an extensive endnote dealing with the issue and the Spanish belief that sodomy was introduced to the Philippines by the Chinese. At the time of the Spanish contact, there was no word in the indigenous languages for sodomy according to Phelan 1959: 186, note 24. On the matter of confessional guides in Nahuatl, Sell has found two types: one for the lay person and one for the friar. Those for the lay person are substantially longer, while those used by the friars are more explicit. Any mention of bestiality and sodomy are found only in the confessional guides used by the friars and not in those used by the lay person. Since Pinpin's work is for the lay person, one should not expect to find references to sodomy.

22. I want to acknowledge and thank Paz de la Rosa, who was the greatest help, along with Siony Fuentes and Guia Silverio for their assistance with the translation of this section. I would like also to thank Professor Tania Azores for going over the translation and making helpful comments and corrections.

In the transcription and translation below, I have numbered the questions to help the reader match the Tagalog/Spanish with the English, and for easier reference in the following remarks. The 1910 edition used running lines of text, whereas the 1752 version began each sentence, Tagalog and Spanish, on a new line. (I have put the Tagalog portions in italics to set them apart from the Spanish.) I have corrected a few textual errors and made grammatical and spelling changes in the 1910 text based on the 1752 edition, placing the corrections and changes in brackets. I also occasionally emended the text where I considered it necessary, placing such changes in parentheses. In the title, *"Icanim"* is changed to *"Icaanim"*, and while *P.* is understood by native speakers as *Panginoon*, the non-Tagalog reader will not know this. The major emendation I have made is in question 45, in which I have changed *baga nasa* to *nagbasa*. This is based in part on the Spanish text.

I have based my translation on the Tagalog and not the Spanish. I mention this for those who know Spanish and who will note the differences between the Spanish and the English translation. The differences between the Tagalog and Spanish are material for further study. While it is apparent at different points that Pinpin is speaking to a man/men, in other places it is not as clear. Since the pronoun in Tagalog does not specify gender, as is the word *asaua* (spouse), I have included both male and female when appropriate.

Lastly, the translation may seem stilted and overly literal, but I have done this so that the reader may have a more accurate sense of what is being said. In fact, my translation into English is more literal than Pinpin's translation into Spanish.

23. Cecilio López in a comparative study of Tagalog and Ilocano notes that "practically any word, no matter what part of speech, may be verbalized." Cited in Yabes 1936: 6. Thus, the *pag* serves as a verbalizing prefix.

24. I am extremely grateful to Dr. William Henry Scott for this information provided in a personal letter.

25. Blancas de San José in his *Arte y Reglas de la lengua tagala*, under the heading "Disposicion en el adviento para la Pasqua. Ecce advenit Rex: occurramus obviam Salvatori nostro," "Gumising na cayong manga binyagan, ang Haring darating" ("Wake up now you who are the baptized ones (Christians), your King is coming," no page number available).

26. "The verb *buniagan* means to give someone a name; it is derived for *buni*, a spirit associated with ricefields, and *nagan* (name). Hence, the verb may have originally implied a dedicatory rite in honor of the spirits associated with the rice fields." Pertierra 1988: 99.

27. Rafael 1988: 98 and 117. "Adviértase que esta palabra binyag es de Borney, y significa echar agua de alto: para esto venia de allá acá un ministro de Mahoma á enseñar á estos su perversa ley, haciendo esta ceremonia echando el agua de alto. Ahora lo han aplicado á la Sagrada ceremonia del Bautismo." Nocedo and Sanlucar 1860: 51. Bowring,stated that Nocedo and Sanlucar consulted 37 *artes* in writing their dictionary (1859: 218).

28. Pertierra 1988: 99.

29. Scheans 1966: 82-85. *Anak ti digos* means literally the child of bathing or of the bath. Scheans believes the rite to be composed of "a complex of pre-Christian practices," but offers no proof. He shows that both the baptism (buniag) and the bathing of the persistently sick child (bautismo) involve the establishing of ritual kinship relationships having the same titles in each system.

