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IDEAL MODELS AND THE REALITY: FROM COFRADIA TO
MAYORDOMIA IN THE VALLES CENTRALES OF OAXACA,
MEXICO.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
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by
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ABSTRACT

IDEAL MODELS AND THE REALITY. COFRADIA AND MAYORDOMIA IN
THE VALLES CENTRALES OF OAXACA, MEXICO.

The Civil-Religious hierarchy, or fiesta complex, which is found in indigenous communities in Mesoamerica and the Andean countries, has been central to anthropological studies in the area lavish expenditure of the religious cargo holders, the mayordomos, on fiesta celebrations, which has attracted most theories, as, ethnocentrically and materialistically, it is held to be both irrational and because, as the administrative complex of the villages, it is the pivot of village life. However, it is the lavish expenditure of the religious cargo holders, the mayordomos, on fiesta celebrations, which has attracted most theories, as, ethnocentrically and materialistically, it is held to be both irrational and uneconomic. However both views, I would argue, ignore the religious motivation of those who serve the saints.

It is not uncommon for theorists to make backward projections into the colonial era in an attempt to account for the fiesta system as it exists now, and one model that has had some influence is the extractive one of Marvin Harris, which contends that, its ritual system having been proved to be almost wholly 16th century in origin, the complex was imposed by the Church in the early colonial era in order to draw off resources from the Indians - a role which has been sustained ever since. This neo-Marxist contention is both supremely materialistic and simplistic. However, it is the fact that this and other historical projections seemed to lack rigorous research and analysis, which led me to undertake a diachronic study of the colonial forerunners of the mayordomías, the cofradías, and the reason for their erection.

I also wished to ascertain how far the civil-religious hierarchies of the colonial era resembled the ideal model of the modern complex; that is, a series of ranked civil and religious cargos held by all at the lowest level, and then undertaken alternatively, with heavy expenditure in time and economic resources, by those with sufficient economic means. Further to this, I wished to explore the transformation from colonial cofradía to modern mayordomía. Thus, the thesis divides into three parts, and, although anthropological in concept, is based principally upon historical research, and so is an ethno-historical study.

The area chosen for this research was the Valles Centrales de Oaxaca, in the State and See of Oaxaca, which was a Dominican province from 1529 and whose doctrinas were not fully secularised until the 1760s. Unfortunately, the Dominican archive as such no longer exists, having been largely destroyed, although a part has been widely dispersed. In view of this, I have had recourse to the Dominican histories of the colonial era, which are based both upon their archives and the personal experiences of the authors, as well as the 16th century chronicles of the Franciscans - a rich source for descriptions of the earliest cofradías, their processions, and the reasons for their erection. These I have used in marshalling my arguments vis-à-vis the introduction of the cofradías, whilst detailed analysis of the role of the later cofradías and cargo holders has been based upon specific parochial archives in the Valleys.

I shall introduce this thesis with a description of mayordomía in the Valleys today. I shall then discuss the civil, religious and social structures of the valley before and at the time of the Spanish Conquest in an attempt to isolate those aspects of fiesta celebrations, which are preCortesian in origin. This I shall base largely upon

archaeological evidence. I shall then demonstrate that cofradía was a tool for attracting and maintaining religious converts by its several functions of ensuring a sumptuous cult, proselytising the faithful, and giving them succour. I shall isolate certain cofradías, which had the specific function of proselytisation, which I shall designate "cofradías proselitistas", and consider the austere and exemplary lives of those who introduced them. However, I shall also show that the Conquest and its aftermath was the occasion of much trauma for the indigenous peoples, in a way which was not always, perhaps, fully appreciated even by those who had their best interests at heart.

Next I shall discuss the economic dilemma of the 16th century Church, which, lacking substantial tithes, could not increase the small ratio of priests to converts, nor properly train sufficient secular priests to secularise the parishes. I shall consider the post-Tridentine attempts to do this, and also to ensure that the seculars had reasonable stipends so that the scandal of their dependence upon their parishioners for sustenance, and their neglect of their duties for commercial concerns could be avoided. I shall also demonstrate that this economic crisis placed an economic burden upon the Indians, which Church legislation endeavoured to lessen, and that, whilst the existence of the cofradías increased the income of the priests through payments for Masses, and church furnishings, the Church enacted laws which limited excessive expenditure on these, as well as others preventing the erection of cofradías with ill-thought out statutes, and the exploitation of the people by unscrupulous priests. Thus, I am arguing that the Church was aware of the failings of those most in contact with the Indians, and, at least, endeavoured to mitigate them. Although much of this material is specific to Oaxaca, it is, of necessity, set in the wider context of the Church in New Spain.

The second part of the thesis, based principally upon archival material from the Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and the Archivos Parroquiales de Zaachila, in the Valley of Zimatlán, and Etla, in the Valle of Etla, is concerned with the hierarchies at village level. In this I shall discuss the traumatic background against which the 17th and 18th inhabitants of the Valleys lived, particularly as a result of the pro-secularisation policies of the Church and suggest that the conflict between the Bishops of Oaxaca and the Dominicans was a major cause of the Zapotecs retaining much of their prehispanic religious costumbres (traditions) and beliefs. I shall then consider the roles of the various officers in both the civil and religious hierarchies in the Indian towns, and demonstrate that only members of the nobility were eligible for such cargos. I shall suggest the possibility that the cargo of mayordomo of a cofradía was sufficiently prestigious for some men merely to serve this. I shall also demonstrate, from the Zaachilan material, that there was apparently no hierarchy of saints to serve, and that the ideal model of an achievement ladder of alternatively served prestigious civil and religious cargos did not exist in the colonial era. Further to this, I shall consider other variables which negate the ideal model: specifically the existence of female "mayordomos" throughout the colonial period and the early post-Independence decades; mayordomos who served the same saint for two, and even as many as six or more consecutive years; and the intervention of the priest in cofradía affairs. An analysis of the Libros de Cofradía will show how the mayordomos managed or mismanaged the Bienes de Cofradía, whilst the Libros de Cordillera of the 18th century Bishops of Oaxaca will show how they attempted to influence and change every sphere of Zapotec life.

The Libros de Cofradía are the official record of the mayordomos' stewardship of the cofradías, but the Libros de Cordillera of the 18th century and 19th Bishops of Oaxaca give some idea of the celebration of fiesta, and the strictures upon it. They and the Libros de Cofradía suggest that whilst the colonial mayordomos might have incurred high expenses in financing the unofficial activities integral to fiesta celebrations, which are pre-Hispanic survivals, the existence of a lavish cult in a secularised doctrina, such as Etla, resulted in their being drawn into heavy debts in their attempts to sustain this by their management of the Bienes de Cofradía. The books also demonstrate that the ecclesiastical and Liberal post-Independence strictures upon cofradía echoed those of the colonial Church. But it appears that the Liberal policies at the time of La Reforma, during the presidency of the Sierra Zapotec Benito Juárez, were responsible for the transformation of the role of the mayordomo from that of steward of a cofradía's wealth, to the arduous one of financial responsibility for the equally religious mayordomía celebrations.

In the third and concluding part of the thesis, I shall speculate upon the evolving nature of fiesta celebrations in the Valleys of Oaxaca from the preCortesian era and argue that the mayordomos continued to celebrate them as a complex of syncretic religious activities and, under threat from the Bishops for so doing, determinedly included the prehispanic survivals they so abhorred in order to reinforce and uphold pueblo and Zapotec identity.

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INTRODUCTION.

MAYORDOMIAS IN THE VALLES CENTRALES DE OAXACA IN THE LATE 20th CENTURY. I am specifically interested in the civil-religious hierarchies in Mesoamerican and Andean communities, that is in the interaction between the officials of the Spanish cabildo system imposed soon after the Spanish Conquest, and the mayordomos of the saints in the village churches. Anthropologists have constructed an ideal model of this, and normally describe it as an achievement ladder of alternating civil and religious offices, which accrues prestige in return for heavy expenditure in time and, in the case of the mayordomos, wealth. Thus, although every man is expected to serve the lowliest offices, only those with sufficient wealth and ability will proceed to the higher ones. Once a man has completed his career by serving in the highest cargos (offices), he becomes an elder and his advice on community affairs is sought by the village authorities. I suspect that in modern Mexico this model is attained most nearly in remote villages in the sierras and approximates to that of Zinacantan, Altos de Chiapas as described by Cancian in "Economics and Prestige in a Maya Community", but in Oaxaca it is now attenuated and variable, that is to say there is interaction between the two hierarchies - for example the presidente swears in the newly appointed mayordomos - but there appears to be no strict system of alternating civil and religious cargos.

Insofar as religious offices are concerned, there is a continuum in the Valleys, ranging from villages where there are no mayordomos and the patronal fiesta is financed by the vecinos' (inhabitants) subscriptions, to a norm of fifteen mayordomías a year, and in some cases to many more. What is certain is that in no case would a man be allowed to serve and finance the most prestigious and costly mayordomías unless he had served several lesser ones. It should be added that it is

the office of *mayordomo* which has attracted the greatest attention because of the heavy expenditure involved in a year spent sponsoring a saint, and because of the many models anthropologists have constructed in attempting to explain the phenomenon.

There appears to have been a time in the late nineteenth century and the first quarter of the 20th century when the ideal model of the religious and civil cargos existed in the valleys of Oaxaca, and a successful Zapotec farmer, craftsman, or entrepreneur climbed an achievement ladder of hierarchically structured civil and religious cargos, which were served alternately. These began with the menial offices of civil or religious *topil*, which young men are still expected to serve, and continued with civil cargos in the *cabildo* (town council) and the sponsorship of saints in the ascending order of the cost of their fiestas, culminating with *mayordomo* of the patron saint and then the village *presidente*. Those who were successful then became *huehuetes*, the village elders whose advice and judgement was sought by serving officials. This continues today in much the same manner, except that the strict alternation of civil and religious cargos ceased in 1931 in the Valleys, which say informants of Cordero Avendaño was related to religious/state conflict (Cordero A, pp. 41 n. 31, 42 n. 32).

Those civil cargos which were instituted by the Spaniards are political and jural, being concerned with administering justice, keeping the peace, and representing the village before the officials of the state government, whilst the minor cargos are indigenous. A man undertaking the higher cargos must be married, have a suitable character which accords with village norms, and be sufficiently well-informed to carry them out correctly. Nowadays, the civil cargo holders may be quite young, say about thirty, for they are chosen for their fluency in Spanish - although, some Zapotec communities

are now monolingual in that language - their literacy and their knowledge of the mestizo world.

The mayordomos of the saints are usually middle aged, and during their year in office are the custodians of the saint's possessions which consist of wax for candles, the saints' adornments, candlesticks, decorations and cloths for the altar, which must be kept clean and supplied with flowers, any cash funds and often the saint's land which they cultivate so that its income can help finance the cult. They need to be comparatively rich and, in what appears to be a homogeneous society, there are a number of variables which govern this: the size, type and fertility of a man's land holdings; his ability in farming them, and marketing his surpluses; or his dexterity and that of his wife and family in craft skills such as weaving or potting in villages where the land only supplies the family's subsistence needs. The development cycle of the family is also vital, for a middle aged man is at his richest when his married sons live as his extended family, and his single sons are working in the fields, for they can help in the family enterprises when he is in office.

A successful man must also plan his *guelaguetza* (exactly reciprocated prestations of work or food) adroitly. A young man who wishes to pursue a successful religious career will begin by collecting firewood or helping in other ways at the *mayordomías* of others, whilst his wife may help to cook. As time goes on he will give food of various kinds, including turkeys or goats, as well as spirits, or cigarettes, and all these must be reciprocated if and when he calls them in for his own *mayordomías*. He must also sponsor two to four lesser saints' fiestas before he is allowed to finance the most prestigious ones. There is some variation in the Valley Zapotecs' attitude towards sponsoring fiestas: in some pueblos (towns) all contribute to the patronal

fiestas and there is no mayordomo; in the case of the most costly patronal fiestas with races, sports, and fairs the cabildo generally pays part of the costs; and, as has been said, the number of mayordomías celebrated also varies as between communities.

During his year in office the mayordomo will serve ritual meals to other mayordomos and officials when rites are held at his house altar. His mayordomía itself will last from one to three days according to the hierarchical importance of the saint or Virgin honoured. This is based upon the number of acts which are included in the celebrations all of which add to its cost. But, regardless of these, every mayordomía procession will be headed by a cohetero (a craftsman who makes rockets) letting off rockets, and a brass band, and he will entertain several hundred people each day during his mayordomía banquets, when traditional music played on the chirimía (shawm) and drum, alternates with music for dancing.

The mayordomías held in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca vary from village to village, but follow a basic set pattern. On the eve of the celebrations, which culminate on the feast day, a "convite de flores" is held. This is a procession, from the church, of many women carrying baskets of elaborately arranged flowers on their heads, and is headed by the cohetero, a brass band, and grotesque giant figures who tease the onlookers. It wends its way round the village and thus advises everyone of the events to come. The church is decorated with the flowers on its return.

If it is an important mayordomía, there will be an elaborate display of fireworks attended by the cabildo, who arrive led by the brass band at 10 p. m. This begins with a man who dances round charging the crowd whilst wearing a torito, a papier maché bull shape to which wreaths of rockets are attached time and again. A

number of other figures similarly wreathed dance round when he has finished, and the display finishes with a castillo. This is a high wooden structure covered with catherine wheels decorated with motifs relevant to the saint being honoured. These go off in groups of three, until a coronet at the top flies away, and finally golden rain showers down the church façade.

The next morning there is a Mass at 8 a.m., and the traditional musicians and the cohetero stand facing the church entrance so that they may play and let off rockets at the beginning and end of the Mass as well as at the moment when the Host is elevated - a procedure often deplored by the priest concerned. After this a procession of guests goes to the mayordomo's solar (house plot) some carrying their guelaguetza. There a banquet will be held for several hundred people, whose dishes will be generously filled with more hot food to take home with them when they leave.

Initially the guests are given chocolate to drink with pan dulce, as well as bunches of poleo, collected from the sierra foothills, to be used later "Para una cruda (hangover)." Fortunately, it is very effective, for drink is served throughout the meal. Tequila or the stronger local maguey spirit, mezcal, is served to four guests at a time in small glasses, and they are expected to drink it at once. Music is played and the guests may dance fandangos, or modern Latin American dances. If there are masked dances, they are performed to a brass band in the church atrio (large forecourt) in the afternoon and continue until early evening, and in the case of the Conquest drama "La Danza de la Pluma" (see page 193) last for several days. The dances vary according to the village and the fiesta, and the dancers are generally youths and young men who are fulfilling vows.

On the second day there is a ceremony in the church atrio after Mass, when the appointment of the following year's mayordomo and his wife is confirmed by the village presidente, and this is repeated in front of the municipal building. She then returns to her house, as when the meal is served at the mayordomo's banquet a large portion of the main dish, usually turkey in a Oaxacan mole (sauce), as well as tortillas, mezcal, and flowers are sent to her and her guests in a small procession headed by the cohetero and the traditional musicians.

The final day's Mass is followed by a solemn procession of the saint, which the mayordomo, flanked by two people carrying candles and two more with copal resin in burners, carries to his veranda. There the priest says prayers and a blessing, and the following year's mayordomo returns the image to the church in a further procession. Again there is a banquet and dancing, and the guests are given pan dulce to take home.

A particular source of pleasure is the calenda de luces, which my informants defined as marking the difference between the much shorter church fiestas known as calendas, which are held in the city of Oaxaca, and those held in the valley pueblos (towns).

However, they only take place when certain very important mayordomías are held. The marmota (a canvas sphere lit with candles and carried on a long pole) is taken from its chapel at 10 p.m., and its bearer dances in the atrio to the traditional musicians' music. The presidente then thanks the mayordomo for the pleasure he has given, adds "¡Viva la Virgen/ el Santo, y vivan nuestros costumbres!" and exhorts the crowd to behave, as they will spend the night visiting the village officials and receiving their hospitality. It is on this evening and for the firework display that the topiles civiles (the young police) are out in force with their long thin staffs attached to their

wrists by thongs. Another act in the patronal fiesta is the daily jarapeo (rodeo), as bullfights are illegal in the State of Oaxaca. A stout stockade will have been built for this, and each afternoon a decorated open lorry, with a cage full of zebu bulls, will arrive there in a procession led by the cohetero and the brass band.

The mayordomos, by making the Saints' fiestas as fine as possible, seek their help in obtaining health, good crops and a better life for themselves, their families and all the village. In return for this they receive prestige and respect, for their fellow villagers can go about their affairs secure in the knowledge that their intercessions in church, during the fiestas, and at the house altar rituals, are assisting them in this way. The care and protection of the church itself by those with religious cargos, who include the fiscal, the sacristán and the topiles de la iglesia, must be undertaken because, "these are things which must be done, because they are dictated by costumbre and so have become law" (Cordero Avendaño, p. 46).

It will be seen then that a mayordomía has a number of functions. It ensures that a Mass is held daily for the duration of the mayordomía and on the octavo, even although there is no resident priest in the community; it gives pleasure, a rest, and entertainment in a rather hard existence; it increases protein intake through the banquets given by the mayordomo; and it unites the head town with its satellite hamlets. It also reinforces social cohesion by articulating various webs of relationships involving kin, ritual kin, neighbours, friends and guelaguetza prestations. An analysis of a mayordomía in Cuilapan, when 300 guests were entertained daily, showed that 75 families were thus involved (Cortés Ruiz, pp. 80-84). It is also common for migrants to return from a distance for a fiesta, whilst in

the case of a patronal fiesta there may also be a large market which brings traders into the village.

I am not, however, making a teleological functional analysis of fiesta. I do not argue that it was instituted with these ends in view. The Zapotec fiestas, and indeed all the others celebrated in Mesoamerica and the Andean countries, are clearly orientated around Christian festivities, but they just as clearly include survivals from the pre-Hispanic era such as the banquets and drinking which are deplored by the priests; hence my intention in writing this thesis is that of tracing the antecedents of the current practices, discovering precisely why saint's cults were instituted by the Church, and finding an explanation for the pre-Christian survivals which have resulted in the syncretic beliefs and practices which now prevail.

CHAPTER 1.

The Valles Centrales de Oaxaca at the Time of the Conquest.

"Hera este pueblo en tiempo de su ynfidelidad del Señor del pueblo de Teocapotlan, al qual rreconoscian por tal;..... Adoravan al demonio, y entre ellos tenian un ydolo casado, e la muger se dezia Ponapi Quecuya, y el marido Coqui Bezelayo, que en español dize "Señor diablo": a estos adoravan e sacrificavan no tan solamente ellos sino todos los valles e pueblos, e hazian delante del sus danças e bailes, con ynstrumento de musicas; sacrificavan e matavan niños e hombres, perrillos, gallinas, cordonizes, palomas, e hera de costumbre hordinaria emborracharse delante estos ydolos." Relación de Mitla. 1580. Don Alonso de Canseco, corregidor. (R.G. pp. 148-9).

I begin this chapter by giving a physical description of the Valley of Oaxaca, whose principle inhabitants are the Valley Zapotecs. I shall then discuss the pre-history of the valleys, and the political situation obtaining there at the time of the Spanish Conquest of the area in 1521, before analysing the hierarchically organised social structure of the Zapotecs, together with the political and religious functions of its component parts. In this way I hope to demonstrate that the Spaniards encountered a long established, highly developed civilization when they entered the Valleys, and thus one eminently suitable for encomienda (grants of tribute-paying Indians), and settlement. Finally, I shall consider Zapotec religious beliefs and practices, insofar as these can be ascertained in view of the lack of Zapotec codices, and Spanish descriptions of religious rituals and celebrations at contact, so that some understanding of the

missionary work of the Dominicans, in which the erection of cofradías played a substantial role, may be achieved

The Valles Centrales de Oaxaca are situated some 600 km. to the south-west of Mexico City, which was constructed upon the ruins of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. The valleys radiate from the capital of the State of Oaxaca, Oaxaca City, which was founded late in 1522 and known as Antequera from early in, and throughout, the colonial era. They form an alluvial, sub-tropical plain some 700 metres square and 6 to 8 km. wide, and consist of the Valley of Etla, which extends 20 km. to the north-west, and through which runs the Rio Atoyac; the Valley of Zimatlan, also drained by the Atoyac and stretching some 40 km. to the south; and the Valley of Tlacolula situated to the south-east, about 30 km. in length, and drained by the Rio Salado (Chance, 1978. p. 9. Acevedo Conde, pp. 29-30).

This intermontane basin, situated at an average altitude of 1500 metres, is bounded by rugged sierras, which, at times, range to 3,000 metres above sea level (Ibid. p. 29). Apart from the Sierra Zapotecs, the principle mountain dwellers are the Mixtecs, Mixes and Chontales, all of whom were in conflict with the Valley Zapotecs at some time in their preCortesian history. To the south, bordering the Pacific Ocean lies the flat Istmo de Tehuantepec, inhabited in the area of Tehuantepec and Juchitán by the Southern Zapotecs. The variations in spoken Zapotec are such that native speakers from different areas cannot use it as a lingua franca and this must, in part, be due to the tortuous nature of the terrain that divides them. This apart, the State of Oaxaca is linguistically a very diverse region, seventeen languages, some with important subdivisions, being spoken (Rodrigo Alvarez, pp. 121-126). The indigenous population is estimated at 1,400,650 of whom some 530,000 are Zapotec (Ibid. pp. 122-3).

The basin is semi-arid, with a rainy season from May to October. Precipitation differs both annually, and between the several valley arms (1). Black soils, which are highly productive, given sufficient rainfall, occur beside the Atoyac and its tributaries in the Valley of Etla, alongside the Rio Salado, and then to the west of the Atoyac in the central area, as well as in the south of the Valley of Ocotlán; whilst less productive brown soils occur by the Atoyac in the central area of the valleys. Red soils, liable to erosion, occur in the surrounding foothills, and so may form part of municipio (community) land (Acevedo Conde, pp. 30-31). The productivity is substantially the same today as it was in the colonial era (Chance, 1978. p. 11). The staple crops now, as at the time of the conquest, are the classic Mesoamerican ones of maize, beans, gourds and chile.

There are one hundred and twenty-one municipios in the valleys today (Acevedo Conde, p. 57), each consisting of a head town, cabecera, and its dependant hamlets (agencias), which were called sujetos in the colonial era. They are all nucleated settlements set amidst their peasant-owned community and ejido (2) lands. Each municipio has its own civil government, which is a modified civil-religious hierarchy (3), and a number are municipios religiosos, each with a resident priest, who officiates in his own church daily, and visits those of his dependent municipios civiles.

The many archaeological remains, which scatter the valleys show that the population had been organised into a series of autonomous peasant societies with some variation in statuses from about 1500 B.C., and some two hundred years later, in the Tierras Largas phase, there is evidence suggesting that rituals were conducted by religious specialists (Chance. p. 11. Drennan, 1983a. pp. 47-8). The Zapotec metropolis and ceremonial centre of Monte Albán, one of the largest and most important pyramid sites

in Mesoamerica, dominates the area from a high ridge overlooking Oaxaca City. It was founded in approximately 500 B.C. and reached its zenith in Monte Albán Period IIIb, say A.D. 500 to 750, with an estimated population of 15-30,000 (Blanton, 1983a. p. 83. 1983b. pp. 128-9). Ignacio Bernal states that from this time a continuous Zapotec cultural tradition can be demonstrated until the Conquest, and so, to modern times (Bernal, 1965. p. 802), and I shall demonstrate in the second half of this thesis that this was particularly so in the case of certain religious traditions. By period IV, say A.D. 750- 950, however, the metropolis was in decline, although more important burials took place then than at any other time: forty in all (Blanton, 1983c. p. 186); whilst all the larger, and a number of the intermediate-sized, Valley sites had groups of superior buildings, which suggest that the peasant societies in the valleys were evolving into town states with small settlements as their dependent hamlets.

This was the settlement pattern that the Spaniards found, and which persists as the modern municipio (Kowalewski, 1983a. pp. 188-9). The settlement patterns of the period testify to a dramatic increase in the population on the valley floor, which suggests that the competition for agricultural produce - the metropolis, lacking water, could not support itself - together with the challenge from the élites at such emerging centres as Lambityeco and Zaachila, were contributory factors in the decline of Monte Albán. It has also been argued that the demise, after A.D. 700, of Teotihuacán, the great metropolis and multi-regional power in the Valley of Mexico, might have diminished the need to support a demanding central authority in the Valleys of Oaxaca (Blanton, 1983c. p. 186, Paddock, 1983b. pp. 186-7).

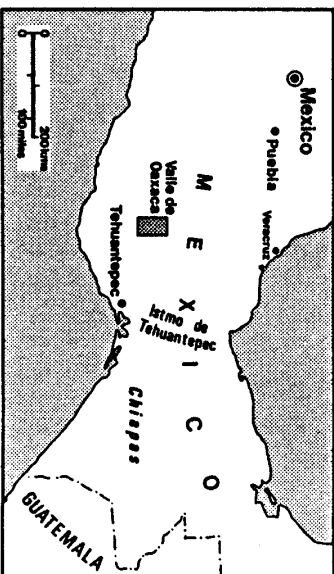
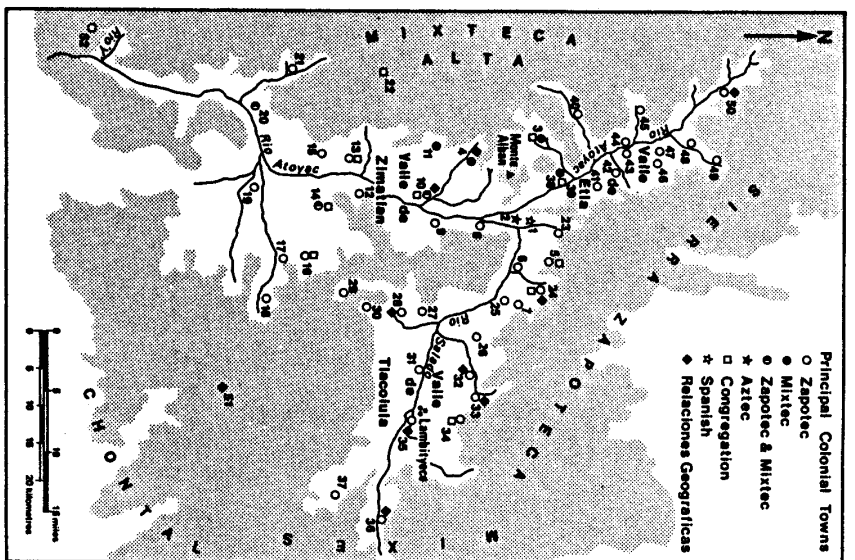
Monte Albán was still important in Period V, 950-1520 A.D., but its population had decreased to from 4 to 8,000, and it was probably a commercial rather than a political

KEY TO MAP

1. Antequera (Oaxaca)
2. Villa de Oaxaca
3. San Pedro Ixtlahuaca
4. Cuilapan
5. San Andres Huayapan
6. San Sebastian Tutla
7. Santo Domingo Tomaltepec
8. San Agustín de las Juntas
9. San Bartolo Coyotepec
10. Zaachila (Teozapotlan)
11. San Lucas Tlaxiaco
12. Santa Catarina Quilame
13. San Lorenzo Zimatlan
14. Santa Ana Zegache
15. San Pablo Huixtotepec
16. San Juan Chiltepec
17. Santa Domingo Ocotlan
18. Santa Catarina Minas
19. San Pedro Apostol
20. Santa Ana Tlapacoya
21. Santa Cruz Mixtepec
22. Magdalena Hixtepec
23. San Felipe del Agua
24. San Miguel Tlaxiaco
25. Santa Maria del Tule
26. San Gerónimo Tlacochahuaya and San Sebastian Abasco (San Sebastian Tlacochahuaya)
27. San Sebastian Teitipac
28. San Juan Teitipac
29. Santo Domingo Jalieza
30. Santa Cecilia Jalieza
31. San Juan Guelavia
32. Macuilxochitl (Macuilxochitl)
33. Teotitlan del Valle
34. Santa Ana del Valle
35. Tlaxiaco
36. Mitla
37. Santiago Matatlan
38. Santa Maria Azompa
39. San Jacinto Amilpas
40. San Felipe Tejalapan
41. San Pablo Etla
42. San Sebastian Etla
43. Guadalupe Etla
44. Soledad Etla
45. San Andres Zautla
46. Villa de Etla
47. Reyes Etla
48. Magdalena Apasco
49. San Juan del Estado (San Juan del Rio)
50. Huixtotepec (Guarioritlan)
51. San Baltazar Chichicapa (1)
52. Soledad de Vega

(1) Chichicapa y su partido: Matatlan
Matatlan
Coatlán
Ocelotepec

Numbers 1-50: as in Taylor William B. "Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca." (Stanford University Press, 1972) p.25



centre; but with some religious activity, especially élite burials, although Mitla had become the Valleys' ceremonial centre (Blanton, 1983d. p. 281-2. Whitecotton, 1990. p. 7). It was at this time that a number of the valley sites achieved major importance; they included Zaachila, Xoxocotlán and Cuilapan in the Zimatlán arm, and Yagul, Mitla, Teotitlán, Macuilxóchitl, Abasalo and Teitipac in the Tlacolula arm. A number had important palaces, temples and ball courts (Flannery, 1983a. p. 290), but only Yagul, which probably succeeded the, by then, abandoned Lambityeco, exists simply as an archaeological site today. However, neither the Central area nor the Etla arm, where there were some one hundred and three inhabited sites, many of them very small (Kowalewski, 1983b. p. 285), appears to have contained any town of political importance, but Huitzo, in the extreme north of this arm, is shown by the archaeological evidence to have been an administrative centre before Period I (Flannery & Marcus, 1983b. p. 60). It was during Period V that the clearest evidence of "local economic specialization" occurred (Kowalewski, 1983b. p. 286).

Period V continued until the Spanish Conquest, but there had been a Mixtec presence in the Valleys long before then. Their territory lay in the nearby Mixteca Alta sierra en route to the Valley of Mexico, so the fertile bottomlands might have tempted them to invade, but they might also have entered Septic territory by means of dynastic marriages (Flannery and Marcus, 1983a. p. 277. Paddock, 1983b. pp. 272-7, especially p. 274). Alfonso Caso, the excavator of Monte Albán, suggested, as a result of his work there, that various valley towns had had Mixtec overlords for some centuries before the Conquest. This has recently been confirmed by the discovery of various colonial documents, which have been analysed by Joseph Whitecotton in "Zapotec Elite Ethnohistory. Pictorial genealogies from Eastern Oaxaca" (4).

The Mixtecs and Zapotecs had much in common; although a common mythological ancestry as the Cloud People was apparently an Aztec misconception. It was the Zapotecs who called themselves peni-zaa (ed. Flannery and Marcus, 1983. Preface. pp. xx-xxi) in the sixteenth century. However, both had highly stratified societies of a similar nature, a cosmology with much in common, and a state religion with trained professional priests, so the obstacles to inter-marriage would not have been insurmountable even at the highest level, and Whitecotton argues, from complex evidence, that the Genealogy of Macuilxóchtli confirms the traditional belief that the Mixtecs married into the Zapotec cacique family of Zaachila, were given Cuilapan, and then subjugated other parts of the Valley (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 21). 5-Reed exemplifies this, for he appears to have traced descent from the Caciques of Cuilapan through his mother and, according to the glosses, he conquered Huitzo/Guaxolotlán and Mazaltepec in the Valley of Etla (Ibid. pp. 20, 18).

The Aztecs had included the Valleys in their tribute empire, which extended south into Guatemala, from about 1480, and there may have been a garrison, Huaxyacac, protecting the Aztec route to Tehuantepec and Guatemala (5). Aztec warfare was based as much on the need for sacrificial victims and tribute, including food after the great famine of 1454 (Davies, 1986. pp. 99, 112), as for political expediency, and there appears to have been no interference with the government institutions or religious practices of the Zapotecs: or, indeed, with Zapotec/Mixtec conflict (Chance, 1978. p. 20. White-cotton, 1990. p. 140).

Whitecotton states that whilst initially there is evidence of Mixtec/Zapotec alliances against the Mexica, later there were Zapotec/Mexica alliances, especially in Tehuantepec. The most famous of these was that of the King of Tehuantepec and a

daughter of the Aztec emperor Ahuitzotl (1486-1502) (Ibid. p. 120-1. Davies, 1973. pp. 305, 181-4), which appears in the traditional histories (Gay, pp. 104-7). They later became "firm allies" (Davies, 1973. p. 184), and this, together with the presence of the Aztecs in the Valley once it became part of their tribute empire, probably led to the resurgence of the Zapotec élites of which Whitecotton says there is both archaeological and documentary evidence before the Spanish conquest. Spores, the Mixtec specialist, has also suggested that it may have occurred "during the time of the Mexica incursions into the area" (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 144, n. 4).

The linguistic impact of the Aztecs was great however: most towns still bear their Nahuatl names, and many nobles spoke Nahuatl. This may have been because they were concerned with tribute collection in those towns dependent upon or in communication with, the Aztec emperor. This was an important factor in the spiritual conquest of the valleys, for the early Dominican missionaries preached in Nahuatl with the nobles serving as interpreters.

Two sources give information about the economic situation in the Valleys of Oaxaca at the time of the Spanish Conquest. These are the Codex Mendoza, the Aztec record of the tribute paid to them, and the 1580 Relaciones Geográficas of Philip II. In 1577 Philip II ordered his Spanish officials to answer a fifty-part questionnaire, which would give as complete and accurate a description of the Indies as possible (Cline, 1964. pp. 363-5). Fortunately, fourteen replies relevant to the Valley Zapotecs survive in Spanish libraries, and are among the numbers concerning New Spain, which were collected and published by the Mexican historian, Don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, during his twenty-five years' research in European libraries at the behest of the Mexican government. The Valley Relaciones were completed in each cabecera by the Spanish

officials, the Dominican friars or the few beneficed secular priests, with an attendant interpreter. Their informants were the Indian (6) cabildo officials and other nobles, and the oldest men in the pueblo. Although the ages of the latter are not stated for the Valley, their ages, when given elsewhere, range from seventy-five to ninety (7).

In the Codex Mendoza, page 44 shows the tribute paid by the fiscal province of Coyolapan, which included the towns of Coyolapan (Cuilapan), Etlan, Guaxiloxitlán (Huitzo), Guaxacac, Zamotlán, Octlán, Tactician, Tlacuechahuaya and Macuixóchic. It consisted of bins of maize and frijoles (black beans), 20 discs of fine gold, 20 bags of cochineal, 400 elaborate large mantles and 800 plain large mantles (Ross, p. 58. Whitecotton, 1977. pp. 123-4). This is much less than that depicted for other areas, and Chance has suggested that it demonstrates the Aztecs' weak hold on the region (Chance, 1978. p. 20). The Relaciones Geográficas of Teutitlán del Valle, Teticpac, Tlacolula and Taliztaca state that cotton had to be fetched from distant Tehuantepec, where salt was panned, or from its neighbour Xalapa (R.G. pp. 107, 113, 147), or bought from traders (R.G. p. 181). Guaxiloxitlán states that its tribute included cloth, copper, green birds and maize. It was collected in Guaxaca and in Cuestlauaca, Mixteca by three principales (lesser nobles) resident there (R.G. 198).

The Partido (administrative district) of Chichicapa is just outside the Valleys, but I am including it in this study as Miahuatlán and Ocelotepec were apparently conquered in Monte Albán II, and there is an important site of that period in Miahuatlán (Marcus, 1983d. p. 108). Furthermore, Valley Zapotec is spoken there (Villaseñor y Sanchez. Lib. IV, p. 145). Two of its towns at least were also subject to Moctezuma: Coatlán sent gold dust and cloths, and Miahuatlán sent a gourdful of gold dust every thirty days, as well as honey, cloths and turkeys (R.G. pp. 133, 127). The most interesting

item is cochineal, for it shows that the nopal cactus was being cultivated not only for its fruit, the prickly pear, but so that the cochineal insect could be reared on its leaves. The production of the dye, an elaborate procedure, was greatly encouraged by the Spaniards, and was the source of Oaxaca's wealth in the eighteenth century (Hamnett, 1971. pp 1-3, 143-4).

The Valleys of Oaxaca were conquered soon after the fall of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. The Conquistador Fernando de Orozco was sent by Hernán Cortés to subdue the Zapotecs in October 1521. Reinforced by several thousand Nahuatl-speaking allies, he reached the Valleys after traversing Mixteca territory, fought several successful battles and sent word that the land was good and rich in mines (Cortés, pp. 164-5). The Chichicapa district was conquered by Pedro de Alvarado, according to the Relaciones Geográficas, but it later paid tribute to Cortés (R.G. p. 116). The Valley, being fertile and well-populated, was eminently suitable for the encomienda with which the Crown rewarded the conquistadores and Cortés, as the Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, held most of it in this manner from 1529-1532, receiving gold, maize, frijoles, chile, turkeys, clothing and slaves as tribute. But from 1533, when el Marquesado was redefined by a Real Cédula of Charles V, he was limited to the Cuatro Villas: Villa de Oaxaca, its administrative centre and one of the towns near Antequera where the Nahuas who aided Orozco were settled; Cuilapan, where he had congregated all the Mixtecs in the valley; Etla, where gold had been discovered and which became the vital wheat growing area during the colonial era; and Tlapacoya. This redefinition, which was the result of pressure by the Audiencia in Mexico City, was necessary because Cortés's encomienda had restricted the amount of land at the disposal of the city of Antequera, and the number of towns which could be given to others as encomienda. Cortés's grant was such that he received tribute from 23,000 Indians (8).

The Spanish administration of New Spain was eased by the stratified nature of Zapotec and other Mesoamerican societies, and throughout the colonial period only nobles could become pueblo officials, so it is important to understand the nature of the town states, as they existed at contact. There were two classes of nobles: the caciques and the principales. They approximated to the grandees and hidalgos (gentry) of Spain, and so the cacique was accepted as being the Señor Natural of his estates, in the same way that the great Spanish landowners were the Señores Naturales of theirs (Chamberlain, pp. 130-4). Below them were the macehuales, who were peasants, the mayeques, who approximated to European serfs, and the slaves. The class distance between the élite and the commoners was marked by the latter's having to use special pronouns and a "reverential" verb when addressing the former, who were distinguished by their colourful cotton mantles and jewellery. The commoners wore plain mantles woven from the coarse fibres of the maguey plant, which had been cultivated for the production of pulque, then a ritual drink (Whitecotton, 1977. p. 143. Taylor, 1979. pp. 39-40).

There is little information regarding economic specialization, but there was a system of regional markets, which would have taken advantage, as is the case today in the weekly round of daily markets, of the variations in the crops and goods produced in the different parts of the Valley, and their adjoining sierras (Chance, 1978. pp. 22-3). The Relaciones state that the commoners ate maize, gourds, roots, herbs and fruits, which must have included the nutritious legume, guaje, which gave the valley its Aztec name. The élite ate meat: rabbits, turkeys and game. The Relación de Teutitlán del Valle states that if a commoner killed game whilst hunting, he sold it to pay his tribute (9). Cacao beans were used as currency and to make drinking chocolate for the élite. Picietl (tobacco), was used for curing and was, according to the Relación de Miahuatlán,

ground and kept in the mouth all day, with a little lime, to strengthen the body and guard against the cold, which suggests that it was used by the macehuales and mayeques as they toiled in the fields, in much the same way that coca is used in the Andes today (R. G. p. 130).

The cacique, coqui or tijacoqui (tija=lineage) in Zapotec, owned extensive lands, governed and maintained his señorio, dispensed justice, and waged war against neighbouring indigenous groups for tribute and slaves. These included the sierra Mixtecs, the coastal Mixtecs of Tutupec, the Mixes and certain nearby Zapotec towns. Tlacolula even fought Mitla, where the high priests were living at the time of the Conquest (Ibid. pp. 179, 146. Chance, 1978. pp. 23-4. Flannery & Marcus. 1983c. p. 297). He was revered and treated with awe, for he had various religious functions including the celebration and annulment of marriages (Whitecotton, 1977. pp. 145-7), but above all he ensured the welfare of his people by placating and honouring the "gods" with sacrifices and magnificent communal ceremonies (Zorita, p. 408).

He was polygynous like the Aztec nobles, but unlike them was succeeded only by his legitimate primogeniture including females; and cacicas continued to succeed under Spanish rule. His legal marriage was into the cacique family of another town, for he observed class endogamy and village exogamy, and succession was traced through the senior wife, as well as the husband (10); so that strategic marriages and shifting alliances, as a result of them, must have occurred in the valley (11). These rules meant that their land was inalienable, and the strength of their position and the Spanish concept of Señor Natural were in part responsible for the continuation of many of their cacicazgos throughout the colonial era, whereas these began to break up from the mid-sixteenth century elsewhere (12). Further to this they soon became adept at using

Spanish law when threatened (Taylor, 1972. pp. 38-9). The two largest cacicazgos were those of Cuilapan and Etla, and even in the late eighteenth century there were cacicazgos larger than the Spanish-owned haciendas (agricultural estates) (Chance, 1978. p. 24).

The supreme ruler of the Zapotecs referred to as "el rey" by the Spaniards, was the Cacique of Teozapotlan, now known again by its Zapotec name of Zaachila. The 1580 Relaciones Geográficas of Macuilsúchil, Teotitlán del Valle, Teticpac, Taliztaca and Chichicapa state that he was their Señor and they had paid him tribute, and it is for this further reason that I have included the Zapotec-speaking Partido of Chichicapa in the Valley, despite its location (13). Of these, Tlacolula and Macuilsuchil gave him no tribute, but like Teticpac and Taliztaca fought for him in time of war (R.G. pp. 145, 101, 111, 179). The town of Mitla, possibly because of the presence of the high priests, states that it paid him no tribute, but sometimes planted a milpa (maize plot) for him, and gave him turkeys and honey. Teotitlán del Valle gave him gold dust, cotton mantles, garlic, and Indians for slaves (R.G. pp. 149, 106).

The Relación de Chichicapa gives some very interesting and full historical data in answer to question fourteen, which asked to whom the Indians belonged and what dominion was exercised over them by their lords:

"Los antiguos naturales dicen que antiguamente tuvieron y conocieron por señor al Cacique de un pueblo que se nombra Tleocapotlán (sic), ques de la Real corona, questa una legua de Antequera; y el cacique se llamaba Quieguela que quiere dezir "señor del bino" y a este obedecían por que era unyversal señor de todos los yndios çapotecas porque tenyan por cierto aver produzido sus antepasados de las cabernas de la tierra, e no se le conoçia otra generaçion, y a este cacique los yndios mystecos, ques otra lengua y generaçion de por sy,

dyeron guerra y estando en ella muy trabada llevo la nueba (news) de la benyda de los españoles por cuya causa se conformaron y todos binyeron a que rreconoçiesen a Monteçuma rey de Mexico por señor, y se profiriesen a ayudalle para la guerra contra los españoles que ya benyan subiendo, los quales pelearon contra Monteçuma y los bençieron, y ellos se retruxeron y se binyeron a su pueblo donde estan; y EL MARQUES congreco los Mystecos al pueblo de Quilapa (sic) que agora es suyo, y este dicho pueblo y otros adjudico a Su Magestad y asi le tributan hasta hoy." (R.G. pp. 116-7.)

It has been accepted by every historian of the Zapotecs, from Burgoa in the 17th century, that Teozapotlán was the supreme Zapotec cacicazgo, and that not long before the Conquest the cacique had fled to Tehuantepec as the result of a Mixtec uprising, although the Relación de Teguantepec says nothing of this (Chance, 1978. pp. 16-7. Torres de Laguna, p. 13). It is, however, confirmed by the Relación de Cuilapan, which states that the Zapotec king was forced to flee, and that the Mixtecs then advanced and founded the town of Xoxocotlán (Barlow, p. 37), close to Cuilapan. Moreover the Relación de Teozapotlan confidently asserts "...asi que todos concuerdan en esto, en dezir que Teoçapotlan es el Señorio çapoteca" (R.G. p. 191). It had been thought that this was verified by the Lienzo de Guevea, an early colonial genealogy from Tehuantepec, but recently the discovery of photographs of what Paddock believes to be the original lienzo, together with the map and genealogy from Macuilxóchitl discussed in my footnotes 4 and 11, which tied in with the Mixtec Codex Nuttall confirmed that, as Alfonso Caso had posited, various valley towns including Teozapotlan had had Mixtec caciques centuries before the Conquest, and there was no connection between the Caciques of Teozapotlan and Tehuantepec (Paddock, 1985a. 1985b. pp. 321-2. Whitecotton, 1990, pp. 135-7, 141-2).

It would seem that we are either dealing with a myth designed to obscure the reality and give the Zapotecs an idealised model of their history, or with one designed to make the Mixtec conquerors more acceptable to the Zapotecs... and yet, the Relación de Teutitlan del Valle states that their tribute was paid to the Señor in Teozapotlan and then to another Señor in Tehuantepec, which seems to bear the ethno history out. Later, they say, it was paid to the Mixtecs at Cuilapan, and it is a fact that in the early colonial era the Mixtec Cacique of Cuilapan collected their tribute for Cortés, whom they do not mention at all (14).

The lesser nobles, the principales, called tijajoana in Zapotec, administered the town for the cacique and collected his tribute. The Relación de Macuilsúchil states that they obeyed a principal placed there by the King of Teozapotlán. The priests either came from this class or were the second sons of caciques (R.G. p. 102. Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 167-8). Further to this, it was only the caciques and principales who performed auto sacrifice by letting their blood, which the priests then offered to the idols (15). Principal lands were not, apparently, inalienable, and Taylor gives instances of colonial wills dividing land among several heirs, which may have continued their preHispanic practice (Taylor, 1972. p. 45), and eventually led to their macehualisation.

The macehuales, tijapéniquéche, were peasant farmers, who paid tribute to the cacique, and gave services to other nobles. Their tribute to the Cacique of Teozapotlán usually took the form of supplying him with warriors, or arms, such as bows and arrows, in time of war (R.G. 1981. p. 101), which, political and territorial reasons apart, was a means of acquiring sacrificial victims, for the idols. They must also have been the weavers, potters and other craftsmen, and possibly included such specialists as

masons, dancers and musicians, who serviced the ceremonial aspects of the society. They were probably monogamous and endogamous in marriage (Chance, 1978. pp. 25-6).

Below the macehuales were the mayeque class. They were serfs tied to the huge cacique estates, who tilled the cacique's land. They gave him goods and services, and may have done the same for the principales. It is thought that they might have had usufruct rights to land. They may also have cultivated the Lands of Huichilobas, which supported the priests, but there appears to be no information about this. Such lands certainly existed in the Valleys, for in the 1530s the cabildo (town council) of Antequera and the first Bishop of Oaxaca acquired the title to them from the Crown (Taylor, 1972. pp. 41-3, 78-9).

The slaves were both taken in war and bought in markets, at a cost, according to the Relación de Miaguatlán, of the equivalent of one, and one and a half, pesos in gold dust, and, as they came from such distant provinces as Mexico, Tlascala and Tepee, these markets, presumably, formed a wide network. This suggests that house slaves were treated as in the rest of Mesoamerica; that is, despite serving for life, they could alternate their service with other members of their families and hold property including their own slaves (R.G. pp. 127-8. Borah, 1983, p. 39). The many boys and girls captured when Ocelotepque fought the Mixe and Chontal, had diverse fates. They kept the best as personal slaves, sent some to Moctezuma, their Señor, and killed, sacrificed and ate the rest. Teotitlán gave "yndios por esclavos" to each of the caciques it served, and, after the Conquest, this must have included Cortés, represented by the Cacique of Cuilapan (R.G. pp. 140, 106. Chance, 1978. p.38).

Except when fighting for the ruler at Teozapotlan, the Zapotecs do not appear to have acted as a nation, and I would argue that it was the articulation of their state religion, based upon the worship of their idol, Bezelao, at Mitla, and the rituals directed by the state priests in their towns, which gave them identity as a group; for inter-town warfare must have militated against cohesion.

The veracity of the information given about religion in the Relaciones Geográficas and other 16th and 17th century sources is problematical, and so, in order to put this into perspective before discussing it, I shall consider those aspects of the Spiritual Conquest of the Valleys, which affected both the understanding of the Spanish chroniclers and the viewpoint of their indigenous informants. But, these will be dealt with more fully in the following chapters. The Crown had appointed the mendicant orders as missionaries to the Indies, and the first two to work in the Valleys, arrived in 1529, and preached in Nahuatl in the Valley towns, whilst studying Mixtec and Zapotec (Ricard, pp. 21-3, 46-7. Ulloa, pp. 109, 134). However, the Conquistadores always travelled with secular priests, and the earliest Valley conversions were made by one of them. Cortés, himself, whatever his defects, was a devout Christian and, horrified by evidence of human sacrifice, felt that urgent measures should be taken to convert the Mesoamericans. He was eloquent on this point in his Primera Carta de Relación to Juana la Loca and her son Charles V dated July 10th 1519:

"Podrán vuestras majestades si fueron servidos hacer por cosa verdadera relación a nuestro muy Santo Padre para que en la conversión de esta gente se ponga diligencia y buena orden, pues que de ello se espera sacar tan gran fruto, y también para que Su Santidad haya por bien y permita que los malos y rebeldes, siendo primero amonestados, puedan ser punidos y castigados como enemigos de nuestra santa fe católica, y será ocasión de castigo y espanto a los que fueren

rebeldes en venir en conocimiento de la verdad, y evitarse han tan grandes males y daños como son los que en servicio del demonio hacen. Porque aun allende de lo que arriba hemos hecho relación a vuestras majestades de los niños y hombres y mujeres que matan y ofrecen en sus sacrificios, hemos sabido y sido informados de cierto que todos son sodomitas y usan aquel abominable pecado" (Cortés, pp. 22-3).

I would argue that this passage is particularly interesting in that it expresses the proselytising spirit of the Reconquista of Spain, which impelled the military and spiritual Conquest of the New World, in all its arrogant assurance; and that whilst it shows that the horror instigated in the Spaniards by human sacrifice made them ready to believe any ill of the Indians, such as universal sodomy, it makes no mention of the cannibalism, which later accounts of human sacrifice always accept as its concomitant. But Cortés does mention it as occurring, on three occasions, when his allies had killed their mutual enemies in battle. In the first instance, they said they would sup on them, in the second he assumed they would, and in the third a Spaniard was said to have seen someone doing so (Cortés, pp. 140, 154, 228). This is hardly reliable evidence, for it is all hearsay, as Arens' has pointed out (Arens. pp. 55-60)!

Some Tlaxcalans gave an insight into Mesoamerican thinking on the subject, when they took five captives to Cortés, and said, "If you be a god that eats meat and blood, eat these Indians, and we shall bring you more, and if you be a kind god here are plumes and incense, and if you be a man here are turkeys and bread and cherries" (16). Humans were food for the most feared gods, and the mouths of the idols representing them were smothered in sacrificial blood.

Human sacrifice ceased after the Conquest, but there can be no doubt that the horror of it, together with a profound distaste for the dancing, drinking and feasting - on sacrificial victims, if the Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca are to be believed - that accompanied Mesoamerican religious celebrations, has coloured the attitude of the Church ever since towards the vestiges of these practices which accompany fiesta. Moreover, it is these survivals of preHispanic practices, which are seen as the source of the heavy expenditure, which attracted and still attracts universal disapproval. The only reference to saints' fiestas in those 1580 Relaciones Geográficas relevant to the Valley, that of Miahuatlan, refers specifically to fiestas with dances in honour of the saint, and heavy expenditure on feasting and drinking: "... gastan en ellos en comer y beber cantidad de dineros" (R.G. p. 131).

The disgust of the missionaries was heightened by their bewilderment at finding, throughout Mesoamerica, practices and beliefs that were parodies of Christian ones; as well as others which were similar and much that could be admired. The Valley Zapotec had celibate priests, and ritual fasting was observed for long periods (17), a lay person might fast as a form of penitence in order to placate the gods. There was also a belief in an afterlife, but one led in a physical replica of the valleys, where every earthly pleasure could be enjoyed (Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 123-4, 64-5). Indeed, the 19th century Dominican historian of Oaxaca, Padre Gay, refers to "huellas medio borrada de un antiguo cristianismo" amidst their "prácticas supersticiosas e idolátricas", and comments

"Pero no todo lo que hacían era execrable, ni absurdo todo lo que pensaban. Sus abluciones, purificaciones, unciones, enlaces, expiaciones y penitencias, tenían bastante semejanza con los sacramentos de la Iglesia católica. Adoraban a un Dios Supremo, creador y conservador del mundo; conocían la inmortalidad del alma y

los premios y penas de la otra vida, y sus ideas morales, sin estar exentas de errores, se habían aproximado a los cristianos, más que las de ninguna otra nación " (Gay, pp. 78-9.)

Some, he says, feel that this similarity in beliefs accounts for the docility with which they embraced Christianity. But he was writing three hundred years later and naturally, it was the execrable religious practices, of the Zapotecs, Mixtecs and, above all, the Aztecs, which held the attention of the sixteenth century Spaniards, and made them long to save the Indian soul.

It was the caciques who bore the brunt of this attention, for when one converted he could influence his subjects to follow suit. Moreover, the size of their estates and the tribute they received put the caciques in an extremely vulnerable position, for these were sequestered if they did not convert to Christianity. The King of the Zapotecs, the Cacique of Zaachila, was, according to Marcus, baptised in 1521, but little else is known of him. She states that he died in 1529 (18). It is possible that he was converted by Juan Díaz, the priest who accompanied Francisco de Orozco on his Conquest of Oaxaca, although Padre Gay states that he confined his ministry to the spiritual needs of the Spaniards, and inclines to the belief that it was by Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who, with Díaz, accompanied Pedro de Alvarado to Tututepec in 1522 (19). In a Real Cédula of 1557, Philip II confirmed that noble converts should retain their traditional rights, and ordered that the Viceregal judicial and administrative court in Mexico City, the Audiencia, should hear those with lawsuits pending regarding the retention and inheritance of their estates, as a matter of urgency (Taylor, p. 39). Not unnaturally, the early conversions, being a matter of expediency, were not always successful. Indeed, when the Inquisition held an idolatry trial, the accused was frequently a noble who had

returned to his old religion decades after his conversion. This was the case with the Cacique of Tehuantepec, who was interrogated by Fray Juan de Córdova and Fray Juan de Mata from 1561-1564, for he had been baptised as Don Juan Cortés in 1527, and had spent much of his fortune on building the church and Dominican house in Tehuantepec (20). Few Zapotecs, however, died at the hands of the Episcopal Inquisition, apart from the priests from Mitla, whom the Cacique had been sheltering, and with whom he was seen officiating at pagan rituals (21).

Such lapses appear most frequently to have occurred, when at times of crisis, the perpetrators, who at time of the Conquest may have felt abandoned by their deities, now felt that they had betrayed their ancient gods, and had been castigated as a result. But there must also have been many cases when nobles and priests simply continued to make auto sacrifices of their own blood, as well as sacrifices of small animals and birds, in hidden caves or temple sites. What appears to be evidence of the sacrifice of small creatures has been found as early as Monte Allbán II (200 B.C.- 100 A.D.), around a typical offering box (Flannery, 1983b. p. 103). It is not to be expected that rituals practised for over a thousand years could or would be easily given up.... or stamped out!

There were other reasons for the failure of the Spaniards to implant the Catholicism, itself syncretic (Starr, 1993. pp. 193-4), of the Peninsular. The behaviour of some Spanish encomenderos and settlers posed a further threat to the Zapotecs, for the people were persuaded, says Burgoa, that:

"....la ley que les predicaban de Nuestro Señor JESUCRISTO, era de esclavitud, para entregarlos al dominio de esta gente advenidiza, que les quitaban sus tierras y libertad;...." (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 106)

and it was fears like these which led them to seek refuge in the most impenetrable sierras so as not to see any Spaniard. Slavery was rife in the Valley in the 1520s, as was forced labour in the mines for a much longer period, whilst Spanish building programmes, both civil and ecclesiastical, were a further burden upon those who farmed the land and produced the community's tribute in agricultural produce and craft goods - but this will be discussed at length in Chapter 3. The encomenderos were expected to encourage, and share in the cost of the conversion of the tribute-paying Indians granted them by the Crown, but they were often lax in this, to the extent that a Real Cédula of Charles V issued in Burgos on September 7th, 1543 ordered that:

"....cualquier persona, o personas, que impidieren la dicha predicación, y doctrina, por el mismo caso, hayan perdido, y pierdan cualesquiera indios que tuvieran de encomiendas, y encomendados, y más en la mitad de sus bienes,...."
(Ibid. p. 302).

However, Hernán Cortés, held most of the Valley as his encomienda from 1529-1532 (22), and the highly populated Cuatro Villas of Cuilapan, Villa de Oaxaca, Etlá and Tlapacoya from 1532. He treated the Indians well enough for them to testify that they wished to remain with him in 1532 (Taylor, 1972. p. 112). Although, as he worked his encomienda Indians extremely hard as tamenes (porters), as building labourers and on his other enterprises, and had some 3,000 Indian slaves, most of whom he worked to death as placer miners (Gutiérrez Brockington, p. 95), this may be regarded as a comment upon the extreme brutality of some of the other encomenderos there. Motolinía, the great Franciscan missionary said of him :

"Aunque, como hombre, fuese pecador, tenía fe y obras de buen cristiano y muy gran deseo de emplear la vida y hacienda por ampliar y aumentar la fe de Jesucristo, y morir por la conversión de estos gentiles" (Motolinía, p. 219).

Indeed, the Pope allowed him to appoint priests, but this was a royal perquisite, and so was soon revoked. (Gerhard, 1972a. p. 9). But it suggests that some of the Valleys' population might have been subject to proselytisation from 1529 by secular priests appointed by Cortés, despite his preference for the regulars as missionaries (Cortés, p. 203), as well as by the two Dominicans. The early seculars tended to work in the cities, but, Etla apart, the Marquesado towns ringed Antequera, and indeed, the Pope allowed him to appoint priests, but this was a Villa de Oaxaca was the cabecera of the towns of Santo Tomás Xochimilco and Jalatlaco, now barrios (quarters) of the City of Oaxaca, as well as nearby San Martín Mexicapan whose lands had been ceded by the Mixtec Cacique of San Juan Chapultepec. These were the towns where the resident Nahuatl-speakers and those who accompanied the conquistador Orozco had been settled. Later, the naborías who worked as tied artisans, labourers for Spanish farmers, servants, and building workers after the abolition of Indian slavery, became urban dwellers. They were predominantly Nahuatl speakers, and this became their lingua franca (Chance, 1978. pp. 32, 82-5).

Concerning the missionary friars, Padre Gay refers to Torquemada's statement in "Monarquía Indiana" that some Franciscan's had travelled through the area teaching, and Burgoa's that no vestige of their work remained when the Dominicans arrived. He also argues that Cortés would not have been without priests for Mass and missionary work when he was in Tehuantepec among the Southern Zapotecs and he had shipyards there before the Dominicans arrived (Gay. pp. 162-5). But the Dominicans, Fray Gonzalo Lucero and Fray Bernardino de Tapia, who had lived in Mexico City since 1526, began by preaching in Nahuatl, whilst studying Zapotec and Mixtec, for in each town there were Nahuatl-speaking nobles who had been connected with the Aztec tribute empire and were able to act as their interpreters (Ulloa, pp. 96, 99-100, 133.

Taylor, p. 22. Chance, 1978. p. 20). In fact all three languages were spoken in the Valley itself, for the Mixtecs who had settled the Valley had been congregated in the central area, especially Cuilapan, by Cortés (Ibid, p. 37). Apart from this, the Mixtec marriages into the lineage of the Etla caciques had had an influence, for Whitecotton states that Mixtec was still spoken in a number of Etla hamlets, and various towns had Mixtec and Zapotec-speaking inhabitants in the 19th century (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 57).

There was also a large Mixtec population in the sierras between the Valleys of Oaxaca and Mexico. In the diocese as a whole the linguistic problem was enormous, because so many languages were spoken there (Rodrigo Alvarez, p. 126). The lack of an intimate knowledge of Zapotec and Mixtec must surely have been a cause of mutual misunderstanding in the dialogues and translations which must, as a matter of course, have occurred in the early years in a Spanish::Nahuatl::Zapotec::Nahuatl::Spanish sequence.

The Dominicans, being the Order of Preachers, studied the native languages and later in the century published grammars and dictionaries of which Fray Juan de Córdova's "Arte del Idioma Zapoteco" and "Vocabulario Castellano-Zapoteco" are examples. But they made up for their early linguistic deficiencies by using lienzos (painted canvasses) when preaching. Three of those used by Lucero depicted: sinners, including unconverted Indians, in hell for all eternity, and consumed by fire; the glory and majesty of the Trinity and the love which led the Son of God to the Cross for our sakes; and saints of all estates, sexes and ages resplendent and joyful with the symbols of their martyrdom (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 42-3).

But the concepts contained in them would surely have been of an extraordinary and confusing complexity to convey to newcomers to Christianity, even if preacher and neophyte had shared the same language. I shall consider proselytisation more fully in the next chapter, but here I wish to emphasise the difficulties encountered by the majority of the converts in understanding Christian doctrine, for this is clearly one of the causes of the syncretic Catholicism to be found in Indian communities in Latin America today.

Van Oss in his seminal study of Catholic colonialism in Guatemala “Catholic Colonialism: a Parish History of Guatemala, 1524-1821” observes:

"Without doubting the dedication with which regular missionaries studied Indian languages, we may ask ourselves how well they could explain Christian doctrine in them."

Elaborating on this theme he adds:

"Indian neophytes, ushered into the early churches by their leaders, either ignored or interpreted in their own way the garbled sermons they received from their priests. When they did not understand, or failed to listen, religious chroniclers blamed their failure not on any shortcomings on the part of the friars but on the Indian's own natural rusticity" (Van Oss, p. 18).

Added to this the early friars were few, and the vast numbers who were converted at a time in all areas, operated against their being properly taught. These hordes of converts were supposed to understand the rudiments of the doctrine before baptism, but in many cases it would have been impossible for this teaching to be followed up except occasionally by the itinerant friars. What the Church did succeed in inculcating in the

Mesoamericans, however, was a loathing of their past practices, for, says Burgoa, speaking of the mission of Fray Gonzalo Lucero in the Valley:

".... habiéndoles instruido en las pinturas, les hacía declararlas, con tanto fruto, que eran innumerables los que se convertían y pedían el bautismo, detestando sus errores, trayéndole sus ídolos, y ofreciendo a sus hijos a la fe, que eran los más los niños, que se bautizaban:" (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 43).

The horror of the friars must have been made very plain, and the lienzos, which were displayed in public places, at least made the rewards of baptism and the punishment of the unconverted equally clear, whilst stressing the importance of the Virgin and the Rosary.

The schools that trained the sons of the nobles were the most successful at teaching doctrine and inculcating a hatred of past practices. No greater iconoclasts existed than the pupils of the Franciscan, Pedro de Gante's school at Nahuatl-speaking Texcoco near the Valley of Mexico. They destroyed temples and idols and denounced their fathers for concealing pagan images (Kobayashi, p. 259). I feel that the descriptions of orgiastic pagan festivals in the Relaciones Geográficas of Oaxaca owe something to this spirit.

Cortés was in favour of such schools, but it is not certain to what extent the early Dominicans in Oaxaca followed the Franciscans in their emphasis upon schooling, although Padre Gay states that Fray Jordán de Santa Catalina established a school for about five hundred Sierra Zapotec boys in Villa Alta in 1555. They studied reading, writing, some Christian doctrine and plainchant, after which they dispersed to the other pueblos to teach there (Gay, p. 212).

It would also have been necessary to prepare the young nobles for their roles in the Spanish cabildos, which replaced the indigenous structures for administering the towns, and no doubt they were taught to abhor their past. Such boys and their sons would have been the Indian officials, or old men, who were consulted in the drawing up of the Relaciones Geográficas, assuming that they would have held the higher office between their late thirties and mid-fifties, as they do today, and as was the case in 18th century Zaachila (23). They smack of prejudices and attitudes inculcated by the friars rather than oral tradition. This attitude and the absence of Zapotec codices means that it is impossible to reach a clear understanding of the nature of Zapotec religion, and this is compounded by the fact that the Spiritual Conquest of the Valleys was undertaken by the Dominicans.

The Franciscans working in the Nahuatl-speaking area wrote extensively on the pantheons and associated rituals of the Aztecs and others in order, as Sahagún made clear, to recognise and extirpate all hidden idolatrous practices, as well as to preach conversion from them (Sahagún, p. 17). The Dominicans were equally assiduous in this, and had been missionaries from the early 13th century, when Santo Domingo de Guzmán established the Order with this end in mind (Melcón, pp. 16-17, 34-6). However, they tended to write histories of their missionary methodology, and the edifying lives of their predecessors and colleagues, so that whilst Burgoa, the 17th century historian of Oaxaca, includes many references to Zapotec and Mixtec religion, he gives no detailed descriptions of specific deities and their functions, or the rituals and celebrations held in their honour, whilst Fray Juan de Córdova's extensive knowledge of all of these is scattered through his "Vocabulario".

Further to this the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas were mediated by fifty years of proselytisation, and the Spanish civil officials and priests who wrote them, although these tried to be objective, In fact, the only full account of a pantheon in the area, with short descriptions of celebrations in honour of its eighteen deities, is that of the Relación de Teotitlán del Camino, but it had been a Nahuatl-speaking republic at the time of the Conquest, and only five names vary from the calendar given by Motolinía in his "Memoriales". Moreover, it had been a Franciscan doctrina for over twenty years, until about 1568 (R.G. pp. 217-223, 217 n. 1, 223).

The role of the priests, their theology, and the "pantheon" they served are all somewhat obscure, but Fray Juan de Córdova explains calendrics at some length in his "Arte". The Zapotecs had a secular calendar of 365 days called yza (seasons), and a ritual one of 260 days called pije, which was calculated by ritual and fiesta specialists known as colanij (diviners). The pije was divided into 4 "planets" of 65 days, as opposed to the 5 groupings of 52 usual in Mesoamerica, and these were responsible for all that happened on earth and so were revered as "gods", to whom auto sacrifices of blood from ears and tongue were made when they governed the calendar (pp. 201-212). They were called cocijo (lightning) or pitáo (spirits), and, according to Alfonso Caso and Marcus each was called by the name of the day with which it began: quiachilla, quialana, quiagoloo d quiaguilloo. Marcus believes that the names are of great antiquity from the manner in which the name and number which form them are combined (Caso, pp. 944-5. Marcus, 1983a. pp. 91-3).

The 65 days of each cocijo were subdivided into 5 cocii of 13 days, each with its name, that of an animal such as a deer, eagle or hare, and a glyph, and constituted a

good or bad omen. The vital elements of the yya calendar, including the four-year bearers and

Digno de ser creydo. *Natitijitichim, mnyajichim. I mnyajéijitichim.*

Digno de ser llorado. *Nicòani, nahuam, huay unalichim nàc.*

Dilatar algo. Vide craftinar. *T. alàs-yachij, colàga, jochéa, tozabijao ticiñalaya.*

Dilatado ser así. *Tillaaya, tilàga, itchéa, itzabij loachij, nàcijnà.*

Dilación adua. *Quelabucéga, bueché, buezabijao.*

Diligente. *Nachijla, nacià, natiti, naqueñe, nani.*

Diligencia. *Queñe, actua, quelabue queñe, quelabueceno.*

Diligencia paísua. *Quelachilla, nacià, natiti, naqueñe, quelanani.*

Diligente ser. *Tichillaya, ticiñaya, titina, iqueñe, tizene.*

Diligencia poner a otro. *Toqueñe tocòñe, ticoqñe, tozèna.*

Diligente en obrar, o poner diligencia. *Tòmachillaya, nacià, ya, natiti, naqueñe, nani, toz balàcha, itzabijlacha, col, toqò-baqelaya, ticoòlao.*

Diligente así. *cuyadofo. Pèni nabaquibich, nazòbalàchi.*

Diligente en. *Huaqueñe, huazè-ñe, huacià, huatini, huani.*

Diligencia sollicitud poner iterum. *Tocujilao.*

Diligencia tener así. *Ticujilao.*

Diligente así. *Naculao.*

Diluvio general. *Niyaquierò hue-ibua.*

Diluvio lo que hizo en la tierra. *Tecualayao.*

Diluvio matar todos los animales. *Tollàhuay, tocollàhuay.*

Muertos ser así atrebatados. *Tillàhuay.*

Diminutivo termino. *f. poquillo, o así. Ci, cici, guic, guic, it, vti, huaxici, huazacici.*

Diminutivo casi como compañero. *vn poquillo mayorcillo. Vide los pronombres. Tica, tica magit, vn poquillo mas bié quillo.*

Dinero o moneda. *Vide pieza de oro, &c. Yò, pichich, tomne, pichich, acàay, yò, &c.*

Dineros que no se tratan o tesoro. *Quichayò nòcè.*

Dios bueno verdadero. *Dios, piàno.*

Qualquiera dios. *piàno.*

Qualquiera dios. *piàno.*

... D. ANTE. I.

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eyman. Huèdèr fèchào, co-quechepèrào, coqòpèrào co-quechepèrào, coqòpèrào, co-quechepèrào, coqòpèrào.

Dios ser así, todo lo dicho y decha serlo disponible y obrarlo. *Tocòpèrày, niquixepèrày, con, nillà bapèrày coll.*

Dios poner termino y limite a todas las cosas. *Tiquixepèrày, tibàqui pèrày, col.*

Dioses de los yndios de piedra y palo. *Piànoque, piànoyàg, piàoxim.*

Dioses del linero. *Piàno pèrào.*

Dios de los temblores de tierra. *Piàno pèrào.*

Dios de los animales a quien sacrifican cazadores y pescadores para que les ayuden. *Cozàna, piàno cozàna.*

Dios o Diosa de los niños, o de la generacion a quien las partidas sacan. *Huichana, piàno huichana, cochàna, huichàna.*

Dios de las gallinas. *Coquillao.*

Dios de las riquezas y mercedes. *Piàno pèrèze, piànoquille piànoyàg.*

Dios de las ganancias dichas y venturas. *Piànoquille piànoyàg, yàze.*

Dios de las miserias y pérdidas y desdichas. *Piànoziy piànoyàg, piànoyàg.*

Dios de la carga. *Cozàna, piàno cozàna.*

Dios de los agüeros. *Piànoyàg, piànoyàg.*

Dios de los fuecos. *Piànoyàg, piànoyàg.*

Dios de amor. *Vide luxuria.*

Dios que decian que era criador de todo y el incruado. *Piyetò, pèyèrò, coqueñe coquicilla, co-*

Dios de las lluvias. *Cocja, [quini]*

Diputar algo para alguno. *Vide de-putar. Tocoquicilla, loqòna guelaya.*

Diputado ser así. *Vide predicar. Tònguelaya.*

Diputado así estar. *Vide aplicar. Nònguelà. Pedro, f.*

Diputacion adua. *Quelabucòna-guelà.*

Diputació paísua. *Quelabucòla.*

Diputador. *Huegònguelà.*

Diputar a vno para vn officio o cargo. *Tocayà.*

Diputador. *Vide poner y cargar. Diputadoflar. Naciày. [Ticàyà.*

Difcordar en parecer o voto. *Ti-tilaichaya, ténitititini, ca-*

Difcordes. *Nititillan, nitichànan.*

Difcordia. *Quelaila. [Ihijàni.*

Difcordia poner. *Vide renzille. To-*

Demonio. *Razelaò pèzèlao. Qualquiera dios. piàno.*

Dios. *Dioses de los yndios de piedra y palo. Piànoque, piànoyàg, piàoxim.*

Dioses del linero. *Piàno pèrào.*

the day glyphs, were carved upon stelae as early as Monte Albán I (Caso, pp. 932-6). Infants were named from the name of the day of their birth from them, with the addition of the number of their order of birth up to seven, after which the eighth child began with one again.

The Zapotecs' entire lives were ruled and ordered by the days, as interpreted by the colanij. Wedding dates were calculated from the day of birth, whilst omens and dreams were interpreted, and the outcome of illnesses foretold from the days (Córdova, "Arte," pp. 201-13). Their omens were many, and included particular species of snakes, owls and scorpions. An eclipse of the moon was believed to presage the death of nobles, and that of the sun, the end of the world. Dwarfs were believed to have been born by order of the sun, and were sacrificed to it (Ibid. pp. 214-5).

The ritual calendar just described was found to be in use in 17th century Zola de Vega by the priest Bachiller Balzalobre, who drew up a list of the 13 supernaturals who governed it (Table 1.1). The 36 colanij, whom he accused of idolatry, only held office by reason of owning books containing the lore regarding the pantheon, calendrics, life crises and other rituals, as well as methods of interpreting and counteracting dreams and the auguries, which included the "songs" of birds and animals. They also had to know what sacrifices were to be made to the 13 "gods" (24).

So it would appear that their function, had changed little from pre-Conquest days, although they had lost their role as advisers to the state's now-defunct priestly hierarchy, but might have gained more authority in their pueblos as their successors. The books, which must have been preCortesian in origin or copies from that period,

Table 1.1.
Colanij Rituals in Sola de Vega. 1623.

1. On harvesting:
 - a) First ears of green maize on day indicated by shaman. Sacrifice black turkey, sprinkle blood on 13 pieces of copal, burn it and sprinkle the rest of the blood in house patio.
Offering to LOCUCUI. Maize deity.
 - b) Cutting first chile.
As above with Offering to LOCIYO. Lightning deity.
2. On planting nopal cactus or gathering cochineal: sacrifice white turkey.
Offering to COQUEELAA. Cochineal god.
3. Hunting deer and wild animals:

Offering to NIYOHUA. Hunters' god, or NOCANA - deity of their Ancestors.
Second offering, if unsuccessful, plus 3 days' penance and 24 hours' fast.
4. Pregnancy, childbirth, fishing for trout.

After successful childbirth:
Offering to goddess NOHUICHANA.
For successful fishing: burn copal, light wax candles at edge of fishing hole at river.
5. Regarding the alms they take to church: there are good days and bad days, which a colanij computes from his book. On good days, including weekdays, many people light candles and take other offerings for their 13 supernaturals.

Offerings to goddess NOHUICHANA at the altar of the Virgin.
6. For illness and medicines.

Offerings to LERA ACUECE and LERA ACUECA - deities of Cures.
7. For dreams and auguries and their interpretation.

Offerings to GOD 13, LETA ACQUINO and LEXEE.
8. For the dead, to ward off sicknesses and death, and keep them from their houses:
 - a) Offerings with sacrifices and fasting:

to the great and supreme lord COQUEETAA.
the god of hell LETA AHUILA.
the lord of hell COQUEEHILA.
and his wife XONAXI HUILIA.
 - b) Or sacrifice a turkey, sprinkle 13 pieces of copal with blood, burn copal, and sprinkle the rest of the blood in the deceased's room.
9. Rites are also performed on marriage, house building, and sowing crops.

Source. Carmichael. "Balsalobre on Idolatry in Oaxaca." pp. 7-8.

appear to have been destroyed. They were written in Zapotec and Chatina, but included signs and pictographs (Berlin, pp. 18-19).

In 1956, Weitlaner found another calendar in use in the Loxichas area, south of Miahuatlán, and Alfonso Caso suggests that although it may be a survival of an earlier ancient one, it is probably a remnant of the Zapotec pije (Caso, pp. 945-6). The names are in Southern Zapotec and so, unlike the Sola one, it is impossible to tell if there is any correspondence between them and the Cordovan ones, but it will be seen from Table 1.2 that there is some convergence between the three, in that they all include a supreme spirit, as well as those of fertility, the afterlife, rain, maize, the staple crop, and wealth (produce for barter, and, later, cash, or perhaps for ritual purposes, as in the case of turkeys) (Weitlaner & Cicco. pp. 696-9).

They appear, also, to have evolved in order to accommodate external circumstances, such as the need to find treatments during the great epidemics, and the types of agricultural land found in given communities, for there are some variations in the pantheons of the four pueblos of Coatlán which the anthropologists consider to be due to temporal and spatial differences (Ibid. p. 695). So this may always have been the case in the extensive Valleys area.

Although Fray Juan de Córdova translated pitáo as "god", it is now thought that it was the life force within a supernatural being or natural phenomenon: pee meant wind, breath or spirit, and many words connected with the sacred include the phoneme pi or pe: hence the young priest is pigana or bigana, and a temple yo'hopehe. However, any creature or thing was sacred to an extent, and so rituals accompanied the harvesting of staple crops, as well as deer hunting and trout fishing in Sola (25). Anthony Shelton has

1654. <u>San Miguel, Sola.</u>	Table 1.2 1578 <u>Fray Juan de Córdova.</u>	1956 <u>Sta. Magdalena, Coatlán.</u>
1. Liraaquitzino. Dios 13.	Piyatao, Piyexoo	Mdanos. The 13.
2. Liciucha Niyoa. Hunter.	Xoo. Earthquake.	Ndigol. Maize. **
3. Coqueellaa. Wealth.	Coquilao. Turkeys.	Mbeydo. Cash crops, Wealth.
4. Locucui. Maize. Food.	Cocobi. Harvest.	Ndubdo. Maize.
5. Leraa Huila. Hell.	Bezela. Underworld	Mdozin. Death, Souls.
6. Nohuichana. Goddess of Rivers, Fishing, Pregnancy.	Huichana. God or goddess of Fertility, Childbirth.	Mziando. Wet Land. **
7. Lexee. Witches (shamans).	Pijze. Omens	Mbaz. Creator of Earth.
8. Locio. Lightning. Rain for crops.	Cocijo. Rain.	Mdi. Water for Crops. **
9. Xonatzi Huilia. The Devil's Consort.	(Ponapi Quecuya). Peeze, Quille. Wealth.	Izlyu. Queen of the Earth. or wife of Mbaz.
10. Cosana. God of the Ancestors.	Cozaana. Hunting. Fishing, but = Lineage.	Mdoyet. Patron of Earth
11. Nonachi. Illness Hunters. Fishermen.	Zij. Yao. Unhappiness. Loss.	Mbeldo. Tierra humeda. **
12. Leraa Queche. Medicine.	Quille. Wealth.	Kedo. Justice. **
13. Liraa Cuee. Medicine.	Xicala, Pecala. Dreams.	Bido. Wind. **

a) The emphasis on illness and death in 1654 may be a legacy of the great epidemics.

b) The authors divide the Coatlán pantheon into dry and wetland deities. (**= wet).

Sources. Berlin, p. 12. Córdova, p. 141. Weitlaner & Cicco, pp. 696-9.

identified this dynamic creative aspect of deity and "...its conception as abstract force or energy." as present in both Nahuatl, Valley of Mexico, thought at contact, and, sometimes, among the modern Huicholes. Both are Uto-Aztec groups (Shelton, pp. 153, 178).

Fray Juan regarded Bezelay as the "Demonio" and "Dios del infierno." The etymology had been thought to be unclear, apart from the initial Be or Pe, so he might have been the "lord of the afterlife", as Marcus suggests (Marcus, 1983c. p. 348, n. 1). However, Whitecotton has now stated that Coqui Bezelay means, "Lord 13-Xipe Face (Flower)" (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 32. n. 16). The significance of this calendrical name will be discussed on page 57. His idol at Mitla was treated with great reverence. The Huijatáo, the high priest or great seer, lived at the ceremonial centre there, and was, according to Fray Juan, who called him the Zapotec pope, the only one who could enter the sanctuary of the idols to offer sacrifices. Burgoa states that the huijatáo was respected by the Caciques of Teozapotlan, for his closeness to the gods (Córdova, 1942, p. 300. Burgoa, 1934, II. p. 121).

This suggests that the concept of the cacique or priest as "man-god" does not fit the Zapotec case. In López-Austin's analysis, the hombre-dioses were men who were perceived to be divine by their subjects, or culture-heroes who were also gods, as in the case of Quetzalcoatl, who was said to have disappeared foretelling his return, and whom Moctezuma thought Cortés to be. Although López-Austin suggests that the manner of providing for the celibate huijatáo's successor - by ritual sexual encounters whilst intoxicated, which might or might not result in issue - gave him this singularity, there is no indication in Córdova, Burgoa or the Relaciones Geográficas that he was

seen in this light, although Burgoa states that the commoners believed they would die if they saw his face (López-Austin. p. 181. Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 121-5).

The hierarchy also included the bigana, who were student priests, the hueza echa, or minor priests, and the huetete who specialized in sacrifice, including that of a man or boy for rain, and of a man for the harvest. It was they who cut open the chests of prisoners of war and slaves and tore out their hearts, which were then taken to the idols by the priests officiating in their temples (Córdova, 1942. pp. 300, 368). In Mitla, after this had been done, the victim's body was put into a sepulchre. The Relación Geográfica de Mitla makes no mention of cannibalism in its account of the sacrificial celebrations with drinking, music and dancing in which all the valleys and pueblos participated (Burgoa, II. p. 124. R.G. 149). The huetete also sacrificed small animals, birds and parrots feathers, which were presented to the idols censed with copal smoke. This practice continued after the Conquest, for it is usually mentioned in idolatry trials (R.G. pp. 198, 127).

The Relaciones refer to old temple sites on hills near the towns, as well as to caves, and it was in such hidden places that evidence of post-Conquest idolatry was sometimes discovered. They use bigana, meaning "dedicated to the gods", as the generic term for priest, but, to Burgoa, this was a specific and numerous group, who were chosen for training by the oracle at Mitla when children. They were the second sons of caciques and principales and were raised apart to preserve their purity (Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 167-8). Fray Juan describes an initiation ceremony for them (26), which, presumably, took place when they entered the most prestigious temples, where they studied the rites and ceremonies of their cult (Ibid. pp. 167-8).

Even the high priest at Mitla is referred to as the bigana in the Relación of that town, although it equates him with the Pope (R.G. p. 152). In Huitzo twenty to twenty-five bigana lived in the temples on a hill and directed the people in their rites and customs. Guaxilotitlán states that they served as human sacrificers and that each town adored different idols, but only mentions another of the state deities, Gozio (R.G. pp. 198, 127-8). This is clearly Cocijo, to whom a man or boy was sacrificed in the spring, for he was, they say, the god of water, or perhaps, as Marcus believes, the spirit of lightning producing rain from the clouds (1983c. p. 349. Córdova, p. 368.): but, whatever he may have been, he was a vital spirit for an agricultural people. His Aztec counterpart was Tlaloc, and his Mayan ones the Chacs. It seems that there was some confusion as to the categories of priests by 1580, but it may be that the ordinary townspeople had never been entirely clear as to their functions, for, according to the Relación de Ocelotepec, they never left the temples (R.G. p. 139).

There was another category of idol, apart from the state and local super-naturals: the Coqui. The existence of these confused the Spaniards into positing a huge Zapotec pantheon, for they were specific to each town. As their name indicates, they were usually the mummified remains, or the idol, of a Zapotec cacique, or, to use his correct title, coqui. The Relación de Ocelotepeque states that theirs, Petela, had been strong, valiant, and a wise ruler. He was a culture hero, and they sacrificed to him so that he would intercede with Bezeláo on their behalf. A previous priest had found his mummy and burned it in public, but in 1577, in their despair after the death of twelve hundred townspeople in an epidemic, the principales had performed sacrifices to the ashes. The incumbent had discovered this in 1577 and when the Relación was written, three years later, the principales were in prison in Antequera (R.G. pp. 139-40).

This may have been a practice dating from the Classic period, Monte Albans IIIA (300-500 A.D.) and IIIB (500-750 A.D.), or before, for élite underground tombs evolved during that time, until they became cruciform in shape, with antechambers. Some of them, with one or two skeletons in them, contain funerary urns, but often the building above contains offerings from a later era as well. So deceased lords may long have interceded for the Zapotecs with their supernatural beings (Flannery, 1983c. pp. 134-135).

Xonaxi was the title of a cacique consort, or of a cacica in her own right, and several towns refer to their Coqui-Xonaxi pairs of idols, which might explain the presence of two skeletons, rather than one, in some of these early tombs, and, unlike the deities of the pantheon, they are distinguished by their calendrical names. Coatlán states that the hearts of men were sacrificed to Coqui and of women to Xonaxi, as also were dogs, turkeys, quails and other things, whilst Mitla refers to its married idols Coqui Bezelayo and Ponapi Quecuya to whom men, boys, dogs, turkeys, quails and doves were sacrificed (R.G. pp. 134, 149).

"Adoravan al demonio, y entre ellos tenian un ydolo casado, e la muger se dezia Ponapi (Note 1. or Xonaxi) Quecuya, y el marido Coqui Bezelayo, que en español dize "Señor Diablo":... (R.G. p. 149).

Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal suggested in "Urnas de Oaxaca" that Bezelayo might have been the calendrical name 13-Monkey or 13-Vulture, but Whitecotton, as I stated on page 51 now identifies him as "Lord 13-Xipe Face or Flower" and thinks that Xonaxi Quecuija probably means "Lady 1- or 13-Grass", or, the orthography being suspect, "6- or 9-Grass" (Quacuija)(27)

These calendrical names, which were never given to the super-naturals, strongly suggest that Bezelayo was the supreme Coqui advocate, representing the deceased coqui culture-heroes of the Valley towns before the intangible Piyétao piyéxoo, when sacrifices were made to them by the Valley priests or nobles. But it is equally possible that the uijatao performed rituals to Bezelayo for the king of the Zapotecs on behalf of the Zapotec nation, for he, according to Burgoa, had rooms in the temple palace (Burgoa, 1934. II. p. 125).

Córdova's deity list, of which I include a photocopy, presents many problems. Joyce Marcus refers to twenty-four gods. There are certainly twenty-four entries under "Dios", but one definition: "Dios vivo verdadero" refers to the Christian God, another refers to idols, whilst others appear to refer to different aspects of the intangible creator Piyétáo (Great Spirit) or Piyéxoo (Great Earthquake), among those given: "Dios infinito y sin principio", "Coquixée, coquicilla, cillatáo, pijetao, pijexóo"; "Dios ser sin principio," "cillatáo"; and "Dios que dezian que era criador", "Piyéo, coquicilla".

One inherent difficulty in making any attempt at an analysis is that one can only discover the meanings of the Zapotec translations by using the "Vocabulario" itself. Nowadays, very few people understand sixteenth century Zapotec, but Dr Paddock informs me that Whitecotton has now put the "Vocabulario" through a computer, and will publish a Zapotec-Spanish version. Although this may be invaluable in analysing the friar's definitions, Dr Paddock contends that the Zapotec pantheon was a thing of the past in Córdova's time, that he was not told frankly about it, and that it is surprising that he got so much right.

Fray Juan's Spanish definitions are full of information, but often idiosyncratically expressed, so that the search for meanings is daunting. However, the following entries under "Padre" include tija (lineage): "Padre grande principio de linaje" - Pixózehuechibatija; "Padre animal para casta" - "Mànihue-chibatija". The deity list also contains "Dios padre de todos y que sustenta a todas las criaturas y las rige", "coquizachibatija" (Lord creator of the Zapotec lineage?) that is of the Cloud People, and "cozàanataò", whilst "Dios principio de las cosas y criador de ellos," includes "coquihuechibatija", as well as za or zàa as an infix in certain words, which, meaning cloud, may be a metaphor for the Zapotecs. Then "Dios regidor gobernador con todos los atributos que a esto se ayuntan", includes, like "Dios padre de todos" "huetòcotichataò". The use of coqui as a prefix in some cases, presumably approximates to the European use of "Lord".

That is to say that the Zapotec terms for each of these definitions appear to refer to different aspects of the creator, and the repetition of certain of these terms suggests that Fray Juan's definitions are, to an extent, synonyms for Piyetao. Other definitions with some relevance are under "Sol planeta"- "pitòo (pitao?)", Sol" as begetter" - "cozàanataò quizàhalàò"; and "Padre de campañas"- "cólacozàana cozàanataò" - a warlike sun deity?

There is a lesser creator of things coquihuechibatija, whilst sacrifices are made to the creator of animals, Cozaana, by hunters and fishermen, and to the creator of mankind, Huichanna, by women after childbirth. However cocijo, cozaana and huichana all translate as lineage (28). The list of pit'ào consists mainly of simple equivalents. Marcus argues that the Zapotec pantheon was not stratified and therefore did not reflect Zapotec social order (1983c. p. 351), but these translations suggest that it was held to

be the originator of that social order, and this may explain the religious role of the caciques.

Paddock has said of Aztec religion that "its organization is based upon principles so exotic for us in many cases that, even if we can decipher them, we cannot assimilate them to our way of thinking" (Paddock, Paddock, 1985b. p. 310). The same may apply in the somewhat simpler Zapotec case.

Whitecotton using Córdova, Balzalobre and the Relaciones as his sources refers to a pantheon of thirteen, in "The Zapotecs, Princes, Priests and Peasants" and Covarrubias, who almost certainly discussed his work with Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal also refers to thirteen in his book on the Southern Zapotecs of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, "Mexico South". Neither, however, gives his full list (Marcus, 1983c. p. 349. Whitecotton, pp. 157-9. Covarrubias, pp. 358-9). Whilst I do not think that an exact model of the Zapotec pantheon can be constructed from Córdova's list, I, also, believe that there are thirteen gods, but, if my list is to conform to those of Balzalobre, and Weitlaner, it must include Bezelayo, as deity of the underworld (Table 1.2 as listed under 1578). But he may have linked the coqui and the state super-naturals.

The accounts of the great religious festivals are in agreement, but are generalised. All refer to dancing and getting drunk before the idols in the different towns, and in Mitla this was done, they say, by all the valleys and towns (R.G. p. 149), who must have filled the huge palace patio. In Taliztaca they say they drank pulque and danced to music, as must have been the custom elsewhere. In Teticpac, after the sacrifices, they danced, and got drunk on mushrooms, in such a way as to see visions and terrifying figures (R.G. pp. 179, 111). The Mazatec, who still use psilocybe caerulescens

(Estrada, p. 54, n.1) in shamanistic rituals live in the Cañada, which is relatively near, and perhaps Xini capézelào (= ?Bezela), defined by Fray Juan de Córdova as "Vino de los indios" on which they got drunk, was aguamiel or pulque with this addition. The Maya used balche, which contained a hallucinatory bark (Lanchocarpus bngistylus) in a similar way (Thompson, 1963. p. 136).

It is possible that Teticpac is referring to the priests acting in a shamanistic role, for Burgoa states that the plebeians were not allowed to drink such beverages or to get drunk at that time (Burgoa 1934. II. p. 125). This was also the case with the Aztecs, though an exception was made for old people (Soustelle, pp. 163-4).

In Huitzo/Guaxilotitlán, where it was said that adulterers were consumed, as well as in Chichicapa and Miahuatlán, the Relaciones state that they offered the hearts of slaves to the idols and ate the rest, so it is possible that a number of prisoners might have been sacrificed at a time (R.G. pp. 199, 117, 127-8). Joyce Marcus accepts the accounts of cannibalism (Marcus, 1983c. p. 350), but did it occur in the Valley? One of Córdova's definitions reads: "Carne humano que comían los indios", "pelyyni", as opposed to "pela peni", which is human flesh, but Burgoa says nothing of it in his study of the Mitla high priest, which includes human sacrifice (29).

Then, it must be borne in mind that, however learned they were, the Spaniards who dealt with the Mesoamericans were creatures of their time and I would argue that the Zapotecs, and others, played upon their credulity. The trial of the Spanish Corregidor, Francisco López Tenorio, in 1537, is a case in point, for two witnesses actually admitted to cannibalism. One agreed that a little of the flesh of some Christians killed in

the Mixteca Alta had been sent to him, whilst the other, an old woman, changed into a jaguar or puma in order to enter houses and eat boys (30).

It is clear that the second witness conforms to the concept of a European witch, for she is an old woman, is able to turn into several animal species, and eats children, but it appears that the Spaniards have confused the widely held Mesoamerican concept of the nahual, the animal counterpart which everyone has from birth, with the European one of the witch. Pope Innocent VIII had recognised witchcraft in 1484, and two German Dominicans commissioned to study German witches claimed that "...it was a practice based on actual commerce with Satan and the powers of darkness, and that witches did in fact eat and devour human children...." (Kamen, 1985. pp. 209-10).

Among the modern Valley Zapotecs the tona is a person's animal counterpart, which is born when he is. The two lead parallel lives in that the Zapotec sickens or dies when his tona does, and so this belief may be seen as the explanation of misfortune (Cordero Avendaño, pp. 83-4). But the nahual is a transformer, who uses certain rituals to become a dangerous creature in order to cause fear, or do evil, to a person or family (Ibid. pp. 84-6). The examples given for several towns in the Valley of Tlacolula bear out Julian Pitt-Rivers' statement that north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the nahual may be a witch, transforming witch, shaman or pagan priest (Pitt-Rivers, p. 186). Some of the information given to Cordero Avendaño about the tona, has a totemic element in that some say that the animal counterpart is taboo for the kin of its possessor, whilst that regarding nahualism includes references to witchcraft and a were-coyote (coyote-gente) (31), but these beliefs, say the informants, are not widely held nowadays.

It is unfortunate that none of Fray Juan de Córdova's definitions under bruxo, hechizero, enhechizado or sortilegio appear to refer to these phenomena, nor does he refer to it in his discussion of Zapotec beliefs in his "Arte" (pp. 214-6), so it is not possible to know what beliefs the Zapotecs themselves held in his time, or what terms they used, for I am inclined to believe that their modern nahual beliefs are syncretic, and owe much to Spanish assumptions in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Both Burgoa and Gay were familiar with the concept of the tona, which the 17th century Bishop Hevia y Valdes deplored as an abomination (Balsalobre, p. 9), whilst to Gay the nahual was a transforming witch. Gay, writing in the late 19th century, refers to animals being drawn in the cinders as parturition drew near. That being drawn at the moment of birth was the tona. This practice was described to Parsons by a Mitleña some fifty years later, but she gives the impression that it was not then common (Gay, pp. 67-70. Parsons, p. 226).

European witches were usually female, but it is unlikely that an old Zapotec woman would have had such a powerful animal as a jaguar or a puma, let alone both, as her tona. It is generally thought that such a transformation would be to the animal counterpart, which, to an Indian, as Pitt-Rivers has commented, "represents the ultimate reality." (Pitt-Rivers, pp. 198-9). The Spaniards did not understand the significance of the animal counterpart, and frequently thought that several were involved. The extent of Spanish credulity at that time, and the ability of the Zapotecs to play on their fears, is exemplified by Item 6 (p. 28) of the Residencia of López Tenorio, who it should be mentioned was extremely cruel to the Valley Indians.

"Si saben....que los dichos naturales de los dichos pueblos que atemoriza y mata al dicho Tenorio, de noche, espantandole y atemorizandole en figura de leones y tigres,

como animales, todo a efecto que se fuese de allí y los dejase.”

López, himself accused them of this behaviour. One Zapotec witness said that they roared like lions, but another, a prisoner, said that they actually assumed this guise, whilst by day they flew around like butterflies to see what they had to do by night (pp. 85-6). The Spaniards believed in, and feared nahualism, and so interpreted it in conformity with the Church's model of witchcraft.

I have argued elsewhere that they also evolved a model of preHispanic religion in New Spain, which included the consumption of sacrificial victims (Starr, 1988. pp. 376-7). This would have been quite logical, for if witches in league with the devil, were thought to have been anthropophagists, surely any religion which was thought actually to serve the "diavalo", - as the Relaciones Geográficas constantly termed the principal deity in a town - with human sacrifices, would be likely to do the same. But, as Pitt-Rivers has pointed out, preHispanic Mesoamerican religion had no concept of the devil (Pitt-Rivers, pp. 198).

The Relación de Coatlan states that sacrifice was a custom imported from the Mixteca by two of their caciques. Chichicapa says that they sacrificed part, and ate the rest, of anything hunted and killed, but this is the reciprocal relationship with the supernatural that is still common in the subsistence economies of the Americas (R.G. pp. 134, 117). In Miagatlán, when they sacrificed some of the slaves they had bought:

"..., e le sacaban el coraçon, y lo sacrificaban a los dichos ydolos que estaban figurados de piedra, y la carne se juntaban todos y lo comyan y hazian fiestas y boda della;...." (R.G. pp. 127-8).

But Paddock states that the evidence shows that human sacrifice was rare at Monte Albán, and never as common as among the Aztecs (Paddock, 1966. p. 153), and comments in a later paper that even the cult of the major Aztec god Tezcatlipoca only had "a weak and diffuse" presence there for "a very short period." (Paddock, 1985. espec. pp. 320-21). Then, in the Aztec context, Nigel Davies, who has commented that all the Spanish accounts are detailed, but none are first hand, argues that missionary stories of pure gourmandise should be taken with a grain of salt, adding that "usually such tales came from their converts, eager to disparage native religions" (Davies, 1984. p. 215). To which I would add that, if, as many scholars accept, cannibalism did occur, it would surely have been confined to the priests, and been ritualistic, not orgiastic, in nature.

Nigel Davies, in his discussion of human sacrifice among the Aztecs, among whom, he thinks, it became an obsession, has suggested that the victim, who was often fêted, died as the god, whom he might be dressed to resemble. He believes that it was this impersonation, which accounted for the victims' acceptance of their fate, as well as their assurance of a place in heaven. There was no hatred or vengeance involved, for it was an essential ritual (Davies, 1973. pp. 169-3). It is highly likely that the same ethical approach obtained in the less extreme Zapotec case.

The denigration of their previous practices by the Zapotecs of the Relaciones Geográficas was no new thing. Fray Juan de Córdova's entry in his "Vocabulario" under:

"Virtud la que tienen los ensalmos encantaciones o conjuros o las palabras de Dios a nombre quando le nombran Xilla...Xinilla dios..." is instructive here, for he adds: "Estos son de su antigüedad, pero pueden entrar algunas vezes, aunque por

ser cosa antigua piensan los Indios que es malo, y no lo es sino conjuros o oracion" (Córdova, p. 428).

Fray Juan de Mata, who interrogated the King of Tehuantepec with him, made a somewhat similar point when he wrote the Relación de Teozapotlan, and blamed his fellow friars for the loss of much herbal and medicinal knowledge:

".... y es la causa por que como los ministros de la doctrina vian que azian y mezclavan muchas supersticiones los yndios en sus curas y mediçinas, por quitar las supersticiones ase perdidio todo lo demas" (R.G. p. 192).

I have discussed these aspects of Zapotec beliefs at some length in order to show that we can never have a clear idea of Zapotec religion and beliefs, not only because of the loss of the codices and specialist knowledge, but also because of the inability of the early Spaniards accustomed to the Greco-Roman pantheons to understand such esoteric and alien forms.

However, there are some 16th century indications of Zapotec ceremonial which suggest that there are aspects of modern mayordomía, as described in the Introduction, which may be identified as survivals of preHispanic religious observance. Drinking and feasting are the most obvious of these, and those that have been railed against most, not merely because of the assumptions considered above, but also because of the cost involved! But they will be discussed at length during the course of the thesis.

In this chapter I have discussed Zapotec society and religion before the Conquest and at contact by drawing upon the archaeological evidence, which suggests that a number of elements of both, which were still present at contact, had their roots as early as the

Formative period in some cases, and the initial stages of Monte Albán in others: that is to say that, after the Conquest, the Dominican missionaries were attempting to extirpate beliefs and customs which were many hundreds of years old.

I then considered the nature and impact of the Conquest, and drew upon the few 16th century Spanish publications available, which include Fray Juan de Córdova's "Vocabulario Castellano-Zapoteco" as well as his "Arte". These, whilst being the most authoritative sources we have concerning the Zapotec pantheon, state religion, and belief systems militate against one's reaching an informed view of any by their very nature.

I further included a preliminary discussion of the Dominican mission to the Valley Zapotecs and Mixtecs in an attempt to assess the reliability of the religious information contained in the 1580 Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca, as described by the Zapotec informants of the Spanish civil and religious officials some sixty years later.

However, my discussion of these sources is not exhaustive in that I shall discuss them further in Chapter 10, when considering the evolution of fiesta celebrations after the spiritual Conquest. The cults of the saints, with their attendant cofradías, which were the Colonial forerunners of the modern mayordomías, were introduced by the friars for proselytising purposes, but before discussing this I shall consider the background to the Dominican mission to New Spain and Oaxaca.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 1.

1. This was evident in 1985 and 1986. In 1985 there was little rain, but in 1986 the rainy season began early. There were a number of maize plantings throughout the season in the Zimatlán arm of the Valleys, but the Tlacolula arm was arid by comparison.

2. Ejido land was the traditional name for a community's common land, but in the land reform programme after the Revolution, under Article 27. X. of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, it came to mean land, generally expropriated from an hacienda, which was given to a community, and the use of whose usufruct plots was controlled by an ejido committee, under Article 27. XIe.

3. Cordero Avendaño, p. 53, n. 51. Although the civil-religious hierarchy is ideally conceived of as ranked civil and religious offices, which are served in an achievement ladder, the two sets of offices have been separated since 1930 or 1931 in the Valleys, apparently as a result of the religious fanaticism of the Cristero Wars,

"....ya no es necesario haber sido Mayordomo Cabeza para ser Presidente Municipal, basta haber sido Mayordomo menor, haber dado servicio en el Municipio, saber leer y escribir, expresarse bien en español, 'ver muy claro', tener presentación y ser capaz para poder llevar los destinos del pueblo" (Ibid. p. 56, n. 56)!

However, some villages only have a civil hierarchy now, and the patronal fiesta is paid for by public subscription, so there are no mayordomos.

4. The 16th century pictorials concerned are the Genealogy of Macuixóchitl, a town of some importance at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Etla Genealogy, the Yale

Zapotec Genealogy linking Mitla, Azompa and Ixtepec in the Tlacolula arm of the Valleys with Mixtec Cuilapan (Whitecotton, 1990, p. 103) and a late 19th century painting and two photographs of variants of the famous Lienzo de Guevea, the genealogy of the King of Tehuantepec.

The first three are rather crude European-influenced drawings, whilst the fourth is elegant. All have Zapotec glosses and were submitted to the Spanish courts - where they were called "pinturas" - as evidence of titles to cacicazgo estates and privileges (Ibid. pp. 9-10). Whitecotton's monograph is both scholarly and speculative, as the absence of tonal indicators, the state of the documents, and the current state of knowledge of 16th Zapotec makes the interpretation of the glosses extremely difficult. Despite the difficulties inherent in interpreting the Zapotec glosses on these documents, they appear to contain evidence of Mixtec/Zapotec marriage alliances in some of the most important Valley cacicazgos: evidence which is accepted by Ignacio Bernal, Miguel Covarrubias and the American archaeologist John Paddock who lives in and specialises in the area (Paddock, 1985a).

The basis of the evidence is the similarity of the names of certain preHispanic members of the lineages concerned to those of important personages in the Mixtec códices, which are themselves both genealogies and histories. Thus Quixicayo of Macuilxóchitl resembles Qhuiyo or 5-Reed in Mixtec - the warrior 5-Reed Ocañaña, born in 1397; whilst Xonaxi Huilao in the Yale Zapotec Genealogy translates as 6- or 9-Monkey (or Buzzard), from the Mixteca and may be Lady 6-Monkey of the Codex Selden (Whitecotton, 1990. pp. 18, 56, 81). There are other parallels between this genealogy and Selden (Ibid. pp. 82-3).

5. Nigel Davies states that the 16th century Spanish definition of guarnición was not garrison, but was "soldiers guarding and protecting a place where they were" (Davies, 1986. pp. 326-7). He argues that had the Aztec empire been upheld by a network of

garrisons, they would have been discovered by the Spaniards upon their arrival in Mesoamerica, and comments that:

"The tax collector who met the Conquerors soon after they first entered Aztec territory went unescorted by military guards.... For immunity from assault he relied on the long arm of the central power and the savage punishment meted out to subjects foolish enough to molest its agents.... However, the frequent risings in remoter regions show that this threat of reprisal was not always enough to exorcize the urge to revolt, and to ensure the payment of tribute...." (Ibid. 1983. p. 194).

He also refers to a colony of men who were sent to Oaxaca with their families in the reign of Moctezuma I (1440-1468), possibly after many Zapotec deaths in battle (Ibid. pp. 180-1, 193. Davies, 1973, pp. 113-4).

The 1580 Relación Geográfica de Teotzapotlan states that Moctezuma had a "guarnicion" on a hill near where Oaxaca now stands (R.G. p. 194). But Blanton, from the evidence of his digs, states that the archaeological evidence for this is hard to find, (Blanton, 1983e. p. 318), whilst Paddock concurs in this, and comments that the account by Durán of an Aztec defeat of Mitla is now thought to refer to a town in Vera Cruz (Paddock, 1985b. p. 321). It is upon Durán that Chance bases much of his account of a large garrison, yet he also cites the evidence of an Indian witness, who described it in 1563 (Chance, 1978. p. 19). This one of several cases of Zapotec history at the time of contact, which appears to have been mythologised and accepted as fact until recent evidence put it in doubt.

6. I am using the term "Indian" as a useful referent, although the term "Indio "is now unacceptable throughout Latin America, and should correctly be "indígena" in Mexico, "natural" (native) in Guatemala and "campesino" (peasant) in the Andes.

7. R.G. p. 11. Relación de Iztepexi. This town is in the Sierra Zapoteca.

8. Chance, 1978. pp. 36-9, 50. In discussing the Suma de Visitas, Borah and Cook state that Cortés did not allow the officials visiting the Marquesado to count his Indians, because they numbered far more than the 23,000 granted to him by Charles V; this was not done until 1550 or 51, after his death (Borah & Cook, pp. 2, 41). For this reason a true estimate of the population of the Valleys cannot be reached. The Marquesado was distributed in seven areas including Tehuantepec, and Nahuaspeaking Cuernavaca, Coyoacan and Toluca (Gutiérrez Brockington, pp. 26-30).

9. R.G. p. 106. The analysis of skeletons found in a period V burial at Huitzo demonstrated that a young man, clearly of high status from the jewellery he had worn, was shown by his bone structure levels to have had more meat in his diet than the very robust remains of low status individuals buried near him (Flannery, 1983d. pp. 319-20). This bears out the statements in the 1580 Relaciones Geográficas regarding class differences in diet before the Conquest, but also suggests that the commoners' diet was far from deficient (R.G. pp. 112, 179, 200).

10. Whitecotton, 1977. p. 144-6, 153-6. Whitecotton's recent analysis of the Genealogy of Macuilxochitl together with the Zapotec naming system emphasise the importance of females of the cacique class in legitimising cacicazgo inheritance. Before the Conquest Zapotecs were given a personal name, a birth order name and a calendrical day name. An entry quoted is "Alatii (Behold) xonaxi (lady) picohuaxilla (personal name = pink cotton flower?) peçengueça (Day name = 13-Water) ça (--) zoanji (Place name = Tlacoahuaya)." The place name was included in this instance, because this noblewoman was living virilocally (Whitecotton, 1990. pp. 17-19). The

birth order name was yobi, piyobi, or yopi for first-born males and zaa for females (Córdova, Arte, p. 213), also shown as zay or zaj in Etla, and as ca above (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 66). This extensive genealogy also shows that whilst first-born males only married first-born females, first-born females could marry any younger son. However, Whitecotton emphasises that of eighty-three marriages, only seventeen include the birth order name for both spouses. Further to this, some younger sons appear to have lived uxorilocally and adopted a name akin to that of their consorts. In the colonial era this appears to have led to their adopting their consorts' surnames in some cases at least (Ibid. p. 54-5). The 1609 Relación Geográfica de Coatlán gives what may be an instance of this. The twenty-first cacique was baptised as Don Fernando Cortés, had a son called Don Juan de Ayala, and a grandson, the then elderly cacique, called Don Angel de Villafañe, whose son was Don Buenaventura de Ayala y Luna. There was no other cacique in the pueblo (R.G. p. 311). However, the Cacique of Ocelotepec was called Don Angel de Villafañe, and there were three other descendants of the Lords of "Miguatlan" in the pueblo: Don Juan de Velasco, Don Diego de Villafañe, and Don Josef de Arauz. This set of Relaciones of the Partido of Miahuatlán was written by Esteban Gutiérrez (Ibid. pp. 305, 271).

An interesting case given by Whitecotton is that of the cacicazgos of Ixtepec and Mixtec Cuilapan:

Cacicazgo of Ixtepec
Fernando

Don Pedro de Velasco ^
Earliest Spanish name.)
Don Diego de Porras. ^

Cacicazgo of Cuilapan Don

Cortés (at the Conquest).

^ Don Diego Cortés
(Aged 40 at the Conquest.)
^ Don Luis Cortés

Don Marcos Cortés ^ = o Doña Magdalena Cortés

Don Luis Cortés.

Cacique of Ixtepec, Atzompa and Cuilapan.

11. The 15 generation deep genealogy of the highest ranking Caciques of Macuilxóchitl shows the following exogamous marriages from band 3, one and two being indecipherable: Teotitlán del Valle, Zetoba (Teitipac), Santa Ana Quiahuica (Teotitlán del Valle), Tlacolula, and Tlacoahuaya, which are all in the same arm of the Valleys. Then, from band 10 there are alliances with towns in the Zimatlán arm: Tlapacoya and Zimatlán (10), Zaachila (11), Cuilapan (10 & 13) and Zaachila (11 & 14). But there are also an endogamous marriage in band 10, two in 12, and one in 14. There were, of course, lesser caciques in the barrios and subject towns. The first Spanish name, that of de Castilla, a kinsman of Cortés, occurs in band 13 (Whitecotton, 1990. pp. 37-8, 17, 24). Another marriage in band 14 was that of the Cacique of Macuilxóchitl's daughter and the heir to the Cacique of Zaachila. It was attended by Spaniards, but the couple died during a brawl on the third day (Ibid. pp. 27-8. Burgoa, II. p. 117). So it appears that endogamous marriages were occurring in the same generation as prestigious exogamous marriages, but these and marriages into the Zimatlán arm appear to have occurred from the time of the Aztec incursions into Oaxaca, and may indicate a need for other kinds of solidarity from that time. A generation was probably 25 years, in pre-Hispanic times, as marriages then took place between couples in their 20s, instead of in their teens as under Spanish rule, according to all the Relaciones Geográficas.

12. Taylor, 1972. pp. 35-6. & Conclusion, p. 193ff. Whitecotton believes that Taylor should have emphasised that this was in such areas as Etla and Cuilapan, whereas in

the Valley of Tlacolula Spanish policy had an adverse effect on the cacicazgos. He also observes distinctions based upon cultural and ethnic differences, for these areas had a strong Mixtec presence, and were part of the Marquesado (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 142).

13. R.G. pp. 101, 105-6, 111, 179, 116. Apart from Miahuatlán's Monte Albán II sites (see p. 28), its and Ocelotepec's place-glyphs appear to be represented on two of the carved slabs at Building J, Monte Albán, which is also Period II. The slabs are thought to represent conquered towns, or the limits of Zapotec influence at that time. Tututepec also appears to be represented (Marcus, 1983d. pp. 106-8).

14. R.G. pp. 105-6. Chance, 1978. p. 38. The apparently legendary names of the kings Cosijohuesa of Zaachila and Cosijopi of Tehuantepec do have some basis in fact according to Whitecotton's recent research. Cocio hueza is placed several generations before the Conquest in the Yale Zapotec Genealogy and that of Macuilxóchitl, in which it may be a later addition. Cocio could refer to the rain god, or mean "Lightning, Lineage or Season", whilst hueza (queca) could be "Flint Knife, Creator or 4-,8- or 11-Water". So he infers that it might mean "the Creator of a lineage", that is any venerated forebear, and later have become a personal name. Cosiobi or Cosijopi has generally been thought to mean "Lightning-wind", but could also be Cocijo, the god, as a personal name, plus pji, a modification of pija = grass or twisted. What is interesting in these two interpretations is that there is a personage called 11-Water "Xipe-Tlaloc-Flint Knife" in the Mixtec Codex Nuttall, and another with the day name 1-Grass is associated with the Xipe dynasty. This, Whitecotton suggests, may be why Cocijopi invariably accompanies Cocijohuesa in the Zapotec

histories, and precedes him in the Guevea and other Isthmus documents (Whitecotton. 1990. pp. 114-120).

15. R.G. p. 139. This Relación, that of Ocelotepec, tells us that blood was let from ears, noses, tongues and other members.

16. "The Chronicle of Andrés de Tapia." in Fuentes, p. 31. Also León-Portilla "Visión de los vencidos." p. 34' says that Moctezuma, thinking that the Spaniards might be gods, sent captives who could be sacrificed before them, so that they might drink their blood.

17. R.G. pp. 101-2. In Macuilsúchil, which was subject to the Rey in Teozapotlan,
 "Tenían por costumbre ayunar algunas vezes quarenta dias e otros ochenta días, y el comer dellos era cada cuatro dias una yerva que entre ellos se llama picietl que es medicinal para curar enfermedades, y en estos días se sacrificavan sacando sangre de la lengua y orejas, e los ofresçian al diablo e ydolos que adoravan, e bailavan a su modo y se enborrachavan con vino que hazian de la tierra" (Ibid. pp. 101-2).

A number of uses are given for picietl (tobacco), in the *Relaciones*, and it was introduced into the Philippines by the Spaniards as a medicine. (Exhibition on drugs at the Ethnographic Museum, Madrid in 1987).

18. Gay, p. 163. Marcus, 1983b. pp. 302-3. This lack of information may be the result of the confounding of the Caciques of Teozapotlan with those of Tehuantepec referred to on page 13, and because Cosijopi, Rey de Tehuantepec, was thought to have been a son of Cosijoeza (Burgoa, 1934, II. p. 330).

19. Gay, pp. 162-5. Cortés, p. 169. Cortés refers to this conquest in his Carta de Relación of May 15th, 1522. Pedro de Alvarado took 40 cavalry and 200 infantry, as well as men he received in Oaxaca. Greenberg states that he was accompanied by 24,000 warriors from Tehuantepec (Greenberg, Ch. II).

20. Marcus, 1983b. p. 302. A similarly important case occurred in the Mixteca Alta, when the Cacique of Yanhuítlán, Don Domingo, the gobernador, Don Francisco, and a noble, Don Juan, were tried by the Inquisition in 1544 and 1546. Their offences included sacrificing children to the "god of rain", killing slaves when their señores became ill or died, so that they might be buried with them, and sacrificing birds and feathers on mountain tops, in caves, and in their own houses (Codice de Yanhuítlán. pp. 15-16, 26-7. Spores, pp. 25-7). The verdict was relatively light, possibly because of the reaction to the burning of Don Carlos Ometochtzin of Texcoco in 1539 (Greenleaf, pp. 86-90, Ricard, pp. 272-3).

21. Gay, pp. 215-20. The Cacique of Tehuantepec's lands and tribute were sequestrated, and he died on his journey back from Mexico City, where he had defended himself. He was a fine man, much loved by his people and the friar who denounced him bitterly repented his action. The six priests from Mitla, whom he sheltered refused to recant and died in an auto da fe. In 1571 and 1575 Reales Cédulas stated that the Indians were not to be subject to the Inquisition, as they were innocents in the faith (Alberro, pp. 21-2, 22 n. 6. Carmichael, p. 2).

22. Cortés received "twenty-two separate encomiendas in 1529, with rights to tribute, lands, vassals, income, pastures, and waters", as well as the administration of civil and criminal justice (Gerhard, 1972a. pp. 9, 49).

23. This is deduced from a comparison of the ages given for marriage witnesses in the Libro de Casamiento for Zaachila, 1720-1738, and the civil cargos stated for some in certain documents in the AGN and AGEO, as well as the Padrón of Zaachila for 1776 in the AGI.

24. Carmichael, 1959. pp. 1-2, 6. Berlin, 1957. pp. 7-11. Balsalobre, pp. 15-20. The principle colanij was tried by the Bishop of Oaxaca and was imprisoned for his repeated offences, but the other were fined 2 pesos each, and forced to perform public penances for a year. The documents are in the AGN. Ramo de Inquisición, although it was not then within its jurisdiction, because the bishop mistakenly called himself "Inquisidor ordinario" for the trial (Berlin, p. 7).

25. Marcus, 1983c. pp. 345, 350, 349. Harvesting: pp. 34-5. Maize=Pinij. Beans=Pizaa. Hunting: p. 36. Deer=Pichinaquijxi. Fishing: p. 37. Trout=Pela chijini. (Berlin. Translations from Córdoba, "Vocabulario").

26. Córdoba, 1942. "Poner el mastil al mochacha la primera vez que le había de poner un piganaa del templo."

27. Whitecotton, 1990. p. 32 n. 16. The name 6- or 9-Grass would, he contends, relate her to "a female-deity impersonator or oracle" of that name in the Codex

Selden, who came from Skull Temple (Mitla?). This is also the name of the first female in the Genealogy of Macuilxóchtli (Reference as above).

28. The Spanish definitions here are: "Linaje generalmente o cepa" = "Tija, cocíyo, huecháa, huicháana, cózáana,...". "Linea colateral que sale de un linaje como dezimos otra es mi linea:" = "Cozáana, huechaána.". But, it is hard to determine the significance of an acute, as opposed to a grave accent over an 'a'. It may have had tonal significance so that the pronunciation of "cozaana" as it appears in this paragraph actually varied the meaning, or conveyed aspects of the same "god" as in: Cozáana = "Dios de las animales a quien sacrificavan caçadores", and Coz`aana = "Dios de la caça"; or showed pronunciation in different towns. But then again Córdova was writing at a time when spelling and accentuation in Spanish were still arbitrary and varied as between writers. It will be found, therefore, that these variations appear in my text.

29. Burgoa, II. p. 123. The British, Mexico City-based archaeologist Nigel Davies comments upon the subjective attitudes of the informants in the Spanish sphere and the fact that the reports, whilst detailed, are second hand (Davies, 1984, p. 212). He adds that there are plenty of firsthand accounts by Jesuits and by Hans Staden for Brazil. Pagden feels that "except for survival cannibalism and acts of extreme revenge" it was unlikely among the Amerindians (Pagden, 1982. pp. 80-9, 83).

Burgoa refers to the Battle of Guiengola in the Isthmus, in about 1495, when the Zapotecs fell upon the Aztecs, who were led by Ahuitzotl at night, killed many, carried them up to their fortress, salted them down as provisions, and made their bones and skulls into a bulwark, which was shown to a Mexican Captain in order to frighten him (Burgoa, 1934, II. pp. 342-3. Gay, pp. 108-9). But was this a detail

designed to alarm the Spaniards to whom it was recounted, by playing upon their fears and susceptibilities? It is thought, from the archaeological evidence, that Guiengola was originally an administrative centre.

30. AGI. Justicia. Leg. 191. Juicio de Residencia de Francisco López Tenorio. pp. 72, 117, 144, 177.

31. Were-jaguars occurred in Olmec art, but are thought to have represented a myth of origin (Drennan, 1976. p. 358). Free-standing motifs on pottery of the Formative Period, 1150-650 B.C., in the Valley, may, from their distribution in household clusters at Barrio del Rosario Huitzo, San José Mongote and Tierras Largas, "reflect the presence of at least two major descent groups (with the fire serpent and were-jaguar as mythical ancestor or patron....", but Pyne can find no definite evidence of ranking ((Pyne, pp. 272-80). However, it may be that descent from such groups accounts for the exogamous marriages of the caciques. There are fine Monte Albán II low reliefs of were-jaguars and ball game players at Dainzu, near Tlacolula.

In Mitla, several of Parsons' informants recognised the nahual as a transforming witch. The animal companion she wished to discuss was recognised by two of her informants as what she refers to as the then "obsolete" term "su tono" or "el tono". They recounted some traditions regarding it, but it appears to have been unfamiliar by then (pp. 225-227). Leslie also stated that a witch was thought of as a transformer (p. 37). This latter belief also occurs among the Chatino of Juquila, who believe that only witches are capable of nahualism, that is, of transforming into their animal companion, but everyone has a tona (Bartolomé y Barabas, pp. 123-4).

Cordero Avendaño, "Tonaismo." pp. 83-4. This discussion of the animal counterpart cites information given by her informants in the Tlacolula Valley, and shows some deviation from the beliefs accepted as the norm by anthropologists, and discussed by Pitt-Rivers in his important paper of "Spiritual Power in Central America. The Naguals of Chiapas" (especially pp. 190, 199-201). Of Cordero Avendaño's informants, one from Santa Ana del Valle suggests that a baby can have such powerful tonas as eagles, and jaguars, which are usually thought to be those of important and powerful men such as shamans. A second informant, in Tlacolula, referring to his father's time, when the identity of the tona was sought by observing the tracks left in cinders strewn around the house, refers to jaguars and eagles, and also to snakes. He states that now signs of the Zodiac are chosen by the curanderos according to the month. Julio Fuentes states that the shamans of Yalalag, Villa Alta used to divine the identity of the eagle, jaguar, or other animal companion born at the same time as the child. But within living memory special calendars had been used and the child might have been born at the same time as a buzzard, donkey or horse. This was all he was told, and the term tona, and the Valley beliefs were unknown (Fuentes, p. 325). A further deviation discussed by Cordero Avendaño is a totemic belief that the animal concerned must be respected, and is taboo to the members of its human companion's family. But all the accounts agree that a person's fate is tied to that of his tona.

CHAPTER 2.

THE INITIATION OF THE DOMINICAN MISSIONS IN HISPANIOLA, TIERRA FIRME AND NEW SPAIN: THE FORMATIVE PERIOD.

In this chapter I shall consider the influences upon the Dominican mission to New Spain and Oaxaca. I shall begin by discussing the reform of the Religious Orders in Spain during the reign of the Reyes Católicos, and then consider the early missions of the Dominicans in the Antilles from 1510, and Tierra Firme, now Caribbean coastal Venezuela, from 1513 to 1520, for it is clear that both the reform of the Order at the turn of the century, and the events in the Antilles and Tierra Firme had such serious consequences in forming the character and the attitude towards mission of certain of those involved that they cannot be ignored. Moreover, I shall show that the failure of the mission in Tierra Firme heightened the tension within the Order, for there were now two opposing opinions as to its role in the New World: the traditional concept of apostolic missionaries working amongst the heathen for the salvation of their souls, which had been the Order's raison d'être from the time of Santo Domingo de Guzmán, and the modern one of the ultrarreformistas that the friars should live monk like in the cloister in order to follow the Rule of obedience, chastity, and poverty.

The latter was more concerned with the good of their own souls, and, let it be said, the greater glory of God, in that they attended all the community's offices, which could not always be the case in the mission field. This does not mean that those of an apostolic persuasion were lax in following the Rule, or that the ultrarreformistas did not engage in missionary activities, but it does mean that once the ultrarreformistas had gained the ascendancy, after the tragic outcome of the mission to Tierra Firme, the repercussions on the Dominican mission were far reaching; especially as one of

their number Fray Domingo de Betanzos was instrumental in securing the autonomy of the de Provincia de Santiago de México in New Spain in 1535, and influenced the Province as its first Provincial and Master of Novices. Indeed, Padre Ulloa O.P. has argued that his influence affected the Dominican Mission long after he ceased to be prior as one of its definidores.

Apart from this the impact of the situation in Hispaniola upon Fray Antonio de Montesinos and his companions when they reached the island in 1510, eighteen years after its discovery by Christopher Columbus, was such that he preached a sermon, with their agreement, which led to the debate concerning Indian rationality and natural servitude which so exercised the finest minds in Spain for much of the century, and in which the Dominicans had a dominant role but did not, true to their divisions, speak with one voice. In New Spain this debate could not but effect the deliberations of the early Church Synods (Juntas Eclesiásticas) and of the Mexican Church Councils of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Finally, having described the events that formed the Dominican mission in New Spain, I shall discuss the difficulties encountered by the early friars, as they moved away from the environs of Mexico City, and began their work in what became the See of Oaxaca. Difficulties, which must have included the unrest in Oaxaca in the early 1530s, resulting from slavery in the mines, and the behaviour of the Spanish officials, encomenderos and settlers there. Of importance in the early years was the work of friars like Fray Gonzalo Lucero, whose ceaseless and valiant proselytising journeys in the Valleys and sierras, lack of fixed residences amongst their neophytes, and resultant inability to consolidate their work led to legislation designed to remedy this: that is to the setting up of the doctrinas (friars' Indian parishes) in the Valleys, and the

building programmes which had such an impact upon the Zapotec macehuales, who were forced into repartimiento in order to construct the churches and friaries.