30. Hart 1977: 16.

31. Hart 1977: 19.

32. Mintz and Wolf 1950: 341-368.

33. George M. Foster: 1-28. The cofradia became a significant institution in the nineteenth century and has been tied to the development of independence movements in the Philippines. See Reynaldo C. Ileto's work: *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, 1979.

34. "If more information of this sort were readily available, it would be possible to reconstruct the historical process by which ritual coparenthood blended into or destroyed preconquest kinship relations or created new kinship ties." Phelan 1959: 78. Foster adds, "It is hard to avoid the conclusion that in Mexico a probable former widespread clan system contributed in significant measure to the success of the compadrazgo." page 24.

35. Cited in Hart 1977: 38; BRPI, vol 11: 75-77.

36. Phelan 1959: 27.

37. Pinpin's approach is all negative. He does not mix in "You should do this" along with the "Have you done that?" (implying that you should not have done that); rather, he simply focuses on sexual misconduct. This is the nature of his confession guide and it stands in contrast to the recently discovered (1976) Tagalog manuscript written by fray Juan de Oliver, O.F.M. This manuscript is the subject of *A Study of a 16th Century Tagalog Manuscript on the Ten Commandments: Its Significance and Implications* by Antonio Ma. Rosales, O.F.M. Oliver's work is primarily didactic.

38. I have emended the text to read *Con nagbasa ca caya* instead of *Con baga nasa ca caya*. I have also taken *ipinagparparalahan* to be *ipinagpapadalan*.

39. Scott 1989: 58.

40. Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. notes twelve, Father Francisco Colin, S.J. mentions thirteen, and Father Francisco López, O.S.A., fourteen.

41. Colin in BRPI, vol. 40: 49.

42. Cited in Lumbera 1986: 25. *El compendió de la lengua tagala*, page 144.

43. In a comparison of Tagalog and Ilocano, Cecilio López noted that in Ilocano there is a prevalence of double consonants, while there are none in Tagalog. Cited in Yabes 1936: 6.

44. Scott 1989: 57-58, 61. Scott uses virama because he believes the source to ultimately be India and baybayin shares the Sanskrit characteristic that any consonant carries with it the vowel "a" and diacritical marks are used to express other vowels. I think the average person would simply assume that López used the mark of a cross to serve as a diacritical mark.

45. Rafael 1988: 46.

46. A prominent modern scholar seems to overemphasize the problem of reading the baybayin, quoting from Blancas de San José, Francisco López, Agustín de Magdalena, Gaspar de San Agustín, and Cipriano Marcilla as to its difficulties. Ibid.

47. Sampson 1985: 26.

48. Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*. Translated by Ramon Echevarria, 1969: 47, 281. (This work is one of the many produced by the Historical Conservation Society in Manila. The first part of the book is the Spanish text and the second part an English translation done for the Historical Conservation Society.) "Las consonantes últimas se suplen en todas las dicciones....Pero con todo y eso sin muchos rodeos se entienden, y dan á entender maravillosamente: y el que lee suple con mucha destreza y facilidad las consonantes, que faltan."

49. Marcilla y Martín 1895: 18-29.

50. Personal communication.

51. BRPI, vol. 16, 1903-1909: 117, note 135. Marche's work was published in 1887 and as such is derivative. Ezguerra's grammar (1747) was of Bisayan and not Tagalog.

52. They have taken after us by writing horizontally from left to right, but formerly they used to write from top to bottom, putting the first vertical line on the left side (if I remember well) and continuing towards the right, quite differently from the Chinese and Japanese who (though they write from top to bottom) proceed from the right hand side towards the left (Chirino 1969: 281).

53. Morga 1971: 116.

54. Scott 1989: 58.

55. Francisco lists five possible origins of baybayin: (1) Isaac Taylor believes the system was introduced into the Philippines from the coast of Bengal some time before the eighth century A.D. Taylor also claimed the Tagalog alphabet, as he referred to it, was the prototype from which the alphabets of the Celebes and Makasar were derived; (2) Fletcher Gardner points to the similarity between the Aoka alphabets with the Karosthi and Pali with the living Indic alphabets of Mindoro and Palawan. The alphabets used by the Mangyans on Mindoro and the Tagbanuas of Palawan differ from the baybayin under discussion; (3) David Ciringer argued that the alphabet came from Java. Conklin and Fox held to this position; (4) Lendoyro held that the Buginese of the Southern Celebes brought the alphabet through

their traders; (5) and the Dravidian theory held that the Philippine scripts had their origin in the Tamil writings (1973: 6-9).

56. Rafael 1988: 49.

57. Scott 1989: 55.

58. Ibid.

59. Juan Francisco writes about a pot found in the Philippines, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has writing on it similar in some letters to baybayin (pp. 31-41).

60. Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A. *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas* (1565-1615) first published in 1646. "Tienen sus letras y caracteres como los malayos, de quien los aprendieron; con ellos escriben con unos punzones en cortezas de caña y hojas de palmas, pero nunca se les halló escritura antinua alguna ni luz de su orgen y venida a estas islas, conservando sus costumbres y ritos por tradición de padres a hijos sin otra noticia alguna."

61. *Relacion de la calidad y estado de estas islas en general* in Colin's *LaborEvangelica.* Vol 1, pp 368-9.

62. Espallargas 1974: 21. I am greatly indebted to this work for pointing the way to Spanish citations regarding Filipino literacy.

63. Chirino 1969: 45. Son tán dados todos estos isleños a escribir y leer, que no hay casi hombre y mucho menos muger, que no lea y escriba en letras propias de la isla de Manila, diversisimas de las de China, Japón, y de la India.

64. This comes from Chirino's manuscript "Historia de la provincia de Philipinas" which is included in Francisco Colin's *Labor Evangelica* edited by Pablo Pastell, vol. 1: 223. Cited in Escallargas 1974: 21. Chirino appears to have been favorably disposed toward Tagalog: "Of all these languages the one that I have found most satisfying and admirable is Tagalog, for as I have told the first Bishop and other persons of authority both here there I have found in it four qualities from the four finest languages in the world, namely Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Spanish. From Hebrew, the intricacies and subtleties; from Greek, the article and the distinctions applied not only to common but also proper nouns; from Latin, the fulness and elegance; and from Spanish, the good breeding, civility and courtesy....The other two languages of the Bisayans have none of these refinements, or at least very little, being as they are coarser and less polished." *Relacion*, pps. 275-276.

65. Boxer 1950: 37-39.

66. "Tienen ciertos carates que les siruen de letras/con los quales escriuen l que quieren. Son de muy/diferente echura de los demas que sauemos hasta/oy. Las mugeres comunmente sauen escruir/con ellos y quando escriuen es sobre ciertas ta- /blillas echas de cañas, de los que ay en aquellas/yslas, ensima de la cortesa. El uso de la tal tabilla/que es ancho quatro dedos, no escriven con tinta/[46a] sino con unos puncones con que rrompen la tez y/corteza de la cana, y contener letras. No tienen libros/ni ystorias ni escriuen cosa que sea de tomo sino sola-/mente cartas y rrecaudos unos a otros. Y para esto so/lamente se siruen de estas letras las quales son so-/lamente diez y siete. Es cada letra una silaba y con/ciertos pantillos que les ponen a un lado o a otro de/la letra o a la parte de arriba o a la de abajo, hazen/dicion y escriuen y dizen con esto lo que quieren. / Y es muy facil de deprender por queriendose dar a ello/alguna persona en poco mas de dos meses se deprende./ No son muy prestos en el escriuir porque lo hazen/muy despacio. Y lo mismo es en el leer que es como/quando deletrean los muchachos en la escuela" (Quirino and Garcia 1958: 424-425).

67. "...y aunque usaban de particulares letras y caracteres de distinta forma de los nuestros, no tenían ciencia, ni alcanzaban los secretos de las

cosas naturales" (Ribadeneira 1971: 50, 342). I find this reference one of the most intriguing for the almost grudging way in which the author acknowledges the ability to read and write. He immediately seeks to neutralize any such ability with the absence of science and any knowledge of laws or schools.