The Church was held in low esteem in the late 15th century, and when Erasmus wrote "Praise of Folly" in 1509, he gave voice to the widespread disquiet of the era. His contempt for the religious Orders, who observed the minutiae of their various Rules meticulously, yet frequently led lives notorious for their impiety and scandal, was profound. Even allowing for some exaggeration in his exuberant satire, there can be no doubt of the urgent need for Church reform at that time. The book had great influence, but in Spain many of the abuses it criticised had already been rectified by the Reyes Católicos and Cardinal Cisneros (1).

The Spanish Crown secured the Real Patronato in 1486, and was thus able to appoint all bishops and prelates. In 1501 and 1508, papal bulls extended this privilege to the Americas, with additional powers enabling it to appoint and dismiss clergy, raise revenue, and rescind papal decrees. Although there were exceptions, those appointed to higher office were, as a rule, Spanish, devout, and celibate. They had also received a university education. However, the policy pursued by the Reyes Católicos was a political rather than a religious one, aimed at reducing the power of the Church and securing its allegiance (Kamen, 1983. pp. 45-6). They were not, therefore, particularly concerned with the lesser secular clergy, who often remained both ill-educated and of scandalous behaviour, until legislation enacted by the Council of Trent attempted to deal with this problem (Poole, 1987. pp. 46-51).

The reform of the religious, however, was the result of a different and earlier impulse, which began in the early 15th century with the influence of the Flemish "devotio

moderna" spiritual literature (Kamen, 1983. p. 46), and the division, within the three mendicant orders, between the traditionalist conventuals, and the more austere observants. These first appeared in the Dominican Order as a reforming measure in 1380 (Ulloa, pp. 27-8), but had gained the ascendancy and the support of the papacy in all the Orders by the end of the 15th century. This enabled them to suppress the conventual houses amidst bitter controversy (Kamen, 1983, pp. 46-7).

Cardinal Cisneros was himself an observant Franciscan, and Henry Kamen's description of his "... personal austerity, extreme religious zeal and unswerving dedication...."(Ibid. p. 47) describes exactly the qualities to be found in the finest of the missionaries, and those which define the "santo varón": the type of high-minded and dedicated friar lauded so frequently by the Dominican historians Burgoa and Dávila Padilla, in the many biographies which form an integral part of their chronicles, as to leave no doubt that they represented the Dominican ideal, and one which was not infrequently attained.

However, Padre Ulloa has demonstrated in his important study "Los Predicadores Divididos", that certain members of the Order of Preachers, the "ultrarreformistas", placed the observance of the Rule before the work of conversion, and so, seriously prejudiced their early mission in New Spain. The reasons for their gaining more influence and power than those whose ideal was apostolic mission will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter (Ulloa, p. 138).

Cisneros welcomed reformist Humanist ideas like those of Erasmus, although the "Enchiridion", the more pedestrian forerunner of "Praise of Folly" was received unenthusiastically by the clergy, when translated into Spanish in 1526, because its criticism of the friars was not by then very relevant in Spain. He also had religious

works, including those of the Dominicans Savanarola, St Vincent Ferrer, and Catherine of Siena, published, and founded the great humanist university of Alcalá (Kamen. pp. 111-2, 48. Chadwick, pp. 38-9). These were the influences upon the early bishops such as Zumúrraga and Quiroga, in New Spain, and on the mendicant friars of whom Kamen says that they were:

"Products not of the reformed post-Reformation Church but of the spirituality of the Observance and of Renaissance humanism, they came to America with a burning millenarian zeal and carried out an astonishing programme of conversion that had no precedent in the history of Spain or indeed of Europe" (Kamen, 1983. p. 93).

At the time of the initial "discovery" of the Americas, the Dominicans were too engrossed in the reform of the Order, and the internal friction resulting from it, to consider the missionary importance of the New World (Ulloa, p. 47). The object of the evangelical teaching of the Dominicans is to lead men to a knowledge of the love of God, rather than to teach them moral precepts (Ibid. p. 21), and for this reason Santo Domingo introduced "la dispensa", which gave a vicario (superior) in one of their houses the authority to excuse a friar from strict observance of the Rule, if it prevented him from carrying out this mission. The teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas were in conformity with this strategy (Ibid. pp. 22, 17-21). But, whilst the observants triumphed in all the Orders as a reaction against the laxity of previous centuries, the Dominican "ultrarreformistas" wished to emphasise the importance of the Rule, that is observance of the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, to such an extent that the life of the cloister became, for them, more important than the preaching and teaching for which the Order had been founded (Ibid. p. 41). There were adherents of both parties in the Order at this time, and Padre Ulloa comments;

"Esta dialéctica entre observancia y apostolado, o en términos absolutos observancia y misión, es la realidad que encontraremos a lo largo de la presencia dominicana en América" (Ibid. p. 41).

As a result of this conflict the first Dominican mission to the New World did not reach Hispaniola until 1511, almost twenty years after Columbus landed there. This was to prove crucial for their work in New Spain for they found a brutal régime that had subjugated the indigenous peoples in the area to the point of slavery. Kamen believes that Las Casas's claim that three million had died from war, harsh working conditions and diseases between 1494 and 1508 is plausible, and adds that from 1509 to 1512 some 40,000 natives of the Bahamas were transported there as a result of slaving forays (Ibid. p. 50. Kamen, 1983. pp. 55-6).

The Friars Preacher, then, were at odds with the colonists from the first for they regarded the indigenous people, to a degree far in advance of that of the humanists, in the opinion of Padre Ulloa, as rational beings capable of receiving salvation (Ulloa, pp. 43-59, 56, 57). Hence, on the fourth Sunday in Advent 1511, Fray Antonio de Montesinos preached a famous sermon (Ibid. 52-4. Pagden, 1982. p. 30), in which he posed a series of questions which graphically described the conditions on the island and the missionary preoccupations of those Dominicans who followed the apostolic traditions of their Order:

"Decid ¿con qué derecho y con qué justicia tenéis en tan cruel y horrible servidumbre aquestos indios? ¿Con qué autoridad habéis hecho tan detestables guerras a estas gentes que estaban en sus tierras mansas y pacíficas donde infinitas de ellas con muertes y estragos nunca oídos, habéis consumido? ¿Cómo los tenéis tan opresos y fatigados sin darles de comer ni curallos en sus

enfermedades, que de los excesivos trabajos que les déis incurren y se mueren, y por mejor decir, los matéis, por sacar y adquirir oro cada día? ¿Y qué cuidado tenéis de quien los doctrine, y conozcan a su creador y Dios, séan bautizados, oigan misa, guarden las fiestas y domingos? ¿Estos no son hombres?, ¿no tienen ánimas racionales?, ¿no sóis obligados a amarlos como a vosotros mismos?, ¿esto no entendéis?, ¿esto no sentís?, ¿cómo estéis en tanta profundidad de sueño tan letárgico dormidos? Tened por cierto que en el estado en que estáis no os podéis salvar más que los moros o turcos que carecen y no quieren la fe de Jesucristo." (Ulloa. pp. 53-4).

The governor, Diego Colón, and the King's treasurer remonstrated with Fray Pedro de Córdoba, the superior, only to be told that the friars had discussed the matter thoroughly, and the sermon had been preached "...como verdad evangélica y cosa necesaria a la salvación de todos los españoles y los indios de la isla." (Ibid. p. 54. Pagden, pp. 30-31). The Franciscan guardian, Fray Alfonso de Espinal, who had arrived there with their third mission in 1502 (Ulloa, p. 46), initially sided with the colonists in the heated discussions which took place on the island, although he later defended the Indians (Ibid. p. 46, 46 n. 8).

The reports of the sermon which reached Spain were so expressed that they were interpreted as questioning the authority of the King in the Indies, thus angering Ferdinand and displeasing the Spanish Dominican Provincial, Fray Alonso de Loayso, who ordered any friar disposed to preach in similar terms to return so that he might be replaced. They therefore sent Montesinos to defend their position at the Spanish Court, whilst Espinal performed the same service for the colonists (Ulloa, pp. 56-8, Pagden, 1982. pp. 36-7, Zavala, 1964. p. 35).

Fray Antonio largely based his defence of the apostolic position upon Ezekiel, chapter 32, verse 2. "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks?" Ulloa argues that the Orders' concept of a mission based upon "principios teológicos de contemplación y apostolado" dates from this time. Certainly, the text, which Montesinos had read in St. Thomas Aquinas, highlights the difference in stance between the ultrarreformistas and the friars then in Hispaniola, and one, moreover, which was to prejudice their work in New Spain; for the two parties were represented there. Meanwhile, it had been decided that, in order to impose more control on the "scandalous" Antilles Dominicans, friars of the ultrarreformista persuasion should be sent to the Indies:

"..., porque además de no entremeterse en asuntos tan "mundanos" como la eran en su opinión los "jurídicos", se caracterizaban por profesar una absoluta sumisión a la Corona, somitiendo su pensamiento al más principal..." (Ibid. p. 58).

But the Provincial's strictures did not have the desired effect upon the mission; it simply confirmed the friars in their adherence to their principles, although some of the ultra reformed persuasion balked at disobedience to their superior and returned to Spain. Fray Pedro de Córdoba, on the other hand, fearing the loss of the missionary impulse in the Indies, obtained permission from the Maestro General of the Order to dedicate one of the Spanish houses to the preparation of missionaries for the area. This was in keeping with the tradition of the Dominican "friales peregrinantes" who maintained certain teaching "conventos de frontera" for the preparation of missionaries, which included the study of the relevant indigenous languages. They were given Porta Coeli in Seville, with the proviso that those trained there were to be obedient to the Order and the Spanish Provincial (Ulloa, pp. 58-9, 58 n. 38, 59 n. 39).

Without this gesture by the Maestro General it is possible that this vital strand in the Orders' work would have been lost within a generation.

The anger of Ferdinand the Catholic upon receiving the reports of the sermon by Fray Antonio de Montesinos, which suggested that it criticised the *encomienda* system, and by extension the Crown, was rooted in the uncertainty of his legal position vis-à-vis his overseas possessions, and the ensuing debate on Indian rationality was based upon the need, as Silvio Zavala has stated, for the sovereigns of Spain to solve two problems: "...what were the just rights entitling them to dominion over Indo-America and how they should govern the recently discovered peoples" (Zavala, 1964. p. 18. Pagden, p. 37).

The Reconquest could be seen as the just removal of the Moors from Spanish soil after centuries of occupation. Moreover, as Muslims who had rejected Christianity, numbers of them had been enslaved in earlier centuries, whilst, in the 14th and 15th centuries, white Orthodox Christians had been "justly" imported from the Balkans and the Black Sea as slaves, because their Churches had been resistant to "the only true one" - Roman Catholicism (Pagden, 1982. pp. 31-2). However, the inhabitants of the Canaries and the Antilles were neither infidels nor schismatics, but true pagans with no prior knowledge of Christianity; thus, when Columbus shipped back Indians from Hispaniola to be sold as slaves in 1495, Isabella consulted her legal and clerical advisers as to the Crown's position and they were returned to their homeland a year later (Ibid. p. 31). Ferdinand was less scrupulous, for he had exploited the encomienda system from the time of Isabella's death in 1504 receiving taxes from the encomenderos, and gold from his own Indian miners, but even so, the Dominican

accusations of virtual Indian enslavement led him to convene the Council of Burgos in an effort to salve his conscience (Gibson, 1966. p. 53).

The problem set before them was posed in the terms of the Aristotelian doctrine of natural servitude. In "Politics" Aristotle asserted that those whose roles in life are physical, because they lack reason, are slaves by nature. Although this is servitude it is just, because the wise master assists his servants. Similarly, war is just when it establishes the dominion of civilised people over barbarians (Zavala, 1969. pp. 25-6. Pagden, 1982. pp. 41-5). Seneca, however, held that the soul was free even when the body was enslaved, and so men could triumph over this adversity. In the early Church it was believed that all men were born free, but the Fall had opened the way to slavery and other evils; hence Seneca's ideas were developed and it was considered that the mind and soul remained free, and so the slave was not only able to reason and be virtuous, but might even be his master's superior (Zavala, 1969. pp. 25-6).

Guided by these ideas, the deliberations of the Council resulted in the enactment of the Laws of Burgos (1512-13) which were designed to limit the size of the encomiendas, and establish the principles by which the encomenderos were to conduct themselves: they were not to enslave their Indians, but to treat them with consideration, and ensure that they were instructed in Christian doctrine. Unfortunately, no officials in the islands had the means to enforce the laws, hence matters proceeded as before (Gibson, 1966. p. 53. Pagden, pp. 34-5), and the Dominicans were unmollified.

Palacios Rubios took the Aristotelian position, and one more acceptable to Ferdinand, both in drawing up the Requerimiento, which called upon those who heard

it to recognise the authority of the Church, the Pope and the monarchs, and was read by the Conquistadores to each indigenous group on contact; and in reasoning that the barbarian who resisted this call to be ruled by Spain and accept the preaching of Christianity could be legally enslaved, whilst he who gave in through fear or prudence should be governed wisely by a form of natural servitude - *encomienda*! Actual conversion, however was to be voluntary. It was an ingenious way of legitimising the growing Spanish dominions, and justifying war against those who resisted the Conquerors. It was used cynically by the Conquistadores, but effectively for their purpose, for it was read in Spanish or Latin to peoples who understood neither (Zavala, pp. 18, 28-9. McAlister, p. 90).

The Antilles Dominicans were by then convinced that, if their mission was to be effective, it should be extended to an area in which such Spanish colonial institutions as encomienda had not been introduced, so Fray Pedro de Córdoba, who had been arguing their case before the Court, had returned from Spain with some twenty friars, with this end in view. The area selected was the Costa de las Perlas of Tierra Firme, now Venezuela, and two friars were landed there in 1513, but against the advice of the authorities on Hispaniola, who thought it madness (Ulloa, pp. 61-3. Morón, p. 35). A number of Spaniards had already settled on offshore islands and the mainland in order to exploit their wealth in gold, pearls and Brazil wood, but the constant coastal raids by Spanish marauders from Spain and Hispaniola seeking slaves were a continual cause of unrest. This, the Crown tolerated for the sake of the quinto (the king's fifth of the colonists' spoils) (Ulloa, p. 75. Morón, pp. 33-5). Whilst the two missionaries were there, the cacique and some of his family were captured, and later sold as slaves in Hispaniola. There was an Indian uprising against such treachery, and the missionaries were killed in 1515. Fray Pedro therefore asked that 200 leagues along

the Venezuelan coast be set aside solely for the Dominicans and those they chose to help them, and sent Montesinos to plead his case at Court (Ulloa, pp. 63-4).

That same year, Bartolomé de Las Casas, who thought the Requerimiento absurd, decided that he also would defend the unfortunate people of the Indies there, and, together with the Dominicans, drew up a fourteen part plan for the government of indigenous peoples, with the object of both protecting them from the colonists and saving their souls (2).

Las Casas had all the fervour of a reformed sinner, for although he had been greatly affected by the friars' sermons and was in minor secular orders, he had obtained a repartimiento of Indians in Hispaniola in 1511, and another in Cuba in 1513 after he had accompanied Pánfilo de Narváez on the conquest of that island. He renounced these in 1515, having come to believe that the system should be abolished, and returned to Hispaniola to live in the Dominican priory, although he was not professed until 1523 (Ulloa, pp. 59, 64 n.8. Las Casas, 1979. p. XXVII). His mission at Court was unsuccessful, on the whole, but in 1516 Cardinal Cisneros called a council, which sent three Jeronimites to study conditions on Hispaniola. They, however, were faced by much opposition from the colonists, and concluded that encomienda with its supply of cheap labour was essential to the colonial enterprise (Ulloa, pp. 67. McAlister, pp. 158-9, 166).

In the meantime, a group of Franciscan and Dominican friars, including Fray Tomás de Ortiz and Fray Domingo de Betanzos, had settled on the Costa de las Perlas, despite the recent setback, and achieved some success, despite the activities of the Spanish slavers (Ulloa, pp. 62, 61-82. Morón, p. 35). By 1519 they had a school for

forty boys and two conventos (mission friaries), whilst five more were projected (Ibid. p. 35). Bartolomé de las Casas had obtained Crown permission for a peaceful settlement of the coast by farmers from Castile, in the utopian hope of obtaining peace and converts by their and the friars Christian example, but in 1520 the marauding slavers, true to their custom of justifying the taking of slaves, provoked tribal warfare, as well as an anti-Spanish rising. But on this occasion it backfired: over eighty Spaniards were killed, including some of Las Casas's settlers (Ibid. p. 35. Ulloa, p. 76. Las Casas, 1979. p. XXVIII). The last to rise were the Indians of Cumaná, friends of the friars, whose cacique and his adherents killed two Dominicans, as they were about to say Mass, and put the church and convento to the torch. Two other friars escaped because they were away preaching to the Spaniards (Ibid. pp. 76, 77). It was forty years before settled missions returned to the area (3). On the death of Fray Pedro de Córdoba, probably in 1521, Betanzos succeeded him and it was during his time as vicario that Las Casas became a Dominican. But the events in Tierra Firme had divided the opposing parties still further in their attitudes towards proselytisation, and Ulloa believes that the election of Betanzos as vicario demonstrates the strength of the ultrarreformistas, for they regarded Fray Pedro's approach as too respectful towards the Indians, who, they had decided, on the evidence of the Tierra Firme experiment, needed to be conquered before they were converted (Ibid. pp. 77-9); hence their democratic election of Betanzos, who had no interest in furthering their work in Tierra Firme (4).

Yet, the recommendations of those of the apostolic persuasion had finally borne fruit at Court, for in 1520 Charles V abolished the encomienda system. But unfortunately Cortés had had no other means of recompensing the Conquistadores who accompanied him on the Conquest of New Spain in 1519, and argued his case for the

need for encomienda and his ability to avoid its worst ills to such effect in his letter of October 15th, 1524, that Charles was forced to take the position that the institution was not prejudicial to the freedom of those placed in it. McAlister argues that, "in the end, the crown could think of no other way to reward deserving conquerors and secure Spanish tenure in the New World" (5).

The first twelve Dominicans reached Mexico from Spain and Hispaniola, in June or July 1526, and included the ultrarreformistas Fray Tomás de Ortiz, as vicario, and Fray Domingo de Betanzos, both of whom had been confirmed in their stance by their Tierra Firme experience (Ricard, pp. 22-3. Ulloa, pp. 91, 93). Of the twelve who first went to New Spain in 1526, five had died and others had returned to Spain, mostly through ill health, by the end of the year; of these Ortiz was possibly forced to go because of his quarrels with Cortés (Ricard, pp. 22-3, Cuevas, pp. 214-5). Thus, only three remained in Mexico City: Fray Domingo de Betanzos as superior, Fray Gonzalo Lucero as Master of Novices, and one novice Bernardino de Tapia (6). Betanzos now put his ideas into practice, especially in his training of novices, and so monastic life became paramount, although, as a great friend of the Franciscans, he allowed pairs of friars to preach once a week in their doctrinas (Ulloa, pp. 99-101).

Among those arriving in 1528 was a second vicario, Fray Vicente de Santa María. Betanzos proposed an election to solve the problem of the existence of two superiors and Santa María took his place. But they were at odds, for Santa María, a friend of Ortiz, was opposed to Betanzos' friends Cortés and Bishop Zumárraga, and felt that the First Audiencia treated the Indians well. Being anti-Franciscan, he was unhappy at the number of their houses at a time when the Dominicans only had one; whilst those who accompanied him believed that they should live in small houses in doctrinas

(Ibid. pp. 106-8). Thus the two Dominican models of mission with their opposing priorities of obedience to the Rule on the one hand, and apostolic work on the other, were present in New Spain from the first. The Dominicans administered at least three rural parishes from 1528: two near the capital, including Coyoacan now a colonial suburb of Mexico City, and one in Morelos. Then, in 1529, they moved to the site of the friary they were building in the city, by which time their numbers had grown to forty, including some professed in the city (Ulloa, p. 109. Mullen, p. 22. Gay, p. 165).

According to the colonial historians, following Dávila Padilla, as Betanzos was then able to initiate a mission to Guatemala, he and three others travelled there with Pedro de Alvarado, who had conquered the country in 1524 (Dávila Padilla, I. p. 53. Remesel. Lib. I. Ch. VIII. pp. 20-22)). But this appears to have been an attempt to gloss over some unfortunate disagreements, for a letter from the Second Audiencia in 1531 reveals that he had been ejected from the friary, and so his journey was enforced (Ulloa, p. 109 n9). However, although his experience in Tierra Firme had opposed him to the apostolic work of conversion, it had also made him aware of the damage the colonists could do, and he was preaching sermons against their treatment of the Indians in the Guatemalan capital in 1529 (Van Oss, p. 44. Remesel. Lib. II. Ch. III. pp. 64-5).

Gay states that Betanzos had proposed a mission to Oaxaca in 1527, and this Cortés had accepted with alacrity, although Lucero and Tapia, now a deacon, did not arrive there until July 1529 (Gay, p. 164. Chance, 1978. p. 43). Betanzos' close friendship with Cortés, and the desire of Santa María for more Dominican houses, make both these facts feasible. They arrived with the Alcalde Mayor, Peláez de Berrio and some eighty settlers and encomenderos, in what was partly a political move by the First

Audiencia to reduce the power of Hernán Cortés, then in Spain. Peláez formed a cabildo within days, and the architect of Vera Cruz and Mexico City laid out the town in a grid plan. In fact, Antequera had a chequered early history, for by 1544 it only had thirty Spanish inhabitants (Ibid. pp. 32-4, 62). The cabildo donated eight central plots for the Dominican House of San Pablo, but a Real Cédula (charter) of Charles V, dated 24th July 1529, increased this to twelve, so that they might have a kitchen garden for their recreation and sustenance (7).

The chaplain allowed the two friars to use the sacristy of the existing church, San Juan de Dios, as a conventual house, where they followed the Rule, using the discipline lavishly, whilst building the friary. They said their Office and preached in the church itself. San Pablo was built of thatched adobe by Tapia, with the help of the Nahuatl-speakers in the valley, alongside whom he worked, but they lacked expert guidance, for the town's churches, public buildings and houses were under construction at the same time (Gay, pp. 165, 168-9. Cruz y Moya, p. 158). During this time, Lucero worked untiringly in the Zapotec and Mixtec villages, preaching in Nahuatl, whilst studying their languages (Gay, p. 169. Burgoa, 1934. I, pp. 42-3). Coatlán and Miahuatlán were visited at this time, and a doctrina founded at the former. Villa Alta was also visited (Ulloa, pp. 134-5).

In the meantime, Santa María's backing of the First Audiencia, and his disagreements with Bishop Zumárraga and the Franciscans had led the bishop and the Bishop of Tlaxcala, Fray Julián Garcés, O.P. to write to the Court, at the request of some of the Dominicans, asking that among others Fray Antonio de Montesinos, Fray Tomás de Berlanga, and Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas be sent to New Spain from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. That is, they wished to return to the missionary vision of Fray Pedro

de Córdoba and the friars in Hispaniola, for the Vicario had accepted some tribute-paying towns from the Audiencia, and started to build "the most sumptuous friary in the country" (Ibid. pp. 110-11). This had even alienated some of the ultrarreformistas, and so gave the Dominicans in Hispaniola the opportunity they needed to proceed with their intention of establishing an independent province in the Americas. This project had been halted when Ortiz was sent to New Spain as a vicario not subject to them, but now their superior, Berlanga, went to Spain in order to petition the 1530 General Chapter in Rome for independence, and returned to Hispaniola as American Provincial with New Spain subject to him (Ibid. pp. 111-2). Santa María, therefore, recalled Betanzos from Guatemala to consider what moves to make (Ibid. pp. 114-5).

In 1531 the two friars in Oaxaca went to the mother house to seek more help, leaving in charge two friars with whom Betanzos had temporarily replaced them on his return from Guatemala. This suggests that the newcomers only had knowledge of Cakchiquel but, if they remembered any Nahuatl, they could have preached through interpreters (Van Oss, pp. 10-11, 14). Lucero did not return until 1533, for all the Dominicans in Mesoamerica had been recalled to the motherhouse, because of the threat to their independence, whilst Fray Domingo de Betanzos was in Rome negotiating the foundation of a separate Dominican province on the mainland. The two friars he had left in Oaxaca had followed him there. Hence, when Lucero returned to Oaxaca with three companions, he was greeted by the Cabildo and most of the population who had been caring for the abandoned friary (Gay, pp. 169, 178-80. Dávila Padilla, pp. 53-62).

They were given two more plots by the cabildo, so that the church might be enlarged. Lucero's time was engaged upon this and the building of six more cells for

accommodation before the mission could be resumed. Gay states that, at Cortés's request, some of his companions were sent to the Etla arm of the valley to build a church at Natividad, whilst Lucero preached in Tlacoahuaya and Teotitlán del Valle, using the lienzos described in Chapter I to assist his deficiencies in the language. On some of his journeys he reached Villa Alta; a remote area even now (Ibid. p. 180). In 1535 he returned to Mexico City to attend a Chapter convened by Betanzos recently returned from Rome, and was sent, says Burgoa, to Child in the Mixteca, where the Dominicans had already undertaken missionary work at the request of the caciques and principales. According to Gay, he travelled incessantly in the Mixteca Alta, ragged and sleeping rough (Ibid. pp. 181-4. Burgoa, I. p. 46. Ulloa, pp. 137-8). It was at this time that Fray Bernardino de Minaya was sent to work in the Mixteca. On his way there, he, and a companion had visited the Franciscans at Tlaxcala to request the help of two of their pupils in the doctrina of Huastecos. Two "hijos de muy principales señores" volunteered but they followed their practice of seeking, and destroying, idols along the way, and were martyred by principales from Tecali and Quautinchan near Tepeaca (Mendieta, pp. 241-3. Dávila Padilla, p. 66. Cruz y Moya, II, p. 31).

It will be seen, then, that a near impossible task confronted the early Friars Preacher. The times taken up by organising their province, building the friary of San Pablo, and by the immensely long and difficult journeys from mission to mission, which were all undertaken on foot, was further compounded by the lack of personnel. But this was not all insofar as the friars in the Valles Centrales were concerned, for the behaviour of the encomenderos and settlers was the cause of considerable unrest in the Valleys and Sierras, which fully vindicated the stance of the Antilles friars against working in areas where the institutions of Spanish colonialism had been imposed. In this instance

this included the cabildo of Antequera and the activities of miners (Chance, 1978. pp. 50-53). It also demonstrated Cortés's inability to control the encomenderos' behaviour or, indeed, his own, contrary to his claims regarding encomienda in his 1524 letter to the King.

Those Spaniards with encomiendas in the Province of Oaxaca had been instructed by the Audiencia to take up residence in Antequera when it was finally founded in 1532. At that time sixteen of their towns had been transferred to them and the Crown from the encomienda granted to Cortés in 1529. Even so, when El Marquesado of Cortés was finally defined, in a Real Cédula of 1533, as consisting of the Cuatro Villas of Oaxaca, Cuilapan, Etla and Tlapacoya, these and their sujetos (subject towns of cabeceras) gave him jurisdiction over about a fifth of the Valley's population (Chance, 1978. pp. 32-3, 36-7). Not only had he all the Valley Mixtecs, whom he had congregated in Cuilapan, as tributaries, but, until the 1560s, the Nahuatl-speakers settled in San Martín Mexicapán, Santo Tomás Xochimilco, and Jalatlaco had Villa de Oaxaca as their cabecera, and so were also under the jurisdiction of him and his descendants. (Ibid. pp. 37-8).

The unrest attendant upon the distribution of encomiendas was such that Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal, and possibly the rest of the Second Audiencia, had to travel to Oaxaca in order to restore order between Cortés and the other colonists, and also to deal with the abuses of those encomenderos engaged in mining, for there were a number of uprisings in Ocelotepec, Miahuatlán, and the Mixe and Chontal sierras (Ibid. pp. 50-1, 61. Gay, p. 173. n. 26). This would have been between 1532 and 1535.

Most of the labour force in the mines were Indian slaves in the years following the Conquest, and slavery was rife in the Valley in the 20s and early 30s. Indeed, the first Alcalde Mayor of Antequera, Peláez de Berrio, had 400 working in the mines, and his brother, an oidor, traded slaves for goods in Chiapas and Guatemala whilst, until 1529, Cortés's gold mining operation in the sierra had had as its workforce over five hundred slaves from Cuilapan, Etlá, Guaxolotitlán and Villa de Oaxaca. He had also received slaves as part of his tribute from Zimatlán, Teozapotlan, Tlalixtac, Tlacoachahuaya, Mitla, Tlacolula, and Teitipac before they were taken from him. As a result of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's recommendations, slaves were freed by the New Laws of 1542 (Chance, 1978. pp. 52, 38).

The behaviour of Peláez de Berrio gave further cause for distress in this early period. He was a tyrant who had forced various caciques from the Valley, the Mixtecas Alta and la Costa to take him gold and jewellery, and then asserted, in their presence, his absolute authority over them and the Spanish settlers in the Valley. He had been removed from office in 1531 (Ibid. p. 40). A similar case was that of the Corregidor Don Francisco López Tenorio, who, in 1537, was accused of imprisoning and mistreating Zapotecs of both sexes and setting dogs on them. He had also taken the Cacique of Agavila from his house and imprisoned him for a fortnight and hanged a woman at the market, which must have ensured there being the maximum number of witnesses to his action (8). These may have been extreme cases, but the knowledge that the señores naturales could be thus treated must have been extremely demoralising for the entire population.

Another instance of maltreatment, which may have been widespread, concerns Alonso Morcillo. He had used tierras baldías for his estancia (ranch) in Etlá and

grazed his mares there for six years, damaging the maize crop to such an extent that over twenty households of macehuales had fled to the mountains. The Indians of Etla maintained that they were not waste lands but impoverished ones lying fallow, which the Cacique of Etla now wished them to prepare as milpa for the Marqués, but the macehuales doing so had been ridden down by Morcillo's employees whilst weeding the land. The Alcalde of Antequera in upholding their case, which he heard in 1537, ordered that Morcillo keep his cattle at an arrow's throw from their lands (Zavalla, 1967. pp. 44, 121-40, espec. 122-3). It should, however, be borne in mind that, although in this instance they were doubtless backed by Cortés, we are aware of these cases because the Spanish judiciary was prepared to give Zapotec litigants a fair hearing, and the litigants had quickly learned how to use the Spanish legal system.

There must have been many similar instances of Spaniards taking over fallow land through ignorance of the agricultural system in Mesoamerica; or through greed. We may be certain, too, that abuses, such as those described were ongoing. Sometimes, too, there was a serious loss of land, as in the case of the Mixtec Cacique of Chapultepec who had had to cede land for the construction of the town of San Martín Mexicapan, as one of the settlements for Orozco's Aztec and Tlaxcalan armies, who might well have preferred to return to their native territory (9).

Nevertheless, the wealth and power of the Valley caciques before the Conquest, and their quickly-learned ability to turn Spanish law to their advantage by means of innumerable petitions and suits meant that they kept much of the land upon which their communities were dependent, despite the abuses of Spanish officials and settlers, and, as Chance states, "... only three or four towns became satellites of haciendas." (Chance, 1978, p. 28). This was quite extraordinary when the situation in

other areas is considered. In Morelos, for example, the extent to which communities became dependencies of the huge sugar haciendas, which overran their territory, was one of the contributory factors of the Mexican Revolution.

Not surprisingly, when all these factors are taken into account, Padre Gay suggests that the Zapotecs were attracted to Lucero's Christian message less by their understanding of his preaching, than by the contrast between his behaviour and demeanour and that of many of the encomenderos and settlers in the valley (Gay, pp. 180-1). It could, then, be said that up to this time what had taken place had been, as Padre Gay remarks, a preparation for evangelisation, rather than evangelisation itself (Ibid. p. 181). However, we cannot be certain what work had been done by the seculars in the valley. There had always been a resident priest in Antequera. He built the first church but we know nothing else about his ministry (Ibid. pp. 162, 163), and I have already speculated upon the possible appointment by Cortés of seculars for the Marquesado towns around Antequera (see page 44). As a devout Catholic, and despite his preference for the friars, he might not have been prepared to wait until the Dominicans arrived in the Valleys.

At the time of the above occurrences, Betanzos, having been successful in founding the Province of Santiago in New Spain, returned with friars whom he could trust in 1535, and put his plans for the new province into action, determined to counteract the influence of Hispaniolan apostolic methods of evangelisation (Ulloa, pp. 135-6). But his ultrar-reformista vision had a baleful influence upon the province until long after he ceased to be prior in 1538, for he was succeeded by the equally rigid Fray Pedro Delgado, who served for a second time from 1544-1547 whilst he, himself, continued to scrutinise the deliberations of the Chapters, as definidor during this time (10).

Padre Ulloa believes that many must have left the province disillusioned by a policy which, by its stress on following the Rule placed personal salvation before saving souls, and this included Minaya, who went to Peru in the late 1530s (Ulloa, p. 138, 138 n62). What is more, in order to maintain numbers it was often necessary to accept men who were less intellectually capable or culturally prepared than was normal in the Order. This was hardly assisted by rules against more than a specific number of books being kept in the cells. This was seen as offending against vows of poverty, but also meant that scholarly interests were not fostered in an Order that laid such emphasis upon study as a basis for preaching (Ulloa, pp. 140, 237, 159, 165). It may be because of the severity of these measures that, from the 1550s, the Actas of the Chapters constantly repeated a number of regulations in their attempts to prevent the friars from breaking their vows, although they also gradually decreased their severity.

Betanzos' insistence upon following the Rule further compounded the problems detailed above, for the vicarios (the superiors in the doctrina houses) were rotated from house to house, at two yearly intervals, to ensure their observance of the Rule of Obedience, and also of that of poverty, by preventing their becoming attached to worldly goods. But this had two detrimental effects: firstly, the constant movement of friars from one linguistic area to another, meant that for much of the time they were preaching in languages with which they were barely familiar; and secondly, some delayed taking possession of the next house to which they were assigned, so that from 1543 the Chapters constantly attempted to prevent their doing this (Ibid. pp. 158-9).

In 1535, Antequera, now a city, became the centre of the huge Diocese of Oaxaca and subject to the Archdiocese of Mexico. The first bishop, Dr Don Juan López de Zárate, was there until his death in 1555 (Chance, 1978. p. 44), and so was able to organise the diocese effectively in those twenty years. He arrived with a number of clergy, visited the principal towns, established parishes and placed clerics in a number including Ocotlán, Cuilapan, the Mixteca and Villa Alta. Realising the need for more help, he asked the Viceroy to send more seculars and the Dominican provincial more regulars. He, himself, was active in teaching and preaching throughout his diocese, as well as in the city. Burgoa, who is consistently dismissive of the proselytising abilities of the secular clergy, has no doubts about those of López de Zárate, who, he says, was remembered as being "llena de bendiciones por sus raras virtudes, letras y celo" (Gay, pp. 185-6. Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 299). Elsewhere he comments that he was "ejemplarísimo" (Ibid. p. 281).

Bishop López de Zárate had realised that the friars' constant journeys from town to town, together with the lack of conventual houses, had prevented their consolidating their work. Therefore, he acted with the bishops of Mexico and Tlaxcala to remedy this by obtaining a Real Cédula from Charles V. In fact, the Cédula, dated September 1st 1548, is directed to New Spain in general. It orders that friaries be built in the towns at the cost of the Crown; or of the Crown and the encomendero, if they are held privately. Only one religious Order is to build in a given town and its surroundings, and the inhabitants are to help in its construction, for it is for their own benefit and good. The religious are then to live and work in these houses (11). In fact, such church building was highly onerous for the people. In a letter to the Consejo de Indias, dated 15th May 1556, Archbishop Montúfar, himself a Dominican, stated:

"Lo otro es que se debe remedio a las grandes costas y gastos y servicios personales y obras sumptuosas y supérfluas que los religiosos hacen en los pueblos de los dichos indios todo a su costa;...."(12).

Then, specifically referring to the new house being built by the Augustinians in Valladolid, Morelos, to replace a perfectly adequate earlier one, he commented on:

"....la gente que habían de andar en el dicho monesterio nuevo hasta haberse acabado, que fuesen ciento y veinte hombres y cada día por rueda sin darles una blanca de comer, porque solían andar en la dicha obra ocho cientos y mil indios" (Paso y Troncoso, 1939. Tomo 8. p. 89).

The Augustinians were noted for the sumptuous houses they built, but we also have details of the construction of the magnificent Dominican house at Yanhuítlán in the Mixteca Alta, where, over a period of twenty-five years, 6,000 men laboured, in shifts of 600 at transporting the materials for the building, whilst yet others constructed it under the supervision of European craftsmen (Spores, pp. 88-9. Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 291). Such labour forces were maintained under the repartimiento system, which also gave similar grants for public and private building. The men often had to travel from distant villages and hamlets over difficult terrain, and their wages, if they received them, hardly compensated for the disruption of their agricultural work, especially at planting, weeding and harvest time. So, with public and private construction being undertaken as well, the building programmes were the source of considerable hardship. This system continued until 1624, and, as Chance points out, the need to train a fresh group of workers every week made it counterproductive (Chance, 1978, pp. 74-9): and no doubt contributed to the lengthy periods spent in ecclesiastical building.

Kubler argues that the lot of the commoners was intensified for, physical hardship and deprivation apart, when repartimiento Indians were engaged upon building public or religious works they were also psychologically underemployed in that they were expected to undertake six days' work "unadorned" by the ritual which had accompanied it in pre-Christian society. As evidence of this he refers to the Codice de Tecpan, which describes the building, in 1576, of the tecpan (town hall) of Tlatelolco, now part of Mexico City, "...a fin de que no os humillen los españoles,...". This project had the Trinity as patron, was accompanied by frequent discussions of God and Christ, had its foundation stone blessed by a friar, and was consecrated by the Archbishop upon completion. Ritual accompanied every stage of building, in a way unknown to the Spaniards.

Those with skills also suffered, for Kubler adds that the guilds would not admit Indians, as they feared their artistic ability (Kubler, I. pp. 156-7). This would have been a further frustration for the highly skilled Zapotec, and, perhaps even more so, Mixtec craftsmen, who all appear to have formed part of the macehual class. Fray Juan de Córdova included guilders, workers in base and precious metals, sculptors and painters, amongst a number of other callings he listed in his "Vocabulario".

But the building continued apace, and, by 1590, twenty-two Dominican houses had been established in the Zapotec-speaking area, and it is possible to find out which were built in the Valley between 1540 and 1590 from the Actas of the Dominican Chapters then held. These recorded the "Aceptaciones", which referred to the towns where the friars' residences had been officially accepted as being casas or conventos (Mullen, pp. 240,30). They included Cuilapan and Etlá in 1550, Ocotlán and Teitipac

in 1555; Guaxolotitlán (Huitzo) in 1556; Santa Cruz, Mixtepec, first mentioned in 1556, accepted in 1564; Tlacoahuaya in 1558; Zaachila in 1572; and Zimatlán in 1585. Outside the Valleys, Tehuantepec was accepted in 1555 and Villa Alta in 1558, whilst the convento of San Pablo in Oaxaca was accepted as a vicario in 1535 and a priory in 1547 (Ibid. pp. 234-7). In most of these cases, of course, there would have been a Dominican presence in the pueblo long before these dates. They had been in Etlá, for example, as was stated earlier, from the early 1530s.

The buildings usually consist of a one-nave church, which was easier to vault (Ibid. 67-8), often with a side chapel, and have a contiguous small friary, with its patio, constructed on one side. The small building at San Pedro, Etlá partly collapsed at Corpus Christi 1575, when a theatrical performance designed to illuminate the mysteries of the Eucharist was given before a multitude. Many, including the priest, died and were injured when the patio balcony collapsed under their weight. The Indians then decided to build the present fine church, which overlooks the town (Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 3-5).

As this chapter sets the background to Chapters 3 and 4, I first described the problems facing the Dominican missions to Hispaniola and Tierra Firme, and their resulting formulation of two opposing models of mission work: that of the Antilles friars who believed it was their apostolic duty to carry the Doctrine to the indigenous peoples of the Americas before the institutions of empire were in place, despite their tragic failure in this regard in Tierra Firme, and that of the ultrarreformistas who were mainly concerned with following the Rule, and felt, as a result of their experiences in the Caribbean, that the military conquest was necessary before successful spiritual conquest could take place. I further showed that the Antilles Dominicans initiated the

debate about natural servitude and rationality as a result of their horror at finding, on their arrival in Hispaniola in 1510, that the Spanish encomenderos, settlers, and slavers living there were devastating the lives of its population and those of the surrounding area. This raged in Spain for decades afterwards, with the Dominican friars playing a vital role.

I then discussed their mission in New Spain, where the above divisions became those of an apostolic need to live in small conventos among those being converted, whilst leading the austere lives demanded by the Rule, as opposed to the ultra-reformed desire to live a monastic life in large conventual houses, with a minimum of missionary endeavour. After discussing the setting up of an autonomous Dominican province in New Spain and the unfortunate influence of the ultrarreformista friar Betanzos as superior and definidor, I concentrated upon the Dominican mission in the Valles Centrales de Oaxaca, in the context of the unrest there in the 1520s and early 1530s, and discussed the setting up of the doctrinas, in order to consolidate the work of proselytisation. This involved the building of the Valley conventos from the 1550s, which led me to consider the effect of this upon those constructing them through the repartimiento system. I shall now consider the erection of the cofradías, which I shall argue consolidated Doctrinal teaching and ensured the continuing devotion of the neophytes

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 2.

1. Erasmus, Desiderius. "Praise of Folly" p. 7. Ch. 54 pp. 164-173. Chadwick, Owen. "The Reformation." pp. 31-33, 38-39, 252-253. Then for the general background of European monarchs of the period and the need to lessen papal power see Ibid. pp. 24-29. Kamen, Henry. "Spain 1469-1714." pp. 45-48, and on Cisneros. Ibid. pp. 47-8.
2. Ulloa, pp. 64-7. According to Padre Ulloa, this document has been authenticated by Manuel Giménez Fernández, and the style is typical of Las Casas (p. 65 n. 9).
3. Ulloa, pp. 61-82, 62-5, 76-7. Morán, 33-5, 47. Herring, pp. 171-3. This version is given by the Venezuelan historian Guillermo Morán and by Hubert Herring, but Ulloa implies that Las Casas arrived with the charter authorising his colonising experiment after the massacre (Ulloa, p. 78).
4. The Dominicans are both democratic and monacal, voting democratically for their superiors, but expected to obey them during their term in office (Personal communication by Padre Prior Oscar Mayorgal in Oaxaca 1986).
5. Las Casas, 1979. pp. XXVII - XXVIII. Gibson, 1966. pp. 54-5. Cortés, p. 211, McAlister, p. 159. The New Laws 1542/3 attempted to limit the institution to the lifetimes of the existing encomenderos. The outcry was such that this was impossible, but the Crown had the power to restrict it from then on (Gibson, pp. 48-67).

6. Ulloa, pp. 99-101, 107-8. Gay, pp. 164-5. The 19th century Dominican historian, Padre Gay had access to what remained of the Order's Archives in Mexico City, whilst Burgoa used that in Oaxaca. Both say that this novice was Bernardino de Minaya, although neither Ricard, quoting the Dominican chroniclers Dávila Padilla and Remesal, nor Mendieta include him in their lists. However, the 18th century Dominican historian Padre Cruz y Moya states that Burgoa was in error in naming Minaya in the "Palestra Historial", and that it was, in fact, Fray Bernardino de Tapia, who later accompanied Lucero to Oaxaca having been professed by him in 1527. In fact, Minaya, who later worked in the Mxteca, did not reach Mexico until 1531. He became the prior in Mexico City in 1533 (Gay, Prólogo p. XIX, pp. 164-5. Burgoa, 1934. II. p. 376. Cruz y Moya, Vol. I. pp. 156, 277. Ulloa, pp. 128, 133)

7. Gay quoted this Real Cédula in full (pp. 165-6).

8. ACG. Juicio de Residencia de Francisco López Tenorio 1537. AGI. Justicia. Leg. 191. pp. 10-12. 9. Chance, 1978. pp. 32, 37-8. It may be significant that the last Nahuatl speakers in San Martín Mexicapán only died in 1910 or 1911. (Personal communication by the Licenciado Don Luis Castañeda Guzmán).

10. Ulloa, pp. 136-9, 295. Each province was divided into definitorios, which included various abbeys and priories, and the definidores were the superiors of each district. They deliberated upon the negotiations when Chapters were held, and acted as judges, consultants and advisors to the provincials (Diccionario de Ciencias Eclesiásticas. Vol. 3. C-D. Librería de Subirana Hermanos, Editores. Barcelona. 1885).

11. Burgoa, 1934, 1. pp. 302-3 quotes the Real Cédula in full (Gay, pp. 185-186).
12. Carta del arzobispo de México al Consejo de Indias sobre la necesidad de que los indios pagasen diezmos. México, 15 de mayo de 1556, ENE. Tomo 8. No. 441. p.89.

CHAPTER 3. COFRADIA AND RELIGIOUS CONVERSION.

In this chapter I propose to demonstrate the importance of the cofradías as tools for religious conversion. I shall begin by tracing their historical antecedents in Europe and Spain and discussing their transfer to New Spain, both as a pious act by Spanish Conquistadores and settlers and as an instrument used by the mendicant friars to hold the indigenous converts of the Americas to Christian worship by means of a sumptuous cult and elaborate processions.

It is generally held by historians specialising in New Spain, such as Charles Gibson, Murdo MacLeod and Nancy Farriss, that there were few cofradías sacramentales in New Spain before the late 16th century, and it has been argued by Murdo MacLeod that they were not thought suitable for recent converts from paganism, but I shall suggest that this was not the case according to the chronicles of the time and the Church Councils. This argument will be upheld by the consideration of certain sodalities, such as the Dominican Cofradía del Santísimo Rosario, which had a further proselytising role: that of inculcating Christian doctrine and ensuring attendance at Mass. I believe, too, that the character of the Churchmen who erected such cofradías is central to my argument.

An analysis of the rights and duties of the cofrades as set out in the statutes of el Rosario and other cofradías, as well as in Papal Bulls,

including La Bula de la Santa Cruzada, which related to Indulgences, will serve to show how these sodalities regulated their members. One long-standing right was that of receiving succour in the form of seemly burials and care for the sick and orphans, and it is held that the proliferation of cofradías towards the end of the century was due to the increased need for such assistance in times of epidemic. The flagellant cofradías also increased at this time, but I shall show that these situations and their causes were much more varied and complex than these factors suggest (see Table 3.1).

It appears that sodalities of a kind came into existence in the first centuries of the Christian era, but it was St Boniface (674-754), the English-born missionary to the Germans, who sought to consolidate their conversion by forming among them spiritual and charitable groups, which supported their members in life and after death. It was due to his influence, and the success of these bodies among the clergy and the monks, that lay brotherhoods began to appear, and it was when these ceased their association with the monasteries that true confraternities came into being (1).

A confraternity differs from all other sodalities in being formed specifically for the promotion of public worship. It must also be instituted as a moral person directed by a group of officers, and have its own habit to be worn when acting in public. It is subject to the local bishop or his delegate. A woman may only join in order to gain indulgences and favours. An archconfraternity only differs from this in that it has the right to affiliate others to it, provided that they are of the same name, kind and purpose (2).

TABLE 3.1.

16th CENTURY INDIAN COFRADÍAS.

COFRADÍAS PROSELTISTAS.

Franciscan.

Santísimo Sacramento. Sto Entierro. La Soledad.

Dominican.

N.S. del Santísimo Rosario. Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús.

Augustinian.

Nuestra Señora

Jesuit. Peru.

Cofradía del Niño Jesús - in all schools & some doctrinas.

COFRADÍAS RELIGIOSAS.

Patron saints on high altars

Christ, Saints, the Virgin on high or side altars.

COFRADÍAS DE SANGRE (FLAGELLANT). Also proselytising.

Corpus Christi - General.

Las Ánimas - Franciscan.

Santo Entierro - Dominican.

San Nicolás de Tolentino - Augustinian.

HOSPITALS. Organised around a cofradía. *

For the care and education of the poor and orphans and care of the sick.

GREMIOS (GUILDS).

For craftsmen of a particular specialisation, grouped around the cofradía of their saint. Often scandalous.

EMINENT CHURCHMEN WHO ERECTED COFRADÍAS.

Pedro de Gante in Mexico City and Tlaxcala. 1524-1570.

Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal of Santo Domingo, as President of the 2nd.

Audiencia, 1532-1535 - hospitals.

Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, as an Oidor of the 2nd Audiencia and Bishop of Michoacan. Hospitals still flourishing there in 1570, but not elsewhere.

Fray Tomás de San Juan. O.P. Devoted to the Rosary. Rosario erected in Mexico, Puebla, Oaxaca. 1538. Fray Tomás was the Notary Apostólico in Oaxaca in 1576.

Fray Jordán O.P. Devoted to the Rosary. Villa Alta 1550s

Santo Toribio de Mongrebejo, Archbishop of Lima 1581-1606. Andean reducciones to consolidate missionary work - Jesuits in Peru at the moment of extirpation of idolatry.

CAUSES OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF COFRADÍAS - LATER 16th CENTURY.

Serious church and convento building programme began 1550. **

Side altars = more cofradías

General hospital building programme began 1555 - alarm at frequent epidemics.

**Flagellant cofradías greatly increased at the turn of the century. Epidemics, but also a Spanish trend.

IN MISSIONARY AREAS COFRADIAS COULD BE ERECTED BEFORE A CHURCH WAS BUILT.

The confraternities and the Third Orders (3) were responsible for the aesthetic movements of the 11th and 12th centuries. However, in the early 13th century, Rome was threatened with schism by the Hohenstaufen dynasty and by heretics in France and Italy. Amongst other strategies, the popes counteracted this by recognising the new mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans and their lay confraternities, and by a great proliferation of saint's cults centred around men and women sympathetic to their cause (Goodrich, p. 169).

The trials, processions, and pilgrimages concomitant to candidature for canonisation unified classes and regions around their candidates and ensured the maintenance of Church unity and universality (Ibid. 169-71). Moreover, they channelled religious fervour into areas that the Church could control. Amongst those canonized at this time were Louis IXth of France and various powerful nobles. The Mendicant Orders were well represented, but their cults were more local and popular (Ibid. pp. 176-180, 181-3. And on the Orders: Southern, pp. 279-299).

The Castilian Domingo de Guzmán's personal vocation was for the evangelisation of pagans, but the Pope appointed him to lead the mission against the Albegensian heretics, and this and other missions occupied him for some years. He established the Friars Preacher in 1215, still with the desire to proselytise, and his friars were soon active in pagan northern and Eastern Europe and in Asia. Constant prayer and study were pivotal to the Dominican intention of converting by preaching and the witness of an

exemplary Christian life. The Popes, however, emphasized the importance of fervour and success in working among heretics in their Canonization Bulls of the period (4).

St Peter Martyr of Verona, the son of Cathari (Italian heretics), became a Dominican and reconciled many apostates. He was canonized soon after his assassination by Milanese heretics in 1252 (Goodrich. pp. 178, 179, 182-3), but once the immediate threat to the Church had passed, the most admirable Dominican candidates for canonization were unsuccessful for political reasons. The exception was St Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274, and whose official Vita, written in 1323, referred to his "refutation of Jews, schismatics and heretics" (Ibid. p. 183), although his theological system envisaged a living faith, which could communicate through evangelisation, so that through preaching converts could be led to an understanding of God's love of men and His plan for their salvation (5).

Saint's cults might have been fostered by the Vatican for political reasons, but their actual function as administered by the priests working among the faithful, the majority of whom were unlettered, was a religious one, whose object as defined by Honorius III in 1227 was to "confound the Jews and heretics, to shame pagans, and lead sinners to repentance" (Goodrich, pp. 182-3).

It was at this time that confraternities, other than purely sacramental ones, appeared. In 1246 Corpus Christi with its procession of the Holy Sacrament was instituted, and, in order to participate in these and other

processions, most craft guilds became grouped around a religious symbol. Then, in the 14th century, war, the Black Death, and famine led to the appearance of confraternities as charitable associations (DS. Duhr, pp. 1470-71). Added to this, the despair caused by the plague gave rise to a flagellant movement in Flanders and Germany. Those shedding blood, said a Flemish Dominican, were redeemed, for they became united with the blood of Christ (6).

The confraternities reached their European zenith in the 15th century, as a result of their association with the guilds, for they thus exerted great influence in the workplace and the family: that is, over the mass of Christianity. But emphasis on outward show led to rivalry and disputes. It was, presumably, in order to counterbalance this that the end of the century saw a deepening emphasis on the spiritual life of their members, with the erection of such sodalities as the "Confraternité du Divin Amour" in France, in 1497, and that of the Rosary, by the Dominican Alain de la Roche (DS. Duhr, p. 1471) in France, Saxony and the Low Countries in the last quarter of the century. The latter was not approved by the Pope, but on the day of de la Roche's death, September 8th 1475, it was established in the Dominican church at Cologne by Jacob Sprenger (7). Indulgences were conceded to the cofrades by the Papal Bull "Pastoris Aeterni" of Leo X on October 6th 1510 (8). This was the confraternity that played a central role in the consolidation of the Dominicans' missionary work in the Valles de Oaxaca.

Insofar as the history of the cofradías in Spain is concerned, it is thought that the institution was taken there by French knights participating in the military campaigns of Alfonso VI of Castile and Alfonso I of Aragón. The latter instituted one of the first cofradías: the knightly one of Belchite, whose cofrades had extraordinary privileges. Others were erected by the king in 1126 and by a bishop in 1138. Many of the 12th century sodalities were linked to the monasteries, and all sought, through their statutes, to ensure peace and exercise charity (Lamas, p. 132).

Lamas, in his study "Seguridad social en la Nueva España", suggests that, as the cofradías in the Kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and Aragon developed in the 14th and 15th centuries, they were increasingly, as in Europe, absorbed by the guilds (gremios). These had also been established in the 12th century, the earliest known one being that of the fishermen of San Pedro de Toloso in 1116 (Ibid. pp. 136-8). The development of the Spanish cofradías, therefore, paralleled that on the other side of the Pyrenees, and the Reyes Católicos were obliged to legislate against them.

What is extraordinary about the history of the cofradías in the Old World and the New is the constant legislation that was enacted in order to limit the activities of the cofrades and the similarity of the abuses that were attacked. Perhaps the most important statutes limiting them were those of Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, who expressed views and circumscriptions at the Council of Nantes in 895, which foreshadowed those of the Mexican Church in the Colonial era:

"1. Only those were to be called confrates, who had submitted to the authority of the Church for their spiritual profit and the salvation of their souls.

2. No organisation was to be set up in a parish without episcopal approval.

3. Only religious exercises such as the lighting of candles, the saying of prayers, and the carrying out of the services of the dead were to be undertaken.

4. There were not to be any banquets of members. That was forbidden by divine authority.

5. There were to be no forced contributions, no dancing or foolish laughter. Such things could only lead to hatred and killing" (Brooks, p. 102).

That is to say, it was the folk elements in fiesta celebrations, which called down the ire of churchmen, whether in Europe or the Americas.

But such legislation was never successful, nor were the civil attempts to contain these less desirable practices. These were made by the Council of Rouen in 1190, and the Council of Cognac in 1258. Pisa issued edicts against them in 1275 and 1286. Philip the Fair tried to control them in the early 14th century and Richard II of England in 1388. In Spain the kings tried to restrict them from the 13th century, probably, deduces Adolfo Lamas from the unclear evidence, because of abuses connected with their rapid spread and association with the guilds (Ibid. p. 102). Alfonso X, el Sabio, followed his father, San Fernando, in only prohibiting those

confraternities that were not of a religious or charitable nature. Even so, cofradías gremiales could be formed under licence (Lamas, pp. 134-6).

The legal restrictions on the sodalities in early 12th century Spain were severe: they could not be erected unless licensed; their funds had to be exactly accounted for; and their annual meetings were conducted by the king's or the ordinary's representative. This would usually have been the parish priest. All types of sodality, however, celebrated the fiesta of their patron saint "with the pomp and ceremony, which he deserved" (Brooks, p. 103).

The legislation of the Reyes Católicos, their Ordenanzas, attempted to regulate the guilds and diminish their influence on the cofradías by emphasising the charitable role of the latter, and their duty to care for guild members in need and distress, rather than to further the welfare of the guild itself. The cofradías sacramentales were obliged, at this time, to call themselves hermandades (brotherhoods), so as to distinguish them from the cofradías gremiales, although they were still pious and charitable institutions (Lamas, pp. 136-7).

Clearly, throughout the mediaeval period both Church and State had seen the cofradías as potentially subversive of orthodox religion, and, as will be seen, this also proved to be the case in New Spain by the mid-16th century, yet, despite the legislation against them, the cofradías continued to flourish; as did that other Church institution manipulated by the laity, the compadrazgo (9). Indeed, a number of high-minded friars and secular

churchmen used specific cofradías as a means of inculcating Christian doctrine, forming habits of prayer and worship, and attracting converts with a sumptuous cult (Ricard, p. 182). It would appear, then, that they had an ideal model of these sodalities, but I would argue that this was well-founded, for they were of such a nature that the churchmen concerned could be confident of their ability to articulate them as tools for consolidating the faith of those whom they had baptised. Such cofradías, which will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, I shall call "cofradías proselitistas".

Yet despite their existence, and that of the Spanish statutes, it was necessary to enact more legislation with specific reference to the cofradías gremiales in New Spain. These would, by definition, have been urban, but would have included both Indian and Spanish institutions. Colonial Mexico City, for example, having been built on the site of Aztec Tenochtitlán, had a large Indian population many of whom would have been proficient in Aztec and Spanish crafts. The relevant legislation was compiled by Barrio Lorenzot, lawyer to the Audiencia and treasurer of Mexico City. In his introduction to this work Genero Estrada stated:

"Los artesanos estaban agrupados por la religión en cofradías, por la Ley, en gremios. Las cofradías eran las sociedades espontáneas que la fé mantenía unidas por el culto; los gremios las clasificaciones de oficios que las leyes establecen para reglamentar la producción y los impuestos respectivos."...."Cada oficio tenía su cofradía; cada cofradía su Santo Patrono" (Lamas, pp. 139-40).

Alfredo Lamas laments the lack of a similar compilation of the State legislation regulating the cofradías sacramentales and comments:

"La definición de Genaro Estrada en el sentido de que las cofradías fueron, en todo momento, consecuencia directa de la iglesia y de las finalidades pías de grupos religiosos, es correcta" (Ibid. p. 140).

This fact is of the greatest importance, for it needs to be kept in mind that, despite the potlatch tendency inherent in guild rivalry, which had already been observed in the European context, the cofradías gremiales must, nevertheless, have been the means by which many urban converts were kept aware of and taught the Christian faith. Among the many fiestas in which the guilds participated, the processions of Holy Week, the Immaculate Conception, and Corpus Christi were the most elaborate. Corpus Christi processions took place in Mexico City from 1524, and its Cabildo (town council) records show that all the trades took part from 1529.

The guilds had rich standards, silver litters with elaborate lamps for the saints, and silver staffs for the mayordomos. They were followed by the similarly equipped religious cofradías, and Indians from all over the Valley attended with flowers and sweet smelling herbs for the triumphal arches. As time progressed, the giants, and Indian, Spanish and mulato dancers had to go well in front, so as not to break up the serious part of the procession (Cuevas, pp. 479-481).

The Franciscan chronicler Fray Toribio de Benavente, known to the Indians as Motolinía, has left descriptions of the Corpus Christi processions in

Tlaxcala in 1538, in which many crosses, and floats bearing saints, all decorated with the gold and feather art of the region, were carried along flower-strewn streets through more than a thousand floral arches. They were accompanied by numerous singers and musicians, and children sang and danced before the Sacrament at the chapel altars along the route (10). His chronicle also includes a description of a Corpus Christi procession in 1539, when the Spaniards were amazed at a similarly extravagantly decorated route. On that occasion, the converts enacted, in the squares along the route, the temptations of Christ in the wilderness; St. Frances preaching to the birds and explaining why they should worship God; and St. Frances condemning those "witches" who induced abortions and disrupted his sermons. A depiction of hell was then set fire to, though without harming the "damned" despite their realistic screams. It was felt that certain moral lessons were thus taught (Motolinía, pp. 72-4). As we saw on pages 44-5, the concept of sinners suffering in hellfire after death was one that had also to be taught to the Valley Zapotecs.

Robert Ricard in his important essay "The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico", stated that in New Spain "as in Spain, the processions depended, in general, upon another institution.....the confraternities" and these huge processions, attended by the population of both the province and the town (Ricard, pp. 181-2), must have included many cofradías sacramentales, as well as the guilds. The first such cofradía to appear in New Spain was that erected in Mexico City in 1519 by Ordenanzas of Hernán Cortés, a founder member: La Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (11).

Cofradías usually consisted of a hierarchy of pious laymen headed by a steward, the mayordomo, who was entrusted, during his year in office, with the administration of their funds and possessions, which often included saint's fields, or a herd of cattle in New Spain, as well as the vital wax for the candles which were used at Mass, on altars, and in processions. These funds were to be used for charitable ends, as well as intensifying the cult. In order to be recognised, they had to be licensed by the bishop after he had examined and approved their statutes. He also approved those cofradías erected in his diocese by mendicant friars, but would have had to refer to their superior had he wished to establish a confraternity in one of their doctrinas (12).

However, from 1616 the Congregación de Obispos authorised the Dominican and Jesuit missionaries to found cofradías without the consent of the bishops (EUI. Vol. 13. pp. 1304-5. Celestino & Meyers, p. 111). All cofradías were governed by the Ordinary's or the Provincial's representative, the priest, or friar, who examined and approved the mayordomo's accounts book, the Libro de Cofradía, and presided at the yearly change of office of the mayordomo, when the saint's possessions, including the carefully weighed wax, were transferred to the incoming official (13).