68. Morga 1971: 269. Morga also noted that: "Throughout the islands the natives write very well, using certain characters, almost like Greek or Arabic, fifteen in number, three of them being vowels equivalent of our five. The consonants are twelve. All are used with certain dots and commas, and in combination they express what they wish to write with all the fluency and ease of our Spanish alphabet." His full statement in the original was: "Escribese muy bien en todas las islas; con unos caracteres, casi como Griegos, o Arabigos, que por todos son quinze; las tres, son vocales, que siruen de las cinco nuestras; las consonantes, son doze, que unas y otras, con unos puntillos y comas, conbinan y significan, todo lo que se quiere escribir, tan copiosa y facilimente, como se haze en nuestro alfabeto español....Escriben en esta lengua, casi todos a los naturales, asi ombres, como mugeres, y muy pocas ay que no las escriban muy bien, y con propriedad." Morga 1909: 189-190. Miguel López de Legazpi was the leader of the expedition which established a permanent Spanish presence in the Philippines and who later founded a Spanish settlement in Manila

69. Santa Ines 1676: 41-42.

70. Delgado 1892: 331-333. "Almost everybody in the Visayas can write in their own characters....After the arrival of the Spaniards at these islands, even they (the natives) preserved their alphabet--mainly the Visayans--to write among themselves, yet the men devoted themselves to the use of our writing. With these characters they could communicate pretty well, and even now they still communicate in many places and they note down their things not to forget them, and their poems to sing." ("Casi todos en Visayas saben escribir en sus caracteres....Después que llegaron los españoles á estas islas aunque conservaron entre sí sus caracteres, principalmente los visayas; sin embargo los hombres se han aplicado ya al uso de nuestras letras, y escriben con ellas sus cartas, por ser más fáciles é inteligibles....Con estas letras se entendían ellos muy bien, y aun ahora se entienden en muchas partes, y apuntan también sus cosas, porque no se les olviden, y sus versos para cantar.") Delgado includes information on the materials used and the poetry written by the Visayans.

71. Rafael 1988: 72.

72. Ricard 1966: 48.

73. The Tagalog doctrina is described as "Blockprint, 38 leaves, sewn in four gatherings. Titlepage in Spanish, single rule border, 20.5 by 14.2 cm. Text in Spanish, Tagalog romanized, and Tagalog in Tagalog script, consisting of 37 unnumbered leaves, pages without border, printed area circa 18 by 12.5 cm (with considerable variations), 14 lines. Van der Loon 1966: 8.

74. Ibid.

75. Medina 1896: 3. Retana lists this book as *Libro de las excelencias del Rosario de nuestra Señora, y sus misterios,* and continues "en lengua [y letra?] tagala" (brackets are his). Yet he lists the reference, *Historia eclesiástica* by Fr. Alonso Fernández: "El P. Fr. Francisco Blancas ha impresso *en letra* y lengua Tagala del Filipinas un libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario *el año de mill y seiscientos y dos,* que fue el *primero que desta, ni de otra materia allá se ha impresso.*" (Emphasis by Retana.) Retana 1906: 68. Espallargas lists *Libro de las excelencias* but not *Libro de Nuestra Señora.*