Cofradías were usually racially exclusive, and I now turn to the question of the Indian cofradías and the religious considerations that led to their erection. The economics of the institution will be dealt with in later chapters. But, I shall consider the general situation in the Americas before

dealing specifically with the Valley of Oaxaca, as I wish to suggest what is not generally accepted, which is that a number of cofradías sacramentales were erected in the first half of the 16th century, and that much of the Indian population belonged to them. Neither do I believe that the friars who erected them would have permitted them to decline once they had initiated them, precisely because it is clear, as I have stated, that certain sodalities were founded for the specific purpose of evangelisation: that is, of consolidating their converts' knowledge of Christian Doctrine and ensuring their attendance at certain Masses during the week. But it must be admitted that there is little, if any, archival evidence to support this position, and this is especially the case in the Valley of Oaxaca, where archival material is sparse before 1650. It is for this reason that I have consulted the works of those Franciscan friars who worked in New Spain from 1526, and of the Dominican historians of the colonial era who based their books on Dominican archives. These give a very different picture.

Chance and Taylor, in their paper "Cofradías and Cargos, an Historical Perspective on the Mesoamerican Religious Hierarchy", based on research in Jalisco, Villa Alta, the Valley of Oaxaca, and the central highlands, Gibson in "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule" and Murdo Macleod in his paper "The Social and Economic Roles of Indian Cofradías in Colonial Chiapas" all conclude that few Indian cofradías were erected in the early post-Colonial period. Gibson states that the cofradías were not, apparently, a product of early missionary activity, as they were considered inappropriate, whilst Murdo Macleod suggests that this was because "the

newly converted Indians were thought to require close supervision in the faith" (14).

However, the Introduction to the Index of the Ramo de Cofradías y Archicofradías of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City states:

"Todas las cofradías debían establecerse en una iglesia u oratorio público o semipúblico. De esta ley quedan exentas las cofradías erigidos en tierra de infieles, donde no existan tales iglesias u oratorios" (15).

Nothing could demonstrate more clearly than this the vital role of the cofradías in the early proselytisation process, for it was frequently some years before proper buildings could be erected, but it was clearly thought that sodalities should be erected as soon as was prudent if the missions were to be successful.

In assessing the motivation of the missionaries who founded cofradías in the Americas soon after conversion had been deemed successful, their background should be taken into consideration, for it is the contention of Marvin Harris (Harris, 1964. pp. 25-34) and other American anthropologists, defined by Maurice Bloch as neo-Marxists, that the Church imposed fiesta in order to drain off resources from the Indians (16). The economics of the institution will be discussed in the second half of this thesis, but this argument is a highly simplistic analysis of an extremely complex situation. Therefore, I shall consider as equally important in refuting this allegation the character of those who erected the early cofradías, and the circumstances in which they did so.

The first Indian cofradía, the Santísimo Sacramento, was erected in San José de los Naturales, the Indian quarter of Mexico City, by the Franciscan lay brother, Fray Pedro de Gante. Ricard believes this occurred between his arrival in New Spain in 1523, and that of the first Bishop of Mexico, the Franciscan Fray Juan de Zumárraga, in 1528 (Ricard, pp. 2-3, 181). De Gante was a muscular Christian, whose pupils, the sons of caciques and principales at his Texcocan school, were taught not only to catechise the sons of macehuales and go out to preach sermons prepared for them, but to be fanatical extirpators of idolatry, destroyers of temples, and denouncers of their elders' pagan practices. These actions, as Kobayashi comments, must have had a much more traumatic effect upon their elders, than those of the Spaniards. Zumárraga, too, was a notable iconoclast (Ibid. p. 37. Kobayashi, pp. 254-9).

It might be argued, then, that although the Franciscans were more impetuous than the Dominicans and Augustinians in baptising converts, they were very realistic about the difficulties involved in maintaining their adherence to the faith. Indeed, the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento was founded in order to increase devotion to the Eucharist (Ricard, pp. 96-7, 182, 91-4). Further, Ricard states that in 1539 the Orders' use of corporal punishment was seen by the bishops as being too severe (Ibid. p. 244). Nor did they shirk the introduction of syncretic elements into worship. There were thousands of converts in the early period and Pedro de Gante initiated the capillas abiertas (17), which combined the Mesoamerican tradition of open air worship and the Christian one of liturgical celebration in church,

whilst allowing those forced by numbers to stand outside the building to participate in the service (18).

Similarly, as elaborate processions and celebrations with music and dancing had been a constant of Mesoamerican religion, the processions described by Motolinía combined these elements with Christian practice and instruction, as we have seen. The great Holy Week processions in Mexico City were organised by confraternities erected by the Franciscans at San José de los Naturales, and, further to the Santísimo Sacramento, Ricard lists the Souls in Purgatory (Las ánimas), St. John the Baptist, San Diego de Alcalá, the Trinity, the True Cross, the Entombment (Santo Entierro), and La Soledad (the Virgin at the foot of the Cross, and the patroness of Oaxaca) (Ricard. p. 182).

Most of these have clear doctrinal connections, whilst San Diego was a 15th century Franciscan observant friar who did great work among the poor (DOS. pp. 103-4). Whilst some of them may have been erected after the initial period of the spiritual Conquest, I would suggest that it seems highly improbable that sodalities of this nature would have been allowed to fall into disuse by the friars, as is sometimes suggested; for example, when Fray Pedro de Gante died in 1572, each cofradía held obsequies for him (19) Their importance is stressed by Ricard, who states:

".....it was noted that in villages that had confraternities not only were the processions more brilliant, but the services were better attended and more faithfully followed. In general, the spiritual level was higher in

them, for the confraternities kept an eye on and controlled each other" (Ricard, p. 182).

Some of these would have been flagellant sodalities and, syncretically, might have been seen by the Mesoamericans as another form of auto sacrifice by bloodletting. The friars used the discipline vigorously upon themselves, a fact to which Burgoa frequently testifies, and cofradías of the True Cross, largely promoted by the Franciscans, were first documented in Spain in 1520 (Christian, 1981. pp. 185-6).

According to Motolinía, the cofrades de la Cruz, men and women, castigated themselves in their separate parts of the church every Friday, three days a week during Lent, and publicly, in procession, on Maundy Thursday. He refers to thousands taking part in the Texcoco and Tlaxcala processions. This appears to have been in 1536 or before (Motolinía, pp. 55-6). However, by the end of the century they had increased greatly in numbers. The Franciscan historian, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, witnessed a procession of la Vera Cruz with over 20,000 Indians, more than 3,000 penitents, and 219 "insignias de Cristos y insignias de su pasión" in 1595, and Fray Juan de Torquemada, another Franciscan chronicler, saw similar numbers in 1609, as well as over 7,000 flagellants of La Soledad (Mendieta, pp. 436-7. Torquemada, p. 340). But a comparable situation prevailed in Spain by 1575, with thousands participating in Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and petitionary processions.

The latter were held in times of danger at the behest of Philip II and his successors, entire cities participating in processions, which included flagellants (Christian, 1981. pp. 185-90, 151). It may be that this petitionary aspect was influential in attracting more cofrades to these cofradías penitenciales in the late 16th century, when they were faced with the trauma of demographic collapse due to epidemics caused by European diseases, which hardly affected the Spaniards. But, as we have seen in the case of the sacrifices to the cacique culture-hero Petela in Ocelotepec, it could also cause them to revert to their old religion in despair.

Confraternities were also erected in the Nahuatl-speaking area by the humanist Bishop of Santo Domingo, Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, during his presidency of the Second Audiencia from 1531-1535. He was sent to redress the evil done by the infamous First Audiencia of Nuño de Guzmán, which had exploited the Indians and been denounced by Bishop Zumárraga of Mexico. His achievements included the easing of the missionary effort by building churches and the first Franciscan conventual houses in the Valley of Mexico. He had great faith in the intellectual abilities of the Indians, and promoted Pedro de Gante's Colegio de Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco. Torquemada, also states that he founded hospitals and cofradías, as well as the City of Los Angeles (Puebla), where he instituted a royal hospital and a very devout cofradía in it (20).

Maria Teresa Sepúlveda in her study, "Los cargos políticos y religiosos en la región del Lago de Patzcuaro" defines the hospitals as follows:

"Los hospitales de indios surgen para solucionar una necesidad política inmediata; tuvieron como fin principal la congregación de los indígenas en poblaciones, su conversión a la nueva fe a través de la cofradía, y la recaudación del tributo; recibieron ayuda médica solo en los casos de epidemia, pues los naturales por falta de costumbre no acudían a ellos" (Sepulveda, 1974. p. 15).

There was, however, a great epidemic at that time and Torquemada refers to Fuenleal's concern with curing the victims (Torquemada, p. 361). According to Lamas, such hospitals were maintained by charity and by "la organización comunal de las cofradías" (Lamas, p. 141).

A Tlaxcalan friar, writing to his provincial described the charitable activity of the cofrades of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación on April 16th 1539. They began by giving a great deal of clothing, meat and maize to the poor of the area, as well as those in the hospital, but the mayordomos and diputados who distributed it refused to accept anything for their work, saying that it was their duty to help the hospital from their funds. They then distributed the wax prepared for the procession:

".....para cada cofrade un rollo, y sin éstos, que eran muchos, tenían sus velas y doce hachas, y sacaron de nuevo cuatro ciriales de oro y pluma muy bien hechos, mas vistosos que ricos" (21).

This may be the earliest description of the manner in which the mayordomos use the wax, which they receive on entering office, whilst the four large gilded and feathered candles appear to be the forerunners of the

elaborately ornamented mayordomía candles of modern times. When the procession returned, a play about The Fall was performed in an elaborately depicted Eden near the hospital door. They performed it in their own language and were much moved by it (Ibid. pp. 65-7).

Don Vasco de Quiroga, an oidor (judge) in the Second Audiencia, being much influenced by Fuenleal and by Thomas More's "Utopia", founded a hospital-town near Mexico City in 1531, which helped orphans, pilgrims, and the poor as well as the sick. He founded another in Michoacan, but it was when he was appointed Bishop of Michoacan in 1537/8 that he began to found the hospitals for which he is famous in the Tarascan villages near Lake Patzcuaro (Sepúlveda, 1974. pp. 14-17. Ricard, p. 159. Van Zantwijk, pp. 64-5). These were usually associated with the Cofradía de la Inmaculada Concepción; each with its mayordomo, prioste and fiscal.

His success was partly due to his basing them upon the Tarascan guataperas, where the daughters of the nobility performed various services for the cacique before being suitably or strategically married; except for those dedicated to the cult of the Sun god, Curicuari (Sepúlveda, 1974. pp. 40-41, 51-3. Van Zantwijk, pp. 263-4). The same term was used for Quiroga's hospitals. Van Zantwijk suggests that the status of women was high, especially among the nobility, and decreased under the Spaniards. Tarascan boys had no schooling as all offices and labour were inherited and taught by their fathers or eldest brothers (Ibid, pp. 46-7).

Brooks does not feel that the cofradías were necessarily erected as the result of a conscious act by Quiroga, although he agrees with de Torre Villar that he built them on bases with which the Tarascans were familiar (Brooks, pp. 43-4), but I would suggest that Ramírez de Fuenleal would have influenced Quiroga greatly in this respect; the more so, as he had been an oidor in the Second Audiencia, when Fuenleal was its president, and had not been a churchman before his elevation to Episcopal office. Further, the Tarrascans had been so maltreated after they were conquered that many had fled and disappeared, whilst others had been forced to return to terrible conditions. He therefore reorganised them, being sure to give them a recognisable base (de la Torre Villar, p. 411). Indeed, settlements focussed upon the guatapera-hospital with its cofradía would have been, like the open chapel, the kind of syncretic solution to inculcating Christianity, which was usual in New Spain at that time.

Dealing with the problem of sparse documentation, de la Torre Villar suggests that a number of Michoacan confraternities never had any documents, but were erected because of the interest of the priest and the people, whilst others had lost theirs (Ibid. pp. 418-9). But, as he points out, they nearly always had charge of a hospital in accordance with the principles drawn up for them by Quiroga (Ibid. p. 421), and the Visitador Librans de Quiñones writing in 1551 and 1552, refers to hospitals, religious cargos (office), and mayordomos in charge of alms and church possessions (Ibid. p. 419). All the sodalities erected by Quiroga would have been canonically legal as he was a bishop, but it is impossible to determine to what extent the authorisation of the monarch was sought in the

early turbulent period, except in the case of the Spanish cofradías, which, being urban, had better communications with the Peninsular.

I have relied greatly upon the Franciscan chronicles in this part of my discussion, because the Valley of Mexico and its surroundings were subject to continuous proselytisation from the beginning of the Conquest and so they illustrate, with some clarity, the ends for which different kinds of cofradía were erected at that time. The other Orders and the Jesuits, perforce, introduced them somewhat later, but the Augustinian and Jesuit articulation of them in furtherance of their missionary efforts will be discussed before turning to the Dominican usage.

The Augustinians, who first reached New Spain in 1533, founded cofradías, which I would identify as "proselitistas" in each of their monasteries: namely those of the Souls in Purgatory, and of Our Lady. The former held a Mass for the Dead every Monday, and the latter, one for the Living every Saturday. These cofrades would have had to attend. They also had cofradías "de Sangre", which were flagellant, and organised Lenten processions. These, like the Franciscan ones, had floats, candles and banners (Ricard, p. 182). One of them, San Nicolás de Tolentino, was usually united with Las Animas del Purgatorio, of which San Nicolás was the patron saint. Ma. Teresa Sepúlveda, in her paper on San Nicolás, refers to an Indian cofradía in the Hospital Real de San José de los Naturales, which was founded by Fuenleal in about 1531 (Sepúlveda, 1976. p. 6. 1974. pp. 10, 15). The Augustinians founded several houses in Nuevo Galicia (Guerrero) from 1533 to 1535, and established others, to the north

and east of the Nahuatl-speaking area, among the Otomí, Huastecos and Totonacos (Ibid. 1976. p. 10).

Unfortunately, few of the number she lists have any founding date, and those that do have 17th and 18th century ones. Her data is based on information given by priests in 1794, which is now in the Archivo General de la Nación. In the case of the Cofradía de San Nicolás in Zaachila, the priest's letter definitely gives the date as 1774, but the Libro de Cofradía in the Parochial Archive dates from 1664, and is clearly not the first book, for it contains neither statutes, nor information regarding its funds and possessions when it was established (22).

This illustrates very clearly the fundamental problem one is confronted with when seeking archival evidence regarding the dates of erection of the cofradías. Again, I would instance the Parochial Archive of Teozapotlán/Zaachila, which has Libros de Cofradía covering the entire 18th century. On his Visita in 1726, an entry in the Libro de Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento states that the Bishop saw the mayordomos of the cofradías of Santo Christo, San Nicolás, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Santa Rosa, San Pablo, and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Of these, only the Santísimo Sacramento and San Nicolás were microfilmed by Señor Pompa y Pompa in 1940, but the Bishop must have removed the other books when he extinguished those cofradías. The other cofradía books in this parochial archive include that of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, which was re-erected in 1630 because the mayordomos had lost the previous book, and two sodalities erected in the late 18th century. One was

canonically erected and therefore has, as well as other documents, an auto (edict) to that effect as well as a list of the cofradía's possessions. The other was founded in special circumstances, but nevertheless contains all the information relative to its foundation. This is recorded in the first pages of the books and will be discussed in Chapter 7 (23).

So, I would stress that it is the lack of this information, which indicates that a Libro de Cofradía is the continuation of an earlier one; especially, as such documents were evidently not written upon separate pages. Such books, if they are completed, contain records for nearly a hundred years.

The rules governing the cofrades of San Nicolás de Tolentino are quoted by Sepúlveda from the Parochial Archive of San Francisco de Iguala and give an interesting insight into the conduct of a cofradía penitencial. Unfortunately they are undated, but they probably altered little, if at all. Alms giving was entirely voluntary, but the cofrades were expected to help the mayordomo personally and with alms on the day of the fiesta: September 10th.

Seemly behaviour was expected in church and at meetings and prayers. Drinking, and attendance when drunk, were forbidden. If a cofrade became ill, he was to be visited, and if he died the cofrades were to attend his funeral, as well as the year's Masses for his soul. Their Holy Week duties were precisely set out: they had to attend a number of Masses before, and on, the Tuesday in Holy Week, and to walk, without fail, in the procession held on that day each year, wearing a habit and hood. But, before dressing

for the procession, they had to confess and take Holy Communion; for the penitence was to please God and San Nicolás. Once the procession had begun, they could not leave it until the penitence had been completed, except on death; but they were accompanied by helpers who aided and comforted them. Afterwards they were to keep vigil in the mayordomo's house (Sepúlveda, 1976. Apendice 3. p. 21).

The Jesuits, who reached New Spain in 1572, had been formed by St. Ignatius Loyola in 1534, after several brushes with the Inquisition. A Bull of 1540 formally established them and declared the Society's object to be the "propagation of the Faith", and in 1550 that of the "propagation and defence of the Faith." Their intention was to minister to pagans and the poor, and to give a Christian education to children and illiterates.

According to Owen Chadwick, their first mission to the Indies left Lisbon in 1541. In 1548, they opened their first secondary school in Italy (Gerhard, 1972a. p. 19. Chadwick, pp. 258-62), and their success in teaching led to their becoming the leading educators of the European aristocracy, for, says Chadwick, "<their> educational methods were effective, more effective than any other methods in contemporary Europe" (Chadwick, p. 262). In his history, "Cristianización del Peru (1532-1600)", de Armas Medina shows that they, too, found the cofradía a vital missionary institution.

They erected the Cofradía del Niño Jesús in all their schools and in some of their doctrinas. Its Indian cofrades were obliged to teach the doctrine to children and old people, and in Cuzco they visited the sick, and gave food

to the poor. They also attended Mass and catechism daily, and discourses on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, as well as taking the Eucharist frequently. The Jesuits erected various other cofradías with the Virgin as patroness, but especially that of Nuestra Señora de Loreto (de Armas Medina, pp. 432, 431). They appear to have done the same in Mexico (24).

Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers in their study 'Las cofradías en el Perú: Región central' quote the Jesuit historian of the Church in Peru, Padre Vargas Ugarte, as stating that the Jesuits erected many cofradías in their Huarocharí doctrinas as a means of giving their neophytes religious instruction (Celestino & Olinda, p. 93). They also state that cofradías were installed in cities and towns at the moment of the extirpation of the idols, in order to promote reverence for Christ and the Virgin (Ibid. pp. 107-8). Again, it must be stressed that although these might have been established late in the 16th or early in the 17th centuries there can be no doubt that cofradías were constantly erected by the missionaries very early on in, and as an essential part of, their proselytisation campaigns.

The position of the great churchman, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, Archbishop of Lima from 1581 to 1606, adds strength to this argument, for he also saw the efficacy of cofradías in consolidating missionary work, and sought particularly to establish the Santísimo Sacramento and Las Animas in the reducciones (resettled villages), although they only flourished in these in the 17th century (25). It should be borne in mind, that it was only during the viceroyalty of Don Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581), over thirty years after the conquest of Peru, that the Andes were sufficiently subdued

for reducciones to become feasible. Indeed, the people of Peru offered Toledo 800,000 pesos to abandon this policy, for their dispersed settlements had traditionally been organised specifically in order to exploit their varied environments. As in Mesoamerica, the background was a tragic one (Stern, pp. 76-9). It should also be stated that Santo Toribio, a post-Tridentine churchman, initiated the Tercero Concilio Limense, which included statutes seeking to limit the excesses of the cofradías such as frequent requests for alms (26).

Like Robert Ricard, de Armas Medina sees the cofradías, as the basis of all processions and pilgrimages, and indeed, to some extent, of the entire Roman Catholic cult, for they added to the splendour of Church ceremonies, and accustomed their members to religious observances (Armas Medina, p. 429). He states that every church in Peru had its confraternity and lists a number of these, including that of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, which was erected by the Dominicans as an exclusively Indian cofradía in 1554; some twenty years after Pizarro's Conquest of Peru. Spaniards and Negroes were not admitted until 1562 and 1564 respectively (Ibid. pp. 429, 431), for cofradías were racially exclusive.

The Dominicans undoubtedly articulated the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario as a means of underpinning their teaching of the doctrine, and, although the evidence is slight, what is available suggests that any payments made by its cofrades were minimal. It is probable that the Dominicans in the Valleys of Oaxaca first erected the Rosary confraternity in the late 1530s (Burgoa, Tomo I. p. 46), some ten years after they first arrived there.

However, as was the case in Mexico City, the first cofradía to be erected in the Valleys was the urban Spanish one of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción in Antequera. This was erected in 1532 and licensed by the Queen, who also licensed it to acquire possessions, consisting of certain books, plants, goats, merino sheep, two slaves, and engraved gold and silver vessels, as well as silk, linen, and jewels all to the value of 100 pesos, which the Regidor Diego de Porras was to receive on its behalf (ACG. AGI. Aud. de Méx. Leg. 1088, Lib. 2, fol. 66). But at the same time she gave the regidor a licence to employ Indians from the surrounding area to build a hospital of the same avocation for the poor and sick, so it also had an important charitable role (Ibid. fol. 70).

It is difficult to ascertain the erection date of the first Indian cofradías in Oaxaca, and there appears to be no information about the early ones in the Nahua Marquesado towns ringing Antequera. But they may have been erected in the Dominican doctrinas by the end of this decade for Fray Tomás de San Juan, or del Rosario, had been elected prior of the house in Antequera at the 1535 Chapter in Mexico City, in order to lessen the influence of the friars from Hispaniola in the area (Ulloa, pp. 136-9, 139 n. 63). He became famous for his devotion to the Rosary, which he regarded as the ideal vehicle for inculcating Christian knowledge (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 46. Gay, p. 182), and although Ulloa defines him as an ultrarreformista, who was a confidant of Betanzos, it can be argued that in this respect his mission was definitely apostolic in character.

To return to the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, its importance as a tool for the teaching of the doctrine becomes clear when one analyses the Rosary itself. It consists of fifteen decades of "Hail Marys", each of which is accompanied by a meditation on a mystery, and preceded by an "Our Father" followed by a "Glory be to the Father". The mysteries dwell on the Incarnation, sufferings and glorification of Christ, being, in effect, a compilation of the life of Christ and the Virgin and a summary of the Liturgical year. This is thought of as the Dominican Rosary (NCE. 'The Rosary'), presumably, because there had been a hundred and fifty points, which were reduced to fifteen in 1483 in a Rosary book written by a Dominican, although the last two differed from the present ones. Then, in 1521, the Dominican Alberto da Castello united the old and new forms, and this 16th century Rosary became the accepted one (Ibid. pp. 668-9).

All the Dominicans in New Spain were devoted to the Rosary and wore a huge one, by order of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (27). Fray Gonzalo Lucero also showed this devotion, for one of the lienzos he used when teaching in the Valleys depicted "... la Princesa de los Cielos y Madre de Misericordia, con los misterios del Santísimo Rosario", and he continued to preach on these mysteries in the Mixteca (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 43, 51). So, Fray Tomás de San Juan who introduced this cofradía into the Dominican province had had the way prepared for him to some extent. The modern Oaxacan Dominican historian, Fray Esteban Arroyo, says that he explained the mysteries and spoke of the many miracles that had taken place through their mediation. Then every Saturday, after the Salve, his neophytes sang the Litany, whilst kneeling around an image of the Virgin,

and on the first Sunday of each month there was a procession in Her honour as was the Dominican custom (Arroyo, II. pp. XXXIII-V). He continues, "Cuando ya hube entusiasmado a los fieles establecía canónicamente la cofradía" (Ibid. p. XXXIV). This cofradía, then, was undoubtedly one of those that I have defined as being a "cofradía proselitista".

There appears to be no evidence as to the exact date of its erection in Oaxaca, although Padre Arroyo suggests, after having lamented Burgoa's indifference to chronology and geography, that the cofradía was probably erected in Oaxaca between 1535 and 1537 when Fray Tomás was the prior in the city of Antequera, adding:

"Los Oajaqueños llegaron a persuadirse de que el Rosario es prenda de salvación y se apresuraron a dar su nombre a la Cofradía de manos de este santo varón, a quien le pusieron el sobrenombre del Rosario por el celo con que la recomendaba" (Ibid. p. XXXIV).

This position follows that of Dávila Padilla, who also stated that Fray Tomás erected the cofradía when in Oaxaca (Dávila Padilla, pp. 358-366); but he gives no date and makes this reference after his discussion of Fray Tomás's activities in Puebla (p. 365). What is certain is that the first Cofradía del Rosario in Mexico City was erected by Fray Tomás in 1538, only a year after he left Oaxaca. According to Dávila Padilla, this was done with the permission of Prior Pedro Delgado (1538-1541), whilst Padre Cruz y Moya states that the cofradía was established on March 16th 1538, with

the Bishop and the Viceroy as the first cofrades, and that all the inhabitants of the city became cofrades (Ibid. p. 355, Cruz y Moya, II. pp. 100-105).

It could be argued then, that as Prior of Antequera Fray Tomás would have been quite free to erect the cofradía there, and was highly likely to have done so in view of his prompt action at the Mexico City house. Regarding Puebla, Dávila Padilla affirms that the cofradía was founded there when Fray Tomás was prior (p. 360), whilst De la Maza states that he founded the Archicofradía del Rosario in Puebla in 1555, and that it reached Oaxaca from there, but does not give his source (p.11). Regarding this I would comment that the erection of an archicofradía surely suggests that there had been a number of cofradías in the Puebla doctrinas before 1555, and that there had been no question of this sodality's having been allowed to lapse after its initial foundation. Padre Cruz y Moya additionally gives 1584 as a vital date, for then the Revmo Fray Marcos de Valladores ordered that this cofradía, and that of the Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús were to be erected in every house in the Province. He was the Procurador General at that time, and so the cofradías were canonically erected (Cruz y Moya, II. p. 105. Ulloa, p. 294).

The fact that no permanent churches had been built in the doctrinas was of little importance, for cofradías could be erected, has been stated in the first part of this chapter, even if no building existed. Indeed, Burgoa instances archaeological evidence of this in an incident, which had occurred in Teotitlán del Valle, whose church was not built until the early 17th century; it having been a visita of Tlacoahuaya until then. He relates that an old

tomb was discovered under the threshold of the church, when the door was being removed for renewal. It contained a skeleton with the white Rosary of a novice suspended from its neck by a yellow silk cord; both in pristine condition. Not even the oldest inhabitants knew who it had been, and the vicario, Fray Andrés de Guzmán, took the opportunity to preach on the deference due to this cofradía. These circumstances were such that the people's devotion to it was much heightened (Burgoa, 1934, II. p. 127).

The vicario had reverently removed the Rosary, and kept it, commenting upon it to everyone. He evidently had access to the Dominican archive in Antequera, for it was then discovered that at the time of the first conversions there had been no churches, only enramadas (bowers), but notwithstanding this, the religious had begun to preach on the "excelencias y frutos del rosario, fundando cofradías", and so it was assumed that a devout cofrade had requested that he be buried with one (Ibid. p. 127). No doubt an actual novice would have been buried in the cemetery of the friary in Antequera.

The building of churches could well have been an important factor in the dates of erection of the cofradías of the patron saints and Virgins, and those to whom side altars were dedicated. I refer to my discussion, in Chapter 2, of the building of the important 16th century conventos and churches in the Valles Centrales. These were built from 1550, but obviously numbers of such buildings were erected much later, generally as a result of fission when a sujeto acquired cabecera status, but also in the sujetos themselves as time went by. Here it must be emphasised that a sujeto could

not become a cabecera unless it had an adequate and well-furnished church (28).

I suggest that this time schedule must have been much the same throughout New Spain, and this is probably why, as Murdo MacLeod states, few cofradías of patron saints appeared before the mid-16th century (1984, p. 75), and Gibson speaks of their slow beginnings (1964, pp. 127-8). Then again it must be borne in mind that contact and conquest took place much later in the marginal areas, and so the number of churches gradually and constantly increased, and with them the number of cofradías in honour of patron saints and those presiding over side altars. Hence, it could be argued that the proliferation of sodalities towards the end of the 16th century and in the early 17th century is by no means incompatible with there having been numbers of cofradías proselitistas from the outset of the spiritual conquest.

The Franciscan, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, who reached New Spain in 1554, and worked in the central Mexican region refers, in his 'Historia Eclesiástica Indiana,' completed in 1596, to the processions that had taken place on Sundays and fiestas in the earlier devout period, when many people still lived in dispersed settlements:

"cuando estaban obedientes á lo que para su aprovechamiento ordenaban sus eclesiásticos ministros, puesto que no estuviesen juntos en poblaciones sino derramados, los centenarios y veintenarios, el dia antes de la fiesta daban vuelta cada cual por todo el barrio que tenia á su cargo, muñendo la gente y apercibiéndola que se acostase con

tiempo, porque era día de madrugar y ir con alabanzas al templo y casa de Dios, á pagarle el servicio que se le debía" (Mendieta, p. 498).

They were awoken before dawn, and, in separate files of men and women, processed to the church:

"...guiándolos un indio que iba delante con un estandarte ó bandera que cada barrio tenia de tafetan colorado con cierta insignia de algun santo que tomaban por abogado, iban cantando á veces himnos de la fiesta ó santo que se celebrara, ó de Nuestra Señora, si el barrio tenía cantores (que en aquellos tiempos no faltaban), y á veces la doctrina cristiana, que todos la tenian puesta en canto, y así llegaban á la iglesia" (Ibid, pp. 498-9).

He also states that, in this earlier period, such common cofradías as the Santísimo Sacramento and Nuestra Señora, as well, in the larger towns, as Nombre de Jesús, de la Veracruz and La Soledad were directed by beatas : that is by devout women. This was no longer the case when he wrote, as demographic collapse had caused them to turn their energies to finding sustenance for their families and paying tribute (Mendieta. pp. 420-1). But it is an important confirmation, not only that indigenous women were cofradía members, but that they played an important role in them.

The Franciscan churches in the Mexican area had been built much earlier than those in the Dominican one of Oaxaca, but the latter all have a number of side altars of different advocations, some of which may have belonged

to barrio (town district) saints. The concept of the saint as advocate must have been peculiarly attractive to the Zapotecs, when we take into consideration their cacique culture-hero advocates with Bezelao, although they were doubtless, also, an occasion for syncretic thought and practices in areas other than the Sola de Vega of Balzalobre's time. It is highly probable that the friars were more concerned with their cofradías proselitistas and de sangre before the churches were built, but they may well have adopted a patron saint or Virgin for each town. Certainly, the Codice Sierra, the accounts of the secular parish of Santa Catalina Texupan in the Mixteca Alta from 1550-1564, including the costs of completing and furnishing its church, shows that the patronal fiesta was celebrated in 1551, and, apart from the great festivals, those of San Juan, San Cristobál, "y ... otras más" were held in 1558 (29).

Unfortunately, there are, as far as I am aware, no extant 16th century wills for the Valles Centrales de Oaxaca, for they are a useful indicator of cofradía allegiances at that time. It appears to have been common for a testator, male or female, to refer to the cofradía(s) to which he belonged in a variety of contexts, such as funeral arrangements, Masses for the soul and bequests, usually of milpa (maize plots), to the saint. An interesting example from the Mixteca Alta is that of the Cacique Don Gabriel de Guzmán, of the Dominican doctrina of Yanhuitlán, who ordered, on his deathbed in 1591, that his body be escorted to his funeral with:

"....la cera de todos las cofradías de este pueblo, de los cuales yo soy cofrade..." (Codice de Yanhuitlán. p. 35).

The cantores (singers) were to be paid four pesos. He also left one gold peso to each cofradía in the town (Ibid. pp. 33-5). There had been an earlier church in the town - the worst in the area, and dating from 1529 - but it had been abandoned through the opposition of its encomendero; hence a new one was accepted in the Dominican Chapter Actas of 1548 and largely built by 1558 (30). So, it may be assumed that some of these cofradías dated from a much earlier period.

Burgoa's description of Cuilapan, the second oldest Dominican house in the province, which was accepted in 1550, that is, it had a 'viable religious complex' including 'a residence and some form of church' (Mullen, pp. 191, 234, 96), suggests that every altar had its attendant cofradía. In the church there were seven altars on each side, as well as the chapels of the Santo Cristo and the Rosary: and each of these had its mayordomo, who cared for it and adorned it with flowers. They evidently included what is, perhaps, the most vital of the cofradías proselitistas, that of the Santísimo Sacramento; for, every fortnight, the renewal of the Sacrament was celebrated before a large congregation with gilded candles, flowers, incense, and solemn music (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 402-3).

In Fray Tomás de San Juan's time, according to Dávila Padilla, Saturdays were devoted to Nuestra Señora del Rosario, with a morning Mass in Her honour followed by a procession of friars and cofrades carrying white wax candles and singing responses and prayers for the dead cofrades. In the afternoon, they had sung the Salve whilst holding candles with the insignia of the Rosary painted on them in green wax, but in about 1580 they had

begun to sing a Dominican Litany of the Virgin after the Salve (Dávila Padilla, p. 359). As this had been adopted by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585), it may be assumed that these devotions were still held in Cuilapan in Burgoa's time.

Another friar who was devoted to the Rosary, Fray Jordán de Santa Catalina, was working in the Province from 1552. In 1558, the year of the acceptance of the convento of San Idelfonso, Villa Alta, he was sent there as the superior, accompanied by two friars and a lay brother. Fray Bernardo de Alburquerque, then the Bishop-elect of Oaxaca, appointed him to this position when he was still young because of his excellent qualities. He was recalled in 1561, by which time there were five or six friars working in this Zapotec-Mixe sierra (Mullen, pp. 236, 41. Burgoa, II. pp. 142-4. Gay, pp. 212, 214, 231. Chance, 1989, pp. 21-2), and spent two periods in Antequera as Master of Novices. He was Prior of Villa Alta in 1572 (Ibid. p. 83). The Dominicans, says Padre Gay, regard him as the founder of the Order in Oaxaca, for whilst Lucero had been forced to concern himself with the material aspects of its foundation, Jordán was able to concentrate upon the moral and spiritual ones (Gay, pp. 221, 223-4).

Burgoa tells us that he used to preach, with the Sierra Zapotecs kneeling around him, on the mysteries of the Rosary and ".... el abrigo que hallarían en la Princesa de los Cielos en todas sus necesidades;...." (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 119). This surely demonstrates that he would have erected cofradías to the Virgen del Rosario, and certainly when one of his flock had visions of Hell when dying, he calmed him into an orthodox confession and then

granted him the indulgences of the Bull and Cofradía del Rosario (Ibid. pp. 123-4). He appears to have remained there until approximately 1587, as he died in Antequera in 1592 not long after completing his term as prior there (Gay, p. 300).

Chance and Taylor state that confraternities in Central Mexico and Oaxaca, where they based their analysis primarily on Villa Alta, were rarely founded after the Conquest, although some were in the 17th century, and that they generally came later in the Dominican parishes after secularisation. The question of 18th century secularisation will be dealt with in Chapter 7, but I would argue that the lack of evidence of any early cofradías erected by the Dominicans in Villa Alta, is the result of the disastrous fire of 1580 which destroyed the convento and much of the town, and in which the prior, Fray Alonso Garcés, and two young Zapotec acolytes died in attempting to save the sacrament (Chance and Taylor, pp. 8, 10. Chance, 1989, p. 32. Gay, pp. 273-4. Burgoa, 1934, II. pp. 170-2).

In writing his "Historia de la Santa y Apostólica Provincia de Santiago de Predicadores de México en la Nueva España", Padre fray Juan Joseph de la Cruz y Moya clearly used the Dominican Archives from 1539 to 1545, which he detailed year by year in Libro II. There he refers to the experiences of devout male and female cofrades in 1539. He also refers specifically to an "indio cofrade", who having nearly died, spoke to his fellow inhabitants of Tepetlaóztoc, near Mexico City, of how he had turned his back on the idols, become a cofrade of Santa María del Rosario, and had his name written in the Libro de la Cofradía (Cruz y Moya, II. pp. 122-

130). So, here we have definite evidence that Libros de Cofradía were used when the confraternities were first erected in New Spain. This is not, however, a case of a sodality's having been established before the church was built. Santa María Magdalena Tepetlaóztoc was accepted in 1538, as were three other Dominican conventos founded by Betanzos after 1535 and built among the Mexican nation (Mullen, pp. 31-2, 234, 238).

It can therefore be argued that not only were the Cofradías del Rosario and del Santísimo Sacramento very early ones, but that, given their proselytising importance and the Dominican devotion to the Rosary, once such cofradías had been erected, they would not have been allowed to fall into disuse. Fray Tomás, for example, constantly worked to increase that of el Rosario, always carried a supply of Rosaries to give to cofrades, and made sure that the cofrades understood what their benefits and duties were (Dávila Padilla, p. 358), whilst Dávila Padilla himself introduced the Dominican habit of wearing the Rosary exposed upon the scapular (Ibid. p. XII). It is further suggested that most of the population of the doctrinas, both men and women, would have been members of these two vital sodalities in the Dominican province, and that, generally, in the early years after conversion, whilst there might not have been a great number of cofradías, most converts would have been members of one of those considered most vital in proselytising terms by the Order in whose province they resided.

In 1724 a large chapel dedicated exclusively to la Virgen del Rosario was added to the church of Santo Domingo, in Antequera because:

"La devoción del Rosario fue en aumento y su Cofradía muy fuerte y númerooso".

It was completed in 1731, and was, at that time, extremely richly decorated (31), as the chapel to this Virgin in the Priory of Santo Domingo in Puebla, constructed between 1640 and 1690, still is (32). In 1648, the great Bishop of Puebla, Don Juan de Palafox, initiated the recitation of the Rosary in chorus, but only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. In 1650 this became the Rosario Perpetuo, which was founded in Antequera in 1651, by the historian Fray Francisco de Burgoa himself (33).

Burgoa makes the role of the cofradía in the early days quite clear. When all the Indians of a town had gathered in the church patio on Feast Days, on Sundays and Fridays, and during Lent, the friars preached to them:

"....actuándolos en la reforma de sus costumbres, detestación de sus errores antiguos, firmeza en la fe, noticia de sus misterios y devoción con la Madre e Misericordia, y de su Santísimo Rosario con cofradías fundadas y traslados de los jubileos y gracias en sus lenguas maternas" (Burgoa, 1934. II. p. 422).

There are, in the Parochial Archive of Zaachila, where Burgoa was once the priest, in the Libro de Cofradía del Rosario 1716-1801, some loose pages concerning the re-erection of this cofradía in 1630, as, through the carelessness and negligence of the mayordomos and officials the book containing its Licence of Foundation had been lost some six years before. The Licence signed by the Dominican Provincial, states that all the cofrades, men and <women> (34), will gain all the graces, indulgences and

privileges conceded by the Holy See. There are also three pages in Zapotec, which appear to be the kind of translations referred to by Burgoa, for they contain such Spanish words as 'cofrades', 'indios', 'mysterios', 'purgatorio' and 'indulgencia' (35).

The granting of indulgences was an integral part of the membership of any cofradía, and was conceded over the centuries by a number of Popes, in Bulls and Briefs. This was the case with the Cofradía del Rosario, which was granted its first such privilege in 1476 in Cologne, where the confraternity had been initiated in 1475. So important was this that once Fray Tomás del Rosario had founded it, he had the constitutions, privileges, indulgences and pardons translated so that all might have them (Dávila Padilla, p. 358).

The relevant indulgences then available were summarised in Pope Innocent XI's Bull "Ad perpetuam rei memoriam" of 1679, but in Fray Tomas's time it was possible, at least, for a cofrade or cofrada to receive: 5 years and 5 quarentenas (see footnote 27) of indulgences whenever he prayed a chaplet, that is a third, of the Rosary (Ch.3.3); a further 2 years should he pray an entire Rosary in a week (Ch.3.8), and plenary indulgences once in life and upon death if he had prayed the Rosary during the week (Ch. 4.2). Apart from this there were indulgences for visiting five altars in any Dominican church, and accompanying processions, especially if this was done on the first Sunday of the month when fully penitent, after having confessed and taken the Eucharist (36). So, it will be seen that the Cofradía del Rosario was dedicated to ensuring that not only did its members attend Mass

frequently and take part in specific processions, but that all its cofrades, of whatever race, led a full and prayerful Christian life and were mindful of the need to prepare for the afterlife.

The plenary indulgence granted on death, to any cofrade or cofrada, from 1510 would have assumed great importance for all Mesoamericans, who, having been assured of an agreeable afterlife, which, in the Zapotec case took place in a replica of the Valley, complete with the markets which are still such a source of pleasure (Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 64-5), were now faced with the fear of Hell, for mortal sins, and Purgatory for venial ones. Venial sins are expiated immediately after death, but the punishment must be borne. The Dominican, St. Thomas Aquinas, had taught that its smallest pains are far worse than the greatest ones on earth, but salvation is assured and assisted by the offering up of prayers and Masses on behalf of the dead (CODCC. pp. 423, 259). Indulgences remit the temporal penalty due to forgiven venial sins.

Early wills and similar documents of the colonial period show that the indigenous people were well aware of the need to have Masses said for their souls. In 1576, the Cacique of Yanhuitlán, whose will has already been referred to, endowed a capellanía (chantry) with a number of milpas in perpetuity, for the benefit of the fathers, and of the souls of himself and his family. He requested that every year two Masses be sung with due solemnity and three friars presiding: one for himself on All Saints' Day; and another for his wife and children on "Muertos" (All Souls') (37). The Nahuatl will of a Tlaxcalan cacique, Don Julián de la Rosa, dated 1566,

directed that certain goods be sold so that five Masses might be said for him; and other Nahuatl wills make similar provisions for the testators, male and female, and certain of their deceased friends or relatives (38). It is impossible to tell to what extent these show the influence of the friars and priests, and to what extent they represent the genuine desires of the testators.

It can be argued that payments for Requiem Masses increased the wealth of the Church, but the priests would have expected no less for themselves, and certainly desired indulgences, although from the viewpoint of the twentieth century, they are deemed a very dubious source of Church revenue. In 1570, Fray Hernando de Paz O.P. went to Rome where Pius V granted plenary indulgence and remission of sins to those friars who wished to work in the Province: on their embarking for the Indies; on their disembarking; and on death, provided they had succeeded in their mission; which, comments Dávila Padilla drily, "...es favor bastante para despertarlos, y dar brios a los despiertos". Further to this, those who had learned an Indian language received a hundred days indulgence, from the penitences they had been given, every time they preached in it (Dávila Padilla, pp. 498-500). This shows that a certain lack of zeal had to be counteracted, but it also argues that indulgences were not dispensed as cynically as is now supposed.

La Bula de la Santa Cruzada granted indulgences to the faithful, but the sums raised by its enforced sale were destined for the King of Spain's coffers; to help finance his wars. It had originally helped the Crown to

finance the Reconquista by granting privileges and indulgences similar to those given to the Crusaders, by the yearly sale of the Bull at a fixed rate, to all those, including children, who wished to buy it. But in 1494, Alexander VI authorised its continuation in order to finance a crusade in Africa, and Ferdinand was able to secure its sale in perpetuity as Crown income (Elliott, pp. 103, 53. Poole, 1987. p. 74. EUI. p. 659).

The Bull was published yearly but Charles V, in 1543, and Prince Philip, in 1546, gave orders that it should not be forced upon the Indian towns against their will. Then, in 1573 and 1575, Reales Cédulas of Philip, now king, ordered that it be reverently and solemnly received, so that the Indians might, like the Spaniards, esteem it and its concessions. By this time, Pius V (1566-1572) had decreed that it should be issued bi-annually, and Cruzada was first preached in New Spain in 1574 (BAGN. Tomo XXV. 2. pp. 179-186). The mendicants were very much opposed to it, but were unable to prevent its preaching. The Franciscans were weakened by internal Peninsular/Criollo factionalism at this time, the Augustinians reluctantly accepted it and only the Dominicans were able defend their position effectively. They sent Fray Domingo de Salazar, later the first Bishop of the Philippines, to Spain to do so, but without success (39), and, although they continued to oppose it, Pope Innocent XI's Bull of 1679 confirming the summary of the indulgences granted to the Cofradía del Rosario, at the request of the Dominican Master General, states categorically at the end:

"Para ganar estas Indulgencias han de tener la Bula de la Santa Cruzada" (40).

Archbishop Moya de Contreras, who was later responsible for the reforming, post-Tridentine Tercero Concilio Provincial Mexicano, had a firm belief in his powers as a bishop, and whilst respecting their work, distrusted the mendicants' control over the Indians, as did his successors.

He

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He felt that their opposition to the Bull made the Indians reluctant to buy it and

TABLE 3.2.

PAYMENTS FOR LA BULA DE LA SANTA CRUZADA. 14.8.1709.

		Pesos.
Priests.	1.	
Gentlemen of rank.		2.
Friars.		2.
Nuns.		2.
Corregidores, Alcaldes Ordinarios, Regidores, & their wives.	2.	
Lawyers, Officers, & Alguaciles Menores.		2.
Rich men worth 10,000.	2.	
All Spaniards - male & female.	1.	
Caciques & their wives.	1.	
All other Indians - married & single, male & female.		0.2 reales.
Poor mendicant Spaniards.		0.2
Servants male & female.	0.2	

Minors male & female.	0.2
Las Bulas de Lacticinios.*	0.8
La Bula de Composición.**	0.2
Bulas de Difuntos.***	
a) For the soul of any male or female.	0.2
b) For the souls of Indians, Morenos & poor Spaniards, servants & the souls of Friars & Nuns.	0.2

*Permission for friars & curas over 60 to have eggs and milk on fast days except during Lent.

**Restitution for ill gotten gains, when there was no other means of recompense, and every means of restitution had been tried: provided that the sum was not obtained knowing that this indulgence was available.

*** For a plenary indulgence.

Sources: APZ. A loose page placed in a Libro de Cordillera.

Enciclopedia Ilustrada Universal, "Cruzada." pp. 670-1.

distrusted the mendicants' control over the Indians, as did his successors. He felt that their opposition to the Bull made the Indians reluctant to buy it and

so deprived them of its spiritual benefits (Poole, 1987. pp. 73-4). He was undoubtedly an upright man, but somewhat lacking in humanity. In a letter to the king, dated 11th February 1576, he suggested that the friars feared that its sale would deprive them of alms and fees for Masses. He then expressed his determination that no Indian should be without it and its ancient privileges (ENE. Tomo XII). The second preaching was postponed until 1577, because many died in a great epidemic, and for this reason it was not successful. Nevertheless, the archbishop commented, in a letter to the King on 15th March 1577:

"Con esta va la resolución de lo que valía la segunda predicación que considerando la tibieza de los frailes y la poca devoción de los indios se debe estimar en algo la cantidad" (ENE. XII).

In 1601, a brief of Pope Clement VIII permitted Philip III to administer and distribute the Bull independently of the Comisario General de la Cruzada and use the proceeds to evangelise the Indians. Thus, they contributed towards their own Christian indoctrination (BAGN. pp. 179-86). As will be seen in Table 3.2, there was a rising scale of payments for different categories and castes, and the document on which it is based begins with the exhortation that contributions should and must be made to it for the defence of the Catholic religion (41). This was in 1709, but by the middle of the century, the Crown was in serious financial difficulties, and desperately

needed the Bull revenue and, even, contributions from cofradía funds, in order to finance its war debts (42). A document in the Oaxacan State Archive expresses the Crown's position thus:

"La Bula de la Santa Cruzada concedida por la Sede Apostólica a Nuestros Católicos Reyes de las Españas, para ayuda de los gastos de la Guerra contra infieles; y propagación de nuestra Santa Fee con la veneración, pompa y lucimiento que corresponde...."

There was to be a procession through the usual streets (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 13. Exp. 19).

Cruzada was, then, imposed by the Crown and the friars were powerless to prevent its dissemination. It forced an extra financial burden, on the hapless Indians but, on the other hand, the indulgences it granted were for more than the privilege of eating meat on fast days, as is sometimes suggested (43). Asunción Lavrín argues that the historian's focus on an economic model of the cofradías has tended to obscure their spiritual nature, which manifests itself in the statutes of each one. The indulgences that could be received from a particular sodality were, she states, extremely detailed, and every spiritual and material act of their cofrades was directed towards obtaining them. Apart from this, partial indulgences could be obtained by charitable works or services (Lavrín, 1980. p. 563, 565). This latter emphasises the fact that the cofradías were also fulfilling the moral functions referred to by the Tlaxcalan friar in 1539 (see p. 133). Certainly the variety of those obtainable by the cofrades of the Santísimo Rosario increased as the years went by. Indeed by 1748 there was hyperinflation with a cofrade of any Dominican confraternity receiving 60,000 years and a

similar number of quarentenas whenever he prayed a chaplet with true penitence after confession (INAH. Leg, 66-23. p.2).

Cofradías of all types had another important role: that of giving spiritual and material comfort to sick and dying cofrades, and ensuring that they had seemly burials, and that masses were said for their souls, as well as giving some small financial benefits to their families. These and other benefits varied, as between cofradías (Lavrín, 1980. p. 563), and were specified in their statutes, which, when they were canonically erected, had been scrutinised and approved by the Ordinary. The statutes of San Nicolás, as has been stated, set out the cofrades' duties towards their sick and defunct colleagues (44).

In the absence of 16th century documents it is impossible to tell what the original contributions were, but, according to Dávila Padilla, Fray Tomás de San Juan asked the cofrades to give a moderate sum towards the cost of wax, as the cofradía had no other income. But, he also said that if they did not want to use up wax, they need not take candles when the mayordomo passed them round. So, as the writer comments:

"....; quedassen excusados de dar la limosna, y quedassen admitidos de gracia, para gozar de las muchas concedidas á los cofrades." (Dávila Padilla, p. 359).

This refutes the neo-Marxist argument that the cofradías were originally imposed by the Church in order to draw off funds from the indigenous

peoples. It shows clearly, that when this important cofradía was first erected, it was truly what I have defined as a "cofradía proselitista", and so it was not thought necessary for it to have possessions when founded in the doctrinas other than the vital wax for the processions, which would have emulated, to some degree, the lavish celebrations to which the people had been accustomed in the pre-Cortesian era.

However, once the churches were built, they had to be properly furnished, in accordance with Canon Law, and clearly, those cofradías which were connected with hospitals, and so had a specific charitable function, and those which provided for the cofrades' burials, had to have funds. The funeral benefits usually included a shroud, as many as twenty or thirty candles, borne by cofrades, to accompany the body to church, and a sung Mass with responses and more candles. Such cofradías as San Nicolás de Tolentino and Las Animas would hold masses for the repose of the souls of departed cofrades during the year. In some cases, small sums were given to the deceased cofrade's family: the Patente of the Santísimo Sacramento referred to above stipulated that it be 25 pesos (45).

Late 18th and early 19th century Patentes of the Santísimo Sacramento suggest that 1 or 2 reales were paid on entry, and that half a real was the usual weekly payment. Then, 1 or 2 reales were paid towards the fiesta titular (patronal fiesta) and any other important events, such as the Holy Week processions (46). However, there may have been considerable variations in this, especially when individuals gave, or left, funds for the founding of a sodality, but unfortunately, it is impossible to tell to what

extent such lauding of saints by individuals occurred in the Valley of Oaxaca, because of the lack of relevant documents (47).

Cofradías, then, were designed to inculcate a knowledge of Christian doctrine into their members; and to ensure that they attended Mass in a reverent spirit, that the celebration was a sumptuous and beautiful one which was pleasing to them, and that they celebrated the saint's *fiesta* with due reverence and honour. It was also hoped that they would lead exemplary Christian lives and carry out charitable acts for the sick and the poor. Added to this the sodalities were greatly concerned with benefiting their members in the afterlife by granting them indulgences and singing Masses for their souls.

In this chapter, I have discussed the history of the cofradías in Europe, the legislation against them, and their function in the Americas. I have considered the different classes of sodality, and have argued that the spiritual role of the cofradías sacramentales was of paramount importance. Of these I have isolated those which I have called "cofradías proselitistas", that is those erected in the missionary areas by austere churchmen of proven probity, once they felt that their converts had a sufficient understanding of Doctrine and practice, with a view to maintaining and increasing their Christian knowledge and devotion. Indeed, so important were they thought to be in the proselytising process, that it was possible to erect them before the doctrina churches had been built. I have argued that cofradías to which both sexes belonged were founded with this end in view throughout the 16th century and beyond; for the conditions for carrying out

missionary work differed from area to area, as did the dates of conquest. I suggest that these arguments effectively refute the theory of the American neo-Marxists, led by Marvin Harris, that the cofradías were imposed by the Church in order to "pump out" funds from the indigenous peoples.

A number of historians have contended that the few initial cofradías fell into disuse once the religious fervour of the primitive Church and its converts was lost, but I have argued that the mendicant Orders were unlikely to have allowed their most important cofradías to be abandoned, for there were always friars especially devoted to them. This was particularly so in the case of the Dominican Cofradía del Rosario in the diocese of Oaxaca.

It cannot be denied that there is little archival evidence of the early cofradías (48), and here I have suggested that many archives could not be properly cared for when the first conventos were little more than huts (49), and once building, often over many years, was under way. It is for this reason that I have turned to the writings of the 16th century Franciscan friars and the Dominican historians of the colonial era, in order to sustain my arguments.

There is no doubt either that the sodalities increased greatly in numbers in the second half of the 16th century, but I have suggested that this was partly because few churches were built outside the central area before the 1550s, and once these had been constructed their side altars would have been the occasion for instituting more cofradías, whose mayordomos would care for them. The same must have been the case with the hospitals and their attendant sodalities, for although there were hospitals in all the

cabeceras by 1585, most were built by order of the Primero Concilio Provincial Mexicano of 1555, to assist the victims of the frequent epidemics which afflicted the Indians (Chauvet Fidel, 1984b. p. 45).

The Church was ambivalent in its attitude towards the cofradías, as will be seen from the legislation which it enacted in the 16th century, and which I shall discuss in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 3.

1. Duhr, Joseph. "Confrérie", Dictionaire de Spiritualité. pp. 1469-1471.
2. "Confraternities and Archiconfraternities." New Catholic Encyclopaedia. Vol. IV. p. 154.
3. The Third or Tertiary Orders were associations of laity observing papally approved rule under the direction and in the spirit of a religious order. "Third Orders." New Catholic Encyclopaedia.
4. Goodrich, pp. 182-3. Vicaire, Humberto. O.P. "El espiritu de Santo Domingo y su intención en la fundación de los predicadores." pp. 19-20. Melcón, Angel. O.P. "Santo Domingo de Guzmán: Semblanza." p. 20. The Order was confirmed by Honorius III in 1216. A number of papal bulls of recommendation were issued in 1219. Two friars were sent as missionaries to Scandinavia, and others elsewhere in 1220 (Ibid. pp. 34-35. Ulloa, p. 17).
5. Ulloa, pp. 17-21. It is clear that the dual role of the Dominicans, determined thus early in their history, long continued. The Dominicans in the Valle de Oaxaca often held office in the Inquisition, whilst Burgoa's histories constantly testify to their use of preaching in their missionary work, and to their edifying lives. They followed the Rule of St Augustine from 1216 (Melcón Angel, p. 34).

6. Southern, pp. 307-8. Some parallel may be seen between these phenomena and the dramatic rise in charitable and flagellant confraternities in late 16th century New Spain, amid the trauma of demographic collapse.

7. "Rosary Altar Society." New Catholic Encyclopaedia. p. 670.

8. Bull of Innocent XI "Ad perpetuam rei memoriam." 31st July 1669. Reprinted in Mexico in 1749. p. 1. This bull includes a history of the Cofradía de la Virgin del Rosario, and lists the indulgences available to its cofrades, including those ceded in 1510.

9. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Church enacted legislation to limit the number of godparents, and, specifically, co-godparent ties available to a particular person (Mintz & Wolf, pp. 345-52). However, despite attempts to limit the number of occasions when more godparents could be acquired, every Mesoamerican and Andean village has its vital web of ritual kinship ties, which give strength to the individual and uphold village solidarity against the often hostile national society (Gillin. "Moche"). It is quite possible, however, that the early friars attempted to Christianise what seemed to them to be the more innocent aboriginal practices in this manner; for example first hair cutting among the Aymara and the Inca, and hetzmek, the occasion when a child is first carried on its mother's hip, among the Yucatec Maya (Redfield & Villa Rojas. p. 98).

It has been shown that, in a village in the Tlacolula arm of the Valley of Oaxaca, the wives of converts to Evangelical cults are very isolated by

reason of their lack of comadres, and even if, as widows, they reconvert they are still unacceptable as godmothers (Sault, pp. 225-243).

10. Motolinía, Fray Toribio. F.M. "Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España." pp. 61-63. Fuller accounts of this procession are given in Las Casas, Bartolomé de "Los indios de México." pp. 28-30. Las Casas, "Apologética Historia." Ch. LXIII and LXIV. In Motolinía, p. 61, n. 3 suggests that the more extensive description in the "Apologética" may be Motolinía's original one. It includes descriptions of Biblical plays performed by the Nahuas in structures along the route. Las Casas attended a Dominican Chapter in Mexico City at this time, and was invited by the Franciscans to sing Mass at the Feast of the Assumption in Tlaxcala in 1538. He describes fine singing and playing by Indian musicians, and plays performed in their own languages (Las Casas, "Los Indios de México." pp. 28-31, 31 n. 76).

11. Introducción to the Index to Ramo de Cofradía y Archicofradías. AGN. Mexico City. p. 1.

12. Concilio Provincial Mexicano 1555: Ch. LXXV. Introducción. I, III & IV. AGN. Ramo de Cofradías y Archicofradías. IV & V. Herrera Contreras, pp. 360-372, 356. Libros de Cofradía in APZ. The Libro de Cofradía del Rosario 1716-1801 was generally visited by the Dominican Prior, or the Provincial, but occasionally by the Bishop.

13. Libros de Cofradía. Archivos Parroquiales de Zaachila and San Pablo y San Pedro, Etlá, also known as Villa de Etlá in the 19th century.

14. Chance and Taylor, p. 8, Gibson, p. 127. Macleod, p. 75. and Gibson, "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule." in ed. Bethel L. "Colonial Spanish America." p. 378.

15. González Ponce, Enrique. Introduction to AGN. Ramo de Cofradías y Archicofradías. V. "Lugar en que deben erigirse las Cofradías."

16. Bloch, Maurice. "Marxism and Anthropology.". Bloch's critique of Harris's lack of rigour is contained in pp. 130-138. I would argue that James B. Greenberg shows this same tendency in "Santiago's Sword. Chatino Peasant Religion and Economics", his otherwise interesting study of the civil-religious hierarchies in the Chatino-speaking area of the State of Oaxaca..

17. Burgoa uses the word "bower" suggesting a flimsy structure, but this was probably a form of open chapel for the celebration of Mass, which could be observed by a large congregation standing in the open air. It appears that the atrio, a platform with several steps leading up to it, was the initial structure in a doctrina. This was walled with a capilla posa at each corner, and Kubler reproduces the Franciscan Valadés's scheme for its use, which he included in "Rhetorica Christiana..." (Ricard, p. 322. Kubler, II. Illustration 237, p. 338). This plan shows a capilla abierta built against the wall facing the entrance gate, and the many sacramental and teaching

activities, which took place in the atrio so that the friars might not be impeded by the lack of a properly constructed church. Kubler suggests that a number of dotted rectangles in the drawing may represent burials (Ibid. pp. 314-6, 338) . Mullen states that these "small roofed sanctuaries " were rarely used after the church was built (Mullen, pp. 185-6), which may be why so few examples remain.

18. Ricard, pp. 165-167. Motolinía, p. 54. Some think that the spacious roofless chapel at Cuilapan, with its open arches was an open chapel. Burgoa thought that its structure was intended to allow ease of access, and Mullen, in his study of Dominican architecture, refers to it as having "so many attributes of an open chapel", but having originally been roofed (Burgoa, I. p. 402. Mullen, pp. 102-4. Figures. 45-9). There are several true open chapels in the Mixteca Alta, of which Teposcolula is a particularly fine example (Ibid. p. 138. Figs. 56-8).

19. Mendieta, pp. XVIII. 609-10. "...y despues de haberle hecho muy solemnnes exequias todos ellos en comun, se les hicieron en particular cada cofradía por sí, y cada pueblo y aldea de la comarca,...." (Ibid. p. 611). Mendieta knew Motolinía, and at one stage served in a convento of which he was the guardian (Ibid. p. XVIII).

20. Kobayashi, p. 292. Torquemada, II. Libro V. pp. 359-61. This is an original chapter by Torquemada. Much of his work consisted of transcriptions of other chroniclers' work, with his own additional comments and personal observations. (Gurría Lacroix Jorge "Fuentes de la Monarquía

Indiana." in Vol. 7). However, this was by no means unusual and events of particular interest are repeated by both Dominican and Franciscan chroniclers.

21. Motolinía, pp. 63, 63 n. 11, 65, 65 n. 19. regarding the author of these passages.

22. Sepúlveda, 1976. 6 (re Hospital Real), Apéndice 2. pp. 19-20. of AGN. Ramo de Cofradías y Archicofradías. Vol 18. Folio 123. Also, Señor Pompa y Pompa's Microfilm of the Archivo Parroquial de Zaachila in his collection of Mexican parochial archives made in 1940 (INAH. Mexico City and Oaxaca).

23. Archivo Parroquial de Zaachila. Still called by its Nahuatl name, Teozapotlán, in the 18th. century records.

24. Spicer, pp. 24, 25-6. In his monograph on the Yaqui of Potam, Sonora, Spicer states that two unescorted Jesuits who entered Yaqui country in 1617 were greeted with enthusiasm, and hundreds went to them for baptism. They reduced the scattered people into eight villages with churches, but in Yaqui mythology these are now said to have been founded before the Conquest, and the dates as well as the names of the founders are known. The Jesuits remained peacefully in the village until 1740, but their influence still remains. Each church has the same group of images, apart from the patron saint, and these include five Virgins, of whom N.S. de Loreto is the patroness of the Matechines dancers, who perform during

Holy Week (Spicer, pp. 24, 25-6. Mompradé & Gutiérrez, Tomo II. pp. 357-61).

25. Celestino & Meyer, p. 111. Santo Toribio was Professor of Law at Salamanca, and president of the court of the Inquisition in Granada. In 1580, still a layman, he was appointed Archbishop of Lima. His first visitation of the archdiocese took seven years, and showed many of the colonists and clergy to be corrupt, whilst many of the baptised Indians knew little of Christianity. He founded the first seminary for clergy in the Americas (DOS. pp. 331-2. Poole, pp. 56, 140. Butler, "Lives of the Saints." pp. 420-2).

26. Armas Medina, p.433: "El Concilio Tercero Limense prohíbe fundar nuevas cofradías y aconseja reducir los ya existentes, si fuera posible. El motivo era doble: la oposición de los religiosos a que los obispos visitasen las que estaban fundadas en sus iglesias y las constantes y desmedidas peticiones de limosnas" (Armas Medina, p. 433).

27. Arroyo states that Dávila Padilla later introduced this as a devotion, so that any cofrade who wore a Rosary gained 200 years indulgence, and 200 cuarentenas each day (Arroyo, II. Entry under Teotitlán del Valle. p. 219). A cuarentena is a period of 40 days of pardon from abstinence.

28. AGEO. Real Intendencia. II. Leg. 5. exp. 9. 1797. A request for a doctrina to become a "pueblo formal" states that they have a good church, which is being completed and was built at the cost of the Indians and

cofradías. It contains "ornamentos, vasos, sagrados colgaduras, retablos. Donantes de la iglesia, Imagenes y todos quantos utencilios son necesarios, todo decente"

29. León, p. 21. The different types of expenditure covered by the accounts of the Codice Sierra have been shown in Appendix I. The greater part of the costs were concerned with making the church suitable for worship, with the necessary cloths, vessels, candlesticks and vestments for Mass, as well as musical instruments, including an organ. It was abandoned, (Ibid. p. 7) when, as a Dominican doctrina, it was moved to the present site of Santiago Tejupan, which was accepted in the Actas of 1572 (Mullen, p. 74).

30. Codice de Yanhuatlán. p. 27. Ch. 5. This church was accepted in 1538 and 1548, and was one of the earliest built in the area, which might account for its collapse (Gay, p. 191. Mullen, pp. 122 n.7, 151 n.11, 234, 138-9. Ulloa, p. 134). Its replacement and the convento of Teposcolula are the finest in the Mixteca. The huge numbers involved in its construction have been discussed in Chapter 2 (see page 107).

31. Alvarez. Entry, including my quotation, under "La Capilla del Rosario." This is the official illustrated guide and the pages are not numbered.

32. La Maza. "La decoración de la capilla del Rosario de Puebla." p. 12. Although, the chapel in Oaxaca is still richly decorated, the guide states that it was extremely so. However, it was taken over during La Reforma, when

only three ancient friars were living there. In 1862, the priory became a barracks, and the church a cavalry stables. The church was returned to the bishop in 1898, by Porfirio Díaz and the Dominicans returned in 1938 (Alvarez. Entries under "Y esta es la historia." and "Fina/"). Today part of the priory is a Dominican house, part is still a barracks, and part is a state museum, which includes one room devoted to Dominican history, and a number concerned with ethnology and archaeology.

33. La Maza, pp. 11-12. Arroyo, II. P. XXXIV. The Rosary is still repeated in chorus in the Valley churches today. This occurs when there is no priest present, as on the evenings when mayordomías are held in villages with no resident priest. In such cases the priest from its cabecera religioso celebrates Mass each morning for the duration of the mayordomía, which may last for up to three days.

34. Libro de Cofradía del Rosario. This page is badly torn at one edge and certain words are missing. The line referred to reads, "A todos los fieles asi hombres como <..... > que en ella se sentaron"

35. APZ. Unfortunately, as was stated in my discussion of Fray Juan de Córdova's "Vocabulario" in Chapter 1, the Zapotec spoken at that period is not understood today, except by some five or six people (Personal communication by Dr. John Paddock).

36. This was for those who bought La Bula de la Santa Cruzada. (AGEO. Obispado, Leg. 20. Exp. 33. La Bula de la Santa Cruzada. Ch. VIII & Ch.

V). The introduction to BAGN Tomo XXV. 2. 1954. "La Bula de la Santa Cruzada" states: "Fue ésta uno de tantos donativos gratuitos de los que hizo pesar la monarquía española sobre la Nueva España, aduciendo pretextos religiosos que nunca llegaron a tener efecto" (p. 179). See also "Rosary." CODCC. p. 445. Usually, only a third of the Rosary, the "chaplet" is said at a time.

37. Codice de Yanhuitlan. Apéndices. "Capellanía de Don Gabriel de Guzmán." dated 24.3.1576. There appear to be no colonial wills either in the State or Notarial Archives of Oaxaca.

38. Ed. Anderson et. al. "Beyond the Codices." p. 45, Part 1. "Wills and related Documents". pp. 45-83. Doña Catalina de Sena, Coyoacan. 1588. pp. 54-7; Juan Fabián, San Bartolomé Atenco. 1617 : Mass for his late wife. p. 61; Don Juan de Guzmán, Coyoacan. 1622. Masses for himself, for his long dead sister, and for the souls of a Cacique and Cacica of Quauhtitlan. pp. 64-8. Several other wills make similar provisions.

39. Poole, p. 74, p. 250 n. 54. La Bula de la Santa Cruzada (AGEO. Obispado de Oaxaca. Legajo 20, exp. 33). "La Bula de la Santa Cruzada" in BAGN. Tomo XXV. 2. Secretaría de Gobernación, México. 1954. pp. 179-186.

40. Archivo Histórico del INAH. 2a Serie. Legajo 66-5. 66-23. INAH Library Archive. Museum of Anthropology, México, D.F.

41. APZ. Loose leaf dated 14th August 1709 headed "La Bula de la Santa Cruzada".

42. BAGN. Tomo. XXV. pp. 179-186. In 1751 Ferdinand VI decreed that the Indians be "moved and persuaded" by their priests to pay for the Bull, and the Visitador Don José de Gálvez reformed its administration in 1765. We learn from the Libro de Cordilleras <del Obispo> del Archivo Parroquial de San Pablo y San Pedro, Etlá 1815-1889, entry dated 16.10. 1822 that after Independence the Graces and Privileges of La Bula de la Santa Cruzada were nullified, but other Graces, Indulgences and Privileges conceded to churches, cofradías and obras pías were to continue (Ibid).

43. Farriss, p. 40. Defines the Bull as "a papal indulgence permitting the eating of meat on fast days," which the Indians were obliged to buy although they could rarely take advantage of it. However this was not always the case as instanced in AGEO, Obispado, Legajo 5, Exp. 17, 1805. This refers to an obra pía, valued at 4,000 pesos, which had been established by an earlier secular priest for the Indians of Chichicastepeque, on the precise condition that it was used to buy the Bula de la Santa Cruzada for those in the doctrina. These had cost 178 pesos for the previous bi-annual preaching. The infidel being fought at that time was Napoleon.

44. Sepúlveda, 1976. Apéndice 3. p. 21. Statutes 10, 11.

45. AGN. Cofradías, Vol. 15. Exp. 5. Folio 140. "Patente de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento y Nuestra Señora. del Rosario, fundada en la Iglesia del Pueblo de Tepozatlán". Page 2 of this Expediente appears to be the second page of the Patente of the Cofradía del Ssmo Sacramento of Tepozatlan and this page, together with the Patente de la Cofradía del Santísimo. Sacramento fundada con Autoridad Ordinaria en la Iglesia Parroquial de San Augustin de las Cuevas" (INAH Archivo Histórico. Legajo 66) show that if a cofrade died indebted to the Cofradía de Santísimo Sacramento for 4 months in Tepozatlán, or by a third of his dues in San Augustin de las Cuevas nothing was due to him, although otherwise he would have received a shroud, candles, and a sum in pesos.

46. The above two Patentes also show that a cofrade paid 2 reales on entering the Cofradía, 1 real on Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi and ½ real each week and took part in 125 Masses each year apart from other pious works. Compulsory donations were called "de contribución" and the fee, known as a cornadillo or jornadillo, was paid weekly, monthly or yearly (Lavrín, 1984. p. 102).

47. This custom was probably quite prevalent, but may have been partly due to the influence of the priests. In the case of the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora. de la Limpia Concepción de Juquila, Zaachila, which will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, all the vecinos were expected to become cofrades, according to the will of Nicolasa Vázquez, but none had to give alms. Donations were also made in other forms. The Nahuatl will of Angelina de San Simón Pochtlán, 1695, left a grandchild to the Cofradía del

Candelaria so that he could work for it, as well as a plot for him to cultivate. She also left a house to the church of Santa Catarina as well as a plot to be cultivated by her granddaughter (Anderson et. al. p. 71). Land was donated to several cofradías in the doctrina of Coyoacan in 1621 (Ibid. p. 113). This was quite common, although it might have alienated land needed by the testator's family, but in the late 17th century the Cacique of Etlá actually donated community land to the church (Taylor, 1970, p. 28).

48. José de Martín Rivera argues that large numbers of sodalities were erected because of the need to substitute Christian celebrations for the many pagan ones. He also comments, given their importance, on the comparative lack of documentation of cofradías - only nineteen volumes in the Ramo de Cofradías and Archicofradías in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, although further information is scattered through a variety of other documents, including visitas, censos (censuses), bienes clero and occasional statutes and indulgences (Martín Rivera, in Dussel pp. 150, 148-9).

49. Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 45. "...y aunque las nuevas iglesias eran tan pocos, y fragiles en lo material..." (Dávila Padilla, p. 506). The priests, in such cases, lived in huts without windows or doors, so they presumably had nowhere adequate to store documents. In some cases they lived in the bower church or open chapel itself, which was little more than a shield from the sun.

CHAPTER 4.

The Church in New Spain after the Early Conversions: the Juntas Eclesiásticas and the Concilios Provinciales.

"Era antiguamente mucho numero de gente, y de muchos principales, pueblo como donde estava la Corte, pero el día de oy no hay sino poca gente, y principales casi ningunos; que sean las causas de auerse acabado y muerto e yrse a ojos vistos acabando solo Dios lo sabe." Fray Juan de Mata. Relación de Teozapotlan (R.G. p. 191).

I shall now discuss the Indian, as seen by the church hierarchy, with some references to the debate upon rationality discussed in Chapter 2, but principally from the evidence of the deliberations and recommendations of the Juntas Eclesiásticas held in 1524, 1532, 1539, 1544 and 1546 (Poole, p. 128), and the legislation of the Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos of 1555, 1565 and 1585. However, decisions that were based upon economic considerations will be dealt with in the next chapter. The Church's attitude was largely paternalistic in intent, but it had another aspect for it attempted to restrict those customs that were not in accordance with Spanish Catholic practice and tradition, or what, ideally, it should have been. It is hardly surprising that there were constant attempts to extirpate every vestige of pagan religion, including such practices as the dancing, feasting and drinking which accompanied fiesta celebrations, but, apart from this, all marriage customs were under attack throughout the Colonial era, as

well as other indigenous customs deemed immoral when judged by Christian and European precepts.

It will be argued, therefore, that despite the evidence of the churchmen's desire to protect the Mesoamericans, for it must be acknowledged that the stamping out of pagan practices was a means of ensuring their salvation, these attitudes demonstrate the incapacity of incumbents of all ranks to appreciate the horror of the Conquest, both military and religious, when viewed from the standpoint of the indigenous peoples, every aspect of whose lives was being assaulted. Naturally, to the missionaries, fiesta celebrations were the most obvious evidence of the survival of pre-Hispanic religious customs and so the legislation against the proliferating cofradías might be seen as one of the many measures designed to extirpate them. It will be further argued, therefore, that the survival in the Valley of so many of the indigenous practices, in the face of such odds, is an indication of the extraordinary tenacity and resilience of the Zapotecs and the other linguistic groups living there. But then again, it is hardly surprising that practices and beliefs which had existed for many hundreds of years should continue, if only in syncretic form.

The Juntas Eclesiásticas of the early years of the Conquest were meetings of senior churchmen, both secular and regular, to discuss the problems facing them in the Christianisation of New Spain, and to make recommendations regarding their solution, although they could not legislate as such at that time. The first convocation, the Junta Apostólica, was held only three years after the fall of Tenochtitlán, and was attended by Hernán Cortés. It was basically concerned with counteracting idolatry, as well as with the administration of the sacraments, and the teaching of the faith, for at this time huge numbers were being converted. It was decided that the pueblo gobernadores,

who were appointed yearly from the cacique rank, should gather the village people together on "días festivos", which would include Sundays, and take them to Mass in a procession headed by a Cross. They would then be taught the rudiments of Christianity, but the children were to be taught the doctrine and music daily (Concilios Provinciales, I & II. pp. 6-7. Intro. by Archbishop Lorenzana. Llaguno, pp. 8-9).

The teaching of children was of prime importance in the early years of proselytisation, for they were to be the means of ensuring that the next generation was brought up in the Faith. Moreover, it was felt that only the first generation of girls need be taught Christian doctrine, for, as mothers, they and their female descendants would automatically transmit it through the family (Motolinia, pp. 182-3. Kobayashi, p. 284). Music always played a vital role in religious teaching. Pedro de Gante, aware of its importance in prehispanic religion, taught the doctrine in specially composed verse, and the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo and Salve in plain chant (Kobayashi, p. 197). Writing in 1769, Archbishop Lorenzana commented, in his introduction to the first publication of the First and Second Councils:

"...Igualmente permanece hasta el presente la práctica de que se enseñe Canto llano, y música á los Indios, y haya Cantores en las Iglesias,..." (Concilios, I & II. p. 1).

But music and musicians came to have their controversial aspects, as legislation discussed in the following chapter will show.

In 1532 Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal of Santo Domingo, when president of the second Audiencia, held two Juntas, (Llaguno, p. 13) of which the second was extremely important, for it contained the following statement, which clearly shows the

influence of the views upon rationality prevailing in the Antilles, regarding the ability of the Mesoamericans to understand Christian doctrine.

"Item todos dijeron que no hay duda de haber capacidad y suficiencia en los naturales y que aman mucho la doctrina de la fe y se ha hecho y hace mucho fruto y son hábiles para todos los oficios mecánicos y de agricultura; y las mujeres honestas y amigas de las cosas de la fe y trabajadoras" (Ibid. p. 13).

Not all Churchmen thought thus, and Fray Domingo de Betanzos had testified before the Council of the Indies in 1534, whilst on his mission to ensure the autonomy of the Dominican Province in New Spain, to the effect that the Indians were inhuman; that is natural slaves (Ricard, pp. 90-91. Ulloa, p. 138 n. 62) As a result, Fray Bernardino de Minaya left for Spain after the Dominican Chapter of 1535 to speak against this assessment. But Cardinal Loaysa had been convinced by Betanzos, and so Minaya left for Rome in 1536 with a letter from the Dominican Bishop of Tlaxcala, Fray Julián Garcés, which Ulloa describes as one of the most beautiful missionary texts of the Americas, and another from the Empress for her ambassador, and thus obtained the Papal Bull "Sublimus Deus" in 1537 (Ulloa, pp. 137-8. 138 n. 62). In this Paul III stated unequivocally that the Indians were capable of becoming Christians, and that they, and any other pagan peoples encountered, should be encouraged to embrace Christianity without any loss of their freedom or possessions (Ricard. p. 91. Zavala, 1964. p. 42).

Yet, in the same year the bishops of Mexico, Oaxaca and Guatemala, in a letter to the king, asked that the rural Indians be reducido (settled) in towns, because of the difficulty of carrying out missionary work in communities whose populations were widely scattered (Llaguno, pp. 14-15). As the archaeological evidence cited in the first

chapter demonstrates, the Valley Zapotecs had been urbanised from early in their history, but their mistreatment by the Spaniards living in the Valley had led many to flee to inaccessible areas. Only six years before, on June 23rd 1531, in its instructions to Diego de Porras, its procurador (advocate) before the Spanish court, the Cabildo of Antequera had stated, after referring to the disturbances which similar Spanish behaviour had given rise to, and which had led to Ramírez de Fuenleal's expedition (Gay, p. 173) to the Valley, referred to on page 101:

"Otro sy hareys relación a su Magestad del mucho daño que viene a los naturales e pobladores desta villa e sus comarcas el remover de los repartimyentos que de los naturales en los españoles se haze por que como no veen ny conosgen nynguna perpetuydad los que los tienen en encomienda, los fatigan e trabajan demasiado por donde los naturales se consumen e apocan, y ellos viendo las novedades y mandamientos de cada día, sirven de mala voluntad e se despueblen de sus casas é abitan en montes é sierras ásperas donde no pueden ser avidos ny admynistrados en las cosas de nuestro fee catolica, antes alli ydolatrean y hazen sus sacrificios comyendo carne humana e haziendo otros graves pecados sin pod ellos castigar, de que dello se haze mucho ofensa a Dios Nuestro Señor é desseruigio a Su Magestad é mucha alteración e desasosiego de toda la tierra, por que suplicareys a Su Magestad haga merced a esta dicha villa de que los repartimyentos de los naturales della se den perpétuos á los españoles y vezinos della para siempre jamás: por que desta manera seran muy relevados y bien tratados é los dichos naturales se abmentaran é mas ayna vernán en conosçimiento de nuestra Santa fee católica e la tierra se asentara e poblará de mucha mas gente españoles y todo estará en paz y concordia en servigio de

Dios N.S. y de Su Magestad é bien é seguridad de toda la tierra" (Colln de Doc para la Hist de Oax. 1933. pp. 20-21.)

Such people were clearly destined for natural serfdom!

The bishops also asked for powers to destroy the temples and their contents in order to prevent the nobles, both caciques and principales, from going to the temples to make secret offerings to the idols at night (Llaguno, p. 16). This is not merely further evidence of the spiritual role of the nobles but suggests their dilemma, for whilst they were only able to retain their cacicazgos by embracing Christianity, it was by sacrificing to the idols that they were enabled to maintain that part of their temporal role which concerned the welfare of their subjects, as was evident in the case of the principales' sacrifices to the ashes of Petela in 1580, referred to on page 53 (The Cacique and Señor of Temascalapa in Villa Alta explained this aspect of his role very clearly during a severe drought, which afflicted his town, probably in the 1560s:

".... Padre Jordán, qué Dios nos has dado? tan sin provecho, y sin socorro a nuestras necesidades, ésta que estamos padeciendo de tan grande seca se la habemos representado muchas veces, y significamos los grandes trabajos que nos esperan, y que por tí echamos a nuestros dioses, de casa, y como estábamos hechos a que luego nos enviaban agua cuando faltaba, y se la pedíamos, ahora me veo yo obligado, por que no perezca mi pueblo, a dejar este nuevo Dios, que nos has dado, y volver a los dioses antiguos, que nos conocen, y entienden, si tú no alcanzas de este tu Dios, que nos dé agua, y remedie este daño:..." (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 111-2).

Unfortunately, Burgoa, in recounting this, in the late 17th century, sees only "ciega audacia y bárbara fragilidad". But Fray Jordán, distraught at this evidence of his failure resorted to tears and supplications to God, as well as a procession of the Santísimo Sacramento, all of which resulted in heavy rainfall and the repentance of the cacique and his people (Ibid. p. 113).

I suggest that even the relative humanity of the humanist primitive Church in New Spain, and the rest of the Indies could never have alleviated the trauma of a society which was being systematically devastated by a combination of religious proselytising and moral fervour as well as by Spanish secular greed. This was certainly the case in Oaxaca by 1537.

Slavery, as was mentioned on page 102, was not abolished until the New Laws of 1542 were enacted, but as they were inspired by Bartolomé de Las Casas, it is not surprising that the Dominicans had acted much earlier than the Crown in this matter, for at the first Dominican Chapter whose Acta survive, that of 1535, it was decided that none of their houses were to receive slaves, even if they were given as alms for service to the Church, and that all their existing ones were to be given complete liberty (Mullen, p. 23. Cruz y Moya, II. p. 20). The Conquistadores and settlers in the colony gave and sold their Indian slaves as they wished, but the Dominicans, in accordance with this Acta, frequently preached against this practice, which they held to be unlawful and unjust (Ibid, II. p. 20).

It is hardly surprising, given all these instances of maltreatment that many of the Valley people had fled to the nearby, but near inaccessible, sierras! It should be kept in mind, however, that the co-operation of the nobles was essential to the Spaniards, for

they it was who governed their communities, collected tribute, supplied slaves, mobilised labour and were even military leaders in the Spanish expeditions of 1525, 1526, 1547 and 1549, whilst in the early 17th century, they arranged reducciones (settlements for scattered Indians) or congregaciones as well. Hence, those who were baptised, and co-operated after the Conquest, were enabled to maintain their estates and possessions. In this they received the backing of the Dominicans, for their example as converts was vital to their missionary work (Taylor, 1970. pp. 4-6). But, clearly, they had little choice in these matters and it is impossible to gauge at what psychological and, indeed, moral cost they did so.

They had to stand by as their temples and idols were being destroyed and their dependants conscripted to build Christian conventos and churches, as well as civic buildings. They had obtained slaves through purchase or war for their personal service and for ritual sacrifice to their deities - an honour even in the victim's terms - now they had to supply them to the Spaniards for the appalling hardship of work in the mines in order to assuage a lust for gold, which they were unable to understand. Burgoa, who shows great understanding of the human cost of mining in the area at a later date, states that before the Conquest it was only the Señores, who:

".... gastaban en ídolos, y alhajas de su servicio, el oro y las piedras, y uno, y otro hallaban los vasallos en diversos arroyos, y quebradas que con las avenidas de las aguas traían la tierra" (Burgoa, 1. pp. 376-7).

The Junta Eclesiástica of 1539 was attended by the bishops, including Quiroga, the provincials of the Orders, and ecclesiastical scholars. On that occasion it was the administration of the Sacraments that was principally addressed, for it was then thought that the initial problems of teaching the doctrine had been solved (Llaguno,

pp. 20-21). Even so, it had to be stipulated that adults were not to be forced into learning by beating or imprisonment. Rather they were to be gently persuaded. Nor were they to be kept in the friaries for long periods for this purpose, as was often the case, because this increased the burden of those others who were working to sustain the friars (Ibid. pp. 16, 18-19). The greatest number of recommendations, however, concerned idolatry, which was naturally linked to fiesta celebrations (Ibid. pp. 17-18).

This Junta also forbade the use of "braceros de copal, ni fuegos de noche, ni de día delante de los cruces, porque ellos lo usaban ya antes en sus idolatrías", whilst small private oratories were proscribed (1). Nevertheless, it ordered that some of the most capable literate mestizos and Indians, with a knowledge of Latin if possible, should enter the four minor orders in order to help the priests and serve as acolytes at the altar (Ibid. pp. 21-2, 21 n. 62. Poole, 1989, p. 12). Among those attending it were the bishops and the provincials of the Orders.

Bishop Llaguno S.J. believes that the Junta of 1539 was the most important ecclesiastically. He further considers that the members were moved by love and goodwill towards the Indians, but legislated as for Spain, and this, he argues, is why prehispanic survivals persist to this century (Llaguno, p.18 n 52). He also feels that that of 1544 had more sociological significance. At this Junta Bishop Zumárraga of Mexico, Bishop Zárate of Oaxaca and his dean, and Fray Domingo de Betanzos were among those attending. During their deliberations, the Junta decided that both the missionary effort and Christian colonization should be extended peacefully into the unsettled territories, although it was realised that fortresses would have to be constructed in the more dangerous areas. This had originally been recommended by Las Casas (Llaguno, pp. 22-3).

The New Laws which were based upon his ideas, and which had been promulgated in 1542, were also studied. They finally prohibited slavery, and attempted once again to address the ills of encomienda. Tribute was to be set officially, and not to be excessive, and those royal officials and clergy with grants of Indians were to give them up at once. Most importantly, on the death of an encomendero his encomienda should be taken over by the Crown (Gibson, 1966. pp. 59-60), but the Junta was specifically opposed to this on the grounds that the friars were maintained by the encomenderos and that without them they would be unable to minister to the Indians (Llaguno, p. 24). The encomenderos themselves were up in arms everywhere, and actually revolted in Peru, so once again it was realised that the laws were unworkable and this measure had to be rescinded (Pagden, 1982. p. 108).

However, although slavery was abolished, Chance argues that this was done only in the technical sense, and the use of forced labour under encomienda and repartimiento can have been little different from the Indian viewpoint (2). Further to this the Juntas recommendations show that the Indian was by now seen as a weak and indecisive being unable to define and defend his own needs without the tutelage of the Spaniards, both ecclesiastic and lay, whilst the Creoles (persons of pure Spanish descent born in the Americas) were the sons and "verdaderos civilizadores" of the country (LLaguno, pp. 25-26. Poole, 1989. p. 13).

The final Junta was held in 1546, when Las Casas, now Bishop of Chiapas was among those attending. It was considered very important, but only fragments of its deliberations have survived. Its principal concern was that the Indians "...sean bien instruidos y enseñados en las cosas de Nuestra Santa Feé Cathólica y en las humanas

y políticas" (Llaguno, p. 26). Clearly they were still not seen as entirely civilised and once again it was proposed that they be reduced into towns as the solution to this problem. As a result the King decreed that this be the policy in Peru as well. It was also decided that catechisms to ease the teaching of the doctrine should be prepared (Ibid. pp. 27-8). Las Casas wished the Junta to include comments on such matters as the injustice of war against the indigenous peoples, but the other bishops opposed this (Ibid. pp. 28, 28 n. 89).

The Juntas are important in that they show the concerns and attitudes of the most distinguished churchmen of the primitive period, and, as will have been realised, produced recommendations of far-reaching importance, but the Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos, as Bishop Llaguno has stated, not only revised the findings of the Juntas to meet the circumstances of their times, but enacted legislation which covered every aspect of Church life in New Spain (Ibid. p. 30).

The First Council consisted of ninety-three chapters, one of which specifically concerned the cofradías. This was printed in 1556, and all the parish priests were expected to have a copy within six months. The Second consisted of an additional twenty-eight chapters, which were expressly designed to bring the first into line with the Council of Trent (1545-1563). This was lost in the archives of the Council of the Indies and neither was approved by Rome (Poole, 1987. pp. 127, 129-30). The Third, convened by Archbishop Moya de Contreras in 1585, when Bishop Ledesma of Oaxaca and the Dominican Provincial, Fray Domingo de Aguiñaga, were among those attending, included much of the legislation of the First, but was comparable to Trent in its scope and complexity. It was published in 1622. In his introduction to the first publication of the First and Second Councils in 1769, Archbishop Lorenzana, stated

categorically that the Third "...sirve hoy de norma para la Disciplina Eclesiástico en esta metropoli" (Concilios, p. A 1-2. Poole, p. 129). There are only occasional references to the Council of Trent in the Libros de Cordillera in which the eighteenth century Bishops of Oaxaca recorded their directives to the Valley priests, but the Third Council is constantly cited, and their parish Visitas were carried out in accordance with the rules laid down by it. The Fourth Council, was held in 1771, but, being mainly concerned with the expulsion of the Jesuits, was not endorsed by Rome (Poole, pp. 162, 202).

The Primero Concilio Provincial Mexicano stated in Chapter I that the Indians should know the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo and Salve Regina in their own languages, and that after confession the priests should hear them say their penitential prayers before absolving them. Chapter IV required Doctrinas to be written in many languages, and Chapter LXIX that both these and sermons in Indian languages should be examined by priests or religious familiar with the relevant tongues. The Doctrinas were, according to Chapter IV, to include the Articles of Faith, the Commandments, and the Mortal Sins, but the priests were only expected to teach what was vital for salvation and set aside the Mysteries and "cosas arduos" which, it was thought, could not be understood.

This was the era of the Counter Reformation. The Inquisition had forbidden the reading of Erasmus in Spain in 1537 (Chadwick, p. 253), and in New Spain the optimistic humanistic spirit of 1532 had passed, as had the initial enthusiasm of the missionaries as they faced the reality that many of their converts had a poor grasp of the essentials of Christianity. It is true that the two chapters of the Council cited had identified the problems inherent in preaching and teaching in unfamiliar languages, but

they appear to have ignored, or been unaware of, the fact that the Indians' inability to understand the more complex theological matters was frequently a result of this linguistic deficiency coupled with bad teaching by many priests. This matter will be considered further when discussing tithes in the next chapter.

A number of other measures were designed to deal with this problem. Well-instructed Indian catechists were to teach the children in villages with no resident clergy, but they were forbidden to set up schools (Ch. LXVI). Then the question of reducciones was addressed yet again, but in the most unfortunate terms, for Chapter LXXIII puts it to the King that, as those in scattered settlements live more like beasts than rational political men, it is only by reducing and congregating them that they can become truly Christian, political and rational beings. However, it was also realised that the behaviour of the Spanish settlers was still often far from ideal, so clauses were included which stopped any practices, such as trading on feast days, which caused scandal to the converts (Ch. XIX), whilst further measures were enacted to prevent their being exploited by the clergy (Ch. LIX).

Chapter VI was concerned with stamping out public sins and idolatrous behaviour. Public sins included clandestine marriages, non-church marriages, and public concubinage as well as the practice of magic and shamanism, which had been dealt with in Chapter V. Of these sins, only polygyny, of which further instances might have been found as new areas were incorporated into the colony, was successfully stopped; but at great cost, for although the children of concubines did not, as a normal rule, inherit cacicazgos, their situation and that of their mothers had been a perfectly honourable one. The Relación de Guaxilotitlán states that the prehispanic caciques married fifteen or twenty women, and that a marriage broker bearing gifts

negotiated with the parents of the girl of his choice (3). Such marriages appear to have been endogamous and would have bound the cacique to his cacicazgo subjects by a web of affinal ties which enhanced his prestige and power, in a way that his class endogamous, cacicazgo exogamous formal marriage could not. It is also possible that, as in the case of the Texcocan king Nezahualcoyotl, such liaisons knew no class barriers (4). The shifting alliances resulting from cacique marriages, and the constant wars between the Valley towns would, surely, have made the cacique's position a vulnerable one had he not had this means of ensuring town solidarity.

Further, it is possible, that the webs of affinal ties resulting from polygyny might soon have been replaced by compadrazgo (the godparent complex) ties, for the First Mexican Council sought to lessen the incest taboo between compadres by limiting the baptismal godparents to one compadre and one comadre under pain of a three peso fine (Chapter XXXII). Compadrazgo in Europe, however, had, like cofradía, long been impervious to Church legislation, and the Council of Trent likewise limited the number of sponsors, and the resultant ritual kinship relationships. The missionaries themselves appear to have been happy to Christianise the more innocuous customs by the addition of godparents.

The large numbers of compadres who can be acquired in this manner help to maintain town solidarity in the face of overwhelming odds, and it may be that the ideal relationship between compadres, and the number of occasions upon which they could be acquired, was seen as a means of substituting the affinal network by another equally extensive one. Throughout modern Latin America it is common for a rich and influential village farmer to have many ahijados (godchildren); up to a hundred in some cases: and the manner in which he articulates his web of ritual kin when financing his

year in ritual office and holding his mayordomía, or fiesta celebrations, may be reminiscent of the manner in which the caciques manipulated their many affinal ties. However, to the Spaniards the practice of polygyny and the large number of, to them, illegitimate children resulting from it was an immoral abomination (5).

I have discussed this matter at some length, because I would suggest that polygyny coloured the entire attitude of the Church towards Indian sexual morality. Furthermore, this was compounded by the existence of clandestine "marriages in prohibited grades of consanguinity and affinity to the offence of God." Dahlgren identified the following Mixtec royal marriages: ego and his sister, his brother's daughter (his parallel cousin), and his sister's daughter (his cross cousin). Referring to his work Spores and Flannery state that evidence of such marriages is lacking for the Zapotecs (Spores & Flannery, 1983. p. 340), but the Bishops' Libros de Cordillera for the Valley were still ordering that they be nullified, at Lent in the early 19th century: "... casados incestuos, que hallandose impedidos concurren(?) a confesarse...." (APE. February 1811).

Another result of this perception of indigenous sexuality was an insistence upon early marriage. All the Relaciones Geográficas of 1580 refer to this and suggest that it was a contributory cause of the shorter Zapotec life span in the post-Conquest age. They generally give twenty as the eligible age. That of Amatlan written up by the Corregidor Nicolás de Espindola gives marriageable age in the Colonial era as from twelve to fifteen for boys (R.G. p. 118). The Ordenanzas of Quiroga for his hospitals give fourteen for boys and twelve for girls (Aguayo Spencer, p. 251). This suggests that the Zapotec assessment of the situation was correct, as childbearing would have occurred at a much earlier age.

The Church's duty to impose Christian morality once it had baptised its converts cannot be denied, but I would argue that these measures suggest that few attempts were made to understand the rationale behind indigenous practices, and that there was an arrogant indifference, on the part of Churchmen intent on imposing Christian morality, to the suffering caused, particularly to secondary wives and their children, by attempting to alter indigenous customs so quickly and so radically (6).

I now turn to those measures that were designed to remove the residue of indigenous religious custom and practice and which, therefore, were basically concerned with fiesta and cofradía, and the supervision of these. Not surprisingly church images, especially those carried in processions, were a cause for concern. It was felt that the Indians painted them indifferently, being somewhat ignorant of the craft, and what was represented by the sculptures. It was therefore decided that neither they, nor the Spanish craftsmen, were to paint statues or retables unless they had been examined and licensed by a competent authority. Regarding those already in use, Chapter XXXIV concluded with the instruction:

"..; y asímesmo las Imágenes que hallaren, que no estan honesta, ó decentemente ataviadas, especialmente en los Altares, ú otras que se sacan en Procesiones, las hagan poner decentmente."

Correct behaviour in church was of paramount importance, and was the subject of Chapter XXVII, which decreed that there were to be no plays without special licence, no vigils for the Passion and Resurrection or on any other occasion, and that the churches were to be kept closed at night. Furthermore, no eating, drinking, dancing or

other "dishonest" behaviour was to be allowed in them. This suggests that initially the interiors of the churches in front of the altars were seen as the equivalent of the spaces in front of the pyramid temples, and that some had been used at night in this capacity, when no priests were about. However, in Spain similar prohibitions on Vigils had been in effect for over a century for similar reasons in every diocese:

"... the profanation of sacred places by dancing, feasting, and drinking, farces and plays, and secular, dirty and lewd songs" (Christian, p. 164).

Patronal celebrations in modern Mexico are those which are generally most elaborate and various, and at which masked dance groups are most likely to perform. Masked dances were regarded by the Church with particular suspicion and rightly seen as a link with the pre-Hispanic era. In his study "La danza de moros y cristianos", Arturo Warman suggests that dances such as the Danza de la Pluma, which is still widely performed in the Valleys, were the friars' solution to the problem posed by the fundamental difference between the active participation of worshippers at prehispanic ceremonies, and the passive behaviour expected of them at Mass, and represent the fusion of the more acceptable indigenous practices with popular Spanish ones of the era (Warman, p. 71).

In this dance the "Aztec nobles" dances are indigenous, but the dance-drama is concerned with the Conquest by Cortés, and the triumph of Christianity. This then is the context in which chapter LXXII of the First Council was drawn up in the following terms:

".....estatuimos, y ordenamos, que los dichos Indios, al tiempo, que bailaren, no usen de insignias, ni máscaras antiguas, que pueden causar alguna sospecha, ni canten cantares de sus ritos, o historias antiguas, sin que primero sean

examinados los dichos cantares por Religiosos, o personas que entienden muy bien la lengua, y en los tales cantares se procure por los Ministros de el Evangelio, que no se traten en ellos cosas profanas, sino que sean de Doctrina Christiana, y cosas de los mysterios de nuestra Redención...."

Apart from this restriction, they were not to dance before dawn or before High Mass, but could do so from then until the bell rang for Vespers, which they had to attend. Nowadays such dances usually begin in the early afternoon, and continue until about 7 or 8 o'clock. They usually take place in the large churchyard, the atrio, which was the scene of much of the teaching of the doctrine in the 16th century.

It was, of course, the caciques and principales who held the knowledge which would have helped the priests to identify what were truly pagan survivals, and so, threatening to the practice of Christianity. Moreover, it was they whose baptisms in the early days of the Conquest had played such a vital role in the missionary process, but who by the time of the First Council had, whilst outwardly devout, frequently felt compelled to turn to their old deities or spirits in defence of their people.

Chapter LXIII of the Concilio attempted to counteract such backsliding by ordering that the señores and principales should not make their confession in towns other than their own without permission, whilst those who did not confess once a year were to be expelled from their churches. Many did this, but the nobles were the most guilty, and it was felt that they did not wish to confess to their own priests as this would mean their giving up their "ruinosas costumbres". Instead, they preferred to seek another "médico", who was unaware of their particular "enfermedades", and, although this is not spelled out, their unfortunate influence upon their subjects. The

confessional must have been a valuable tool for identifying and repressing undesirable practices, as its use by Balzalobre in the idolatry case in the Sola area referred to on page 50 demonstrates.

However, this measure was only partially effective. Burgoa cites a later case in the doctrina of Justlahuaca, Mixteca Baja, possibly in 1620, where, for eighty years, people from remote areas and different linguistic groups had congregated in a hidden cave for sacrificial rites. Such were the numbers implicated that only their leading priests were punished by public whippings and deprivation of office. As only the nobles could hold office in the Repúblicas de Indios, their ambiguous religious position is here made clear (7).

The treatment the Valley Zapotecs and Mixtecs received at the hands of the settlers, and the harsh attitude of the missionaries towards their previous religious beliefs and practices, however sympathetic they might otherwise have been, meant that there was still unrest in the Valley after that of the 1530s had been quelled. This occurred not long before the First Council. In 1547, a number of towns, but not doctrinas, near Antequera rose in the name of a new god, and, led by their caciques, marched upon the city in an attempt to put an end to the political and economic dominion of the Conquistadores. The caciques were persuaded to desist by the intervention of the Dominicans from the friary, who were well known to them (Huerta & Palacios, pp. 69-71. Gay, pp. 201-2). Then, in 1550, in the same area, a movement with similar objectives was initiated by some of the old caciques in the name of Quetzalcoatl, who was said to have reappeared to lead his people out of subjugation (Huerta & Palacios, p. 78. Gay, p. 202).

There appear to have been no later rebellions as serious as those in Chiapas and the Yucatan in the Valley itself, but it could be argued that those occurring in colonial Chiapas and during the Caste Wars of Yucatan, which were articulated through the cofradías, were, in part, a protest against the lack of a native priesthood. It was the First Council, attended by Vasco de Quiroga, which forbade the ordination of Indians to the priesthood. They were not even to enter minor orders, or hold sacred vessels, although the 1539 Junta had recommended that they do so (Chapter XXXIV. Poole, 1987. pp. 128-129).

Fray Daniel Ulloa, O.P., argues that this radical change resulted from the baleful influence of Betanzos as the confessor of Archbishop Zumárraga, which persuaded him to withdraw his approval and donations from the school at Tlatelolco (Ulloa, p. 230). In 1544 Betanzos and the Dominican Provincial from 1541-1544, Fray Domingo de la Cruz, had written to the King stating their reasons for believing the Indian nobles unsuitable for training for ordination: they were vicious and lacked authority in their pueblos; they were too insecure in the Faith to be capable of preaching it without error; they lacked the ability to reach a true understanding of matters of Faith, and so to explain them without "grandes impropiedades" (Ibid. p. 229).

Bishop Llaguno believes that this prohibition, together with its insistence that the Indians should receive the Eucharist and be taught the doctrine in their own tongues, was the most notable aspect of the legislation of the First Council (Llaguno, p. 35). He precisely defines the nature of the Indian as understood by the members of this Council. He was:

"....: un ser inconstante, mal inclinado, de poca capacidad intelectual, débil. Con todos sus derechos de cristiano; pero bajo la tutela y protección de los eclesiásticos y misioneros" (Llaguno, p. 35).

However, its members did stress the duties of those priests who worked among the Indians.

The chapter in that Council which contained legislation on cofradías, number LXXV, was a general one designed to protect all cofrades of any race, from the vows taken upon entering the many cofradías, which had by then been illegally erected. It stated:

"Algunos, movidos con buen zelo, ordenan, y establecen Cofradías en las cuales hacen Estatutos, que por no ser bien mirados, se siguen de ellos muchos inconvenientes, á lo qual queriendo poner remedio estatuímos, y mandamos, S.A.C, <Su Alteza Católica> que de aqui adelante en este nuestro Arzobispado, y Provincia, no se hagan, ni establezcan Cofradías algunas de nuevo, si no fuere con nuestra especial, y expresa licencia, ni se hagan Estatutos, Constituciones, ni Ordenanzas, ni se guardan, ni obedescan, sin que primero sea todo por Nos visto, y examinado, aprobado, y confirmado, y si lo contrario se hiciere, por la preferente Constitución lo anulamos, y damos, por ninguno, y condenamos á los Cofrades, que en ello fueren culpados, en pena de diez pesos aplicados para el Hospital, y pobres de la ciudad, ó Villa....."

It is possible that this clause was more applicable to the Indians and razas of New Spain than to the Spaniards and Creoles, but the intention here is unambiguously benevolent, and aimed at protecting the faithful. The same is true of that decreeing that hospitals for the poor, which were also to serve as hostels for travellers, were to be built in every pueblo (Poole, 1987. p. 128). Nor are these isolated instances. Certain

relevant chapters of this and the Third Council, which are sympathetic towards the economic plight of the Indians, will be covered in the following chapter, but Chapter XCII also demonstrates an awareness of the difficulties which the First Council may have caused them, for it exhorts the bishops, when on their yearly parish Visitas to treat them with understanding:

"...Porende S.A.C. declaramos, que las dichas penas por Nos puestas en estas Constituciones, no se entienden por los Indios, sino es donde en ellas señaladamente se les impone alguna pena, porque mirando su miseria, y teniendo consideración, que son nuevos en la Fé, y que como tiernos, y flacos con benignidad han de ser tolerados, y corregidos, queremos no obligarlos `a otras penas, mas de aquellas, que el Derecho Canónico por ser Christianos los obliga, y `a las que arbitraria, y benignamente los Prelados, y Jueces Eclesiásticos por su desobediencia les pareciere, y quisieren obligar y condenar".

If the risings demonstrate the disillusionment of the indigenous peoples with the behaviour of their Christian conquerors, Church legislation demonstrates the disillusionment of the spiritual conquerors with their catechists after the first heady years of conversion. Archbishop Montúfar celebrated the Second Council after The Council of Trent had been convened to deal with the growing number of European "heretics" and take them back into the fold (Concilios, I & II. Lorenzana, pp. 187-8).

This Council had several chapters that were relevant to the missions. The priests were to help their people by saying Mass before they went to work (Chapter VIII), and, where there was no friary or resident priest, they were to be allowed to hear Mass in the nearest town, as ordered by the Ordinary, and not forced to travel long distances (Chapter IX). They were not, however, to be given access to any scriptural writings

apart from the Doctrinas in their own tongues (Chapter XIII), but this would have been much in line with practice elsewhere. The tension between the regulars and seculars was recognised, and the former were ordered to preach or hear confession in the secular's parishes "de buena gana", when asked to do so (Chapter VII). The religious were also expected to attend public processions, including the Santísimo Sacramento, which was only to be celebrated at the cathedral at Corpus Christi, when the bishop, required them to (Chapter X).

This Council also ordered that processions in general were to be held with due solemnity and forbade village processions in honour of the Patron Saint unless the priest was present (Chapter XI). If this was not possible the celebrations were to take place some days earlier. This may have resulted from unsupervised processions becoming somewhat bacchanalian, but it may have been equally applicable to Europe, as the Second Council was designed to bring the First into line with Trent. In Spain, for example, processions were forbidden to leave the towns because of immorality when nights were spent at a shrine, or because too much eating or drinking occurred (Christian, p. 164).

The Third Council met at the instigation of Archbishop Moya de Contreras, who, like Santo Tiribio of Lima, the convenor of the Tercero Concilio Limense, was a post-Tridentine priest. Father Stafford Poole defines the best clergy of this type in the following terms:

".... very much an organization man: something of a legalist, he was proud of his calling and status and was possibly a little triumphalistic and formal in his ways. But he was also dedicated, giving of himself and his time, and devoted to the correct fulfilment of the liturgy. He was narrow perhaps, but educated and even

scholarly within limits: a man who read his breviary and had a deep, if somewhat structured and formal, spiritual life " (Poole, p. 3).

Moya de Contreras was such a man, and his priests were likely to conform to this type to a greater or lesser degree, in conformity with the rulings of the Council of Trent regarding their preparation. Thus, the scandal of the often venal, and ill-educated secular clergy who went to the Americas was, to an extent, to be removed. It was their existence, as well as the conflicts between seculars and regulars, which had bedevilled the later years in office, in his frail old age, of the previous Archbishop: the Dominican Fray Alonso de Montúfar who had presided over the first two Councils. But his difficulties were posed as an economic problem concerned with tithes, and so will be considered in that context.

Now, however, a number of measures designed to address this situation were introduced. No secular priest was to be ordained unless a living that could maintain him at a decent standard of living was available (8). This was intended to prevent his having to undertake work other than his parish duties in order to survive, but the problem was never really solved and was probably a contributory factor to the financial exploitation of the parishioners when it occurred. Further to this, those beneficed priests who worked in Indian parishes were to be given six months to learn the language, and, if they had not done so by then, were to be deprived of office (Third Concilio. pp. 46, 172. García Icazbalceta, 1904. p. 95).

Oposiciones, that is the competitive examinations by which professional Spaniards advance in their careers, were also introduced at this time for those entering the priesthood, as a means of improving their educational background. The question of

the ordination of Indians and castas (persons of mixed blood) was again considered, for item XXVII of the Introduction to the Third Council stated that only Creoles might be ordained as priests. But it at least envisaged a time when they might prove to have sufficient Christianity and capacity to be considered as eligible. However, they were rarely ordained in the Colonial era, and there were certainly cases of nobles with a true vocation who were never able to enter the priesthood. Indeed, Poole argues that the ordination of Indians was seen by the bishops as a downgrading of the entire priesthood (Poole, 1989. p. 15).

Nevertheless, the saintly Dr. Nicolás del Puerto, who became Bishop of Oaxaca in 1679 after a distinguished career, dogged by envy, as priest, lawyer and academic, was a Zapotec noble from Santa Catalina Minas. Ironically, the fact that he had such a career was due to his leaving Oaxaca for Mexico City, after having been failed in oposiciones for a parish by persons who were his inferiors, when he bitterly vowed only to return as bishop. He died in 1681 (Gay, pp. 367-70. Velasco Pérez, p. 106).

Archbishop Moya de Contreras, who had been a canon and civil lawyer, was not ordained until 1571, three years before his elevation to the archbishopric, and was the first secular priest to be appointed to this high position (Poole, 1987. pp. 10-11). The previous archbishops had wished to promote the position of the seculars, but he was singularly determined upon the advancement of his diocesan priests over the regulars, and it was also stated in the Council that no-one should enter the Orders without having first been examined, and that he should be examined further by a bishop (Ibid. 38. III Concilio. p. 46).

The spiritual welfare of the Indians was carefully considered. They were to be taught properly, and to be adequately prepared to receive the Eucharist, "the food of life and the soul" (Ibid. p. 193). They were also to be treated "sweetly and benignly" lest they be afraid to go to confession (Ibid. p. 210). Priests were to be present at Indian burials and not to leave this rite to the church singers, who by then had assumed a very important role (Ibid. p. 266). No priest was to leave his parish without permission (Ibid. p. 173), and all the towns under his care were to be visited at least twice a year or the neophytes would soon forget what they had learned (Ibid. p. 213).

This is another example of the difficulties under which the missionaries laboured, and their rare visits to the sujetos are a further explanation of what was perceived as the inability of the converts to grasp the complexities of Christianity (9). In addition to this, the approach to the cult was to be less ornate: relics were to be authenticated, and indulgences carefully examined (Ibid. p. 179), whilst the veneration of the saints, a means of glorifying God, was to be shorn of its irreverent, profane, and superstitious aspects. Hence, dances and profane songs were not to be permitted during the celebrations of fiestas, Christmas and Corpus Christi (Ibid. p. 320), and Indian dances and games that referred to the old false beliefs were also forbidden (Ibid. p. 23). This suggests that previous legislation against them had been ineffective.

Moya de Contreras hated heresy and as the first official Inquisitor of New Spain, in the period before he became archbishop, had presided cold bloodedly, but legalistically, at the tortures of certain prisoners and at their trials (10), so it is hardly surprising that short shrift was given to pagan practices, although some sympathy was shown towards the Indians.

The number of fiestas to be observed by them was to be considerably fewer than those the Spaniards had to keep, although there were still eleven apart from Sundays. These were Christmas Day, the Circumcision of the Lord, Epiphany, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, the first day of Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Birthday of the Virgin, the Incarnation and Annunciation, the Purification of the Virgin, and the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Other celebrations might be held at their own discretion. There was also to be some protection from Spanish exploitation, for the Spaniards were not to make them work on their haciendas or other properties on those days without a licence from the Ordinary, nor were they to hold markets then (III Concilio. p. 143).

In the Third Council, whilst there were no specific statutes limiting the cofradías, the bishops were to visit the hospitals, hermitages, cofradías and other pious works in each parish, in order to ensure that they were conducted in accordance with their statutes of erection and foundation (Ibid. p. 357). This instruction was still being carried out in the 18th century, and when the bishop was visiting a doctrina, he wrote a report covering every aspect of religious life there, including the state of the church, its altars and ornaments.

In their reports, the Bishops of Oaxaca invariably made observations and recommendations to the incumbents regarding the cofradías. It was probably the most efficient way of keeping them under review. However, one can gauge the resilience of the Zapotecs in their celebration of fiesta from the Visita of Bishop Don Antonio Bergoza y Jordán to Zaachila in 1802, as well as the failure of the 16th century Juntas and Concilios in this respect, for it reads:

"Que con toda eficacia de exhorto, y amoneste a los Indios, que en las fiestas que celebran a los Santos excusen todo gasto superfluo en danzas, comidas, y

bebidas, portandose en moderación, para que de este modo sean gratos de Dios, y a los Santos los cultos que los ofresco, y en extinga con lo possible (....) originado de la emulación con que hacen abominables sus ofrendas" (APZ. Libro de Cordillera 1789-1830).

In this chapter, I have shown that the Church's early recommendations and later legislation during the sixteenth century reflect the changing spirit of the age from the optimism and humanism of the Juntas, through to the disillusionment of the Counter Reformation period, which led to unmerited blame being put upon the Indians for their backslidings, when more emphasis should have been given to the shortcomings of missionary teaching and the low ratio of priests to congregation; for this meant that for vast numbers teaching was at best erratic; and for many near non-existent once they had been baptised.

The reformatory post-Tridentine legislation was drawn up at a time when demographic collapse from epidemics was at its worst, and was probably exacerbated by years of forced labour on building programmes, and the attack upon, and attempts to disrupt, every aspect of indigenous culture and domestic life. It may have been the fear engendered by the appalling death rates, and the need to turn to the ancestral spirits, which accounted for the tenacity with which the indigenous peoples throughout the Americas continued to practice syncretic religion when lauding the saints, and do so to this day to the anger and dismay of the village priests.

However, it must also be recognised that the Church faced a near impossible task when it attempted to minister to such large numbers of converts in the early years, when it was staffed by few clergy, regular or secular, and had, at the same time, to

deal with so many and such diverse linguistic groups. There were valiant and imaginative attempts to grapple with the problems, but the scale was too great to be comprehended, and the later perception of the Indian as a weak, childlike, and savage being negated much of the good done by the primitive humanist Church, and meant that their plight could not truly be understood and appreciated.

In his paper "The Declining Image of the Indian among Churchmen in the Sixteenth Century" Father Stafford Poole argues that the change in the perception of the indigenous peoples owed much to the influence of the attitudes of Saint Augustine upon the views predominating during the Counter Reformation. A matter which, he believes, has not been given due consideration. Saint Augustine, aware of the errors of his youth, saw human nature as intrinsically evil with little hope of salvation except through the intervention of the Deity; and that in relatively few cases. Poole also points out that if the legislation of the post-Tridentine Concilio suggests that the bishops and those they consulted saw little hope for the Indians, they also saw the Spaniards as "religiously illiterate, greedy, lazy, selfish and exploitative", and all priests as "lazy, avaricious, lecherous and unworthy of confidence" (Poole, 1989. p. 16).

The late-16th century Dominican Actas suggest that the Provincials and definidores regarded the religious in much the same way, and it may be that their directives were informed by the same Augustinian attitudes rather than indicating the friars' inexorable decline into decadence that Padre Ulloa's analysis, which was discussed in the previous chapter, suggests. Even so, it is clear that much was wrong.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 4.

1. Braceros de copal are still carried, and also placed at corners during village fiesta processions in the Valley, and every house has its House Altar, which is, presumably, the successor to the small private oratories, which this Junta also proscribed (Llaguno, p. 18). Writing in the early 17th century, the Dominican historian Fray Hernando Ojea noted approvingly that every Indian house, however poor, had its altar with its many images in the main room (Ojea, pp. 8-9), and this is still the case. Attempts were also made to curb dancing and the voladores because they were distracting, and because of their vital role in indigenous religion. Hence bells, rather than the voladores and the dances, were to call the people to church, and dancing in church was forbidden (Llaguno, pp. 17-18).

2. Chance, 1978. p. 52. In fact, Indian slaves existed long after 1542. Chance states that in 1550 the Marquesado had 31 Indian slaves on its cattle ranches in the Valleys, 12 of them from other regions (Ibid. p. 52). Cortés died in 1547 and an inventory of his goods includes 82 male and 83 female slaves at his sugar mill in Tlaltenango, Morelos, but not their descendants who were free from 1542. They included a Zapotec woman from Tepeaca. The inventory of another mill, Axomulco, in 1549 includes six Indian slaves of whom one had been condemned for twelve years of which he had served only three: hence he had been condemned in 1546 (Zavala, 1984, pp. 208-9).

In 1553 the Audiencia argued that slavery should continue to be used, as had been the case since the 1530s, as a punishment for idolatry, human sacrifice, murder, rebellion, and robbery, rather than such Spanish sanctions as death, torture, mutilation and

galley service, or many would have to die. But although in 1555 the Crown stipulated that this should not be a life sentence, many were thus punished for minor offences. Philip II tried to prevent abuses in 1567, but Borah believes that he failed because of the Spanish colonists' demand for labour. Few regained their freedom (Borah, 1983. pp. 49-51).

3. R.G. p. 198. This role is now undertaken by the huehuete in the Valley villages. He takes a candle for the house altar on his second visit, asks permission to light it, kneels and prays, and then converses with the girl's parents. On the third visit he takes presents of mezcal (Oaxacan spirits akin to tequila), cigarettes and fruit, and he and the father arrange the date of the wedding (Cordero Avendaño, pp. 70-1).

4. Martínez, pp. 56-58. This intellectual 15th century poet-king is said to have had one legal wife and many others from every class - twenty to thirty is suggested - by whom he had one hundred and nineteen children of whom two were his legitimate heirs. Most of his sons became famous captains who helped him in his conquests, and three of his daughters are known to have made strategic marriages to lords of his kingdom and in one case to an ally in the Triple Alliance: the Señor of Tacuba. Hereditary custom varied among the various Mesoamerican peoples, but this example does give some indication of how polygyny worked there. If a similar situation prevailed in the Valley, it might have been that the daughters of the secondary marriages of caciques were married into the principal class, thus strengthening the ties between these classes of nobles.

5. In the modern Indian villages of Mesoamerica ritual kinship ties are sought, because the relationship is more ideal than that between consanguineal kin. Cordero

Avendaño's informants in the Tlacolula Arm of the Valleys stress the care, which must be taken in choosing a baptismal godparent, because of the lifelong responsibilities involved. The incest taboo between the parents' and godparents' families includes kin in the "ascendant, descendant and collateral lines" (pp. 86-88). The number of occasions for acquiring compadres varies as between villages, and I believe that when such ties are very extensive they demonstrate a closing of ranks when a community finds itself in a beleaguered situation in its relationships with the outside world. The coastal village of Moche, in Peru, which has fourteen occasions for acquiring Community compadres, is an extreme example of this (Gillin, John. "Moche a Peruvian Coastal."). Parsons in "Mitla: Town of the Souls" lists padrinos of baptism, confirmation, first communion, and marriage, as well as a madrina de vela who burns a candle in church for a sick child and padrinos de la cruz, who pay the priest's fee for blessing the cross for a new house (Parsons, pp 68-70). But it is hard to determine whether these have any links with preHispanic customs, as is the case with Inca first hair cutting for Andean babies.

6. The tragic consequences which could occur are clear from the case of Cinacantlán (Zinacantan), Altos de Chiapas where the Spanish colonists intervened on behalf of the Tzotzil-Maya because they were so unhappy, and requested that their wives should be allowed to leave slowly; but the missionaries in this Dominican area were adamant, although the wives were unhappy if left alone after the others had gone, and this led to suicide in one case (Chavez Salvador, III. pp. 202-3).

7. Burgoa, I. pp. 355-6, 361. According to Burgoa, there had been no idolatry in the area since that time, and this had been achieved by the preaching and example of a principal and by promoting fervent devotion to the Rosary, which was said in the

native tongue in chorus. Its cofradía became very important there. Clearly, in this case the friar's ideal model of this cofradía proselitista as a tool for inculcating Christianity was well founded.

8. III Concilio, p. 42. As the complete reference of Libro and título is not always given in the Lorenzana publication of III Concilio, page numbers have been given for the sake of uniformity.

9. It is a situation which has never been improved in the New World. The Valley priests today live in the religious cabeceras and each visit a number of lesser towns, which may include civil cabeceras. 10. Father Poole C.M. p. 36. At the auto de fe of 1571 a number of French and English "corsaires" were summarily dealt with. The English were mostly survivors of Sir John Hawkins's expedition of 1568, and were seen as "an avant-garde of Lutheranism, the catchall term for Protestantism" (Ibid. p. 35). One was burned at the stake, one garrotted, two sent to the galleys, another to prison, although he had some freedom later, and two to three years labour in friaries (Ibid. p. 36).

Chapter 5.

The Economic Dilemma of the Church in Sixteenth Century New Spain and its Attitude towards the Economics of Fiesta.

In this chapter I propose to examine the situation referred to at the end of the previous one, namely the Church's urgent need and desire to eradicate pagan practices and teach basic doctrine towards the end of the 16th century. I shall now show that this situation, which was partially the result of the low ratio of priests to converts and the many linguistic groups they had to deal with, arose from the economic dilemma of the Church in New Spain. This lasted until 1600, and arose from the comparatively low amount that could be raised from tithes. As a result, few funds were available either for training secular priests or paying their stipends, as the situation in Oaxaca shows very clearly. It was therefore necessary, as well as imperative in the post-Tridentine climate, to find ways of ensuring that those who submitted themselves for ordination were suitably and properly educated, and ensured of a reasonable income, so as to prevent their becoming a burden on the Indians, or devoting time to commercial interests instead of their parish duties, as had often been the case.

I shall also show that as one of the objectives of the bishops attending the Council of Trent was that of lessening the power of the Orders, this, together with the promulgation of the Ordenanza del Patronazgo strengthened the bishops in New Spain in their fight to secularise the doctrinas. Although Philip II had initially defended the Orders, this Ordenanza increased the power of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, thus exacerbating the power struggle between the bishops and the religious,

whom they found too independent in their role as parish priests; for they owed their allegiance to their provincials and Rome rather than the bishops and the Crown.

I shall then demonstrate that the lack of tithes had a further effect upon the economic welfare of the Indians in that there were no fabric funds available for the building and furnishing of the parish churches, and yet it was necessary for them to be made suitable for orthodox worship, and so, many of the resultant expenses had to be met by the Cajas de Comunidad (town treasuries). It might be argued that the Church was exigent in its requirements, but it must have considered that visible signs of orthodoxy must be imposed if the converts were to be lured away from pagan and syncretic practices, and it should be stressed that both the Church and the Viceroy tried to limit the sums spent. I shall also suggest that despite its predicament, the fact that there were cofradías, which could pay for wax and masses, and to some extent for Church furnishings, the Church was more concerned with orthodoxy than economics in its attempts to limit both fiesta and cofradía.

The background to the mid-16th century Church crisis will be first considered first. The

Crown secured the Real Patronato from the Pope in 1486, and was thus able to appoint all clergy in Granada and the Canaries. In 1501 and 1508, papal bulls extended this privilege to the Americas, with additional powers enabling it to appoint and dismiss clergy, raise revenue, and rescind papal decrees. Although there were exceptions, those appointed to higher office were, as a rule, Spanish, devout, celibate, and university educated (Kamen, 1983, pp. 45-48). This care had not, unfortunately, been extended to the lower echelons of the secular clergy, who were frequently ill-educated and of scandalous behaviour, but it was not until the Council of Trent that

legislation was enacted to improve the situation (Elliott, pp. 103-4. Chadwick, pp. 278-9).

Cortés was well aware of this problem, as his Carta de Relación of October 15th 1524 makes clear. In arguing his case for only employing friars as missionaries, he contrasted the seculars unfavourably with the Mesoamerican papas, saying:

"... los naturales de estas partes tenían en sus tiempos personas religiosas que entendían en sus ritos y ceremonias, y éstos eran tan recogidos, así en honestidad como en castidad, que si alguna cosa fuera de esto a alguno se le sentía era punido con pena de muerte; y si ahora viesen las cosas de la Iglesia y servicio de Dios en poder de canónigos u otras dignidades, y supiesen que aquéllos eran ministros de Dios, y los viesen usar de los vicios y profanidades que ahora en nuestros tiempos en esos reinos usan, sería menospreciar nuestra fe y tenerla por cosa de burla;..." (Cortés, p. 203).

He also begged the emperor to intercede with the Pope for the extension of the powers of the Franciscan and Dominican provincials when they arrived, and even opposed the sending of bishops as they would waste Church funds on pomp and other vices (Cortés, pp. 203-4).