76. Van der Loon 1966: 40.

77. Ibid., 4.
78. Ibid., 37.
79. Ibid., 38.
80. The system of printing used for baybayin was the xylographic method.
81. Rafael 1988: 45.
82. Retana 1911: 88, 93. Medina 1896: 14-15.
83. López, page LXII. "El haber puesto el texto de la Dotrina en letra Tagala (que es la mas universal de estas Islas) ha sido para dar principio á la corrección de la dicha escritura Tagala, que de suyo es tan manca, y tan confusa (por no tener hasta ahora modo como recibir las consonantes suspensas, digo las que no hieren vocal;) que al más ladino le hace detenerse, y le da bien en que pensar en muchas palabras para venir á darles la pronunciación que pretendió el que escribio: Y este es comun sentimento de todos."
84. Blancas de San José: 36-46.
85. Scott 1989: 55.
86. Rafael 1988: 80.
87. Villamor 1922: 99-102.
88. Scott 1989: 53-54. The article Scott refers to is found in *Unitas*, XXVI, Feb., 1938.
89. Scott 1989: 56.
90. For more information, see Venturello 1907; Postma 1971; and Gardner 1940.
91. De la Costa 1961: 14. This is de la Costa's translation based on "Relacion de la calidad y estado de estas islas en general" by Sánchez found in Colín's *Labor Evangelica*, vol. 1: 368-369.
92. BRPI, vol 10, 1903-1909: 282. The significance of this event and the circumstances which led to it are detailed in Phelan 1957: 237-239.
93. BRPI, vol 10, 1903-1909: 287.
94. Anderson 1993: 166-167. Scott, however, has admitted the ambiguity of his sources: "The problems are many....They do not, for example, distinguish legislative, judicial and executive functions in native governments nor do they even indicate whether datu is a social class or a political office. On one page, they tell us that a ruling chief has life-and-death authority over his subjects, but on the next, that these subjects wander off to join some other chief if they feel like it. They describe a second social class as "freemen"--neither rich nor poor as if liberty were an economic attribute while one account calls them "plebeians" and another "gentlemen and cavaliers." The maharlika whom modern Filipinos know as "noblemen" show up as oarsmen rowing their master's boats or fieldhands harvesting his crops. And a third category called slaves everybody agrees are not slaves at all; yet they may be captured in raids, bought and sold in domestic and foreign markets or sacrificed alive at their master's funeral. Moreover, if the data as recorded in original documents is confusing, they are even more so by the need to translate sixteenth-century Spanish terms which have no equivalent in modern English. Thus, pechero becomes "commoner" and loses its significance as somebody who renders feudal dues" (1982: 96-97).
95. Cited in Rafael 1988: 58, his translation. Pinpin 1910: 142-3. "Di baquin ang ibang manga caasalan at caanyoan nang manga Castila ay inyong guinalologdan at ginagagad din ninyo sa pagdaramitan at sa nananandataman at paglacadman at madlaman ang magogol ay uala rin hinahinayang cayo dapouat macmochamocha cayo sa Castila. Ay aba itpang isang asal macatoohanan sapangongosap nang canila ding uicaang di sucat ibigang camtan?...Bancay na nga cayo, con anong dating nagbisting Castila an tauo, cun

ualang asal asal na tantong icamuchang Castila niya? Caya nga ang iba, y, bquit na cacasti-castila nang pagdaramit na ualang di cacastila ang asal solual: bagong con saca sila dologui,t, paquiusapan nang uicang castila ay totongong tongog na sa hahangal. Ay condi gayon nga,y, ano?...Bagcos nanga ito ang naguiguing puno nang ibang marami at paran laman ito, at ang iba,y, cabalat cayohan lamang. Di con macamomocha nang tayo nila nang pagdaramit ay con any pangongosap ay iba, ay anong darating?"

96. Cited by Rafael 1988: 72-73; from Pinpin 1910: 171, 167. "Dili nga matouid at tatauanang lubha nang Castila iton uica bueno casa es esto, cundi buena casa es esta. Ay ano mangyari cayang di tauanan iton uicang mucha palabras, at ito caya casa grandes at iba pang gaganito; at con pagpalitan caya, muchas palabras; casas grandes." Pinpin is referring to the absence of agreement in gender and number.

97. Phelan 1959: viii-ix.

98. Rafael deals with this problem at length in his book.

99. Cushner 1971: 93. This is a quote from Chirino, S.J. Echevarria's translation differs somewhat: "Like the good students that they are, not only do most of them write the lessons in their own writing (using a bamboo cylinder for book or journal and an iron point for pen) but having their book always with them, they refer to it whenever they have an interval of rest, whether at home or in the field, and study awhile" (Chirino 1969: 396).

100. The use of writing in religious matters probably had prehispanic origins. Chirino reports that a certain individual "possessed a book of a certain kind of poem which they call *golo*, very pernicious because it expresses a deliberate pact with the devil" (Chirino 1969: 289).

101. Lumbera 1986: 27.

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