In fact, as there were few bishops in the New World, the mendicants had already been granted extraordinary powers by the Pope in the Bull "Exponi Nobis" of 1522, known as the *Omnímoda*. This granted those Provincials who were two days' journey from a bishop privileges, which encroached upon practically every, preserve of the episcopacy, with the exception of ordination. Thus they could confer minor orders, bless chapels, altars, chalices and church furnishings, and even confer those indulgences that a bishop bestowed in his See (Poole, 1987. p. 67). The bishops, of

course, ordained those friars who became priests, but otherwise jurisdiction over them was exercised by their priors and provincials, and they deferred to Rome rather than the Crown (Ibid. pp. 67-8).

The conflict between the bishops and the Mendicant Orders was by no means confined to the New World, for the bishops had always resented their lack of control over conventual life, but it was exacerbated there by the many privileges enjoyed by the friars. Hence, the bishops, when they arrived, had to attempt to impose their administrations upon the existing well-regulated system, which left them little room for manoeuvre. In effect, this reversed the accepted practice, but the friars' position was made unassailable by their papal privileges, particularly the Omnímoda, which they were only too happy to cite in their defence. As Father Poole argues, the scene was set for a power struggle from the first (Ibid. 66-8), and this was the case, as will be seen later in Oaxaca, even when, as not infrequently happened, a bishop belonged to an Order.

The first bishop in New Spain, the Dominican Fray Julián Garcés, who became a defendant of the Indians like others of his Order (Ulloa, p. 138 n. 62), was appointed to Tlaxcala. He arrived in 1527, whilst the Franciscan Fray Juan de Zumárraga was resident in Mexico-Tenochtitlán from 1528 (Gerhard, 1972a. p. 17. Alcalá p 58. Ulloa, p. 133), although Mexico did not become a diocese until 1530, and it was not until 1533 that he was consecrated as its bishop. Antequera became a bishopric in 1535 (Poole, 1987. p. 22. Gerhard, 1972a, p.17), and whilst the friars could not have been particularly well-established at that time, owing to their absence in Mexico City from 1531-1533 during the struggle to set up an independent Dominican province (Ulloa, pp. 119-26), Bishop López de Zárate had, nevertheless, to tackle a monumental task

in becoming familiar with his vast See and establishing his administration. It was indeed fortunate that he was in charge of the See for twenty years and so had time to do so effectively.

This, then, is the background to the bishops' desire to secularise the doctrinas, even when they themselves were friars. It may be, too, that in the latter case they feared that what was, in effect, the life of a parish priest might, if exercised for too long a period, prove too seductive for men who had vowed to follow the Rule of their Orders. It was only in the Dominican houses at Mexico City, Puebla and Antequera that the Rule could be followed to the letter (Mullen, p. 38), but it must be said that the lives of the finest Dominicans who worked in the Valley of Oaxaca, whether of the ultrarreformista persuasion or not, do not give the impression of any kind of indulgence. Indeed, according to Burgoa, they were frequently more austere than the Rule demanded, fasting on bread and water more often than was necessary and using the discipline to extreme (1).

Apart from the desire to secularise the doctrinas, the primitive Church was facing a crisis of personnel for in the early years there were thousands of converts and few priests. But, after the initial fervour of conversion had passed, and the problems of post-Conquest life discussed in the previous chapter began to take their toll, both missionaries and converts lost some of their initial fervour, and there was a tendency for caciques and principales to perform secret rituals to their own deities in despair at having left them, and in their preCortesian role as intercessors for their people. This meant that the need for dedicated priests in New Spain was even greater, but the ratio of priests to people did not improve.

This situation was constantly referred to by the second archbishop, Montúfar, in his letters to the king in the late 1550s and the 1560s. In 1556, he stated that two or three friars might have ten to twenty pueblos de visita as well as their sujetos in their charge, which meant that they often had care of over 100,000 souls. This was particularly so in the case of the Franciscans (ENE. VIII. No. 441. pp. 72,73). The Indians were only tithed on "las tres cosas", as determined by Zumárraga: wheat, livestock and silk; and so Montúfar was concerned about the low income thus raised, because part of it should, as in Europe, have paid clergy stipends (Ibid. pp. 70, 77-9). All the Religious Orders argued that the payment of tithes would be too great a burden for the Indians to support, and so the king should pay any secular clergy. They further suggested that the tithe gatherers might bully the Indians into paying more than was stipulated (Ibid. pp. 81-3, 84-5), and feared that the Church might be seen to be more interested in making money than gaining souls. But, Montúfar argued that the friars' stance was due to their wish to maintain their monopoly of missionary work (Ibid. 460. p. 178). This, although he was himself a Dominican.

The encomenderos were expected to pay the priests' stipends at that time, but, said Montúfar, who was writing at a time when the effects of the great epidemic of 1545 to 1547 were being felt, if there was insufficient tribute to sustain both encomendero and priest, it was the priest who suffered (Ibid. No. 460. pp. 178, 181). Certainly, secular priests were often reluctant to serve in towns held in private encomienda for this reason, and so, as Montúfar observed, many were only visited occasionally. Everyone but the regulars agreed, Montúfar said in a letter to the Council of the Indies in 1554, that the Indians would be happy to pay tithes, if they were sure that properly chosen priests could be sent from Spain (2). There were hot and mountainous areas,

where the religious had not wished to found houses at that stage, and where innumerable

TABLE 5.1.
DIVISION AND DESTINATION OF TITHES.

DIVISION IN ACCORDANCE ACT OF ERECTION OF THE SEE OF
OAXACA..#

Bishop's stipend	25% }
Cathedral chapter's stipends	25% } =50% ÷ 2
Parish priests' stipends *	22.2% }
Establishment & support of hospitals	8.3% }
Upkeep of church & cathedral fabric **	8.3% }
King's 2/9ths - spent at his pleasure ***	11.1% }=50% ÷ 9
# Almost entirely enacted by 1555.	

DESTINATION OF TITHES.

* Any surplus to Chapter to ensure that Canons' stipends were paid

** a) Funds for church building diverted entirely to cathedrals for building and maintenance. The only departure from the Real Ordenanza (Borah, 1941. pp. 390-3).

b) Upkeep included wine, wax, the Host, ornaments, vestments, certain salaries, and the fabric of the buildings (Schwaller, 1985. p. 74).

*** 2/9ths of the Antequera tithe used to build cathedral and hospital.

DIVISION OF TITHES IN 1571.

Bishop	1240.
Chapter	1240.
Priests	1104.6
Hospitals	412.5
Cathedral	412.5
King	551.4

CATHEDRAL STAFF: MEXICO CITY IN 1564 AND 1566.

Bishop, 7,353 pesos de tipuzque	=1,700 approx.común.
Dean and dignatories (5)	600-633.
Canons (10)	450-475.
Racionero (6)	299-316.
Medio-racioneros (6)	149-158.
Organist	39-200
Secretary	16.

Sacristan	50.
Indios chirimías	120.

Source: Schwaller, John F. "Origins of Church Wealth in Mexico." pp.7-8

children died without baptism, whilst the adults received no sacraments unless a priest was passing through; not even confession and the last rites (ENE. VII. 422). These, of course, were the areas where the bishops would have preferred to see the friars acting as missionaries rather than having to endure their presence in the role of independent parish priests in the central doctrinas.

There was a further suggestion, which the archbishop considered in the same letter, namely that the Indians should not pay tithes but that part of their tribute should be used to pay the priests instead. However, he argued, the tribute received by the king from towns held by the Crown was insufficient for this purpose as his officials had stated that there was barely enough to pay their own salaries. Similarly, the encomenderos would have little left, if they were to pay the priests from their tribute as well as the caciques (ENE. VII. p. 422).

Tithes were distributed in each diocese in accordance with its Act of Erection, but whilst there was probably little variation in these, the peculiar economic and geographical circumstances of each see naturally affected the amount collected, and Oaxaca was, as will be seen, greatly disadvantaged in this respect. The division of its tithes was set out as in Table 5.1, in accordance with The Act of Erection of the See, which was confirmed by a general Ordenanza Real dated 1541. The bishops, therefore, had no discretion in either raising tithes or their application, but Zárate had almost entirely enacted those of Oaxaca by his death in 1555 (Borah, 1941. pp. 390, 393).

The excusado was also added to the fabric fund. This was the tithe of the second richest family in one or more of the Spanish towns in each see. In the case of Oaxaca these were Antequera, Tehuantepec, San Idelfonso (Villa Alta), and Coatzacoalcas, but those paid in the two latter were so small that Borah suggests that they were not worth collecting on a yearly basis (Borah, 1941. pp. 396-8).

Woodrow Borah's study of tithe collection in the bishopric of Oaxaca in the 16th century has shown that never during that century were the tithes adequate for their various purposes. Indeed, he suggests that from 1535-1555, when the first bishop, Zárate, was organising the bishopric, the annual tithe probably never reached the total of 7,353 pesos de tepuzque, which would have been required if the bishop's stipend was to equal 25% of the whole (3). The bishop's stipend was, presumably, meant to cover the expenses of his household and of his official duties, including his diocesan Visitas to the parishes with his retinue (4).

There is no doubt that he organised his See well, and this must have entailed much travel in terrain fragmented by high sierras. However, he complained in a letter to the king in 1551, that he could not keep himself and a number of relatives he had brought from Spain on 500,000 maravedís (1838 pesos de tepuzque), so he now wished to resign and retire to a monastery (Borah, 1941. pp. 390-1. Cuevas, pp. 339-40). This statement supports Borah's suggestion that the bishop always accepted his full entitlement, and that this had become the custom in the See of Oaxaca by 1555 (Borah, 1941. p. 404).

The clergy had neither the economic nor the human resources to collect, transport, store and sell cotton, maize, wheat and other goods, as well as fowls, and livestock and so the collection of the Spanish and mestizo tithes was farmed out (Table 5.2) (5). But the bishop explained in 1551, in reply to a complaint that he had built up herds

TABLE 5.2.

TITHING IN 16th CENTURY NEW SPAIN AND ITS APPLICATION TO OAXACA.
FIRST FRUITS.

Only levied on crops paid in archdiocese of Seville - little importance in Oaxaca. Either given directly to the priests or not paid (Borah, 1941. p. 388).

EXEMPTIONS FOR COLONISTS.

All products of manufacturing.

All wages. Products of fisheries, hunting, wood and forest land.

All gold, silver, other metals, pearls and precious stones. El quinto real was payable on these (Ibid. pp. 388).

TITHABLE.

All New World crops - maize, cotton, tobacco, cochineal - 10%.

All introduced European crops - 10%

Domesticated fowls, animal products - 10%

Sugar - 5% or 4% according to grade, as in the Canaries.

All livestock - 1/10th of the year's increase (Ibid. p. 389).

TITHES ON TRIBUTE (not customary, but extended by the king to himself and encomenderos, because of the needs of the new Sees.)

Tithed on payments in specie, agricultural products, fowls, and livestock - 10%

No payment for services including spinning and weaving.

Cotton cloth tithed on cotton content only, as above.

Crown tithes paid only to Bishopric in which they originated.

Encomendero tithes - if one lived in another See, tribute was divided between the two.

OAXACA disadvantaged: many of the largest and richest encomiendas held by residents of Puebla and Mexico City (Ibid. pp. 389-90).

INDIAN TITHES.

Caciques paid 10% upon the tribute they received.

(Nobles exempted from paying tribute to encomenderos).

Crops grown on land leased or bought from Spaniards.

Las tres cosas: wheat, silk, livestock + other Spanish crops.*

OAXACA specifically: **

Wheat, especially Valley of Etla. Silk, Mixteca

Livestock: nobles' mercedes herds, community herds. All other crops introduced from Spain.***

Cajas de comunidad > on all crops raised for their Cofradías, and revenues including maize.

*Sees often only tithed Zúmaraga's "tres cosas": wheat, livestock and silk to the same extent.

** Zarate raised the maximum possible - more than was possible even in 18th century Mexico.

Friars initially too weak to protest – establishing doctrinas. The accepted custom by 1555.

*** Grew in importance after the sixteenth century.

Source: Borah. 1941. pp. 400-5.

from the livestock tithes, that this was because it was not always possible to find either a tithe farmer prepared to bid for these tithes, or a buyer. This, believes Borah, was at least partially truthful for, in 1561, the second bishop, the Dominican, Fray Bernardo de Alburquerque (1560-1579), stated that the farm, which was regularly auctioned off by then, only averaged 4,000 pesos per annum (Table 5.2. Tribute Tithes) (Gay, pp. 195-6. Borah, 1941. pp. 394-6). But the crucial factor to remember here is that, whilst the king's tithes were paid in their entirety to a bishopric, the income from an encomendero's tithes was shared with the See in which he was resident, and Oaxaca was particularly disadvantaged in this, in that many encomenderos who had encomiendas in the bishopric of Oaxaca were resident in Puebla and Mexico City. Unfortunately, no resident of Antequera held an encomienda elsewhere, so no tithes were incoming from other bishoprics (Borah, 1941. pp. 389-90. Taylor, pp. 36-7).

The richest encomienda in the bishopric is a case in point. The Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, Hernán Cortés, or his descendants, held Villa de Oaxaca, Cuilapan, wheat-rich Etla, Tlapacoya and Tehuantepec in encomienda. Cortés had initially contested his need to pay tithes, under the Papal Bull, which gave him privileges similar to the Patronato Real and permitted him to collect tithes from those on his land. This was

contested and the Bull withdrawn by the king in 1531-2 (Borah, 1941. p. 397, 397 n. 36). But el Marquesado also included encomienda in the area of Coyoacan, then near, now a district of, Mexico City, and Cuernavaca, where the Cortés family also had residences, so it may be presumed that their Oaxacan tithes were often divided, although from 1529, Hernán Cortés frequently lived in Tehuantepec in order to attend to his vast herds there (6).

TABLE 5.3.
TRIBUTE AND TITHES PAID IN OAXACA 1560s.

ENCOMIENDA TRIBUTE RECEIVED IN 1560:
(Tithes discounted).

THE MARQUESADO:	Pesos
Cuicapan in specie, wheat, maize	1,400
Etla in gold dust, wheat, maize	1,000
Villa de Oaxaca in specie, wheat, maize	1,500
Tehuantepec in specie, maize	2,200
Total	6,100

OTHER VALLEY ENCOMIENDAS:

Coatlan, Miagatlán etc. 2 encomenderos. Specie, gallinas, honey and wax, sementeros	2,000
Ocotlán 1 encomendero. Specie, wheat, maize	400
Coyotepec 1 encomendero. Specie, maize	<u>350</u>
Total	2,750

TOTAL INDIAN TITHES PAID IN 1568:

CENTRAL VALLEYS:

Cattle	
303.6	
Pigs, sheep, goats	398.2
Wheat from Etla	<u>99.0</u>
Total	801.0

MIXTECA:

Silk, sheep	1,077
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Sources: Woodrow Borah, 1941. p. 407.
 Paso y Troncoso. Tomo. IX. p. 485.

Taylor lists 10 Valle encomiendas apart from el Marquesado before 1550: Tlalixtac, Coyotepec, Ocotlán, Teitipac, Macuilxóchitl, Tlacoahuaya, Mitla, Tenexpan, Zimatlán, and Mixtepec. Of these, Tlalixtac, Mitla, Macuilxóchitl, Zimatlán, and Mixtepec were revoked before 1550. The rest were still effective in 1579, but only Tlacoahuaya continued into the 17th century, ending in 1639 with the death of Diego de Cepeda. He lists 18 others held by residents of Antequera. These were mostly in the Mixtecas, and all in the See of Oaxaca (Taylor, 1972. pp. 36-7. Chance, 1978. p. 49).

The payment and collection of the Indian tithes (Tables 5.2 & 5.3) of the bishopric were influenced both by Zárate's need to collect all that he was legally entitled to, and by the Dominican stand against their payment. The bishop was able to impose them in more instances, perhaps, than was usual in other sees, at a time when the Dominicans were too occupied with setting up their doctrinas to withstand him, and so the custom was established by 1555. But they were able to insist upon their being collected separately to the inconvenience of the Chapter, for a canon had to visit the cabeceras of the Valley and the Mixteca - a journey of weeks and months in the latter case - in

order to do so. Other areas, such as Tehuantepec and Coatzacoalcos, were disregarded (7). Coatzacoalcos, on the Gulf Coast, was practically inaccessible from Antequera, but it must have been its lack of personnel and funds which inhibited the church from transporting cotton from the Isthmus over the sierra which separates it from the Valley, as it had been imported from Tehuantepec and Xalapa in pre-Hispanic times, and this was still done (Torres de Laguna, p. 8. R.G. pp. 107, 147, 181).

The Dominicans also imposed their own rules upon the collection of their doctrina tithes, so that only the shares of the king, the bishop, and the chapter were paid over. Those destined for the fabric fund and for stipends, which were payable to the friars as parish priests, were kept by them and the Cajas de Comunidad, so that they were to some extent returned to those who had paid them. In this the Mixteca posed a financial problem to the see, as so much was under Dominican control. Borah suggests that these rules may only have been initiated once their former provincial, Fray Bernardo de Albuquerque, became bishop. It was not the case in other areas of New Spain, as elsewhere the canons stood firm (Borah, 1941. p. 405).

As has been stated, a variety of Indian tithes were paid in Oaxaca. Caciques were tithed on the tribute they received, and they and the principales paid them on the yearly increase of the stock raised on any mercedes (land) granted to them by royal or viceregal authority. By 1566 six owned ranches for livestock, and between 1570 and 1618 twenty-one more acquired them. Five were horse or cattle ranches, the rest were used for raising sheep and pigs (Taylor, 1972. p. 35). Tithes also had to be paid on crops raised on land rented or bought from Spaniards, and on community herds (8).

The Cajas de Comunidad and the cofradías were tithed on all the crops or livestock from which they drew their income; even indigenous ones such as maize. As this custom must have been imposed during Bishop Zárate's time, it is further clear evidence of the early existence of indigenous cofradías in the see (Borah, 1941. p. 404). In 1568 the Valley tithes only totalled 801 pesos made up as follows: cattle, 303 pesos 6 tomines (a tomín = 1/8th of the gold peso de tepuzque = a silver real); pigs, sheep and goats 398 pesos 2 tomines; Etla wheat, 99 pesos (Borah, 1941. pp. 407, 391 n. 18). There would have been a ready market for these in Antequera, which, being surrounded by Zapotec, Mixtec and Nahuatl communities, lacked farmland, and suffered serious food shortages.

The secular Mixtecan parishes naturally paid their tithes, which in some communities, consisted of several pounds of silk. This was taken back to Antequera, and probably fetched a good price from Spanish craftsmen there. According to the Codice Sierra, in 1563 the community was left with 120 pounds of silk after paying its tithe. This it sold to a Spaniard for 341 pesos, 2 tomines (Borah, 1941. p. 407. Appendix A. & Codice Sierra, p. 55). But in the steep sierras, where the movement of wheat and livestock would have been extremely difficult, payment was made on these in specie, as the Mixtecs themselves could afford to buy up the amounts tithed on what they raised in their small valleys (Borah, 1941. pp. 406-7). It may be that Texupán did this on a number of occasions, possibly through a Spanish middleman (Codice Sierra, pp. 8, 21, 33, 34). In 1568 the Mixtecan tithes were valued at 1077 pesos, 6 tomines, so that the total of Indian tithes for that year was 1878 pesos 6 tomines (Borah, 1941. p. 408). This was nearly half the total, which is estimated at 4020 pesos taking the fabric fund of 335.7 pesos as a base figure, or 4473 pesos taking the king's fund of 497.6 as a base (Schwaller, 1985. p. 219). However, silk production fluctuated and had

declined by the end of the century (Hamnett, 1971. p. 1), but by then the general position was much more satisfactory.

However, it was not merely the limitations on tithing and the difficulties of collection that affected church income, for there had been a severe epidemic from 1545 to 1547. In the 1550s the tribute payments for the villages had had to be reassessed, and those encomenderos who relied solely upon tribute income were in great difficulties, as were the Indian nobles. This had such an effect upon Crown revenues, that Philip II (1556-1598) was unable to service the royal debt for several years; there was, therefore, an attempt to stabilise his position by having the income and expenses of the nobles, Indian cabildos, and friars reduced and placed under the scrutiny of the Alcaldes Mayores and the Audiencia (Borah & Cook, pp. 12, 17, 63-4). In 1552, for example, the Zapotecs of Etla petitioned the Audiencia, because they were unable to pay the Marqués his dues, and, as a result, were allowed to pay less in gold dust, wheat, and maize for the next eight years. This must have been general in the Valleys, for a similar situation is recorded for Zimatlán, but there was apparently some recovery by 1564 when the community was assessed at 200 pesos more in specie alone (9). The second great epidemic occurred from 1576-1579, but others occurred before then and similar arrangements would have had to have been considered (10).

Schwaller's figures show that the tithes reached a low of well under 5,000 in the late 1560s, from which they did not recover until 1574 with 6,492 pesos. The figure is constant at 6,000 from 1576 to 1581, peaks again at 8,736 in 1583, and is approximately 8,000 pesos from then on, culminating in 9,996 pesos in 1589. Schwaller gives the excusado tithes to be added to the fabric fund, but does not

include them in his totals. They also fluctuated, but were considerably higher from 1574 onwards, averaging approximately 700 pesos per annum (11).

It will be seen from the above that the diocese of Oaxaca had to overcome considerable difficulties in ensuring that its tithes were collected, but the fluctuations in the sums realised must have been a considerable burden for the bishops and their chapters when planning the administration of the diocese, particularly the payment of clergy stipends: and especially so in the post-Tridentine period with its emphasis upon secularisation, which I shall now discuss after considering the situation in Oaxaca and the Archdiocese of Mexico.

In 1571 Bishop Albuquerque wrote an exhaustive report to the King on the diocese, its people, and the regulars and seculars working there, detailing their stipends and the manner in which they were paid. It is interesting to compare the incomes of certain Spanish civil officials, with those of the various categories of priests (See Table 5.4). The highest civil officials were forbidden to engage in commerce, and the low salaries of the Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores explain why a number of them, if not all, often, no doubt, with families to maintain, did so by exploiting the communities under their jurisdiction. This situation was exacerbated by Philip II's attempt to replenish his treasury, which had been bankrupted by wars, overspending, and borrowing in his own and his father's reigns. This he did by selling all offices but judicial, and senior administrative and financial ones, and creating more to be sold in Spain and the Indies. This resulted in the officials' concerned trying to recover their costs and lawyers seeking an income by promoting Indian legal affairs (Lynch, p. 196. Borah, 1983. pp. 77-8).

This bishop knew his diocese well, for he first went to Oaxaca as a friar, was the prior on three occasions and became the provincial of the Order from 1553 to 1556. Dávila Padilla says of him that he studied Zapotec so as to hear confessions and to preach in it. He also wrote a Zapotec Doctrina. He loved the Zapotecs, but was also concerned for the warlike Mixes, whose mountainous territory he walked through. He told a principal, who met him in the priory one day, that he preferred the simple life of a Dominican to that of a bishop, for his fellow friars taught him to be devout, virtuous and humble. But, according to Dávila Padilla, he lived an abstemious life when a

TABLE 5.4

INCOMES IN NEW SPAIN MID -1560s.

Viceroy	20,000 ducats=25,000 pesos de oro común.
President of the Audiencia	4,375-7,500.
Oidor	2,000-3,000.
Alcaldes Mayores }and their	
Corregidores }assistants	100-300.
University lecturers including clerics	248-330 average.

MINIMUM PRIEST'S STIPEND REQUIRED IN MEXICO CITY IN 1568.

(Maestro Escuela Don Sancho Sanchez de Muñon to the King.)

Housing	120 minas.
Clothing	120
Transport - mule, feed and trappings	80
Household including food	60
Care of servants & occasional purchase of slave	100
Suggested stipend 300 pesos de oro común	= 480 minas

STIPENDS AND SOURCES OF PAYMENT TO PRIESTS, OAXACA. 1571.

Cathedral canons (2)* with care of 300 Spanish vecinos, their Indian servants and castas.

Tithes 120 minas plus any primicias. Each pays the sacristán	15 minas.
Priest to Indios naborías (1)* Crown	100 de oro común
Chantry endowed by Bishop Zárate.	+70 minas.

* Paid by Crown or Marquesado - legal dispute.

SECULAR PRIESTS IN COUNTRY PARISHES, VALLEYS OF OAXACA.
SOURCES AND AMMOUNTS OF STIPENDS.

Mitla (Miquitla)	Marquesado or Crown	100 minas
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& Totolapa and Zoquitlan	2 encomenderos	+50 minas
Miaguatlán	2 encomenderos	150 minas
& Amatlán	Crown	+20 común
Ocelotepeque	1 encomendero	100 minas
	Crown	+50 minas
Coatlán	2 encomenderos.	
& Cocolotepque	1 encomendero	110 común

REGULAR PRIESTS IN DOCTRINAS IN OAXACA.

100 pesos de tipuzque = 57 común

75 bushels maize from encomendero or Crown + Communion Wine from the Crown.

VALUES in maravedies: minas = 485. Oro común = 300. Currency = tipuzque = 272.

Tipuzque & común confused in common parlance.

Source: Bishop Albuquerque to the King, 1571 in. García Icazbalceta, "Relación de los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxaca..."

bishop, giving more alms than he could afford (Dávila Padilla, pp. 294-9). Ulloa agrees with this assessment, and believes that it was under his influence that study once again became more than "una mera vanidad" in the province (Ulloa, p. 244-5).

He thought that there were then some 100,000 tributaries in the bishopric, and commented that the people were constantly suffering, as well as decreasing in numbers. The caciques were all very crushed through no fault of their own - a matter he felt should be remedied. It would, of course, have affected the morale of their people! He also stated that it was difficult to visit more than the cabeceras frequently, because they had so many dependant hamlets in the fragmented terrain. At that time the largest pueblo in the Valley was Cuilapan with some 6,000 tributaries, to Zaachila's 1,300 and Zimatlán's 350. Etla had some 2,200, Macuilxóchitl had dwindled in importance to 300, and others in the Tlacolula arm had mostly only a few hundred families. A great problem was the "confusion muy grande" of languages, of which he listed the thirteen he could remember (Relación de los Obispados, pp. 69, 68, 64-5, 64).

He estimated that two thirds of the people were in the care of the Dominicans in their twenty-five houses, and thirty-seven seculars worked among the rest. Table 5.5 shows how they were distributed in the Valles Centrales, and Table 5.4 shows their stipends, and their sources of payment. The friars were supported by the título de mesa común; that is by the Order, and received a small income. In a letter to the King dated July 25th, 1561 the Provincial commented that his majesty had had a grant of 600 pesos paid to them yearly, but this had now ended. "If you are pleased," he added, "you can extend it" (Schwaller, 1985. p. 8. Mullen, pp. 41, 46).

TABLE 5.5.
PRIESTS IN THE DIOCESE OF OAXACA. 1571.
(Bishop Fray Domingo de Albuquerque's letter to the king 1571)

Total No. of Tributaries in See 100,000 1/3 with Seculares.

SECULAR PRIESTS IN THE DIOCESE (not including cathedral staff)	37.
<u>Antequera</u> 2 canons Spaniards 200 vecinos. Mestizos & mulatos casados	100.
Naborías (Indians from other towns: masons, carpenters etc)	400.
= Zapotecs & Nahuas	
<u>Valle de Tlacolula.</u>	<u>Curas</u>
Mitla.	1
<u>Partido of Chichicapa</u>	Zapotecs
Miaguatlan & Amatlan	1
Ocelotepque	1
Coatlán	1
	<u>Tributaries *</u>
	1,200.
	1,200 & 1,400.
	2,000.
	1,700.

* Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca 1580

DOMINICANS IN THE DIOCESE OF OAXACA. 1571.

Total including Santo Domingo Priory, Antequera.	52-61.
Santo Domingo, Antequera including Nahuatl doctrina of Villa de Oaxaca	35-40.
VALLEY DOCTRINAS	<u>Friars</u>
<u>Valle de Zimatlán</u>	<u>Language</u>
Cuilapan	5-6
Teozapotlán	2-3
Zimatlán and Coyotepeque	
Ocotlán incl. Chichicapa	2 + 2 to come
<u>Valle de Tlacolula.</u>	
Tetipac (Titiquipaque).	4
Including Tlacolula, Macuilsúchil, Teutitlán, Tlacochahuaya.	
	5,000.
	1,300
	2,000
	2,400.
	2,800.

Valle de Etla.

Etla	2	Zapotec	1,600.
Huitzo	2	Zapotec	1,500.

DOMINICAN CONVENTOS IN 16TH CENTURY OAXACA.

<u>Town</u>	<u>First mentioned in Dominican Chapter Actas 1540-1590.</u>	<u>First Vicario.</u>
Cuilapan	1550	1552
Teozapotlán	1572	1578.
Zimatlán	1585	1585.**
Ocotlán	1555	1555.
Santa Cruz Mixtepec.	1556 (1564)	1556.**
Teticpac	1555	1555.
Tlacoahuaya	1558	1558.**
Etla	1550	1552.
Huitzo	1555 (1556)	1556.

** Not mentioned in the bishop's letter to the king in 1571.

Mullen, R.J. "Dominican Architecture in 16th Century Oaxaca."

The allowance made to each friar in a doctrina in 1571 amounted to 100 pesos de tepuzque a year, which he valued at 480 maravedies each, as well as 50 hanegas (75 bushels) of maize. This was paid by either the encomendero or, in Crown pueblos, the king, but the king gave each friar an arroba and a half of wine for the Masses he said during the year (García Icazbalceta, 1904. p. 76). This dated from the time of Charles V, who had given orders that all the religious should receive sufficient amounts of

wine and flour yearly to celebrate Mass, as well as enough oil to ensure that the sanctuary light was perpetually lit before the Sacrament. Philip II had continued this practice (Mullen, p. 23. Cruz y Moya, pp. 108-9). The Marqués del Valle's flour mill "en Guajaca", and its neighbouring wheat fields, supplied the ración for the conventos of Tehuantepec, nearby Xalapa, Etla, Cuilapan and Antequera. Presumably this was used to make communion wafers (Zavala, 1984. p. 264).

Every Bull of Erection for the Spanish New World's dioceses provided for a chapter of twenty-seven prebendaries, although it was realised that this would not be achieved for some time, even in Mexico City. Schwaller believes that the ranking order of the cathedrals was: Mexico, Puebla, Michoacan, New Galicia, and Oaxaca (Schwaller, 1987. pp. 13, 130). The Bishop of Oaxaca lists four of the canons and three deacons, in 1571, but these were those who spoke indigenous tongues, and then there would have been the dignitaries (Relación, pp. 96-7): the dean, the archdeacon, the precentor and the maestrescuela, who would all have received comparatively high stipends (12).

The one dignitary whose position was frequently vacant was the treasurer. Oaxaca appointed two treasurers in the sixteenth century, but the records show that there was often insufficient income for this post, and it had to be augmented by service as a parish priest. There were two brothers who served as canons from 1560 and 1565 respectively, and had to earn their incomes as parish priests (Schwaller, 1987. pp. 49. 54), for the bishop stated that only the two seculars working in Antequera were paid from the tithes (Relación, p. 77). It appears, therefore, that, even allowing for some exaggeration of their case, the bishops were quite correct in maintaining that the tithes, as they stood, were insufficient to cover the stipends of the numbers of rural priests they would require, if they were to meet the pastoral and sacramental needs of the Indians.

Given the circumstances, even when their reservations regarding the regulars are accepted, it is hard to understand the prelates' desire to replace them with seculars, whose material needs were greater, rather than placing them in some of those villages, which were visitas of the regulars. The Dominicans often had six to ten such villages

under their care, and the secularisation of some of these would have lightened their burden considerably. However, the hostility of the two groups was mutual, and it must be admitted that the friars would not have considered the seculars adequately trained for this purpose, especially linguistically. In fact it was not until the 18th century that any significant secularisation took place in the Valley of Oaxaca.

Archbishop Montúfar had, however, expressed doubts about the three Orders in several letters to the king. In 1558, he stated that they did not administer the sacraments as they should, that they would not accept other Orders in their doctrinas despite their size, which could entail two or three days journey to outlying sujetos, and that they dealt with both spiritual and temporal matters, not even allowing the corregidores and judges to intervene (ENE. Tomo 8. 460. p. 178). In 1561 he complained that he had warned all three Orders against bringing friars to the colony without examination, and when he had examined a number of Augustinians, he had only been able to ordain some, as many had been deficient in Latin; some could not read it, whilst others had no knowledge of its grammar (Ibid. IX. p. 493). But Latin was not of paramount importance to the missionary Orders. The learned Dominicans only needed enough to read the Book of Hours and the Breviary (Mullen. p. 49. Acta of 1587).

Undoubtedly the Dominicans had their shortcomings, but the Actas of the Provincial Chapters they held between 1540 and 1590 illustrate their attitude to missionary work very clearly. Although they could only follow the Rule exactly in the three main houses in Mexico City, Puebla, and Antequera, which, being priories, were houses of training and study, the Actas constantly reaffirm certain rules whose non-observance is to be condemned and which might constitute a grave sin (13). The importance of

studying indigenous languages is constantly reaffirmed. Every friar had to study one. But, evidently standards needed to be improved for, in 1576, three friars well versed in Zapotec, Mixtec and Nahuatl were appointed to examine the ordinands, and ensure that they were able to hear confessions, and preach in these tongues, before they were allowed to leave for their doctrinas. New examiners were appointed in 1587 (Mullen, pp. 48, 49). Vocabularios in Zapotec and Mixtec had been written by 1544 (Gay, p. 189), but new ones were commissioned. Fray Juan de Córdova's "Vocabulario" was published in 1578 (Vocabulario, p. 12), and his "Arte" (grammar) as well as doctrinas and confessionals were available, but a new Vocabulario and Arte in Mixtec were not commissioned until 1587 (Mullen, pp. 48, 46, 49). Such works had to be examined exhaustively by friars proficient in the language in question, as is clear from the prefaces to the "Vocabulario" of Fray Juan de Córdova.

The regulars' contention that the seculars were unable to speak Amerindian languages, is borne out by the Bishop of Oaxaca's letter to the King in 1571 in which he refers to his dilemma in this matter. His older, experienced priests, who, with their authority and good example can help "á estos pobres naturales", only speak, he says, some Nahuatl, "unas más y otros menos." Nahuatl may be spoken in every village, but it is not the native language, and therefore not adequate for administering the sacraments to all the inhabitants. But, presumably most, if not all, Nahuatl speakers were nobles, and, this apart, they could hardly have been used as interpreters during confession. The bishop adds that there are a number of priests, who do speak other languages, amongst which he lists Chinantec, Zapotec, Cuicatec, and Mixtec but they are very young - mere "mozos" to take on such arduous work "con tanto peligro suyo, y aun de algunos naturales" (14).

Four years later Archbishop Moya de Contreras, the convenor of the Third Mexican Provincial Church Council, and an austere legalist post-Tridentine priest, sent an assessment of each of the clergy in the Archdiocese of Mexico to the Council of the Indies. In this he showed that 30% of his priests were deficient in education or character. Those he accused of greed were all from the Peninsular, and engaged in business enterprises, and this, as Poole in his analysis of the list suggests, gives an impression of badly educated priests with poor prospects who had emigrated from Spain more in the hope of gain than from piety, or had been corrupted by the conditions in New Spain. But, he argues, given the general state of education of the clergy before the Council of Trent, the Archbishop was fortunate to have 109 good priests out of 156 in his diocese (Poole, 1987. pp. 12, 47-8). It should perhaps be remarked that the Bishop of Oaxaca, although a Dominican, makes no criticism of his secular priests, other than that of linguistic deficiency. Indeed, as has been mentioned, he refers to their "buen ejemplo" (García Icazbalceta, 1904. p. 95).

The training of secular priests posed a tremendous problem for a church lacking in Funds, but it was a general one, which had exercised the Council of Trent, and, in a letter written in 1574, Archbishop Moya de Contreras asked the king that its decrees regarding this be implemented. An analysis of his report of 1575, and of that of the Bishop of Oaxaca in 1571, makes his reasons for doing so only too clear. A slightly higher proportion of Creoles than Peninsulares were deficient in Latin, and three were even described as illiterate, but the training of priests was not formalised anywhere until after Trent. Sometimes it had been nothing more than apprenticeship to a priest or bishop (15).

Moya, himself, had a doctorate in canon and civil law, but did not study theology until after his appointment as archbishop. This he did with a Jesuit friend and advisor; arranging for his clergy to attend the course as well. The Jesuits, whom he admired, had arrived in New Spain in 1572, and he felt that they might be charged with the education of candidates for the priesthood in the archdiocese.

The Jesuits founded a college in Oaxaca in 1574, but they did not establish a seminary there, possibly because, after their initial welcome and success their relations with the Dominicans and the Bishop deteriorated in a manner all too common among churchmen in New Spain; and although there was a reconciliation after the intervention of the Viceroy and the Archbishop, the Bishop might have preferred not to allow them to instruct his priests (17). Bishop Ledesma O.P., who succeeded Bishop Alburquerque in 1581, erected a chair of moral theology in Oaxaca for those who were too poor to study in Mexico, or who found the capital too distant. This bishop also founded San Bartolomé, a school for the education of twelve poor boys, endowing it with 28,000 pesos (Gay, p.294).

In 1574 Philip II's Ordenanza de Patronazgo fulfilled all the Archbishop's requirements. The curacies became benefices, which could be held for life with guaranteed stipends. Appointments were to be made to them and the doctrinas by means of oposiciones, which were competitive examinations, and authority of choice was given to the bishops, rather than the Viceroy and Audiencia, although the King and his representative the Viceroy were to hold more sway in ecclesiastical affairs, including those of the religious. It was, argues Schwaller, an attempt to return the friars to the cloisters (Schwaller, 1984. p. 40). Moya welcomed these measures as giving more opportunities to the secular clergy and the Creoles (Poole, 1987. pp. 49-

51, 79-81. Schwaller, 1987. pp. 82-3. Schwaller, 1984. pp. 39-40). Initially some unsuitable candidates appeared, but the situation slowly improved and the oposiciones do appear to have increased the percentage of priests with degrees, as well as those with a knowledge of an Indian language (Schwaller, 1987. pp. 98-9). The fact that now beneficed priests often spent their entire career in one parish, must have been to the advantage of themselves and their parishioners; at least insofar as their linguistic ability was concerned (Ibid. pp. 99-100).

The Church also attempted at this time to deal with the scandal of those secular priests, who neglected their parochial duties for their commercial interests, and it was decided that a priest should have a guaranteed income of a minimum of 300 pesos before ordination (18). Bishop Albuquerque's letter of 1571 shows that the stipends of the few secular beneficed priests in country parishes in the Valley and the Partido of Chichicapa (Table 5.3) were well under the minimum acceptable of 300 pesos de oro común (some 200 pesos de oro de minas), although this was not so in other parts of the diocese (19).

In considering the discrepancies in income the bishop stated that those earning most, that is 200 pesos in six cases, worked in distant areas where the terrain was rocky, the climate hot and unhealthy, and the incumbents had to work hard. Others earned less either because their parishes were poorly populated, due to their potential visitas being too distant and difficult of access to be included in their parishes, or because they worked in economically poor areas where the tribute received by the encomendero was insufficient to pay them more. The lowest amount quoted was 110 pesos with a further two at 130 and 140 pesos respectively, but the average stipend was 150 pesos (García Icazbalceta, 1904. pp. 79-93, 94), which agrees with Moya's average figure,

so, as this could not be supplemented from the tithe at this time, the requirement for a priest to have an assured income before ordination is explained. Moya also claimed that the priests had to rely upon the Indians for food; even so, despite the drawbacks, some seventy priests had rural parishes in the archdiocese at that time, although none had entered for oposiciones (Schwaller, 1987. p. 89).

It was probably hoped that other abuses could be overcome, if incomes were increased. When the Visitador Lic. Lorenzo Lebrón de Quiñones visited the Valley of Oaxaca and the Mixtecas in 1558, he was ordered by the Viceroy to ensure that the parish priests, both regular and secular, did not charge for administering the sacraments, or accept contributions towards their stipends and food. Apart from this, they were not to accept payments for the wine and wax used at Mass, or impose fines for such misbehaviour as clandestine marriages (ENE. VIII, No. 469. Items 2-4).

The Codice Sierra shows that the "Señor de la Audiencia" visited it in 1559 (León. Codice page No 26), when 30 pesos were spent on a seal for him. The Codice covers some of the years when tribute was at its lowest and the priest's salary for the year of 1551 is given as 69 pesos (Ibid. p. 3), so it is hardly surprising to find that, as will be

1551 is given as 69 pesos (Ibid. p. 3), so it is hardly surprising to find that, as will be seen in Appendix A, he did in fact receive food. The codex also shows that the community, which had no sujetos (Spores, p. 92), or the encomendero paid for the year's supply of communion wine, as well as supplying candles, oil and incense - "copal de Castilla" - for the year and the great fiestas (20). Apart from this, celebratory meals were given to the vicario, and señores on special occasions, such as fiestas and for visiting dignitaries such as the Señor de la Audiencia (Ibid. pp. 6,10,31,38,59). It is interesting to note that a nephew of Bishop Zárate served as

vicario from 1554, the year after the bishop's *Visita*, to 1563. He became a canon in 1560, and was evidently one of those prebendaries, who had to serve in both capacities until he was appointed precentor in 1568 (21).

If the Indians were to be freed from the burden of supporting poorly paid priests, as well as unscrupulous ones who exploited them, there were three ways in which the guaranteed income, or congrua, of 300 pesos could be achieved: by títulos of patrimonio, capellanía, and beneficio. Patrimonio was the income from funds invested from the candidate's parent's estate; capellanía (chantry) was the income from an obra pía, a pious charitable foundation, which was generally instituted by his family, required him to say a certain number of Masses, and could continue for generations in a family, as long as its income was assured (22); and beneficio "an appointment to a canonically endowed position." But there was one certain means of obtaining a beneficio after ordination. This was by a título de lengua: the ability to speak an Indian language (Schwaller, 1985. pp. 9-10). This doubtless gave the Creoles their greatest opportunity of entering the priesthood.

Moya de Contreras lists 56 priests, 16 Peninsulares and 44 Creoles, who spoke Nahuatl (Poole, 1987. pp. 47-9). The Bishop of Oaxaca does not give such full information but his list includes the priests who wrote the very informative Relaciones Geográficas of Miagatlan and Coatlan in 1580, both of whom were Creoles (García Icazbalceta, 1904. p. 96. R.G. 131, 132). Clearly the ordination of Zapotecs and Mixtecs as priests would have overcome the linguistic problem, but although at the Junta Religiosa of 1539 the humanist bishops and friars recommended that Indians be prepared for ordination, their post-Tridentine counterparts of the Third Mexican Provincial Council would not countenance it (Poole, 1987. pp. 128-9). Not only this,

but every candidate for a beneficio; had to produce a document testifying to his "limpieza de sangre", that is to his freedom from the taint of Jewish or Moorish ancestry (Schwaller, 1984. p. 42).

In 1574, by means of the Ordenanza de Patronazgo Philip II contrived to extend the royal patronage as originally laid out in the Patronato Real, so that State interference in Church affairs and control over the bishops increased (Poole, 1987. p. 23). Father Poole says of it:

"When the rights of patronato were well used, the result was, admittedly, a thriving and apostolic church with bishops of high quality. When they were ill-used, the result was suffocation" (Ibid. p. 24).

But, the Ordenanza was also an attack upon the position of the mendicants. In this it appears to have been influenced by the deliberations of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), although this was not initially the case. Poole regards the Council, which was composed of bishops, as the principal attempt to restrict the Orders. A Bull of Pius IV had brought the friars' privileges into line with those specified in the Council of Trent, but, after representations to Rome through Philip II, the friars had had them restored by the Dominican Pope Saint Pius V in 1567 (Ibid. pp. 167, 72-3). However, by 1574 the King, was more receptive to the bishops' views as regards the secularisation of their doctrinas, due to the influence of Juan de Vitoria, Moya's patron, who was President of the Council of the Indies from 1571-1575, but especially as the religious were more independent of the Crown than the seculars, as a result of their papal privileges (Ibid. pp. 10, 13-14, 68). Philip, therefore, sought to increase his authority over them through the bishops, whose jurisdiction and authority in their local sees they were now forced to recognise (Schwaller, 1987. p. 82). On the

other hand their position was never entirely weakened, because they were vital to the missionary effort, and, as the empire expanded, it was they who carried out the pioneering work on its fringes.

Nevertheless, an unseemly struggle ensued in New Spain, for the regalistic Archbishop fully approved the Patronazgo, and its effects, as when the King in a Real Cédula of 1583 ordered that secular priests were always to be preferred when a parish fell vacant, and the bishops were to oversee the friars' return to their conventos. His bishops, however, realised, that this was not a realistic proposition in view of their small numbers, and Bishop Alburquerque was particularly vocal about the weakening of both his and the regulars' power base (Poole, 1987. pp. 84-5, Schwaller, 1987. pp. 92-4).

The views of Bishop Pedro de Feria of Chiapas, a Dominican whom Moya respected and who had worked among the Zapotecs, were expressed in a Memorial, which he sent to the Third Mexican Council, and which shows the realism of a missionary with thirty years' experience. He had discovered, whilst on a Visita in his see in 1584, that despite having well-instructed converts and some fine priests in his diocese, paganism was rife and there was still a need for hard-working learned missionaries, undistracted by business activities, who would both proselytise their people, and defend them against injustices: in short for the religious rather than for the diocesan priests. He also had evidence of the negative effect that the quarrels between the seculars and the regulars had at village level. Some Indians believed that in the end the religious would leave, taking Christ with them, and so, protected their ruined temples until they could use them again (Poole, 1987. pp. 135-6).

So, as will be made clear, every aspect of the Church's problems filtered down to affect, adversely, the very people, whom it wished to protect from eternal damnation by the work of its priests in the mission field. Father Poole sums up the situation as follows:

"...The bishops undoubtedly had law and tradition on their side, as well as other strong arguments. The religious undoubtedly had the reality of the situation on theirs, although they were definitely guilty of excesses. Both sides went too far, and there is more than enough reproach to go around. Ultimately it was a power struggle in which there was no victor except the Spanish crown. The real losers were the church's missionary work and the natives. For the church it meant the obstruction and retardation of an urgent mission. For the Indians it meant being reduced to the status of pawns in a tawdry game of power politics" (Ibid. pp. 86-7).

That this situation continued well into the 17th century is testified to by the "Juez Conservador" document, written by the Franciscan Guardian (superior), of San Francisco, Mexico City, in defence of the Dominicans of Antequera in their quarrel with the Bishop of Oaxaca, Fray Juan de Bohórquez O.P., in the 1620s, but this will be discussed at length in Chapter 6.

To return to the problems engendered by the lack of tithes, it must be realised that this had economic repercussions for the Indians, other than the unfortunate ones detailed above regarding the number, quality and attitudes of the friars and clerics working among them, for the visible sign of the Church's presence - the village churches - had to be built, maintained and adorned in a manner acceptable to priests, bishops and visitadores. The physical suffering endured by the Zapotecs and Mixtecs

in actually building them has been discussed in the previous chapter, but they were placed in economic difficulties other than those which might have been caused by the disruption of their agricultural labour cycle; for when the building of the churches was at its height, the 8.3% of the tithe which was, as has been stated, dedicated to cathedral and church building was diverted almost entirely to that of the cathedral, which was completed in 1555, and the hospital (Mullen, pp. 46-7, 121).

It appears, then, that most church building had to be financed from the sobras de tributo in the Cajas de Comunidad, rather than the tithes, for several Zapotec and Mixtec caciques sent a letter to the king in 1560 requesting that their community tribute payments be reduced, because they were supporting both priests and buildings. They stated that they had welcomed the Dominicans, and built richly decorated churches containing everything necessary for the cult at their request, whilst new ones came under construction every day (23). Moreover, Mullen believes that many of the sujetos built their own churches when, or soon after, the cabecera church was built, and refers to the "utter charm and freshness" of those built by the inhabitants of the Cuilapan sujetos (Ibid. pp. 95-7, 5-6). The buildings at Cuilapan itself are monumental. It housed the novitiate from Antequera from the time when Lucero and Tapia's San Pablo became a near ruin, in about 1568, until Santo Domingo was ready for occupation, although far from completion, in 1575. In 1604 it became a priory, or house of learning so that the friars and novices there could study Mixtec in a Mixtec-speaking environment (24).

The Dominicans certainly had problems with their building programmes at this time and from 1574 each doctrina priest was expected to say 70 masses a year for the three priories, which were "in very great need" (Mullen, p. 48), and, of course, had a

vital role in training novices and missionary friars. Other buildings were to be completed as quickly and modestly as possible. In fact, in his letter written in 1561, soon after his appointment, Bishop Alburquerque had pleaded with the king to give his 2/9ths of the city's tithe towards the construction of the convento grande of Santo Domingo, thus giving it the help he had previously given to the cathedral and hospital. If this had been done, it would again have shifted the cost of pueblo church building and furnishing to the communities. Santo Domingo was not dependent entirely upon alms as it had an income of \$200 from a chantry, and had been presented by a Viceroy with land to raise a few sheep and goats, but the income from this would not have been great. Mexico City, however, had no income, and neither had the smaller houses in the See of Oaxaca: San Idelfonso (Villa Alta), and Nejapa, with their 5 or 6 resident friars (Mullen, pp. 41-46).

This information was given in a letter despatched to Philip II by the Dominican provincial, Fray Pedro de la Peña, on July, 25th 1561, in which he said that none of the other thirty-six houses in the Indian towns had any income at all. In some cases, they had reared livestock, and run industries, but these had caused problems, and so had been handed over to the Audiencia the year before (Ibid. p. 46. Ulloa, p. 245). Hence, the conventos were only supported by alms at that time.

The Codice Sierra is possibly the only detailed evidence we have of a pueblo's religious expenditure in the sixteenth century. The caja, guarded by a lock opened by three keys held by three officials, who usually included the gobernador and the corregidor, was the repository of the community wealth from which tribute and tithes were paid. A Real Cédula of 1554 ordered their institution, at a time when coinage was more widely in use. It was the "sobras de tributo" which financed the needs of the

community, including those connected with the Church (García Martínez, pp. 102-5), but in 1565 the King promulgated Ley XIV, Título IV of the Recopilación which stated that these should only be those "que se dirigiere al descanso y alivio de los indios y convirtiere en su provecho y utilidad.." (Lamas, pp. 60-2). Nevertheless, the Orders took some interest in administering them, and were accused, in some cases of tyranny (Chauvet, p. 46), but it is probable that the second vicario of Texupan did much the same (Dahlgren-Jordan, p. 105, Dussel, 46-6).

There are no such accounts available for any 16th century Valley pueblo, and so I shall cite those of Mixtec Texupan extensively, as they are a particularly rich source for the analysis of the "ecclesiastical" expenditure, which might have been undertaken in any pueblo, once its church was consecrated. I have, therefore, analysed it into the series of tables in Appendix A. The incumbents of Texupan for the period covered, 1551 to 1564, were beneficed priests. The church was apparently fit for use, when the priest arrived, but not completed. In 1558, 400 nails costing 6 pesos and wood costing 20 pesos were purchased to roof the baptistery, and make windows for the chapel, and a large room. In the same year unspecified work was completed at a cost of 340 pesos (León, Codice, pp. 17, 19), but this might have been the hospital, which is first mentioned in 1559 (p. 27). In 1561 colours to paint the church were bought, and a painter employed to do so. The total cost of these was 23 pesos (p. 40), but in 1564, when tribute of 870 pesos had to be paid, work stopped (p. 61). The priest had left in June 1563, and Texupan then became a Dominican doctrina (25).

However, it may have been the Zapotec and Mixtec caciques' reference to churches "...con todo lo pertineciente al culto divino..." (Mullen, p. 122 n. 6), which pinpointed their greatest financial headache. The church fabric fund, had it been covered by the

tithe would also have been used for equipping the churches as well as building them, but in its absence this was another drain on tribute. The first vicario of Texupán appears to have been modest in his requirements for vestments, altar frontals, and a pair of silver candlesticks, but even so they totalled 295 pesos in three years. His successor, however, possibly because he was the bishop's nephew and used to the grandeur of the cathedral, used fine and costly vestments and altar frontals some of which were ordered from Mexico at great expense - as much as 436 pesos for one set (Appendix A. Lavish Cult). He became a canon in 1560, which probably explains the white damask cope and altar cloth with the bishop's insignia on it ordered in 1561 for 281 pesos (León. Codice p. 37).

I would assume that the Dominicans would have had more simple requirements than these, but they would, presumably, have required frontals, and vestments in the liturgical colours of the different seasons. Burgoa refers to one friar at the turn of the century, who had an exceedingly elaborate and expensive frontal and hangings made in Mexico by the official embroiderers but he presented these to Santo Domingo in Antequera, and gave a mantle similarly worked to the Virgin of the Rosary at Etla, where he officiated (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 252).

Burgoa describes the huijatao at Mitla as wearing garments similar to those of a priest, with an elaborately embroidered outer one, so such vestments might well have enhanced the priests' status in Zapotec eyes (Ibid. II. p. 123). But their main concern would, presumably, have been that of introducing and maintaining orthodox Christian practice as early as possible. Nevertheless, the tables for the Lavish Cult and for Church Necessities in Appendix A do give an idea of the kind of expenses entailed, and show that this was one way in which village wealth went directly to the Spanish

world; although, with the type of expertise required, it could hardly have been otherwise initially.

Nor were these the only expenses relative to the cult. Music was both an essential part of worship, and beloved of the people, so eight trumpets and an organ box and pipes were purchased, at a cost of about 100 pesos and 180 pesos respectively, by the first priest in 1551 and 1552 (León, Codice, pp. 2, 5). Such expenditure would have occurred in the Valley too and given great pleasure. In his history of the Dominicans in Oaxaca, Padre Arroyo comments that schools of sacred music were founded, and that a community would pay for a child to train as an organist in Mexico City, whilst the church choirs were so good that they could compete with the cathedral ones. Burgoa commented enthusiastically upon their extraordinary skill in singing and performing church music, and playing wind instruments when he visited Yanhuítlán in the Mixteca (Arroyo, I. p. XXXVII-VIII. Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 287). During his time there was a Zapotec maestro de capilla, Juan Matías, at the Cathedral: he officiated for fifteen years teaching and writing a great deal of important music (Gay, p. 326).

Expenses such as these have to be looked at in the context of the religious spirit of the times, and the requirements of both Church and State. The Third Mexican Council was quite specific in the laws it enacted relative to the bishops' Visitas. They were to examine the state of the building, unless it had been built at the expense of the regulars, as well as the font, and the way in which the Eucharist was guarded (III Concilio, pp. 174, 176). Moya de Contreras when on a Visita always inspected the sacristy to ensure that "... all vessels, vestments, and implements for divine worship were there and that they were in clean and decent condition. He would do the same in

the church..." He also tried to check on the instruction the Indians were given by speaking to them in their own language (Poole, 1987. p. 51).

In his letter of July 27th 1558 to Lic. Lorenzo Quebrón de Quiñones giving him his instructions for his Visita to the Valley of Oaxaca and the Mixtecas, the Viceroy stated that, as well as looking into the spiritual welfare of the parishioners, the Visitador was to see what was required in the village churches themselves "de retablos imágenes y todo lo demás que convenga" (Item 8). But, if anything was needed, there was to be no over-expenditure, and payment was to be made from the Caja de Comunidad ("sobras de tributo de su comunidad"), shared between them and the encomendero and, in the case of the Crown, from "condenación de culpados." He was also to see how the hospital collected and raised alms (Item 9), and that it was in suitable order for service to God, but if none existed, he was to arrange for the care of the sick and poor and the upbringing of poor children and orphans. These expenses were to be paid from the Caja de Comunidad if possible (ENE. 8. No. 469. Item. 1-9). Appendix A. "Hospital" shows that, according to the Codice Sierra accounts, after his visit to Texupán medicines were bought and from then on the other needs of the sick were administered to.

If the Viceroy, acting for the king wanted no over- expenditure, the Church was in conformity with this view, for the Third Mexican Council stated categorically that the priests were not to sell anything to the community for the adornment of the church either on their own account, or as agents (ENE. Lib. unnumbered, Tít. III. p. 209). It was also laid down that no cabildo, or cofradía, or community was to undertake any kind of expense in order to build anything in the churches or hermitages, nor was it to construct a mausoleum without the bishop's permission. Furthermore, no images,

ornaments or other objects were to be bought for use in the cathedrals or parishes, unless they had a value of twenty pesos or under, nor were the Indians to be obliged to buy any (Ibid. VIII. p. 255). So it appears that both the Crown and the Church were aware that individuals could abuse their charges, and attempted to curb this.

I now turn to the celebration of fiesta in Texupan. There is no mention of cofradías in the Codice Sierra, although various fiestas, including that of the patroness, Santa Catalina were celebrated with feasting and drinking, but the purchase of wool from which sarapes were made for the day of Santa Catalina, suggests that these were the habits worn by the cofrades walking in the patronal procession (León, Codice p. 41). The accounts appear to refer to the Caja de Comunidad, although a number of the fiesta expenses detailed, such as the cost of candles for the saint's masses, and any Holy Week masses and processions would normally be met by the Caja de Cofradía, but it was not uncommon for the accounts of the Cajas de Cofradía and the Caja de Comunidad to be confused. There is some slight evidence that Cajas de Cofradía existed in Texupan, in that in 1551 locks and keys were bought for the "cajones", not merely the caja, soon after the arrival of the vicario, and in 1554 a cover was purchased for the sacristy cajones (Ibid. pp. 2, 12). However, these might have been larger repositories for church furnishings and vestments.

The only reference to fiesta in a 1580 Relación Geográfica, relative to this study reads as follows:

"...llamase la adbocación <de la iglesia del pueblo> San Andres, y en su dya hazen los naturales muchos regozijos de sus bayles y areytos, cantando en loor del santo: conbidanse de unos pueblos a otras para la tal fiesta; gastan en ella en

comer y beber cantidad de dineros" (Relación Geográfica de Coatlan. R.G. p. 131).

The economics of a religious institution cannot be divorced from the ends for which it was instituted. This, as I have argued, is a defect of many of the anthropological theories about mayordomía, most of which ignore the fact that this is what they are dealing with. However, the Marxists consider both aspects, and, in fact, my first point of departure for this research was the Marxist "expropriation model" of Marvin Harris, which I suspected was too simplistic. He states,

".... in terms of the colonial system, the fiesta complex was a direct expression of the attempt by the Church to maintain control over the highland Indian populations and to derive wealth from them."

He instances the findings of the Spanish admirals Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, regarding the exploitation of the people by certain priests, who increased the number of fiestas in their parishes in Peru and Ecuador, and therefore the income they received (Harris, p. 30). Later he comments, "At the outset, to follow Antonio de Ulloa's lead, the fiestas functioned primarily to drain off a portion of the community's wealth in support of the Church bureaucracy." (Harris, p. 32). I am not denying Juan and Ulloa's evidence, which is detailed, and the appalling burden upon the people, but I do not think the behaviour of individual priests in the 18th century is evidence of the Church's intent in introducing the cofradías, in the early 16th century. But then I believe that anthropologists tend to base their theories about the antecedents of mayordomía upon inadequate historical research, and this was another reason for my undertaking this particular form of research, rather than the more conventional anthropological fieldwork in a particular village.

James Greenberg, another American Marxist, who researched among the Chatino of Juquila, Oaxaca regards the system as extractive, but sees it as redistributive to an extent. Greenberg, in his study "Santiago's Sword: Chatino peasant religion and economics," argues that the fiesta complex is a double-edged sword, in that it is both an instrument of Church domination and a means of defending the community against the national society. His is a very interesting monograph, but it can be argued that he errs in his analysis through being swayed by his Marxist preconceptions of historical stages.

He identifies Marvin Harris as a reductionist Marxist, whilst Maurice Bloch in his book "Marxism and Anthropology" analyses Harris's general stance, and defines the Americans as neo, rather than orthodox, Marxists. Harris sees orthodox Marxism as both dogmatic and, because of its use of dialectic - human history as a development caused by conflict and contradiction with temporary resolutions - over subtle (Bloch, 1983. pp. 130-5). Certainly, Harris cannot be accused of subtlety, but what cannot be denied is that he has been influential to the extent that his views are frequently considered by serious anthropologists, when discussing models of mayordomía.

What then is the 16th century evidence for my contention that the erection of Indian cofradías was not a sordid attempt to enrich the Church at the expense of the Indians? The evidence I have cited in my third chapter of the nature of both the early cofradías and those who erected them is, I would say, the strongest, but I shall now cite the legislation which was enacted to establish the economics of both cofradía and fiesta expenditure. This must, of course, be considered against the economic situation of the Church in 16th New Spain, as outlined in this chapter. The earliest such legislation appears to have been that of the Junta Eclesiástica of 1539 from which Bishop

Llaguno quotes Article IV, which forbid Indians from holding, he states, "fiestas de sus advocaciones"

"en que haya areytos, ni comidas....ni beben en ellas vino de Castilla..., porque todo esto es a costa de los macehuales, y en algunos partes al cabo de las fiestas hay muertes, e sacrificios de indios, cosas no de buen ejemplo" (Llaguno, p. 17).

The use of the term "de sus advocaciones" by Bishop Llaguno in this context suggests a very early date for patronal fiestas, and one before most churches had been built, although this would not have been so much the case in the Valley of Mexico due to the activities, referred to in Chapter 2, of Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal as President of the Second Audiencia. The reference to the occurrence of human sacrifice in this context is not, I would suggest, in the same category as suggestions of cannibalism. It is quite feasible that it occasionally occurred in some areas, for it was a long-standing and widespread religious custom, and there is some evidence of this having been the case among the Yucatec Maya (26).

These views are echoed in a letter written by Archbishop Montúfar to the King in 1556. In it he expressed grave reservations about the introduction of the Cajas de Comunidad, which had until then only been used in the doctrinas. Now similar cajas were being made in both the cabeceras and their sujetos, and were a tyranny over the macehuales, for the nobles made them labour hard in the fields to maintain the pueblo treasury, then, if there was no resident friar or priest, spent the sobras de tributo on fiestas and drinking bouts and other things, with no regard for the common good (ENE. 8. No. 441. pp. 85-6). In making this statement, it may be assumed that he was ignorant of the religious role of the Zapotec caciques, and, indeed the principales,

who would have endeavoured to ensure the general welfare of their communities by such celebrations, but his fears for the macehuales may, unfortunately, have been well founded.

Interestingly, on certain occasions, from 1559 to 1563 at least, entries in the Codice Sierra show that the Viceroy, himself, had specifically ordered that special meals for the community should be paid for from the caja, as will be seen in Appendix A, "Fiesta." This was usually done in celebration of major festivals such as Christmas, Easter, Espiritu_ Santo, and the Assumption, but also, on one occasion, for San Pedro and San Pablo. This first occurred after the visit of Lebrón de Quiñones, and as he was visiting the Valley, as well as the Mixteca, similar orders must have been given there (27). It should be mentioned that the feast of San Pedro and San Pablo was the only saint's feast among the twelve that the Indians were expected to observe, in accordance with the First Mexican Council, Chapter XVIII:

"Paulo III considerando la miseria, y pobreza de los Indios naturales de esta tierra, dispensó en algunas Fiestas, que no fuessen obligados á las guardar, y les señalo las que los obligan."

The others were those connected with Christ: Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Whitsun, and Corpus Christi; and those connected with the Virgin: Her Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification and Her Ascension. This is an example of the Church's concern that the Indians should be treated with more consideration than the Spaniards in respect of expenditure on fiesta. It should also have limited to some extent the number of *cofradías* "pumping out wealth" into the Church's coffers!

The Dominican Chapter celebrated in Coixtlahuaca in 1564 was similarly concerned. It ordered that the funds of the hospitals and cofradías should not be used for any other purpose, neither were they to be held by any friar. Should this order be disobeyed, the priest in charge of the doctrina concerned would lose his office, and his guilty sujeto (subordinate friar) would be sentenced to six days on bread and water. No friar was to ask the community, or any individual, for anything other than the food or clothing stipulated by the Order, or ask them to spin more cloth than was needed for the friary. Nor were they to dispose of, or sell, anything given them by the community. The Mexico City Chapter of 1565 repeated much of the legislation of previous Chapters. It further ordered that the hospital funds were not to be kept with those of the community, and they were not to be used other than for the good of the hospital, under pain of "grave culpa", with its relevant punishment (Ulloa, pp. 172-3).

The Third Mexican Council also tried to limit both cofradías and fiestas, which appears to be a refutation of the extractive model as official Church policy, which it would have to have been if Harris's model is to stand. It limited the fiestas to be observed by the Indians to Sundays and eleven fiestas, and ordered that the Spaniards were not to make them work on those days (Lib. I. Tít. IX. p. 143). It also enacted the legislation, already referred to, against excessive expenditure on building by cofradías, as well as that limiting their expenditure on images, ornaments and any other objects to twenty pesos, adding that no Indians were to be made to purchase any of these (Lib. unnumbered. Tít. VIII. p. 255).

The Dominican Chapter held in Mexico City in 1581, however, increased the amount of Caja de Comunidad funds that might be spent on the churches and sacristies each

year from 10 to 50 pesos. The provincial's permission was required for any higher sums (Ulloa, p. 186). This was a period when a number of doctrina houses and churches were nearing completion, but alms had to be sent to the three great urban houses of Mexico City, Puebla and Antequera, so that there was a great disparity in their adornment. Hence in 1583 the Provincial, Fray Andrés de Ubilla, ordered that the doctrineros complete their buildings as soon as possible without excessive expenditure on retables, images and other embellishments, which could cause the communities financial distress. But the building of the three priories was not restricted, and Ulloa suggests that permission to spend the increased sum of fifty pesos yearly may have been a sop to any resultant discontent (Ibid. pp. 186-7). The friars, because of their vows of poverty, which were punished severely if they were not observed, were not in a position to finance such things themselves.

However, this legislation could not prevent heavy voluntary expenditure by devout Indians, which, according to Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla, whose history was published in 1596, was a source of both worry and embarrassment to the Dominicans, although it seems that by then the Indians themselves were making altar frontals and vestments for their churches. They were given the alms with which to do so and carried out the task effectively and with devotion. However, this may always have been the Dominican custom. He commented that the Indians were so poor that a house valued at 80 reales, and a milpa were riches to them, and yet, in Cuitlauac near Mexico City in 1591, a devout but poor woman had offered 1200 reales, when it had been decided that an altar frontal of Chinese cloth should be made; and another had given 4,000 reales - 500 pesos de tepuzque - for a custodian for the Santísimo Sacramento.

The Dominicans did not wish to receive such sums from people who were poor and had heirs, but it happened throughout the colony. He argued that it might show Christian devotion and love of God, but after all, these were only temporal and exterior matters. Further to this, he regretted that the cofrades of the Cofradía del Santísimo Rosario, erred in the same way, for, as nearly everyone (in the Dominican doctrinas) belonged to this cofradía, there was wax enough for candles, and yet they bought more to demonstrate their Christian devotion (28). This might too have been seen as a way of participating actively in the Mass of which they were passive observers, as a substitute for their active participation in their pre-Hispanic rites.

Burgoa, writing over half a century later referred to the same phenomenon, when he stated that the Valley Indians, had given entire retables to their churches, as well as silver lamps and costly ornaments, whilst they showed their devotion with gilded wax and with their care of the altars (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 272, 402-3). He also mentioned a notable example of heavy expenditure by a mayordomo in the Valley of Oaxaca, who had had a great silver lamp, larger than the sacristy one, made for the church of San Miguel Angel, Talixtac, in the Valle de Tlacolula (Ibid. II. p. 100). This suggests that the erection, initially of the cofradías proselitistas, and later of others, had been instrumental in inculcating devotion in those who served the saints, as mayordomos and cofrades, and so had been important in overcoming some of the blatant deficiencies in teaching which had occurred at a time when the general lack of suitable priests had meant that, in many areas, it had been impossible to give much more instruction than those rudiments of Christianity, which were necessary for baptism.

When all the factors are considered: huge numbers of converts; few friars; the initial use of interpreters, who would have had difficulty in explaining Christian concepts;

friars who preached, whilst studying the native languages, and who must have been of varying linguistic ability; secular priests, who only spoke a little Nahuatl; and, added to all these, the Church's inability to pay adequate stipends for lack of funds - a situation which ceased to exist after 1600 -, the miracle is that Christianity was so successfully planted in Oaxacan and Mesoamerican soil during this most vital period of proselytisation.

In this chapter, I have discussed the difficulties encountered by the 16th century Church in introducing orthodox Christian practices to New Spain in the context of its economic dilemma. If pagan practices were to be eradicated, it was necessary to increase the number of priests working among the Mesoamericans, but the low income from tithes, which I have discussed at length, acted against this. The stipends of the secular priests were low, and so led many of them to engage in commercial enterprises to the detriment of their pastoral concerns, moreover, numbers were poorly educated and of dubious morality. Nevertheless, the bishops wished to secularise the doctrinas as the friars acted independently of the Ordinary.

I have shown that the Council of Trent sought to lessen the power of the regulars in Europe and the Americas, and the promulgation of the Ordenanza de Patronazgo upheld this policy, which Archbishop Moya de Contreras was determined to implement despite his contempt for the moral and educational limitations of many of the priests in his archdiocese. I have discussed the measures he introduced for improving these by competitive examinations, and by ensuring that only those priests who could show that they would have an adequate income could be ordained; unless they had título de lengua, that is to say, that most vital asset for preferment to a curato (secular indigenous parish); fluency in an Amerindian language.

Further to this I have considered the relevant Church legislation passed by the Mexican Regional Councils and the Actas of the Dominican Chapters, in order to demonstrate that despite the need for funds for the building and embellishment of the doctrina and curato churches, measures were passed to limit expenditure on these from the cofradía and hospital funds. This I believe refutes the Marxist model of the Church's imposition of cofradías with the specific intention of pumping out wealth from the communities, although individual priests might have erred this way. I shall next turn to the roles played by the various civil and religious office holders, who administered the communities and their fiestas.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 5.

1. One, among many instances of this given by Burgoa, refers to Fray Jordán de Santa Catalina, the great missionary to Villa Alta, and Master of Novices, who constantly fasted and performed penitences which were near-suicidal (Burgoa, 1934, 1, p. 93).
2. ENE. VII. 422. p. 309. This is not impossible, for later it was not unknown for an indigenous group to ask for missionaries to work among them.
3. Borah, 1941. pp. 391-3. In such a case the royal officials would have collected the tithes, supplementing them from other revenues in order to meet diocesan expenses, and administering them. But their interference was, apparently, not excessive in Oaxaca. Once the minimum sum stipulated was achieved and administration in the hands of the bishop and chapter, the King's 2/9ths were still collected by his treasury officials one of whom was always present when the collection of the Spanish and mestizo tithes was farmed out to a suitable bidder or the tithes distributed (Ibid. pp. 391, 393).
4. Codice Sierra, pp. 27, 58, 61. The evidence of the Codice Sierra, the accounts of the now-abandoned parish of Santa Catalina, Texupan in the Mixteca Alta, from 1550-1564 show that the bishop's party was entertained there during its travels. In 1553, 58 pesos were spent for the Visita of Bishop Zárate. In 1562, when Bishop Alburquerque was on a Visita, 21 pesos were spent on table linen and table ware, and 32 pesos on wine, two turkeys, eggs, lard, honey, and fruit, and in 1563, when he returned to

conduct a confirmation service for children and adults, similar provisions cost 30 pesos, although only one turkey was purchased (See Appendix A).

5. Borah, 1941. p. 394. Farming out the tithe collection ensured that the See received a definite sum, and shifted the risks of collection and sale to the farmer.

6. Gutiérrez Brockington, p. 36. However, the Cortés family also held large ranches of cattle, sheep and horses in the Valley and in Tehuantepec apart from their encomienda. In the Ocotlán area there were 300 cows and 100 mares in 1556, which were to be sent to Tehuantepec, as well as 7-800 pigs, which were to be sold and replaced by 10-12,000 sheep. Then in Tehuantepec there were 12,000 cows, 300 mares and a stud farm with 500 mares and 14 stallions, all carefully chosen. The tallow and leather produced from these was exported to Peru (Zavalla, 1984. pp. 264-5), and all this livestock would have been tithed on its yearly increase, which could not have been an inconsiderable percentage of the total.

7. Borah, 1941. pp. 408, 406. The non-collection of tithes was not unusual. In Guatemala the Indian tithes were never collected, owing to the stance of the regular Orders, but both the Crown and the bishops had accepted this situation by the 18th century. Much later, a Real Cédula of May 23rd 1801 confirmed non-payment as a privilege enjoyed in "many provinces", of which one was Guatemala (Van Oss, p. 81).

8. Borah, 1941. p. 403. The flocks and herds of ganado menor could be considerable. In 1572, the community of Cuilapan owned four holdings near Zimatlán, on which 5,000 sheep and some 1,000 goats were raised (Zavala, 1984, p. 327-8).

9. González de Cossio, pp. 185, 636. The Libro de Tasaciones does not give an exhaustive account of all the towns that paid tribute, nor does it always give the variations in payments due over the years for a given town.

10. A document in the Cortés archives, AGN. Ramo del Hospital de Jesús dated 1572, regarding tribute collection in the Marquesado town of Cuilapan, reveals the complex situation that could arise. The community owed 7,622 pesos and 2 grains of oro común (de tepuzque), in respect of its tribute in specie from 1567 to 1572, and 4,565 fanegas 3 almudes of maize on its maize harvest from 1567 to 1571. In 1573 the cabildo pleaded that at the last census many listed as tributaries had still been in their parent's care, and that since then more than 1,500 tributaries had died of smallpox. They had asked to be counted anew, but Martín Cortés had refused to do so. The entire cabildo, including the gobernador, was imprisoned in Antequera for a time, but then bailed out on the surety of two Spaniards of Antequera, as they were needed to govern and administer the community. The community's livestock, some 5,000 sheep and 1,000 goats, were put under an embargo, whilst the Real Hacienda (treasury) considered the matter, but the outcome is apparently not known (Included in Zavala, 1984. pp. 327-9).

11. Schwaller, 1985. p. 219. Statistical Appendix. Obispado de Oaxaca. Source INAH Library, Mexico City, Rollo 100.

12. Schwaller states that the maestrescuela of a cathedral was concerned with education within the See and was expected to educate the chapter and the cathedral employees in Latin, Spanish grammar, and basic subjects, and so to have a degree, although he might only be in minor orders. The lessons were open to anybody, including lay persons (Schwaller, 1987. p. 16. Poole, p. 13).

13. Mullen p. 30. Punishment for one of these was to be 15 days on bread and water (p. 49). Mullen cites those that stress that no friar is to eat meat; that all should eat in the refectory; and that they should not ride horses (p. 48). All these would be important in a mendicant Order largely dependent upon alms. Conventos were usually situated within a day's walk of each other.

14. Relación de los Obispados. 1904. pp. 95-6, 97. One priest, Canon Pedro de Alavés is listed as a Mixtec-speaker by the bishop. But his files shows that he and his brother Canon Domingo also spoke Nahuatl, whilst Esteban de Alavés spoke Nahuatl, Mixtec, Zapotec and Cuicatec. These were the two brothers referred to previously (Schwaller, p. 220).

15. Poole, 1987. pp. 47-9, 131. Moya expressed himself with vigour in his report: two Creoles were described as "muy idiotas y ociosos", and another as near illiterate; the archdeacon, with a doctorate, as of "entendimiento confuso" through having studied little; and eight, including two canons, as dishonest and "distruidos" in matters concerning women. But he was also dismissive of the ambitions of the distinguished scholar, Dr Cervantes de Salazar. This gives some insight into Moya's temperament, as well as the problems he faced (Martín Rivera, p. 123. Schwaller, 1987. pp. 149-50). However, he both ensured that the chapter appointees were the best available, and sought to assign Creoles to the canonries.

16. Poole, pp. 49, 12, 45. Poole argues that although Moya had long respected the Jesuits, his good relationship with them was probably due to the fact that they had not then had time to establish themselves as the threat to episcopal authority that they

became in the next two centuries. Apart from this they were not grouped with the religious. The only religious whom he respected, apart from certain individuals, were the discalced Franciscans, who were particularly austere. They founded a friary in Mexico City under his auspices, but again Poole argues that they were no threat to his position (Ibid. pp. 77-9).

17. Gutiérrez Casillas, pp. 69, 72. The Bishop allowed the first two Jesuits to preach and hear confessions in the cathedral, until they had built a church. Such was the popularity their fervour earned them that they were given land by a canon. However, the site impinged upon the grounds of the new Dominican priory, which had not yet been completed. Understandably provoked at this, and unaware that the Jesuits had papal authority to act in this way in order to offset their lack of stipends and other income, the Dominicans protested to their ex-prior and provincial, the Bishop, who, convinced of the justice of their declarations, opposed the building of La Compañía.

The Jesuits ignored him, so he banned them from the cathedral, and when they continued to protest at his behaviour, excommunicated them. Not unnaturally, these sentences were revoked by the sympathetic Moya de Contreras, before whom they defended their honour and privileges, and they were given the site by a corner of the Zocalo, where La Compañía, which they built with funds donated by the principle citizens of Antequera, now stands. Apart from a period of parish work in the Nahua Antequeran barrio of Jalatlaco, they confined their activities to the city (Gay, pp. 262-4, 349-50).

18. Schwaller, 1985. p. 8. This minimum income may have been based upon the recommendations of the maestrescuela of Mexico City shown in Table 5.3.

19. García Icazbalceta, 1904. pp. 76, 78. Various types of currency are referred to in the 16th century records, but the Castilians reckoned them in maravedís, a mediaeval Moorish gold coin, as follows: ducats-375; pesos de oro común-300; and pesos de oro de ley perfecto, which were the standard and usually called pesos de oro de minas. They were valued at 485 maravedís (Schwaller), or 450 like the Spanish castellano (McAlister). The mint was established in Mexico City in 1536 and issued a silver real worth 34 maravedís and a silver peso, which was divided into 8 reales and valued at 272 maravedís. This may have been the peso de tepuzque, which was the only one in circulation according to Schwaller, but Borah states that it was of common gold and divided into 8 tomines. It was of the same value as, and interchangeable with the silver peso. Ducats were only used to express the salaries of high officials, such as the Viceroy (Elliott, pp. 124-5. Schwaller, 1985. p. 5. McAlister p. 240. Borah, 1941. p. 391).

20. It is impossible to tell the precise origin of the funds used in Texupan. No substantial amount is recorded after the Visita of Quebron de Quiñones, although there are entries for food provided for the tecpan (cabildo) and vicario, and the community and the vicario. However, it appears to have been the custom to buy maize, as well as salted shrimps and fish from Tehuantepec, in bulk in this way; for the first such entry, in 1553, shows that 120 pesos were spent on maize for the Corregidor, vicario and tecpan (Codice Sierra. pp. 2, 6, 8, 17, 21, 28, 36, 39).

21. Schwaller, 1987. pp. 41-3. There is no record of Padre Zárate's having studied music or of his having any aptitude for it, despite this appointment. Schwaller states that so much is known about this priest, because he was tried by the Inquisition in

1590 for requesting sexual favours in the confessional and found guilty. His sentence was the payment of 300 pesos in costs and fines, and two years' exile from Tututepec where the offences had occurred. He was also forbidden to hear confessions ever again (Ibid. p. 43).

22. Schwaller, 1985. pp. 8-11. & 1987. pp. 111-2, 124. Schwaller argues that the Spanish Laws of Toro, which laid down that an estate should be equally divided amongst all the heirs, unless a mayorazgo (entailed estate) had been created, could be circumvented in two ways: the priesthood and the nunnery limited the number of heirs succeeding in the second generation, and obras pías legally isolated certain sums from such a division in perpetuity (Ibid. 1985. pp. 13-14). Both were, in fact, strategies similar to those of Tibetan polyandry and entry into Buddhist monasteries.

23. Mullen, pp. 97, 46, 122 n. 6. Mullen believes that the pueblo churches and conventos were simultaneously constructed, and that the average convento took about three years to complete. He suggests that the date of acceptance by the Chapter signified that the church had reached the height of the convento, and, in the case of a two-storied one, would, with the use of a temporary thatched roof, soon be ready for use and consecration, although it might have been several decades before the roof was replaced (pp. 96-7).

24. Mullen, pp. 106, 111. The Dominican historian Fray Vicente Beltrán de Heredia at San Esteban, Salamanca, informed Mullen that he believed that friars were assigned to a pueblo when there was a residence of some kind for them, but that acceptance meant not only that there was a church suitable for holding Mass as well as a residence, but that the cacique, nobles and population of the pueblo had been

converted to Christianity. Assignment, where mentioned, took place from two to eight years before acceptance (Mullen, pp. 95-6). The fact that some nobles had taken the surnames of the first Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza (1535-1550), and the second, Don Luis de Velasco (1550-1564), on baptism bears this out to some extent (Whitecotton, 1990. p. 24). However, Teozapotlán/Zaachila where the King of the Zapotecs was baptised with the surname Cortés in 1521, and whose 18th century caciques bore the surname Velasco, was not accepted until 1572, although it might have been a visita of nearby Mixtec Cuilapan, which was accepted in 1550. Mullen's tables suggest that the Dominicans were intent upon the early acceptance of strategically placed friaries throughout their province from the 1530s, rather than concentrating upon the easily reached central area of the Valleys (Ibid. pp. 234-6).

25. Codice Sierra, p. 60. Mullen states that the convento of Texupan was accepted in 1572, but this appears to refer to the convento of Santiago Texupan nearby (Mullen, pp. 74, 236, 239). The bishop's letter of 1571 and the Relación Geográfica of 1580 both refer to Santa Caterina. They state that two Dominicans were resident in Texupan, and it was in encomienda to the Crown. Nicolás León of INAH states that Santa Caterina no longer exists (Relación de los Obispos, pp. 74, 236. R.G. p. 53, n. 2. Codice Sierra, p. 7).

26. There is some evidence that the statues of the Crucifixion were either misinterpreted or led to syncreticisation, for there were cases in the Yucatan of children being nailed to crosses in churches before their hearts were torn out. This was done at the instance of the Mayan Ah-kin priests. However, this information is based on evidence extracted through torture (Farriss, p. 291. Clendinnen, pp. 88-92).

27. The implications of this order and those protecting cofradía and other funds, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, will be developed further in Chapter 9 in my discussion of the manner in which fiesta was funded during the colonial era.

28. Dávila Padilla, pp. 79-82. It was not only the Indians who embarrassed the Dominicans in this way. According to Dávila Padilla, when the Cofradía del Rosario was founded in Mexico City, by Fray Tomás de San Juan, everyone of importance in the City joined it and large sums were given in alms for the cofradía and the wax. The Alguacil Mayor and his wife presented them with a silver statue, which cost over 6,000 pesos de tepuzque. This was carried in processions standing on a velvet-covered litter, wearing gowns covered in precious stones. The friars felt that it offended against their lives of poverty in a way, but accepted it. He also states that soon, as a result of Fray Tomás's preaching, every man and woman in the city joined the cofradía, including the infirm. Those who could walk frequently visited the priory. There was of course a large Indian population in Mexico City at that time (Ibid. pp. 354-9).

PART II.

THE CIVIL-RELIGIOUS HIERARCHIES IN THE LATE COLONIAL AND POST-
INDEPENDENCE ERAS.

CHAPTER 6.

THE TWOFOLD THREAT TO ZAPOTEC SOCIETY IN THE LATE COLONIAL ERA:
THE SECULARIZATION OF THE DOMINICAN DOCTRINAS AND THE ATTACK
UPON INDIGENOUS CUSTOMS.

Part I of this thesis has been based upon published primary sources and a number of secondary ones owing to the lack of relevant Oaxacan 16th century documents. However, in Part II my analysis of the role of the cofradías and the activities of the late colonial civil and religious cargo holders is based principally upon archival materials. But before analysing these I wish to explore the background against which the cargo holders had to carry out their duties.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall begin by discussing the difficulties which arose in the 17th century, as the bishops attempted to carry out the Crown's wishes with regard to the secularisation of the Dominican doctrinas and the submission of the friars to episcopal control. In doing so I shall show that it was, paradoxically, the stance of a Dominican bishop which initiated the long and open disputes between the episcopacy and the friars, and that these scandals had an adverse effect upon all concerned, including the laity, and possibly paved the way for the secularisations of the 18th century. Indeed it could be argued that, although the Dominicans were able to defend themselves and their doctrinas throughout the century, it was at the cost of their commitment to their missionary duties, whilst the instances of pre-

Hispanic rituals uncovered at that time might have been a symptom of the disaffection felt by the Zapotecs at the evidence of the unchristian behaviour of certain highly placed clerics.

Turning to the 18th century I shall show that the reforms discussed in Chapter 5, which were introduced by the high-minded Archbishop Moya de Contreras at the end of the sixteenth century, as a necessary step towards the improvement of the calibre of the secular priests, had met with limited success. In arguing this, I shall show that one of his reforms in particular, the introduction of the título de lengua as the one means by which any candidate for the secular priesthood could be assured of a beneficed parish, was the cause of constant concern for the bishops of Oaxaca; for many of the secular priests thus qualified were ill-educated and without a vocation. Yet, despite this, with one notable exception, the bishops were determined to secularise the Dominican doctrinas and, as a result, I shall suggest that the indigenous Valley people spent much of the century in a state of uncertainty as the Dominicans and the seculars argued their respective cases, the doctrinas were threatened with secularisation, and, in some cases, doctrinas had to be traded back and forth in order to prevent the threatened disappearance of the Province of San Hipólito Martyr. Apart from this, if secularised they were likely to be at the mercy of an inadequate priest. Nor was this the limit of their suffering, for the attempts of the bishops to extirpate those customs which they considered immoral from a Christian viewpoint, and those practices which they regarded as pagan, were characterised by imposing punishments of such severity in some instances,

that their policies must have been regarded as a serious threat to normal community life.

The impact of the Ordenanza de Patronazgo upon the Province of San Hipólito Mártir is testified to by the document headed "El Juez Conservador", written by the Franciscan Guardian (superior), of San Francisco, Mexico City, in defence of the Dominicans of Antequera in their quarrel with the Bishop of Oaxaca, Fray Juan de Bohórquez, O.P. in the 1620s. The document itself was apparently written in 1630, and judgement passed upon it by the president and judges of the Audiencia that same year (B.N. Juez Conservador. fols. 1, 35). It should be stated also that such a quarrel was no isolated case, for the writer, Fray Diego Ibáñez, defending his position as Juez Conservador (a judge appointed to consider and conserve privileges), which had been disputed by the Bishop, referred to cases brought by the mendicant Orders against two Bishops of Tlaxcala.

He particularly cited Don Alonso de la Mota, who had actually asked his seculars to ascertain that the regulars were erudite in languages, preached frequently and were good ministers; apart from this, they were to examine the sermons, books and grammars, which the friars had written, and even ensure that their altars were in good order. All this must have been extremely humiliating, for, whilst some of these were matters which were in a bishop's province during his annual Visitas to his priests, it is rather surprising that he should have delegated them in such an insensitive manner. Especially as this was in the province of the provincial when he visited his Order's doctrinas (fol. 21). In the instances referred to a Franciscan represented the

Dominicans as Juez Conservador and a Dominican the Franciscans, but Fray Diego also makes the important point that when such disputes occurred anywhere, the Indians lost their respect for their priests and not only ceased to attend for religious instruction but also neglected their duties as singers, sacristans and bell ringers (fol. 3, 21, 22). He later refers to pueblos having risen in the Province as a result of such confrontations. Apart from this he cites an unfortunate incident in Tlatelolco near, now in, Mexico City, in 1622, when as a result of the Archbishop's trying to bring the religious of that convento under his jurisdiction, their parishioners removed his officials from the church and stoned them with such ferocity, when they visited the pueblo, that they had to flee, and were lucky to escape with their lives (fol. 34).

The situation in Oaxaca, which led to the appointment of Fray Diego, was no different. In 1627 the Viceroy Cerralvo (1624-1635), acting in his capacity as vice patron of the Church, ordered that the friars should obey the Reales Cédulas enforcing the Patronato Real by submitting the names of three friars as candidates in respect of each of their doctrinas, so that he might choose one. This despatch, which was read at the Dominican Chapter, added that they should also submit themselves to the bishops for examination, correction and punishment. Although they obeyed the former requirement, they appealed to the King and the Viceroy against the latter. But in Oaxaca the Dominican Bishop Bohórquez was determined to uphold Crown interests in their entirety, and ignored the Prior's appeals for a peaceful solution to their differences. As a result there was trouble throughout the See, which culminated in the churches of Santo Domingo's and San Francisco's being

placed under an interdict for two years with the threat of excommunication for those attending Mass and other offices at them (Gay, pp. 336-7).

Nevertheless, friars of the three Orders processed from Santo Domingo on Good Friday with the statue of the Cofradía del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, which had been erected canonically by the Dominicans in all their houses at the instigation of Fray Marcos de Valladares (Procurador General in 1583) when Vicar General of the Order, with a special Brief from the Pope. The cofrades were mostly pardos (mulatos) (Juez Conservador, fol. 22. Cruz y Moya, II. p. 105. Ulloa, p. 294). The procession, which was normally attended by most of the populace, moved through empty streets. No priest greeted them in the cathedral or the Jesuit church and the bishop ordered the image to be left with the Augustinian canons (Gay, p. 337). The situation could hardly have been worse. What was common knowledge in the city must have spread quickly through the See, and have rebounded upon all concerned to their demerit in the eyes of the faithful. It was then that the Dominicans appointed Fray Diego Ibáñez to argue for their privileges and the situation deteriorated even further (Gay, p. 337-8).

Padre José Antonio Gay, O.P., in his history, says that the Franciscan was appointed Juez Conservador in 1629 and arrived in Antequera on May 11th 1630, when he summoned the Bishop to attend him; with grave consequences if he refused to do so. Not unnaturally, the Bishop did refuse, whereupon the friar posted up his name on notice boards, together with those of many secular priests, as all having been publicly excommunicated. The Bishop then appealed to the Audiencia, who ordered that the names should

be removed. The Dominicans argued that the Audiencia's decision could only properly be communicated to their Juez Conservador, who could not be found in Oaxaca, and so the Bishop had recourse once again to the Audiencia, who again ordered that the names of those excommunicated be removed from the boards. The Dominicans then argued that, because of their privileges, they were not under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, and only the Juez could carry out this order. But, says Gay, the Franciscan was nowhere to be found as he had left for Spain (Gay, pp. 367-8). But he had evidently left the Juez Conservador document, in which he states that at one stage the Bishop's servants had impeded his work by taking his notary by force of arms, with the Audiencia (B.N. Juez Conservador, fol. 1).

What is extraordinary in the Juez Conservador document is the vehemence with which Fray Diego expresses himself to the Audiencia on the subject of the patronato real, even going so far as to argue that if the Kings of Spain had in fact had the same authority as the Pontiff, they would have had no need to go to him in order to obtain ecclesiastical authority, and therefore - the constantly reiterated theme of his document - the religious should not have been made subject to the bishops under the Ordenanza de Patronazgo. They had had, he argued, Apostolic authority to administer the sacraments in the Indies since 1521 (Ibid. fol. 32), and were exempt from the jurisdiction, visita, and correction of the bishops according to the Council of Trent and the Apostolic Briefs (Ibid. fol. 9), either as religious or as parish priests (Ibid. fol. 10, para 9). Burgoa, whose "Geográfica Descripción" was licensed by the Viceroy Mancera and the Inquisition in 1671 (G.D. I. pp. 8-9. II. Intro. p.

3), states that the friars were subject to their Provincial, and he, in his turn to the Viceroy (Ibid. II. p. 217).

The Audiencia in judging the case agreed only that the Cofradía del Dulce Nombre de Jesús should be returned to the Dominicans, but the Dominicans refused to accept it as they now regarded the mulatos as ungrateful and inclined to revolt (Gay, p. 337). The importance of the Audiencia's decision resides in its acceptance of Fray Diego Ibáñez's argument that only those cofradías which were founded, instituted, and disposed with episcopal authority were subject to the bishop, whilst those which had been founded with Papal authority or that of the King, and with a special Brief limiting them to a particular Order, could not be moved to the convento of any other Order (B. N. Juez, fol. 6). In other words they were not subject to the Ordinary, but to the Superior of the Order concerned. This applied both to the cofradía under consideration and that of N. S. del Rosario.

The uneasy situation between the Bishop and the Dominicans continued until 1633, having by then lasted for six years, and it was only when the Bishop was on his deathbed that he sent for the Dominicans in order to effect a reconciliation with them. They went immediately, and gave him the pardon which he desired, whilst he, for his part, at the instigation of the Jesuit rector, handed over the originals of the judgements made against them, which were then burned in the presence of the notary (Gay, pp. 338-9). However, this unfortunate episode had initiated a series of similar disputes, which were mostly concerned with attempts to secularise the doctrinas, between the Order and the Bishops of Oaxaca. Padre Gay comments that the resultant

lawsuits cost the Dominicans dear, not only in financial terms, but by turning their attention to matters far from the Rule. He adds that the situation was political as well as ecclesiastical, and contrasts the early period when the Orders prevailed, with the later one, when the Spanish kings were determined to exercise more direct power in their colonies (Ibid. p. 339).

He is, of course, referring to the Ordenanza de Patronazgo and writing in 1881, but the sentiments expressed in the "Juez Conservador" document lost none of their power as the seventeenth century progressed, nor did the Crown desist from its efforts to force the mendicant Orders into submission. In 1644 the Dominican General in Rome, Fray Tomás Turco, ordered his friars to resist the bishops and Fray Jacinto del Castillo and the historian Fray Francisco de Burgoa were appointed as their procuradores (legal agents) in Mexico City. A year later, presumably at the instigation of Bishop Benavente y Benavides (1639-1652), a Real Cédula specific to Oaxaca commanded their obedience, but Turco only ordered them to submit in 1647 after many more difficulties (Gay, p. 353). This, apparently, did not mollify the Bishop for, at the Dominican Chapter of May 1649, he so far exceeded his authority as to attempt to prevent the appointment of Burgoa, who was evidently a formidable adversary, as Provincial. Then, in July, he declared all the Dominican doctrinas vacant, so that Burgoa and the friars in charge of the doctrinas were forced to submit themselves to him for examination (Ibid. pp. 353-4). But a bishop could not exercise this privilege without the authority of the King or his vice patron, the Viceroy. Burgoa, who had the sympathy of the city cabildo, therefore petitioned the Real Acuerdo for judges to defend the Dominicans' apostolic privileges and a Cédula dated December 1650

ordered the bishop to desist. It reached Antequera after the Bishop's death and so was communicated to the Cathedral Chapter (Gay, pp. 354, 354 n. 12).

Yet worse was to follow, for on Benavides' death Oaxaca became a sede vacante from February 1652 until July 1654 and the Dominicans had to contend with their litigious enemy the Archdeacon Cárdenas. Despite the Cédula referred to above, he declared twenty-one of their doctrinas vacant and tried to make the friars appear before his own tribunal. Further to this, he constantly complained about them to the Viceroy, although this was done without the authority of the cathedral Chapter, so that the Provincial was forced to defend them until finally the Viceroy ordered the new bishop to punish the Archdeacon and maintain the status quo in the doctrinas (Gay p. 360).

The Benedictine Bishop, Fray F. D. Hevíá y Valdés, was translated from Durango, to which bishopric he had been consecrated in 1639 by Bishop Palafox of Puebla, who had been famously at odds with the Jesuits in his See. The perturbed Dominicans met him en route to Antequera with the Viceroy's despatch and a list of candidates for the vacant doctrinas, but he wished to be sure that the religious had adjusted to the Council of Trent and Canon Law. The ecclesiastical fiscal found the list of friars unacceptable and insisted upon the Bishop's right to appoint priests, and in 1654 the Viceroy declared in the Dominican's favour, as a similar case had been lost by the Archbishop of Mexico. Cárdenas responded by insisting upon their each being instituted canonically with time-consuming and costly legal formalities,

but again the Viceroy intervened and in February 1655 allowed the elected friars to verify their acceptance by private letter (Gay, pp. 360-1). So three precious years had been wasted because of the Archdeacon's stance.

Padre Gay does not state whether the hapless pueblos involved were left without priests during this time, but he is convinced that the actions of Cárdenas, who was translated to Mexico City in 1664, caused the Dominicans to lose both influence and power (Gay, p. 361). This is certainly feasible, for they had endured twenty years of conflict in their attempts to maintain their right to pursue their mission. Obviously there was obduracy on both sides, but, as will be seen, despite the reforms of Archbishop Moya de Contreras there had been little improvement in the calibre of the secular priests even by the 18th century, and the friars could not have been happy at the thought of beneficed priests taking charge of their doctrinas. Certainly, Burgoa, who was the Provincial in 1649 and 1662, makes his distrust of the seculars' abilities very plain in the "Geográfica Descripción", especially in the early post-Conquest period (I. pp. 305, 322, 377, 398). But, he also wished to re-establish the customs of the golden era of Lucero in Santo Domingo, and ensure the piety of the friars (Gay, p. 379).

However, just as there were friars who were failures, we may be sure that there were also fine beneficed priests who were concerned with the welfare of their parishioners, and also had wider concerns. One such, Don Antonio Grado, the cura of Jamiltepec, donated three haciendas and a farm so that a seminary could be established for twelve Indian boys. They were to study Mixtec and Zapotec and undertake missions in pueblos where these

languages were spoken every three years. Bishop Sariñana (1683-1696) was delighted, but the Jesuits who were to be entrusted with this project refused to undertake it, or accept the gift (Gay, p. 372).

Fortunately, the relationships between the episcopacy and the Dominicans were comparatively peaceful for the rest of the century, possibly because of the character of the bishops during that time. That the problem was not left in abeyance is clear from a letter sent to the Viceroy by the cathedral Chapter during the episcopate of the Dominican Fray Tomás de Monterroso (1665-1678) stating that the Dominicans would respect the Reales Cédulas concerning the patronato whilst governed by Padre Hurtado (Gay, p. 366). Later the saintly Bishop Sariñana, who had practised a poverty, which was little appreciated by the cathedral dignities, begged the Chapter when on his deathbed to maintain the peace of his episcopacy during the sede vacante (Ibid. p. 371). In fact this virtually endured until Maldonado entered the See in 1702, for his successor, Vega de Quiroz (1698-1699) died after only three months in office (Velasco P. p. 113).

Bishop Cuevas Dávalos (1658-1664), a simple moderate man and an excellent pastor had also maintained peaceful relationships with the friars, who were able to complete the building of Santo Domingo during his tenure, when Burgoa was provincial once again (Gay, p. 363). The brilliant Dr. Don Nicolás del Puerto (1679-1681) was very old when he succeeded and so had little impact during his short tenure, but his appointment was peculiarly just. He was the son of a Zapotec cacique from Santa Catalina Minas, who had

been failed unfairly by the priests who had examined his oposiciones, and had vowed only to return to the See as the bishop (1).

It is possible that this quieter period in Church relationships was also the result of a number of disturbing incidents, which occurred at this time, and must have preoccupied the combatants greatly. In 1660 twenty towns, in areas surrounding the Valleys, rose in protest at the imposition of the repartimientos de efectos, by means of which the Alcaldes Mayores forced them to buy unnecessary goods at excessive prices despite the Dominicans' attempts to stop the imposition (2). Such was the situation, particularly in Villa Alta, Nejapa, and Tehuantepec, where the Alcalde Mayor was killed, that Bishop Cuevas Dávalos intervened in person in several areas in order to restore peace (3).

Natural disasters also occurred. In 1662 there was a severe earthquake, which destroyed Santo Domingo's towers and badly affected other churches, particularly San Francisco and La Soledad, with the subsequent need for very costly repairs (Velasco P., p. 102-3, Gay, pp. 365-6), whilst the 1680s were a time of severe food shortages, such that maize had to be imported from Puebla in 1682. Food prices were high although maize, reasonably priced, was sold at the Saturday market in Antequera by Indians from the surrounding pueblos, but the haciendas produced little apart from the subsistence requirements of their owners. The Cabildo blamed low rainfall and unscrupulous merchants for the city's plight (Chance, pp. 107-8). Then in 1682 and 1696 there were such terrible earthquakes that the people took refuge in the countryside, and the city was severely damaged (Gay, p. 385).

Such traumas obviously affected the churchmen badly, and both the Chapter and the Orders in the city were faced with costly building programmes. But the income from tithes was much higher by this time. At the beginning of the century it had been low as a result of demographic collapse, but in 1690 the Chapter's income was as large as the total had been some sixty years before. This was due to the increase of the Spanish and mestizo population who were both tithed in full, and the greater use of tithable Spanish crops and livestock among the Indians, as well as the higher production of export crops: the See was important for the production of livestock, wheat, sugar, cochineal, achiote (an orange red dye) and cacao (Borah, 1949. pp. 502-3). Similarly, the Orders benefited financially from their increased landholdings by this time. These mostly took the form of cattle ranches, although they frequently rented out land rather than working it themselves.

The Dominicans were the largest landholders after the Indians, principally as a result of capellanías and gifts from Indian towns and nobles. Cuilapan was particularly rich. The Jesuits, who were the most successful hacendados commercially elsewhere, held urban property rather than land in Oaxaca (4). These estates were another cause of contention with the bishops throughout New Spain, for the friars believed that they should not be tithed because of their privileges. A complex royal lawsuit was begun in 1624, but it was not until 1662 that the cathedral chapters were able to enforce payment. Even so the Jesuits held out until 1673 (Ibid. p. 505).

Apart from these advantages the city benefited greatly at this time from the munificence of the Portuguese philanthropist Don Manuel Fernández de Fiallo, who donated thousands of pesos to assist the sick and orphans, to improve conditions in the city, and to build churches. He also gave the Franciscans 20,000 pesos to help in the rebuilding of parts of their friary, and similarly large sums to the Augustinians, Carmelites, Mercedarians and Jesuits, as well as the income from 16,000 pesos for the sustenance of five secular priests. He died in 1708 (Gay, pp. 376-7).

Another cause of the relative calm which prevailed in the diocese in the latter part of the century may have been the alarming evidence of idolatry which was uncovered by Balzobre in the Partido de Sola during the episcopate of Fray Diego de Hevia y Valdés. As a result of this the bishop undertook a Visita of his See (5), soon after his arrival there, that is after July 1654 (Velasco P., p. 101), and wrote a pastoral letter to the priests on its completion decrying the "abominations" he had found, despite the presence of so many churches, doctrinas, and dedicated regular and secular ministers. He deplored the belief in the tona, which was discussed on page 63, so that a child presented for baptism had the Devil as patron, and an animal as advocate - or so he interpreted it! He also complained that the churches were turned into markets at night, but above all he was horrified at the persistence of idols, sacrifices and the old beliefs (Relación auténtica pp. 7-10), for, he wrote:

"No dudo, Señores, que el natural del Indio es infructuoso, rebelde, y duro por las profundas rayzes que en el(l)os ha echado la idolatria; malo

es el panino (? camino), pero también tiene mucha culpa nuestra negligencia, y tibieza:" (6).

At the end of his letter the bishop exhorted his priests to ensure the purity of the churches, extirpate superstitions, burn and destroy idols and pagan altars, and work for the spiritual good of their people (7). But this was clearly not effective, for, on September 9th. 1692 Bishop Sariñana wrote to Charles II to inform him that so many of his flock were overt Catholics and covert idolaters, that he had had a perpetual prison built - at the King's expense - in Antequera, in the belief that if the "dogmatistas, maestros y sacerdotes" were removed from their pueblos and incarcerated there, idolatry could be rooted out (Gillow, Apendice 3 ,pp 93-6, 94 n. 1). But his death six years later was said to have resulted from his grief at his inability to deal with the problem. That this was so was dramatically illustrated by events in Cajonos, Villa Alta in 1700, when two fiscales de la iglesia were murdered by those whom they had denounced for idolatrous worship (see page 326).

Gay, like the Juez Conservador, believed that it was the disputes and scandals referred to in this chapter which had led to a resurgence in pagan worship (Gay, p. 357), and it may be that more people had turned to the old beliefs disillusioned by the open ecclesiastical scandals in the city, and the humiliations heaped upon the Dominicans. Moreover, the prolonged disputes with the bishops, and the anxieties and uncertainties caused by them cannot but have distracted the friars in the doctrinas from their missionary duties.

It is not possible to determine whether the bishops had any lasting successes in their attempts at increasing the number of secular priests working in the pueblos during the 17th century. In 1580, according to Bishop Allburquerque, there were twenty-four houses in the bishopric each with a number of visitas, and more were to be established (Relación de los obispados. pp. 69-76). In 1704, Bishop Maldonado stated that there were thirty-six doctrinas, with their visitas, and six conventos in the Dominican province (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 30). However, in the 18th century, which will now be discussed, the struggle, though even more fraught, was ultimately successful.

The reforms and innovations of Archbishop Moya de Contreras having taken effect from the final decades of the 16th century, it might be assumed that by the 18th century the secular clergy would have been suitable in every way to take over the doctrinas from the Dominicans, but every bishop throughout the century complained about their low calibre and poor preparation. This although each bishop introduced programmes to improve the quality of seminary education from Maldonado, who referred to the subject in 1708, onwards (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 9). The basis of the problem appears to have been the título de lengua, and it is clear from memorials from Bishop Blanco y Elguero in 1753, and Bishop Alvarez de Abreu in 1770, that those youths whose families could not afford to finance their full period of training for the priesthood abandoned their studies once they had acquired some elements of grammar and philosophy, and spent a period in a pueblo studying its language under the auspices of the priest. They then presented

themselves for ordination ill prepared, with no formation in theology and no vocation (Ibid. p. 100-1. AGI. Méx, 2586. Bishop to King, 1770. pp. 7-8).

A Real Cédula abolished the título de lengua in 1769 (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 109), but, in 1776, in a letter to the Visitador General, José de Gálvez, Bishop Alonso de Ortigoza was voicing the same complaints and blaming them upon this título, as well as the fact that more children were sent to study with the religious than to the seminary. He also stated that the Colegio de San Bartolome founded by the Dominican bishop, Ledesma, at the end of the 16th century with scholarships for poor theological students, had ceased to function before he became bishop, for lack of funds. Even so, he commented that such was the need for priests that in a number of cases their lack of zeal and unsuitable behaviour had had to be ignored (Ibid. pp. 191-5). In 1784 in a letter to the King he suggested that the erstwhile Jesuit college in Tepotzotlán be used both as a noviciate to test vocations, and as a house of correction for recalcitrant priests, for, if they were in prison they had no stipend and, because of the cost of maintaining them, often had to be released before their punishment had taken effect (Ibid. pp. 210-11, 213). It is, then, hardly surprising that there are some letters from communities at the turn of the century, begging the bishop not to remove priests, whom they admired (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 13, exp. 13. 2 cases), and complaining in other cases of a priest's slackness in celebrating Mass (Ibid. Leg. 14. Exp. 3).

The priests themselves were also aware of this problem. The Licenciado Juan José de Echarri, writing in 1803, commented that there was no estudiante de

lengua in his parish and he trusted to Heaven that there never would be, for they were not, as a rule, very good, and quite unsuited for the care of a parish once ordained (AGEO. Cuestionario, II. p. 283). But a number of curatos had such students working with the priest at this time, and most curas spoke well of them when writing to Bishop Bergoza. The curas of Teutila and Peñoles were well pleased with theirs, and their sincere vocations.

The situation of Don José María Carrión in Peñoles shows the difficulties faced by a poor youth with a vocation and no prospects. He was the son of a cathedral chorister, who had been awarded a scholarship to study at the seminary, but could not complete his courses on account of his parent's poverty, and so was now studying lengua as his only hope of becoming ordained. The cura was maintaining him at his own expense, and in return he was teaching in the school (Ibid. I. pp. 40, 50). But, the fact remains that however devout and devoted a priest he might have become, he had not completed his training. I have not come across any adverse criticism of the friars in those documents which I have seen, although not all of them could have had perfect vocations, but, even then, by the nature of their vows and training, they would have had to accept the rigours of the more remote parishes to an extent that was sometimes lacking among the seculars, as in the case of the young priest, who, sent to the remote and inhospitable curato of Itundujia, Mixteca Alta by Bishop Omaña, decided he would rather suffer in the city, and left after a day (Ibid. I. p. 196)! Such conduct, if common, would have exacerbated the difficulties of a See, where it was unusual for a cura with five or six pueblos de visita under his care to have as many as two vicarios helping him, and where a number were alone. This must, in part,

explain why all the bishops emphasised the need for Castilian schools teaching Christian doctrine in the parishes.

The attempts at secularisation seem perverse in the circumstances, for the friars' preparation still appears to have been far superior in what was still, in effect, a missionary area two hundred years after the Conquest. It was Bishop Maldonado (1702-1728), who made the first such move, after his 1702 Visita, when he argued that he was the first bishop to have visited the entire See, and had been shocked by the evidence of the survival of idolatrous rituals, accompanied by the sacrifice of small creatures. He became convinced, no doubt with some justice, that this was the result of there being too many sujetos in each doctrina, so that the large numbers of the faithful to be attended, and the great distances to be covered meant that their spiritual needs could not be properly attended to (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 23-9).

He also argued that the friars were unable to follow the Rule in the doctrinas, and that they should be aggregated so that there were eight in each convento in accordance with the Reales Cédulas of 1689 and 1693, although the Provincial held that the doctrinas, with their three or four resident religious, were houses without the privileges of conventos, by which he clearly meant the three conventos grandes (priories) (Ibid. pp. 29-31). Added to this, it must be held in mind that the Order of Preachers was principally instituted in order to study and preach the Gospel, and the Actas of the 16th century Chapters show that those friars working in the doctrinas were allowed some latitude in following the Rule insofar as the celebration of the liturgy was

concerned in order that they might have more time to exercise their ministry to the benefit of their parishioners. This, of course, was not necessary in the urban priories (Ulloa, pp. 217, 219), where the Rule was followed and the novices trained. Given these circumstances, I question whether the fact that Maldonado was a Cistercian coloured his attitude towards the Dominicans to some degree (8).

My intention, in discussing some of the complexities of this matter, which I have set out in Table 6.1 (see page 297) as it affected the Valleys, is to suggest that the stresses and uncertainties engendered by it must have badly affected both the Dominicans, who were actually in danger of losing their Province of San Hipólito Mártir later in the century, and the communities where they had their doctrinas, for the latter cannot but have been fully aware of the situation, and its possible implications for them, as there were various means of disseminating information regarding any problems caused by the changes.

Many villages produced specific crops or crafts, which they sold in the various Valley markets: San Juan Chilateca, and Villa de Etlá were the most important markets in the late 17th century, Mitla held one from 1717, and there were others at Huayapan, Tlacolula and Ocotlán (Chance, p. 110). The women of San Mateo near Cuilapan, sold their pottery comales for cooking tortillas throughout the Valley of Ocotlán; nearby San Bernardo marketed its woods; some Etlá pueblos their wheat; and the women of Peñoles, situated between the Valley and the Mixteca, their white huipiles (blouses) in the Valleys (AGEO. Cuestionario, Vol. II. p. 402, Vol. I. pp. 46-7, 56). Most of

the Tlacoachahuayan men were masons who worked in Antequera and lived there most of the year with their wives, who sold tortillas in its market (Ibid. Vol. II. p. 284). Apart from this the cochineal producing areas in the Mixteca, Villa Alta, the Sierra Zapoteca and Miahuatlán depended upon surplus maize from Huitzo, Teotitlán del Valle, Cuatro Villas del Marquesado and Zimatlán for their subsistence (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 63-4). So there would have been few secrets and many fears.

Initially, in setting out his proposals for aggregations Bishop Maldonado asked the Viceroy that a number of doctrinas in the Zimatlán arm of the Valleys, including Zaachila, be aggregated to the convento of Cuilapan, and several in the Tlacolula arm to San Pablo de Oaxaca in Antequera, whilst at the same time expressing his doubts as to the Dominican Provincial's ability to govern them properly. This was still being disputed, when the clergy of the diocese petitioned the king for 10 of the 45 doctrinas in the See, including six in the aforementioned Valleys, and two each in Villa Alta and the Mixteca (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 32-4). Then, in 1706, ten doctrinas including the valley ones of Santo Tomás Jalieza and Teitipac were handed over at the instance of the Fiscal of the Audiencia; for, although opinion favoured the Dominicans (Ibid. pp. 42-4, 40), and the Alcaldes Mayores testified to "their superiority as pastors, their better knowledge of the native languages, and their better kept and attended churches" (Ibid. p. 40), it could not be denied that there were a large number of unbeneficed seculars in the bishopric: 129 according to Maldonado, in an account to the viceroy (Ibid. p. 39).

In 1710, the Dominican Procurador General complained that not only had ten doctrinas been taken from the Order, but the bishop had divided six of them into seventeen curatos, and hoped to divide a further twelve into thirty-two (9). The controversy caused by this was bitter and prolonged, and Maldonado's attitude was so intractable and his attack upon the Dominicans expressed so ferociously in his letters to Spain, that the King's chaplain, convinced that he would not carry out any resolution he disagreed with, advised his translation to Orihuela near Murcia - a much smaller See, easy to visit, but whose stipend was valued at 2,000 ducats more than that of Oaxaca: 10,000 as opposed to 8,000 ducats! He was to be replaced by the Franciscan bishop-elect of Panama, Fray Manuel de Mimbela, a peaceful man who understood doctrinas, for it was feared that if Maldonado got his way, the other prelates in the Indies would follow suit. The King, therefore, gave the necessary orders to the Viceroy in a letter dated April 15th 1712 (10).

On Mimbela's arrival in Oaxaca in 1712, with the relative letters, Maldonado not only refused Orihuela, but preached incessantly about his reasons for doing so: his conviction that he had been chosen to deal with the Dominicans; and his concern for the souls in his charge. Offensive masquerades were organised and verses in honour of Maldonado declaimed, whilst Mimbela was involuntarily confined to the Franciscan friary. But later the mob took to the streets, adherents of the two parties threatened each other with violence, and, in what was clearly a demonstration against the Church, the episcopal insignia were dragged through the streets. Eventually a solution was reached. Mimbela, who had at first refused to go, was recalled

to Mexico City and accepted Guadalupe, whilst Maldonado remained as bishop until 1728 (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 11-13). But a scandal of such proportions must soon have spread through the valleys, and must have done untold harm to the standing of the Church in the pueblos.

The question was next raised in a Real Cédula of 1749, when Bishop Gómez de Angulo (1744-52) largely ignored it; not wishing to provoke the Dominicans, who had been scrupulous in carrying out their duties. But the Bourbon Ferdinand VI was determined upon secularisation, and his view was reinforced by a junta of theologians and jurists, who argued, wrongly, that the Crown had only invited the religious to the Indies, because of the lack of clerics, at that time (Ibid. pp. 96, 111-4). In fact, as has been stressed before, the Orders had been, and were still regarded as, missionaries, and it was they who were sent to newly acquired territory in the Indies in this role long after the initial Conquest.

In 1753, in response to a further Real Cédula, Bishop Blanco y Elguero (1754-1764) examined the available priests, found most of them badly wanting in doctrinal preparation and completely so in languages, and suspended a number until they had shown some improvement, but the Viceroy, Revillagigedo, was insistent and some secularisations were carried out (Ibid. pp. 100-2, 112, 114). His successor, Bishop Alvarez de Abreu (1765-1774), articulated the drawbacks of the título de lengua with some passion. He stated his opinion that most of those seeking ordination were poor, and so, having acquired appalling Latin and barely completed philosophy, they abandoned their studies, went to a parish to study a

language and, after ordination, were inducted into a parish where they remained for years with such a low stipend as to inhibit their work (AGI. Méx. 2586. Obispo re curatos, idiomas. 1770. pp. 7-8). This contrasted starkly with his reference, in his Informe of 1768, to the year's trial, and seven years of study, completed by the fifty to sixty Dominican novices in the Convento de Santo Domingo before they left for the doctrinas (Canterla y de Tovar, p. 121).

It was left to Bishop Alvarez de Abreu, as an admirer of the Dominicans (11), to fight for their cause and ensure that the province was not almost totally secularised, as projected, with, as the only exceptions, Santo Domingo and San Pablo in Antequera and a further two in the Mixteca Alta. But he too preferred these houses to the smaller doctrina ones,

"Por lo que toca a la utilidad de la Parroquias administradas por los religiosos," he told the King, in a letter dated June 1st 1770, "he de confessar a V. M. una verdad: Que los Frayles estan mejor en sus Conventos, que en las Parroquias; pero las Parroquias estan mejor en las Frayles. Esto se dice por aquellos lugares, en que hai dos religiosos; pero siendo, como hai algunas, casa, que pueda tener ocho, y mas Frayles, para seguir la disciplina Monastica, yo apeteceria, que todos los curatos fueran de ellos" (AGI. Méx. Ecles. 2586. p. 14).

Relaciones dated 5th August 1770 and 9th October 1770, completed by the provincial, Fray Juan Cavallero, in response to a Cordillera from the Viceroy, give very full information about the province at that time, and the problems caused by secularisation. There were 156 friars in the Province (Table 6.I.),

of whom there were 73, including novices, in the priory of Santo Domingo, Antequera, 12 in San Pablo, Antequera, and 25 in the Valley doctrinas. But, should all the doctrinas be secularised, there were only 91 cells in Santo Domingo, including 23 in the novitiate, and 16 in the infirmary, and a further 14 in San Pablo to accommodate all the friars (12).

In Oaxaca, at this time, the Province owned 119 houses and plots through censos (mortgages), which it lent at 5%, and 105, which it rented out, as well as 11 haciendas, not all of which were economically viable. All these together were valued at \$310,720 (13). But, both the province and Santo Domingo, depended upon further income from the doctrinas. In the case of Ocotlán this was as follows:

Provincia, \$300; convento grande, \$66; enfermería, \$12; noviciado, 16; padres lectores, \$46; maestro de novicias, \$5; maestro de cantores, \$5. (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 134).

Every doctrina made a similar series of donations, although the amounts varied according to their means. Their land and livestock, were mostly owned through capellanías or given by Indian communities or nobles, but according to Taylor, although some of the latter lands were given by the pious, the Dominicans persuaded others to do so, and this was the case with the nobles of Villa de Etla, which had lost most of its community land in this way (Taylor, pp. 179, 168-9). But, the Relaciones suggest that capellanías account for most of the Dominican properties: Ocotlán had a cattle ranch which yielded no income, and for which they sang 12 Masses, as well as a sheep or goat farm, which had been seized at the orders of the Audiencia, but

for which they still celebrated 6 sung and 6 spoken Masses; Santa Ana Zegache's sole holding was a plot yielding 50 fanegas of maize, for which 4 Masses were sung, but it only paid a total of 212 pesos to the Province and Santo Domingo to Ocotlán's 450 pesos (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 134-5).

The Province sang 645 Masses, and said 4,367 yearly for all such possessions. In general it appears that incomes were just on a par with, or rather less than, outgoings (AGI. Méx. Ecles. 2586. Relación de las casas... 9.10.1770, p. 35), but if the doctrinas were secularised, not only would any income from them be lost, but a greater number of friars would be dependant upon the Province. Even so, the Fiscal Areche was of the opinion in July 1771 that the secularisations should take effect, especially as natural wastage would occur; 55 friars had died, and only 27 professed since the Dominican Relaciones had been written the year before (Ibid. pp. 41 ff.). However, Alvarez de Abreu was backed by the Alcaldes Mayores, as well as the Viceroy Bucareli, in his fight against secularisation, and finally the religious were able to retain twelve doctrinas in the province of San Hipólito Martir (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 161, 164-5, 184).

The ablest of the Bourbon kings, Charles III, had succeeded to the throne in 1759, several years before the Bishop entered his See, and at a time when Spain had been greatly weakened and impoverished by war. Although he was a religious man, he realised that if he was to govern successfully he must increase his powers, albeit at the expense of the Church; and in this he was supported by his intellectual Jansenist ministers such as Aranda,

Campomanes, and Jovellanos, for they believed that "enlightened despotism" was the key to reform (Brading, 1983. pp. 5-7. Cragg, pp. 230-1).

The Jansenist clergy whilst accepting episcopal authority were opposed, as had been Bishop Jansen of Ypres (d. 1638), to Jesuitism, believing that its use of expediency as a means of attracting useful adherents to the Church was morally indefensible. Then too the Jesuits were born of the Counter-Reformation, and whilst teaching brilliantly were opposed to innovation (Ibid. pp. 25-8. Martínez Moya, pp. 23-7, 27-31), whilst the Jansenists held a position closer to that of the Humanists, and a belief in the efficacy of close study of the Bible (Chevalier, pp. 230-50, 285. Brading, 1983. pp. 5-6).

The Fourth Mexican Provincial Council was convened by the regalist Archbishop Lorenzana in 1771 whilst Alvarez de Abreu was still in office, and, although it was never ratified by the Vatican, or published, its deliberations, in which Abreu rarely intervened, give some indication of the official religious spirit of the age. This was chiefly characterised by a strongly regalist and anti-Jesuit stance, but there was also an urgent desire to reform the Orders and end their insubordination vis-à-vis the episcopacy, as well as the recognition of the need to improve the education and standards of the seculars (Gonzalbo Aizpuru. pp. 10-11, 13). They were once again forbidden to engage in commerce, and the bishops were also required to prevent the clergy from collaborating with the Corregidores in forcing the repartimiento de efectos upon their parishioners (Ibid. p. 27).

Bishop Alonso de Ortigoza (1775-1793) might be seen as a prelate of his times in that his beliefs and actions appear to have been sincerely in tune with the spirit of the Fourth Mexican Council. He argued against Alvarez de Abreu's views in a letter to the Visitador José de Gálvez dated 1776, despite his contempt for the abilities of most seculars, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter. He believed that all the remaining doctrinas should be secularised, and recent examinations had shown that the training of the clergy had much improved since his arrival in the See (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 179-80).

However, the King's decision that no more secularisations should take place, was recorded in a Real Cédula to the Viceroy and the Bishop dated 1781. It was the result of twelve years of consultations with viceroys, prelates, Dominicans, the cathedral Chapter and civil officials of Antequera, the Alcaldes Mayores, and the Fiscales and Oidores of the Audiencia and the Council of the Indies, all of whom, with a few exceptions like Ortigoza and Bishop Fabián y Fuero of Puebla, had been favourable to the Dominicans and their doctrinas (Ibid. p. 184). So an accommodation was finally reached, but the price had been years of turmoil and uncertainty for the Dominicans, and the hapless Valley Zapotecs, Mixtecs and Nahuas in their doctrinas. The neat list of secularisations in 1753 (Table 6.1) for example, obscures the truth, as the actual secularisations took much longer, and it will be observed that, whilst Zaachila had faced uncertainty in the first decades of the century, and was secularised some time after 1753, possibly in 1759, Santa Ana Zegache faced uncertainty and change throughout the century (14).

Neither was the change over always smooth, unless the case of Padre Julián Castellanos, the cura of Achiutla, Mixteca Alta, was an exception. He entered the doctrina in 1793 or 4, again some years after it had been listed for secularisation, and found that the Dominican Memorial left for him made no mention of the sacristy book detailing the goods belonging to the churches in the cabecera and its sujetos. He was told, presumably by the fiscal and sacristán, that this book had included an account for a flock of 500 sheep, which was used to maintain the cura and the vicario so that the parish need give nothing to them. He had not received these, and, indeed, they appear not to have existed. Certainly a letter from the incumbent friar to the Prior in 1770 only refers to the doctrina's possessions as consisting of 4,300 pesos in fincas (estates) in Puebla (Cuestionario. II. pp. 305-7. Canterla & de Tovar, p. 133).

TABLE 6.1.

SECULARISATION OF DOMINICAN DOCTRINAS IN THE VALLEY OF OAXACA.

Dominican Doctrinas in 1702.

San Pablo, Antequera, Zaachila, Etla, Huitzo, Cuilapan, Santa Ana Zegache, Santo Tomás Jalieza, Ocotlán, Minas de Chichicapa, Teitipac, Teotitlán, Tlacoahuaya, Tlaxiaca, Santa Cruz.

1706. Projected aggregation of doctrinas to conventos: first initiated after Maldonado's Visita of 1702:

Zaachila, Zimatlán, Ocotlán, Santa Cruz Minas, Jalieza, Santa Ana - to Cuilapán.

Tlaxiaca, Tlacoahuaya, Teitipac, Teotitlán - to San Pablo, Antequera.

1704. Projected secularisation of 10 of the 45 doctrinas in the See. The clergy's petition to the King. Zaachila, Santa Cruz, Santa Ana Zegache, Ocotlán, Huitzo, Tlaxiaca.

1706. 10 doctrinas secularised including Santo Tomás Jalieza, Teitipac.

1707. Among projected secularisation of 12 parishes by division into 32 – Zaachila, Cuilapan, Zimatlán, Huitzo, Ocotlán, San Pablo, Santa Cruz.

1713. Consejo de Indias refuses further secularisations.

1753. Reales Cédulas: 1.2.1753. 23.6.1757.

Secularised: Zaachila, Cuilapan, Etlá, Minas, Zimatlán, Tilcaxete, Ayoquezco, Talixtaca, Marquesado.

Dominican: Santa Ana Zegache, Ocotlán, Teitipac, Zautla, Teotitlán, Tlacoahuaya, Huitzo.

The Province of San Hipólito Martyr in 1771: 156 friars.

The Valley: Santo Domingo, Antequera: 73. including Novices.

San Pablo, Antequera: 12.

Doctrinas of Huitzo, Zautla, Teitipac, Tlacoahuaya, Santa Ana Zegache: 3 each.

Tlacolula: 4. Ocotlán: 6.

1776. See: 111 secular parishes. 23 Dominican doctrinas.

1781. King's solution to avoid loss of the Province:

Secularised: Zautla, Santa Ana Zegache, Tlacoahuaya. Huitzo.

Dominican: Ocotlán, Teitipac, Teotitlán, Tlaxiaco.

1786. Secularised: Teotitlán.

Source. Francisco Canterla y Martín de Tovar. "La iglesia de Oaxaca en el siglo XVIII"

Apart from this, Castellanos was told that three chalices were listed in the book, but one had been taken by the friar a week before he left. He also found that there were only a few old chairs and tables in the convento, but no bed, and most locks and keys were missing. He was sufficiently incensed by all this to discuss it in reply to the Questionnaire sent to all the curas by Bishop Bergoza y Jordán in 1802, and to enclose some of the acrimonious correspondence which had passed between himself and the friar, his nephew Fray Juan Joseph Castellanos, who had angrily refuted his accusations, and stated categorically that a Libro de Sacristía had never existed! It is highly probable that the Mixtecs of Achiutla had deliberately stirred up trouble for the incoming secular priest as a form of protest, but the uncle's references to

"impertinences", and the nephew's to "ridiculeses" give some insight into the feelings engendered by a tragic century of disputes (15).

The effects of secularisation, however, were not all that the valley communities had to contend with. Some idea of the effect a bishop could have upon daily life in the community can be obtained from two loose pages in the Parochial Archive of Etlá, recording Maldonado's recommendations after his 1702 Visita. The priest at that time was Fray Nicolás Asencio, whom he later threatened with excommunication, unless he left Tilcaxete quickly - presumably this was at the time of the 1710 secularisations (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 80). Maldonado undoubtedly had a pastoral concern for the spiritual welfare of the Zapotecs, as is demonstrated by certain of his Visita recommendations: he wished them to receive the Eucharist when ill and at Easter; no payment was to be taken from them in cash or kind at Lent or any other time; they were to be taught and examined in the Christian Doctrine; and if the fiscal taught them, he was to be examined monthly (APZ).

He then announced the measures to be taken to ensure the Christian orthodoxy of his flock, but what is notable about them, and I would suggest in keeping with his character, is the ferocity of some of the punishments to be meted out to backsliders. These were often directed at the holders of religious cargos; for example, they were not to be allowed to have the keys to the boxes in which the church ornaments were stored, so as to ensure that they kept none in their houses, and wax candles were not to be lit on altars or sepulchres at Muertos (All Souls' Day), or on any other day. The indios cantores were not to be allowed, on any account, to sing the funeral offices

by themselves, in or out of church, at Muertos, or at any other time, on pain of receiving fifty lashes witnessed by the priest. The bishops constantly tried to prevent the fiscal and the cantores from supervising burials without a priest, and had evidently been doing so since the third Concilio. This may be one reason why the cofradías, especially the flagellant ones and those I have designated proselitistas, were never completely extinguished, for their members were assured of an orthodox church burial.

However, the curas' replies to Bishop Bergoza's Cuestionario a century later give some insights into this situation, which I suggest were applicable to much the same extent in the 18th century, for each bishop was concerned with the cantores' role in funerals. It was generally agreed, in respect of the Indian's wills, that they had little to leave, and rather than having a formal one drawn up, usually had a memorial written when dying, detailing the disposal of their land and goods, and, generally, requesting a Mass for the repose of their soul. This was written by the scribe and witnessed by an alcalde or the cabildo officials.

The deceased's wishes regarding land and goods were usually carefully carried out, but this was not always the case with their pious ones (Cuestionario, II. pp. 22, 47, 68, 72. III. pp. 292, 325). In Tlacoahuaya, where these memorials were scrupulously respected, the income from such Masses was less than \$100 a year, including those for Muertos, because few requested them, and so this depended upon the piety of their heirs. An interment cost 19 reales in the cabecera, and 12 reales in the other pueblos, and for infants 1 peso in Tlacoahuaya and 2 reales in the pueblos. There

had been a total of 183 in 1802. However, when speaking of parish fees in general, this priest Lic. Juan José de Echarri, stated that because of the poverty of the people, or their tendency to cheat, he only received at most two thirds of what was due to him, whilst the priest of Rio Hondo, Miahuatlán observed that there was no lack of Masses and responsos (versicles) when the cochineal harvest was good, but there had been several lean years (16).

This inability to pay for burials was borne out by other priests, and according to the cura of Mecaltepec, a Chontal pueblo, whilst a Mass was said if the legacy was sufficient, he was not usually advised of deaths or asked to perform the last rites, so no fees were payable for this (Ibid. II. pp. 325, 379). I suggest that, even in a prosperous pueblo, there may have been many who could not afford official funerals, apart from those in the visitas where a priest was often not available; and then the death rate for infants was high - 60 in Zaachila in 1776 according to the Padrón of that year - whilst even today an angelito burial, for an infant, who goes straight to heaven if baptised, takes place without a Mass (Cordero A., pp. 96-7), so the cantores may have sung in the cemetery at such burials (17). Baptisms have always been essential.

The reference to the existence of the cantores "de estos pueblos", is rather at variance with Maldonado's later contention that due ceremony was not observed by the friars, because there were neither sung Masses, nor Canonical Hours on "fiestas clásicas", when he stayed at their doctrinas (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 30). But, it is also possible that they were permitted,

as in the 16th century, to celebrate a shorter liturgy so that they might attend to their doctrinal duties among their parishioners (Ulloa, pp, 221, 223).

Bishop Maldonado's other punishments were mostly concerned with fiesta celebrations, although 100 lashes were to be given if men and women took baths together in the temascales (the steam baths beside the houses). He also ordered that no ancient "games" reminiscent of their pagan past were to be allowed, especially not "de teponaztles volar" (18), and no tepache (fermented sugarcane or pineapple juice) or aguardiente were to be drunk under pain of 100 lashes. This was clearly aimed at all life crisis rituals as well as fiesta. Tepache is still an important Zapotec ceremonial drink! All these punishments were to be administered by the priest, and had evidently been imposed in other communities he had visited, for he added that the gobernadores and alcaldes often spent days negotiating between the "eclesiásticos" and the Alcaldes Mayores in an attempt to nullify them. But, this had to be stopped. One might have expected these measures to have been temporarily effective, but Maldonado's successor, the Mercedarian Dr. Calderón (1732-1736), modified them greatly upon his arrival in 1733. Drunkenness and mixed bathing in the temascal were to be punished with 6 reales for the first offence, 10 reales for the second and prison for the third. Those Indians who did not carry out their obligations were to receive a maximum of 6 lashes. Gunpowder was not to be used - presumably for fiesta fireworks - so as to prevent fires (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 91-2).

But, he did introduce one very severe punishment: those who lived near their fields were to be imprisoned and their fields burned. It was generally thought

that those who did this, living there with their families and animals for much of the year, might fall into pagan ways (Ibid. pp. 91-2), and in a letter to the King in 1734, he stated that over 70 maestros de idolatría were then in prison; presumably in the prison which Bishop Sariñana had had built forty years before. This unmasking of pagan ritualists was, he stated, in the same letter, because there were now more than 300 Spanish schools in the See. This, he believed, had led to a greater understanding of the mysteries, and so to the denunciation of the idolaters, who would be released when they had given sufficient proof of their repentance (Ibid. pp. 93-4). The existence of idolatry was a charge laid at the Dominicans' door by the ex-Bishop Fabián y Fuero of Puebla in 1772, during the controversy on secularisation when Alvarez de Abreu was Bishop of Oaxaca (Ibid. p. 170). He would never, of course, have considered that the blame could partly be laid on the scandals unleashed by the bishops' attempts at secularisation in the previous century.

Alvarez de Abreu did not deny the existence of idolatry, but thought it absurd and unjust of Fabián y Fuero to blame the friars entirely (Ibid. pp. 162, 170). He was determined that they should keep as many doctrinas as possible in the best interests of their flocks. In fact, in his letter to the King, dated 1770, from which I have previously quoted, he had echoed, in effect, Dr. Calderón's complaint, when he stated that a difficulty facing an ill-trained priest with *título de lengua* living in a distant curato (secular parish), was his inability to carry out his duties to the full, as too many of his flock lived in the mountains cultivating cotton and grana for cochineal and only returned to the community for the fiesta (AGI. Méx. 2586. pp. 15-16). This unifying role of fiesta is, I would stress, one of its most vital aspects, and is important when a

cabecera and its sujetos are divided by mountainous terrain. Added to this, the two or three days of a fiesta were also occasions when those present, who were not cofrades, were certain to attend Mass daily as well as on the octave of the feast day.

Those acts of the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council, which affected the indigenous people, were dictated by a desire to eliminate all forms of unorthodox belief and practices. This was to be done by means of a shortened catechism translated into their languages. They still had a right to confession in their own tongues, but at the same time the importance of the Castilian schools was emphasised, especially as it was also seen as a way of integrating them into the national society. In addition the seminaries, which were to be established in the erstwhile Jesuit colleges were to admit Indians and mestizos as a third of their pupils, in the hope that, as more of their number became priests, they would be further attracted to the orthodox faith (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, pp. 12-13, 20-21), and presumably, integrated further. The Jesuits themselves had taught the Creole élite, and their enforced departure had been a great loss in this respect alone, but they had limited themselves to teaching their Indian estate workers and Negro slaves prayers and the catechism (Chevalier, p. 247).

In his letter to Gálvez dated November 4th 1776, by which time there were 111 secular curatos in the bishopric and 23 doctrinas Ortigoza contended that most ordinands lacked the Latin to understand the Catechism of Pius V, which was the source of Christian morality, and that their studies for the título de lengua had merely given them a slight grasp of the doctrina and a

rudimentary knowledge of one of the See's twenty languages (AGI. Méx. Ecles. Leg. 2584. Visita. Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 191-4). In effect he was arguing that the majority of his priests were incapable of defending or teaching orthodoxy at a time when what he saw as pagan beliefs were strongly held. He was also convinced that this could be remedied by the Castilian schools, but regretted the poor example given by some teachers (AGI. Méx. Ecles. Leg. 2587. Visita).

He attacked Zapotec customs by ordering that harsh measures be taken against bride service. The novio (groom) lived with the bride's family whilst performing this duty for her father, and the Bishop saw this as an occasion for vice. He also deplored the fact that large sums were spent on food and drink on the wedding day. He therefore ordered that bride service or gifts of money, clothing or food from the novio to the girl's parents were to be sanctioned by excommunication, and when youths reached eighteen and girls sixteen, the boys were to be kept in prison, and the girls en depósito (living with a family of moral rectitude) until the wedding day (APE. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1804. Visita 1778). Bride service continues in the Valleys today, and lasts for three months to a year in the Tlacolula Valley (Cordero A. p. 72).

The last 18th century bishop, the Creole Dr. Don Gregorio Omaña de Sotomayor (1792-1799), made no attacks on customs in his Cordilleras. Indeed, it was his custom to give all kinds of alms to the humble, and to protect them from those priests whose aranceles (parish fees) (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 218) were too high. However, he repeated the instruction of the

Provisor Visitador after his Visita of 1795 to the effect that the curas should make sure that youths of eighteen and over married, and did not remain bachelors (BMG. Vol. 68. Libro de Cordillera, 1791-1811. p.15).

During his 1793 Visita he was also taking measures to protect his flock from a Franciscan, who was entering the pueblos seeking alms for the Holy Places in Jerusalem and lodgings during his stay. These were only to be given voluntarily. An interesting insight into village life is given in his other proscription in this regard. It appears that, upon the arrival of this friar, even when the curas did not wish it, the church bells were rung, and the fiscales went to meet him with a Cross, and candles, whilst some maidens carried a copy of the friar's Demanda beneath a pallium. They all then formed a procession with the friar, which ended at the house of the person charged with receiving them (APE. Libro de Cordilleras 1776-1804).

Despite such piety, and the bishops' continued emphasis on the teaching of Spanish as a means of counteracting paganism, evidence of idolatry was found in Lachixio in the Valleys at about this time. Bishop Bergoza y Jordán was consecrated bishop in 1802, and the cura who replied to his Cuestionario stated that his predecessor, Br. Don Manuel Meneses, had found two idols in a cave, although he was unable to establish who was responsible for their being there. The idols were still in the cabecera when he took possession of the curato in 1795, but one had been destroyed by a tremor, and the other stolen in 1800, so he assumed that it was still being worshipped. He had been informed by one of his parishioners of a gathering place on a height, where the people of Santa Cruz Mixtepec, Valle de

Zimatlán, met for this purpose. It was known as the Catedral de Nerela (II p. 205).

In view of this, the replies to the bishop's enquiry regarding the number of Castilian schools in each curato, attendance at them, and their financing, are illuminating in demonstrating the reasons for their inadequacy in the Church's fight against pre-Hispanic survivals. Low funds and parental indifference, or hostility, meant that there were very few cases where schools functioned all the year, even in a cabecera. It was more usual for the children to attend for the months between harvest and planting at most, but even then only some 10% would do so, despite the priests' exhortations. The Spanish officials also had some influence upon schooling: the community of Achiutla was told by the Alcalde Mayor that it was more important for them to work their fields and pay tribute than to study (II. p. 304); but in Rio Hondo, Miahuatlán, the Subdelegado paid part of the teacher's salary and the parents the rest, despite their misgivings at the teaching of doctrine (I. p. 139).

In Loxicha he allowed community funds to pay for two schools, whilst his counterparts permitted similar arrangements in the sujetos, however, in Coxualtepeque, Zimatlan the people had to pay the Spanish speaking teachers themselves (I. p. 173); this was also the case in Jalapan, so the fiscales taught in the community schools, and the boys cultivated their maize and cotton plots for them in payment (II. p. 356). The fiscales taught in a number of the poorer pueblos whilst in San Juan, Ozolotepec, the cantores of each pueblo taught the children during Lent and milpa were cultivated especially for them (I. pp. 129-30). Otherwise the teachers were paid from a

small fund or by a contribution, averaging one real a month from each casado, for the few months of school. If the fund was very small, say 6 pesos, food was usually provided as well. In Mixtec Tejupan the estudiante de idioma was the teacher (II. p. 263); an excellent solution, especially if the dedicated cura of Tlacoahuaya is to be believed. He had Spanish speakers in all his pueblos but one, but felt that they were lazy, scoundrelly Oaxaqueños who did more harm than good (19).

Insofar as indigenous customs are concerned, this bishop's Cordilleras attempt to regulate marriages, especially those seen as incestuous by the Church, but give no insight into Zapotec practice at that time. Marriage between families linked by compadrazgo would have been included in this prohibition, and is still heavily sanctioned in Mesoamerican and Andean communities (20). He also stipulated that no one under the age of twenty-three for women and twenty-five for men should marry without permission. Marriage between castas and whites were also forbidden. He particularly deplored drunkenness.

However, he imposed no harsh penalties for any of these offences (BMG. Vol. 68, 1804, 1809). His incumbency covered the period of the Peninsular War and Independence, and as an extremely patriotic Spaniard he was much exercised by these. He actually raised a corps of seculars and regulars to fight against the Insurgents during the Wars of Independence, was forced to flee to Tehuantepec in 1812, eventually reached Mexico City and was elected Archbishop of Mexico by the Regency. But when Ferdinand VII succeeded in 1815, he nullified all preferments made during this period on constitutional

grounds, arguing that the exercise of the Real Patronato was his personal prerogative. Although Bergoza accepted this, he never returned to Oaxaca, leaving New Spain in 1815 to be installed as Bishop of Tarragona. The Bishopric of Oaxaca then became vacant until 1820. As a result of this the entries in the Libros de Cordillera for the period are more concerned with the overthrow of the Insurgents and the defeat of Napoleon, than more mundane Church matters (Gay, pp. 450, 470-2). The bishops, then, in their attempts to reform their flock, and maintain the purity of ritual in the See, were often either indifferent to, or unaware of, the resultant trauma. But the extent of this varied considerably from bishop to bishop.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that in the 18th century the lives of the communities in the Valleys, were as much under threat as those of their 16th century ancestors had been, although from a different cause: the successful attempts of certain bishops of Oaxaca to secularise the Dominican doctrinas. This was a lengthy and uncertain process, and the seeds of its success were sown in the long confrontations between several of the 17th century bishops and the friars, which resulted in a loss of the Dominican's power and prestige --and must have affected their mission, although the Viceroy's generally ruled in their favour.

In both the 17th and the 18th century the uncertainties engendered by the attempts at secularisation must have been a cause of stress and distress for the inhabitants of the doctrinas as well as the friars. Further, the calibre of the secular priests had hardly improved, as many of those from poor backgrounds could only afford to acquire the título de lengua by living in a

curato, after an inadequate education, and as a result many communities were both poorly instructed in Christian Doctrine and in the care of lax priests lacking a vocation. This apart, indigenous customs were continually under attack, and where they were believed to undermine Church teaching and morals often, in the case of some bishops, ferociously, punished. Yet, despite this, these customs continue in the Valleys today. Much the same situation obtains in respect of those practices, which concern fiesta celebrations. These, which were also under constant attack (21), will be considered in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6.

1. Gay, pp. 367-9. Although he had initially faced difficulties in Mexico City, possibly because of his race (de Guijo, I. pp. 73-4, 86), he had had a very distinguished career there: as a Doctor of Canon Law and an advocate of the Audiencia, Comisario General de la Cruzada, treasurer of the cathedral, Rector and Chancellor of the University, and then President of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. The different stages of his career are all entered in the diaries of de Guijo and de Robles, but there is no mention of his being a Zapotec (Gillow, pp. 92-3. de Guijo, I. pp. 122, 141-2, 244. II. 56, 60, 67, 82, 87, 188, 190, 208. de Robles, I. pp. 8, 126, 185, 251, 302).

2. Hamnett, 1971. p. 13. An Alcalde Mayor had an income of only 300 to 500 pesos a year and used this means of maintaining himself and his family in comfort quite illegally. An aviador, who was a merchant, furnished his capital and selected his legal lieutenant who acted for him in this matter. He shared the profits with these two men when he left office (Ibid. pp. 6, 11-12). Hamnett quotes an example given by an Oidor of the Audiencia, which shows clearly how the system worked. The jurisdiction of Villa Alta wove cotton mantles, which usually took twenty days to complete. The Alcaldes Mayores furnished each family with sixteen pounds of cotton in two repartimientos a month, paying them 8 reales per mantle, whilst retailing them at 16 reales each. Moreover, the Indians were forced to accept imported clothing, although they made their own, and pay for it in local produce. Apart from this, they were paid 16 reales a pound for cochineal dye, which was then sold at 30 and 32 reales per pound. This system prevailed throughout the colony (Ibid. pp. 12-14).

3. Hamnett, 1971. p. 13. Gay, pp. 363-5. Gay gives a very full account of these disturbances. The Alcalde Mayor of Tehuantepec was murdered after an argument with the gobernador, after which he ordered his imprisonment and the flogging of others who had been present. Hamnett describes the intervention of the bishop (p.13 n2), and Gay that of the Dominican Provincial, whom the Viceroy Alburquerque appointed to prepare the way for the acceptance of a new Alcalde Mayor (p. 365).
4. Taylor, 1972. pp. 164-193. espec. pp. 174-82. Taylor gives very full information about the land-holdings of churchmen of all categories, but it does not seem possible to determine what incomes they derived from them in the seventeenth century.
5. The nature of the terrain meant that a Visita was neither undertaken lightly nor quickly and the bishop refers to the arduous and difficult paths he had to use (Relación auténtica, p. 8). Burgoa, who canonically visited all the Dominican doctrinas on several occasions, also refers to the dangers of the journeys he was forced to make in order to do so (Arroyo, G.D. II. p. 217).
6. I have not seen the original of this document; so have assumed that certain corrections, which I have placed in brackets, should be made.
7. Relación auténtica. pp 14-15. No doubt the 17th century bishops recorded their Visitas in the century church archives as was the case in the 18th century. But there are no Libros de Cordillera in Oaxaca dated before the mid-18th century, and although the Libro de Cofradía de San Nicolás de Tolentino in the Parish Archive of Zaachila has entries dating from 1654, there are no records of any 17th century Visitas in it.

8. The Cistercian Order was founded in 1098, as a stricter form of monasticism than the Benedictine. Its "life was to be one of communal intercession and adoration" (CODCC p. 111). Southern states that the Cistercians "fled" from society, yet "brought a strident and aggressive temper into their dealings with the outside world and took special pleasure in the rigour and singularity of their interior discipline." Hence, their historic reputation, derived from uncommitted observers of the time, suggests "aggression, arrogance, military (or at least militant) discipline, outstanding managerial qualities and cupidity."

Southern contrasts them with the Augustinian canons, founded at the same time, from whom they differed fundamentally, in that their way came to be that of the "Imitation of Christ," whilst the Augustinians, the spiritual ancestors of the Dominicans, stayed in the world and stressed "apostolic life" with its commitment to "preaching, teaching, converting, healing and serving" (Southern, pp. 250-2). What is more, in the 13th century, it was St. Dominic's realisation that the Cistercians, sent by the Pope to convert the Languedoc heretics, the Albigenses, had failed because they lacked apostolic humility, which had led to the Dominicans' approach to their mission, and it was at this time that the Cistercian Rule shifted its emphasis from "personal obedience to corporate discipline." (Ibid. pp. 279-80, 270). Even allowing for some changes in attitude over the intervening centuries, I would argue that these facts appear to contain the seeds of certain elements of Maldonado's character and attitudes, as well as his quarrel with the Dominicans.

9. AGI. Méx. Ecles. 2582. Memorial de Fray Antonio de Torres. 4.10.1710. Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 51-4.

10. Canterla & de Tovar, pp 10-11. AGI. Méx, Ecles. 2582. Capellán del rey. 26.3.12.

11. Bishop Alvarez de Abreu had studied with the Dominicans in Gran Canaria. He was also one of those who argued the cause of the Jesuits with the Holy See. When they were expelled in 1767, eleven, most of whom were Creoles and engaged in teaching, had to leave Oaxaca for European exile, which must have had a serious effect upon the preparation of priests in the See, although subsequent bishops could hardly acknowledge this (Gay, pp. 410, 408-15)

12. AGI. Méx. 2586. Relación de las casas dominicos de Oaxaca. 5. 8. 1770. Relación de las casas, curatos y conventos dominicos en la Provincia de S. Hippólito Martir de Oaxaca. 9. 10. 1770.

13. AGI. Méx. 2586. 9. 10. 1770. p. 35. According to Taylor the Church usually mortgaged property at 5%. He states that many small Spanish estates were "mortgaged and sold repeatedly," but, being surrounded by Indian lands, were not incorporated into the large haciendas. It was to the Church's advantage that the interest was paid, rather than the principal repaid, and resale appears to have been due to inefficiency, as it took place if the profits were not comfortably in excess of the interest due. But, when the value of the mortgage approached or equalled that of the estate, the title passed to the lender (Taylor, 1972. pp. 138, 141, 170). However, Pastor et. al. argue that external factors, such as the epidemics of 1737 and 1762, the subsequent lack of labourers, and crises in the agricultural sector as well as contracting markets all had an effect upon these smaller Spanish properties (Pastor et. al. pp. 38-9).

14. In 1777 there were 61 friars in Santo Domingo and 9 in San Pablo, and in 1792, 41 in Santo Domingo and 10 in San Pablo (Taylor, 1972. p. 167). The situation was similar in Mexico City, where residents in the Franciscan friary had fallen from over 150 to 91 friars, 8 novices and 25 lay brothers by 1792, whilst the Augustinians in Michoacan were forced to close their novitiate for ten years, so that through deaths they could achieve the reduction of 100 canons demanded by the Crown. In 1800 they had 177 canons, 16 lay brothers and 10 novices. But, Brading states that the situation was further exacerbated when the religious of the various Orders began themselves to turn to the secular ministry by petitioning Rome to waive their vows. The crisis became such that in 1797 and 1805 the Crown insisted that no licences to do so could be accepted unless Madrid had approved them (Brading, 1983, p. 10-11).

15. AGEO. Cuestionario II pp. 307, 315-21. This Cuestionario was sent by the Bishop to all his curas after his 1802 Visita to the See requesting information about their parishes and income. The Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca has published the fifty-nine replies in its possession, and ideally only those referring to the Valles Centrales should be used, but the replies vary greatly in length and content, and some, in other parts of the See, give such very useful information regarding such general matters as the priest's income from obvenciones mayores and menores, the schools, the cofradías and the parish archives that I shall refer to it where relevant in this and the following chapters.

Asunción Lavrín has analysed the Cuestionario in her paper "Rural Confraternities in the Local Economies of New Spain" in which she concludes that "... despite limited incomes, confraternities succeeded in raising funds to maintain the worship of saints

and the annual feasts." She concurs with several historians in believing that they were very adversely affected in the first quarter of the 19th century, not only financially but in the mayordomos' responsibilities and the relationships as between cofrades. This she sees as an important theme for future research (Lavrín, 1990. pp. 242-3, 224-5).

16. Cuestionario. II. 290. I. 138, 140. The obvenciones menores as stated by the priest of Tlacoahuaya were: baptisms 3 reales; weddings 20 reales, but 5 pesos 7rr. "con velación"; adult funerals 19rr., infant funerals 1 peso, but in the visitas baptisms cost 4 reales, burials 12 rr. and infant burials 2rr.

17. Parsons states that, in Mitla, circa 1930, church funerals were rare because of the cost of a "musical service." (Parsons, p. 185). El Guindi states that in San Francisco Lachigoló, whilst the angelito procession does not enter the church, the priest throws holy water over the coffin in the grave. She also argues that the opposition marked by an angelito funeral is not that of infant::adult, but single::married. She refers to such a ritual's being celebrated for a woman in her eighties, to the amazement of her Zapotec informant (El Guindi. pp. 69-70). Certainly, there are elements of wedding ritual in accounts of angelitos in the Tlacolula Arm of the Valleys, which refer to the infant dressed as an angel or a bride, the vigil spent dancing, drinking and feasting, the procession led by the cohetero, letting off rockets, and a band, and a wedding dance performed in the cemetery (Cordero A., pp. 96-7, fn. 153-4).

When I witnessed such a procession in the Etla Arm it was quite silent. A girl of about fourteen carried the white coffin on her head, and two of the men had spades. The small party entered the atrio and stood praying in a semi-circle facing the church door before proceeding to the cemetery. This was during a fiesta, it was a pueblo de visita, and there was no priest in the town that night, although he celebrated Mass each

morning during the fiesta. The fiscal informed me that there had been no need for the group to enter the church.

18. It is surprising to find the Voladores still taking place in the Valleys in the 18th century, as today it is only performed by the Totonacs of Vera Cruz, with four fliers, and some of the Otomí, with six, in their own villages. It is held to be danced in honour of the sun. The musician stands in the centre of the high platform playing a flute and tabor, but in an Inquisition document dated 1783, the parish priest of Tempoal, Panuco, Vera Cruz denounced certain pagan practices, including fiestas centred around this dance, which was performed to the sacred teponaztli drum. He also referred to an Edict by the Provisor de Indios, in the time of Archbishop Lorenzana some ten years before, which ordered major excommunication for all those non-Indians "...que consienten, saben y no denuncian de los tales bailes a los indios complicés..." (Kurath, p. 87. Kurath & Martí, p. 162). In the villages near Xalapa, Vera Cruz, today, the high voladores pole is fixed by the boundary wall of the church atrio, and presumably this is the case throughout the Totonac area. However, it is removed and replaced by a new pole - cut with the necessary rituals - before the dance is performed. (Personal communication by Elena Vazquez y de los Santos).

19. AGEO. Cuestionario. II. 292. It is quite usual, for the agricultural cycle to prolong secondary school studies in the Valleys today, but this does not prevent a number of young people from eventually completing degrees and following professional careers.

20. The impediments to marriage in the Valley of Tlacolula today are between kin in direct line, ascending or descending, between collateral kin to the fourth generation,

between affines, between parents and their adopted children, and between ritual co-parents and their descendants in the first generation (Cordero Avendaño, pp. 69-70). But, Dra. Cordero's informants regard the prohibition between compadres as the most important, and say that some affines now marry. Ties between compadres are severely sanctioned in most Latin American Amerindian communities.

21. I have argued in my paper 'Custodians of the Costumbres: syncretic religion as the Zapotec élites' response to the exercise of Church power in Colonial Oaxaca," that whilst the traumas of the sixteenth century led the Zapotec nobility to return to their old religious practices in defence of their subjects, the 17th and 18th century Church policies of secularisation, and the attack upon Zapotec costumbres by the 18th century bishops, with all the uncertainties they caused, led the élite to respond by sponsoring syncretic fiestas which conformed to their communities' concept of correct religious practice despite every attempt to prohibit this.

CHAPTER 7.

THE CIVIL-RELIGIOUS HIERARCHIES: THE PERSONNEL AND THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES FROM COLONIAL ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE

In this chapter I shall consider the colonial history of the Spanish administrative hierarchy of New Spain in order that I may discuss the roles of the administrators of the pueblos and the Cajas de Comunidad, in their proper context. They were the members of the cabildos of the Repúblicas de Indias, of which the superior, but separate, cargo was that of gobernador. I shall show that those who were eligible for service in the cabildo were members of the Indian nobility, and cite evidence from the Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca to show that although macehuales were later elected to office, they were only accepted by the Colonial Government in exceptional circumstances, and even then only after representations at the highest level: that is, before the Audiencia.

I shall then consider the rights and duties of those who filled the various religious offices, such as the fiscal, the sacristán, the maestro de capilla, and the church singers, before discussing those of the mayordomos of the cofradías. I shall then show that women as well as men undertook, or were placed in, this latter position, throughout the colonial period, and cast doubt upon the existence of a civil-religious hierarchically based achievement ladder at that time, and even as late as the mid-19th century. Finally, the repercussions after Independence, when those repúblicas de indios with sufficiently large populations became municipios libres and their vecinos were given equal status with the rest of the population as citizens of Mexico, will be discussed..

This chapter, which will use documents from other areas of the State of Oaxaca, where they are illustrative of the duties and difficulties involved in cargo-holding, will serve as an introduction to the specific situations revealed by the parochial archives of Zaachila and Etla, and other relevant documents which give some further understanding of the religious hierarchies, and their interaction with the civil ones in the colonial era. These will be discussed in the other chapters, which form Part II of this thesis.

The civil administration of the Spanish colonies resembled a pyramid with the King as the apex, and the civil hierarchies of the Indian pueblos as the base. The Council of the Indies, which was established in 1524, was next in authority to the King, exercised much of his power, and so was resident wherever the Court was. In the same year the Casa de Contratación in Seville, which had controlled the trade and colonisation of the Indies since 1503, was made dependent upon the Council (Lynch, pp. 162-3). The Viceroy was appointed by the King and the Council as governor; with military authority as captain-general; and judicial authority as president of the Audiencia. Apart from this the Viceroy was in charge of treasury matters, although these were administered by the royal officials in those cities, ports and mining towns, considered sufficiently important (Gerhard, 1972. pp. 63, 66).

The Audiencia consisted of oidores (judges), who also advised the Viceroy. They acted in a viceregal capacity in the absence of a viceroy, provided continuity between the Viceroys' terms of office and, like them, were empowered to interpret and enact legislation in accordance with the requirements of their particular jurisdiction. They were, however, like all officials subject to Visitas by judges sent from Spain, and to

residencias at the end of their terms of office (Gibson, 1966. pp. 93-5. Elliot, 1987. pp. 68-9). It was the Audiencia which Bishop Alburquerque, with his knowledge and understanding of the Zapotecs from his years as a friar in the Valley, petitioned in 1564 when he argued that those reforms of the tribute system which required the mayerques to pay tribute to the Crown, instead of their caciques, were altering an entire "way of life" by undermining the nobles' financial and administrative base (Chance, 1978. pp. 26-7).

Once an area was conquered the administration of the Spanish towns was quickly established. Cortés states that the Conqueror Francisco de Orozco was made alcalde and teniente of Segura de la Frontera, the first Spanish settlement in the Oaxaca region, and Bernal Díaz asserts that alcaldes and regidores were appointed there when it was situated near Tepeaca. The settlement was moved to the Valley in the following year, 1521, so this gives a date of 1520. It was not established in its present site until 1522 (Cortés, p. 169. Bernal Díaz, p. 269, Chance, 1978. pp. 2-3). Then, by declaration of the Crown, it became a Villa in 1526, and a Ciudad, with eight regidores, and an elected alguacil mayor, in 1532 (Ibid. pp. 39, 41).

However, provincial government was only established in the Valleys in 1529, when the notorious Peláez de Berrio, whose maltreatment of caciques and macehuales alike has already been discussed, became the civil and criminal justice for the area: the Alcalde Mayor. Gerhard describes this position at that time as, "in effect, a vice governor, a teniente (deputy) of the governor in a vaguely defined province" (Ibid. p. 33. Gerhard, 1972. p. 75). Jurisdiction over the indigenous peoples was still exercised by their caciques or councils then; although important appeals were dealt with by the Encomendero, a priest, or a Visitador, whilst any complaints against Spaniards were

referred to the governor in Mexico City, or the King. The first Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, was not appointed until 1535 (Ibid. p. 75).

Attempts were made to ensure that the Indians were properly governed, and that the legislation concerning them was adhered to, by instituting the office of Protector of the Indians. Initially, bishops were appointed to this position, but in 1533, Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal complained to the Empress that the office did more harm than good, and that a bishop did not need this additional power; for his teaching, example, and advice should be sufficient to help those in his see (Paso y Troncoso, 1939. Vol. III. 141).

The bishops continued to exercise this role for some time, but their duties were not properly defined, and so they were apt to be at odds with the civil authorities. As a result, the office eventually became a civil one, whose officials Stern, referring to Peru, defines as bureaucrats whose status, ability to attract bribes, and power in the cities "...depended upon their potential as formidable legal defenders of natives" (Borah, 1983. pp. 64-5. Stern, pp. 115, 121). Even so, Moya de Contreras, who had, rather surprisingly given his austere approach to his clergy and as Inquisitor, a paternalistic regard for the Indians, became protector in all but name, at the behest of Philip II, who was concerned at reports of flagrant abuses by encomenderos, but who, as Father Poole comments, was pleased to have any cause to reduce their powers (McAlister, p. 197. Poole, pp. 53-4).

The office of Protector was abolished in 1582, although it was restored in the Yucatan in 1591 at the behest of the Franciscan Provincial (Borah, 1983. pp. 65, 355), and superseded by the General Indian Court in 1585. This was based upon the judicial

system set up by the Viceroy Mendoza to deal with Indian litigation both between Indians and against Spaniards (Ibid. pp. 65-8). The erosion of many Indian institutions, as a result of demographic collapse, had made the establishment of the court imperative as an extension of the duties of the Protectors of the Indians (Ibid. pp. 65, 355-6). Hence all the Indians of New Spain were given the juridical status of 'miserabiles' so that they might be assured of the "obligation of prince and Church to give special protection to widows, orphans, and the wretched of the earth" (Ibid. pp. 79-81). Each tributary was expected to pay half a real each year to ensure that his community's legal representatives in Mexico City received a reasonable salary and that the cases of the community and of private individuals were properly presented and represented at the General Indian Court in Mexico City, whose findings were confirmed by the Viceroy according to the advice of his assessor (Borah, 1983. pp. 89, 94-5).

The courts dealt with every aspect of Indian litigation, including cases against Spanish civil officials, priests, caciques, pueblo officials, and other pueblos, as well as against individuals of all races. Many concerned land disputes. The Marquesado had a special status in that, although the marquis appointed his own seigniorial advocates in Mexico City, the half –real had to be collected and half the income paid to the Crown. The Marquesado Indians then had the right to apply to the Royal rather than rather than the Marquesado legal aides should they wish to do so. From 1599 all appeals against seigniorial decisions were dealt with by the Audiencia and the Viceroy (Ibid. pp. 332-4). This protected them to a degree, but the Marquesado was able to keep the royal Inspector of Obrajes (textile workshops) from entering its pueblos for some 50 years, so that it became "a refuge for obrajes and the scene of flagrant abuse of the Indians within them" (Ibid. p. 333).

At a lower administrative level the Second Audiencia had appointed Corregidores between 1531 and 1535, in order both to ensure more direct Crown control over the Indians, and to facilitate the collection of tribute. The Corregidores also acted as magistrates and constables. At that time the Valley administration consisted of the Marquesado and the other private encomiendas, as well as nine Crown pueblo Corregimientos: Chichicapan, Macuilxóchitl, Teitipac, Zimatlán, Tlalixtac, Mitla-Tlacolula, Ocotlán, Guaxolotitlán and, under the jurisdiction of the Alcalde Mayor of Antequera, Teozapotlan-Ixtepec (Chance, p. 41). As was made clear in the previous chapter, their salaries were surprisingly low. Indeed, Chance quotes Bishop Zárte's letter of 1544, which states that most of them spent more than their salaries on administration. He adds that the oppression and maltreatment of the Valley Indians had increased under their administration, because they had to collect their tribute on a specific day in order for the officials to deliver it to Mexico City. If this was not done it was destroyed by the communities, and then the Indians implicated were imprisoned to enforce their obedience.

The bishop contrasted the Corregidores unfavourably with the Encomenderos, who showed their communities how to produce Castilian crops and goods, and helped them when they were in need (Ibid. p. 42). Not surprisingly, given their low salaries, the Corregidores exploited their charges by demanding food, gold, and labour. Some, too, were of low social status and the Cabildo of Antequera complained in 1551 that these had little command over their Indians (Ibid. pp. 42-3). No doubt the status-conscious nobles with whom they dealt in the Repúblicas de Indios soon became aware of Spanish social distinctions, and treated those they had to deal with accordingly!

All the communities, including the non-Crown ones, were incorporated into the Corregimientos from the 1550s, and the Alcaldes Mayores were raised in status; being expected to have a legal training, and supervise several Corregimientos. These they visited yearly in order to adjudicate, and deal with, any abuses. This two-tier system had disappeared by 1580 in many places, but continued well into the next century in Antequera. Where and when it did not, those appealing against abuse by a Corregidor had to do so before the Viceroy in Mexico City (Gerhard, 1972. pp. 75-6). The long and arduous journeys to and fro, and the stay in Mexico City, added considerably to their plight, and affected them economically as well in the early post-Conquest, but the 1609 Relaciones of the Partido of Chichicapa, then known as Miahuatlán, state that they, that is the tributaries, then paid half a real each towards the salaries of the secretaries, procurador, and other officials in Mexico

At the turn of the century, the number of Corregimientos was considerably reduced as a result of both the epidemic of 1576, which had left some pueblos with drastically depleted populations, and of congregación. The Dominicans had pursued a policy of congregación in the 16th century in order to facilitate administration and Christian indoctrination, but in this later instance it was carried out for civil reasons, as pueblo populations declined, and led City who represented their interests (1). to the disappearance of thousands of hamlets in New Spain (Gerhard, 1972. p. 76). It took place in the Valleys between 1595 and 1605.

Taylor gives an exhaustive analysis of congregación in the Valley, and of the pueblos affected (Taylor, 1972. pp. 26-30). One of the causes he cites, together with community pressure and cacique tyranny, is the large number of men who fled with

their families in order to escape the mining repartimiento. Chance gives the number required as 100 from 1578, and 45 in 1601, but by 1611, after the discovery of the mines of Chichicapa, 400 a week from twenty-two communities, which were nearly all in the Valleys. This amounted to 4% of the population of each every week, and must have greatly increased the work burden of those left behind (Ibid. p. 28, Chance, pp. 69-71, 219 n. 20).

Burgoa is eloquent upon its effects, he states:

"...se levantó la ruina general de más de doscientos mil tributarios, en veinte doctrinas de estos valles, así en las cabeceras, como en las estancias, con un lamentable descubrimiento de minas de plata, en unas lomerías vecinas de este pueblo de Ocotlán y fundóse Real y ingenios de moler metales, y fue tan miserable el estrago de indios, que pararon las iglesias, y perecieron los obreros,....." (Burgoa, 1934. II. p. 42).

It should be said, however, that it was possible for the communities affected both to appeal against a projected congregación, and to request it with a specific town. In 1604, for example, a sujeto of Cuilapan, Santa Ana, appealed because the Juez Congregador wished to move them to La Villa del Marquesado although they lived on good land next to San Juan Chapultepec. The modern map of the Valleys suggests that they were unsuccessful (2). But, this result was not inevitable, as two successful appeals in the Partido of Teposcolula show, as do two successful ones requesting specific congregaciones there (3).

The congregaciones resulted in the disappearance of most of the lesser Corregimientos by the early 17th century. But there was then some confusing

redesignation: thus, in 1640 most of the remaining Corregimientos became Alcaldías Mayores, whilst in the 18th century some became known as Corregimientos again. None of this, however, appears to have affected their functions. Little then changed until the Institution of the Intendencias in the late 18th century. By then the seventy Alcaldías Mayores, and more than two hundred Corregimientos of the late 16th century, had been reduced to one hundred and sixteen civil administrations (Gerhard, 1972. p. 76).

Hamnett has shown how, as a result of constant abuses, the office of Alcalde Mayor had fallen into disrepute by the 18th century, particularly insofar as maltreatment of the indigenous peoples, whose interests they were expected to protect, was concerned, and in areas such as Oaxaca. They like the Corregidores were never well paid, and having covered the expenses of their journey to New Spain, they found that they had to pay a fianza to the Crown, as a guarantee for the revenues they were to collect on its behalf. As a result, such an official usually began his term of office in a parlous financial state - although hoping to make his fortune - and therefore had recourse to an agreement with a merchant of the Consulado in Mexico City, who would give him an advance to cover the fianza in return for which he had to trade with the Indians under his jurisdiction, or even give them cash, on the merchant's behalf (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 3-4, 5-6).

This was known as the repartimiento de efectos, and officials were strictly forbidden to engage in it. It resulted in the Indians' becoming indebted and having to repay the Alcalde Mayor in their regional products, which would have included cochineal and woven goods in Oaxaca. This situation was exacerbated by the actual trade's being carried out by the Alcalde Mayor's teniente letrado, his supposedly legally trained

deputy, who was appointed by the merchant, could not be dismissed without his consent, and was usually unscrupulous (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 3-7). An instance in Santo Tomás Mazaltepec, Etla in 1795 shows that the Alcalde Mayor had sold oxen to the value of 1173 pesos there: one pair each at 22 pesos to forty eight men, two pairs at 50 pesos to another, and one ox each at 11 pesos to a further seven. He had extracted payment by force, but some men, who owed a total of \$179, were in prison for debt. The judgement ordered that they should be freed, and any distrained goods returned to their owners (AGEO. Real Intendencia, Vol. II. Leg. 4, exp. 13).

In 1768 the Visitador-General José de Gálvez suggested that the offices of Alcalde Mayor and Corregidor be abolished and replaced by Intendentes, resident in the provincial capitals such as Oaxaca, and Subdelegados representing them in the pueblos. He, like the Bishop of Oaxaca, saw the repartimiento de efectos as intrinsically evil and damaging of social life. The bishop, after two Visitas in 1776 and 1783, felt that those who could not pay their debts would flee to the sierras rather than face the violent consequences, and, as a result, their lives would be wrecked. However, the Viceroy Bucareli thought Gálvez's ideas too extreme and, economically dangerous, as the Subdelegados would need to be very well paid, if they were not to fall into the same corrupt ways as the Alcaldes Mayores. He was greatly respected, and so the Intendancies were not established until after his death in 1779. The Ordenanzas de Intendentes were published in 1786, when Gálvez was in the ascendant (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 41-9, 55).

This then was the background against which the pueblos had to be administered, during the colonial era. The Corregidores would have dealt with the Indian gobernador and cabildo in each República de Indios. Like the Spanish repúblicas, the

Indian ones were established early. Cortés, in his Carta de Relación to Charles V of October 15th, 1524, stated that, as it was necessary to rebuild Tenochtitlán, and because the population had dispersed, he had given government cargos to some of Moctezuma's officials whom he knew, including the Cihuacoatl, who had been his "lugarteniente". They had also been given "señorios de tierras y gente", but to a lesser degree than before. This had been a successful ploy, for the city now had a diverse population of 30,000 and order was being maintained (Cortés, p. 196).

The conquerors must have acted with equal despatch in the Valleys, if Villa Alta, in the sierra and difficult of access, is to be taken as the norm. It was not conquered until 1525, when the Spanish settlement of San Idelfonso de Villa Alta was established. In the same year a document in the Archivo del Juzgado de Naturales, Villa Alta, which is a deposition by five Zapotec principales, shows that they had been taken to Mexico by Cortés to swear allegiance to the emperor, be baptised, and receive staffs of office so that they could continue to govern on their return to the sierra. They were given the cargos of gobernador, alcalde, regidor, escribano and oficial. All had been given the honorific title "don". These positions had been imposed, but, in 1532, Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal, as president of the second Audiencia ordered that the pueblos, themselves, should elect their alcaldes and regidores, in accordance with established Spanish custom (Aguirre Beltrán, pp. 31-2, 31 n. 12).

The cacique who converted to Christianity retained his pre-conquest position, but his inheritance through the direct line had to be confirmed by a Spanish official. Intermarriage with Spaniards was forbidden by Título VII, Ley VI of the Recopilación de Leyes, dated 1576, which stated that no mestizo could be a cacique.

and any who were, were to be removed. There were some cacique and cacica marriages across caste, but, according to Taylor, only five cases occurred in the valley: all in the 18th century (Taylor, 1972. p. 38). Although the Señor was to be obeyed, he was now answerable to the Alcalde Mayor or Corregidor. The amount of the tribute he was to receive was fixed by the Spaniards, and he was to have fields cultivated for him, as well as personal house servants, whose food and wages were to be paid by the community (Aguirre Beltrán, p. 35). These provisions were, in effect, the survivals of pre-Hispanic mayerque service. Neither he nor his eldest sons paid tribute (Recopilación de Leyes. Tít. 5. Lib. 18), and the cacique was excused from labour service (4).

In 1538 a Real Cédula informed the Audiencia that gobernadores with the same functions and perquisites as caciques were to be elected in each pueblo. This reduced the señor's authority but meant that there could be conflict unless, as was often the case, the two positions were held by the same person. The gobernador, like the modern presidente, had jurisdiction over the pueblo and its sujetos and authority over the other officials, so the similarity to the cacique's role is very clear. There were usually several caciques in a community, some of them, presumably, being señores of a lesser jurisdiction (5).

The position of gobernador might have been a means of overcoming Spanish misgivings in cases where the ruler was a cacica; a situation that could occur among the Zapotecs and Mixtecs even when there were male heirs. Apart from this she was apt to live virilocally if she married a cacique. Taylor lists colonial Cacicas of Ixtlahuaca, Cuilapan, San Lorenzo Cacaotepec, Etla, Teitipac and Villa de Oaxaca at various times, and both the Cacica, Doña Catalina, and the gobernador are frequently

mentioned in the Codice Sierra (Taylor, 1972. p. 45). Cuilapan was one of the most important cacicazgos in the Valleys of Oaxaca. Such a woman could keep great state, for Burgoa tells us that the granddaughter of the Rey de Tehuantepec was so grand that, when she left the palace for the church, her vassals knelt without daring to look at her. She was the señora natural of Tehuantepec, and when Bishop Alburquerque visited the Isthmus, she sent her principales to greet him and arrived with over two hundred caciques and women kin, as well as numerous other adherents (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 174-5).

The gobernador was responsible for seeing that tribute was collected and for the policing of the pueblo. He had powers in his community, which were similar to those of an Alcalde Mayor, but his position was by no means unassailable for he could be punished if he exceeded them, as is shown by a late colonial example. The Alcalde Mayor had imprisoned an alcalde of San Miguel Amatlán, Ixtepexi, Sierra Zapoteca, and the gobernador had released him without permission. He had also ignored both a request for the documents of two hundred dead tributaries and that for a matricula (6). As a result he had been imprisoned himself in 1787.

Situations such as this show that, even towards the end of the imperial era, despite the efforts of the Crown and the Church to protect them from the excesses of Spanish officials, the nobles were as liable to be humiliated, and, inevitably, have their authority in the community lessened as a result, as in the time of Peláez de Berrio. Nor was it only the civil officials who abused them. A priest could be equally guilty (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol 1. Leg. 28, exp. 59).

Heavy expenditure when in office is always thought of in connection with the cargo of mayordomo of a saint, but an instance of the tragic consequences which could result from debts contracted when gobernador occurred in the pueblo of Tutla, Central Valleys, whose gobernador had been forced to contract his daughter to work as a gañan on the Hacienda de las Dolores; which was, presumably, the Hacienda Dolores identified by Taylor as belonging to the priory of Santo Domingo (Taylor, 1972. Map. 6). This would have meant that the hacendado was legally bound to pay her tribute, and, by custom, supply her food, instead of her father. Even so, in 1782, he was forced to find work as a bricklayer in the city in order to support his family, but the following year he was petitioning to have his daughter released from her contract (7). Indeed, Gibson states that from the late 16th century, community debts were treated as the personal debts of the gobernador and cabildo so that those unable to pay were imprisoned and all their property seized and sold (Gibson, 1964, p. 218). This explains the gobernador's desperate action.

The cabildo authorities, whom the gobernador headed, came from the local nobility. Only they could elect the members of, or be elected to, the cabildo of a República de Indios, and deal with the Audiencia. But, some macehuales sent by distrustful caciques to be educated by the friars instead of their sons, just after the Conquest, may also have held office, and demographic collapse and congregación must have caused further depletion of the pueblo hierarchies. The 1609 Relación Geográfica de Miahuatlán refers to the yearly December elections, when the cabildo met, elected others for the next year, and took the Zapotec document of the proceedings, signed with their and the scribe's names, to the Corregidor. This was then countersigned, provided none of those elected was

"notably vicious", and the document sent to the Viceroy for acceptance. Unless this was done they could not serve (R.G. p. 294).

Cabildo members only received a pittance for their labours. In 1564, the Spanish Alcalde Mayor was receiving 200 pesos de oro común a year, but in 1568 the cargo-holders of Tlacotalpan, a pueblo cited by Aguirre Beltrán and, presumably, in central New Spain received the following salaries: the cacique and gobernador 30 pesos, a plot for cultivation, and two women servants; two alcaldes, 6 pesos each; two regidores, 5 pesos each; the scribe, 4 pesos; and the mayordomo de la comunidad, 4 pesos (Aguirre Beltrán, p. 54). However, the cacique's plot would have been worked for him and the Codice Sierra shows that the cabildo, as well as the Cacica and gobernador, received food for the year, as well as fiesta meals, at that time. Apart from this the alcaldes paid no tribute during their year in office, but all the other principales had to do so (Ots Capdequí, p. 30).

Aguirre Beltrán for the Aztec region, and Haskett for Cuernavaca, have argued that the cabildo carried out functions similar to those of the sophisticated pre-Hispanic administrations, but there is insufficient knowledge of pre-Hispanic political structures in the Valleys, apart from the role of the cacique, and Whitecotton has only speculated about it. The same is the case for the Mixteca Alta. Spores suggests that an in-depth study of relevant archival material is required, but there appears to be a dearth of suitable early colonial archives for the Valleys. We do know, however, from certain of the 1580 Relaciones Geográficas that the King at Teozapotlan had principales acting as his agents in his subject towns. Most towns merely state that they obeyed their cacique and Mitla states, categorically, but improbably, that no-one

governed for their cacique at all, but, as always with the Relaciones, we are dealing with the situation sixty years before (8).

It may be assumed, however, that the caciques would have appointed agents to act for them; and for a long term. Gibson, in "The Aztecs under Spanish Rule," states that the complete cabildo system with its alcaldes and regidores did not appear in Tenochtitlán until the late 1540s (Gibson, 1964. pp. 172-3), but the evidence, already quoted from Villa Alta, suggests some variation in the colony, which may have been dictated by the geographical position and conditions of an area. Indeed Chance states that the twenty-four towns in the five ethnic zones of the district of Villa Alta and the Sierra Zapoteco received no full cabildos until 1556-1560, alguaciles (constables) having been appointed in 1550 (Chance, 1989. p. 132).

The cabildo was expected to arrange for the collection and delivery of the community's tribute, and, as do the modern civil officials, for the upkeep of public buildings, irrigation systems and roads by tequio (compulsory communal labour service), as well as regulating the markets. The regidores were councillors and the alcaldes lay judges, charged with keeping the peace, and exercising limited powers of arrest (Carrasco, 1975. p. 187). They and the gobernador could try minor offenders, and imprison them, as is the case today, in the town cells (9).

The cabildo also appointed other cargo holders such as the scribe, who needed to know Spanish and be literate. The names of the escribanos of Zaachila from 1785-1823 show that there were then sufficient literate men in the community for a different one to hold the office every year (10). The majority of those listed appear not to have

held other cabildo offices, but this cannot be stated categorically, as not all the serving regidores and alcaldes signed those parochial documents I have had access to during their year in office (11). Further cabildo appointments included the interpreter, the fiscal, who was the treasurer (Chance, 1978. p. 114), and the pueblo and barrio tequitlatos, who were usually macehuales, and responsible for collecting tribute from the inhabitants (Ibid. p. 115). According to Gibson, on Tlaxacala, the mayordomo de maíz might also do this (Gibson, 1952. p. 117), and, when they were under pressure, the higher officials, and even the gobernador would assist them in going from house to house.

There are few 1609 Relaciones Geográficas extant, owing doubtless to the fact that they were written in reply to a 355-part questionnaire. Gerhard states that only twelve replies from New Spain were listed in a Spanish inventory of circa 1636, and only five have ever been found (Gerhard, 1972a, p. 31). It is fortunate, therefore, that they include those of the Partido of Miahuatlán, for they are a rich source of information. This partido also included the towns of Ocelotepec, Coatlan, and Amatlan; thus it was virtually the same as that of Chichicapan in 1580. All the Señores of the partido, had long pedigrees, but by that time they received no tribute or other contributions, lived wretchedly, and exerted no influence unless they were in office: the four Caciques of Ocelotepec governed their pueblo in turns, and the Cacique of Amatlan alternated the office with certain members of his lineage (R.G. pp. 296, 305, 311, 318).

The Relaciones give important information concerning the financing of the civil government of the partido at that time. They state that in Miahuatlán, Ocelotepec and Coatlan each tributary paid 1 peso, half a hanega of maize, 2 reales for his

comunidad, 4 reales of service to his majesty, presumably for la Bula de la Santa Cruzada, and half a real towards the salary of the secretaries and procurators who represented their causes in Mexico City (Ibid. pp. 296, 305, 311): that is, their advocates at the General Indian Court. But in Amatlan, where the land was sterile, they paid 1 real extra in tribute in lieu of maize. In good years the market price of maize per hanega was 1 peso (Ibid. pp. 317, 297).

The specie was lodged in the Real caja de los tributos from which, in Miahuatlán, the resident Corregidor was paid 150 pesos per annum, this being the extent of his salary. The cabildo consisted of two alcaldes, four regidores and two alguaciles (Ibid. p. 294). The other three towns, which were only visited by the Corregidor, had gobernadores, regidores, and a larger number of alguaciles, (constables) possibly for this reason: Ocelotepec had two alguaciles mayores and four alguaciles; Coatlan had six alguaciles as well as two more in each of its sujetos; and Amatlan had an alguacil mayor and four alguaciles (Ibid. pp. 304, 310, 317).

The 1580 Relaciones are very informative about the lesser cargos. Apart from the tequitlato, there was his subordinate a tequitato in each barrio and estancia (subordinate community), who collected tribute for him, gave notice of any crimes or disputes over land and other matters, called the people to tequio, and went from house to house telling them what to do (R.G. pp. 235, 199, 168). Those of 1609 refer to the golaves, who were each in charge of ten to thirty "Indios" in the parcialidades of each town. Their duties were to collect tribute, take their charges to Mass and send them to their personal service. This included the dreadful duty of sending them to the mines of Chichicapa twelve to sixteen leagues away, where they were paid 1 real per working day, but not for the journey. Those performing personal service were called

govates (tlapisques in Nahuatl) (R.G. pp. 295-6, 305, 311). However, they did have the freedom to work on the ten ranches of mares in the area. These employed some sixty, who worked for months at a time at a rate of two to four pesos. This might have been a means of escaping the repartimiento, as they could either go on to another ranch or return to their pueblos (R.G. p. 296).

The various mayordomos (stewards) appointed by the cabildo were responsible for overseeing those aspects of pueblo life, such as the communal land, agricultural enterprises, and livestock, which funded the caja de comunidad, as well as the prison. But this will be discussed in Chapter 9. The alguaciles soon became known by their pre-Hispanic Aztec name of topiles (Aguirre Beltrán, p. 37), which is used in the Valleys. It is still one of the lowliest cargos in the Valleys, and one that even the poorest young men in the community can, and indeed must, undertake (12).

I shall now discuss certain problems which arose in the later colonial era regarding the civil hierarchies. Aguirre Beltrán states that in the later 18th century the gobernador was elected by the community, and not only the vocales (the pueblo nobles), so that it was from this time that the power of the caciques and principales was truly limited (Ibid. p. 37). If this was the case in the Valleys, it would have particularly affected the Zapotec principales, whose wills show no evidence of those laws, such as primogeniture and the inalienability of land, which helped maintain a number of the Valley cacique estates throughout the colonial era (13).

As a rule, the only real power the principales exercised in the later colonial era was bound up with two rights: those of voting for cabildo officials and holding cargos in the cabildo. Taylor disputes Aguirre Beltrán's further argument that macehual suffrage

was an innovation introduced by the Bourbon Reforms, as he is able to cite instances of macehuales voting in the Valleys from the early 17th century, although in 1742 the Audiencia and in 1768 the viceroy limited suffrage to the principales (Ibid. pp. 48-9). However, the cases he lists do not include the election of a gobernador, and he states that there was no instance of an entire cabildo's having been elected by macehuales (Carrasco, 1975. pp. 182-8, Taylor, 1972. pp. 45-50).

Regarding election to cabildo office, Taylor states that, after 1725, only one cacique held the office of gobernador in the Valley, and he attributes this to the caciques' loss of prestige, the hostility of the electors, and the need for yearly elections. The maltreatment of the caciques and gobernadores by the Spanish officials was certainly one cause of their loss of prestige (Ibid. pp. 51-2), but another must have been the fact that, when caciques abused their authority, the post-Conquest community was able to take the case before the Spanish authorities. A case from Xoxocotlán, centre valley, illustrates this. In 1678, the naturales (natives) of Xoxocotlán lodged a complaint against the cacique and alcalde, Don Félix de Mendoza, because he was holding a principal, who was an ex-alcalde and fiscal de la iglesia, in prison. He had also intervened in elections, and had forced the nine mayordomos of the town church altars to pay him 6 pesos each for four years (AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 6, exp. 7). Such complaints were taken seriously, for in Teposcolula in 1788, the cacique was being held in the royal prison at the request of his subjects, for unspecified reasons (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol. II, Leg. 2, exp. 2).

Xoxocotlán seems to have been unfortunate in its nobles for in 1742, the caciques, principales and other spokesmen of Xoxocotlán acted in a quarrel between some inhabitants and Don Félix de Mendoza, who had been re-elected alcalde for many

years. The document was signed by two alcaldes, two regidores mayores, three regidores, the scribe, two mayores, and four topiles; and the judgement stated that the re-election of the gobernador and other cabildo officials was expressly forbidden by Spanish law. The election was therefore declared null and void, and another one was to be held peacefully (14).

It is hard to determine to what extent the rule governing re-election was followed. According to Taylor, although yearly elections were the norm in the Valley, and re-election was permitted only after three years had elapsed, some principales served frequently - fifteen times in a case in Tlacolula, to the distress of the people - but Crown approval was sometimes sought, if a man was particularly able (Taylor, 1972. p. 51). A 17th century case was cited in detail, but not as a complaint, by a regidor, Juan Ramírez, who gave a deposition before Balzalobre in the idolatry case in Sola and stated:

"....de más de 20 años a esta parte, han sido gobernadores Don Marcial de Alvarado 12 ó 13 veces en 12 ó 13 años y Don Martín de Orozco, difunto, 7, 8 veces..." (Berlin, p. 37).

He also listed various cabildo officials, including three who had been alcalde two to four times and regidor often during the same period, whilst another had been alcalde and regidor seven times each. He does not give the years when they held office (Berlin, p. 37), but it is clear that there could have been no hierarchical prestige ladder at that time.

Taylor cites several instances of macehuales holding office in the mid-18th century: as alcaldes, but lacking voting rights, in Tlacoahuaya; and as regidores in Tlacoahuaya, Santiago (Ocotlán), Zimatlán, and Coyotepec. In two other cases

castas were elected, but this was not upheld by the Spanish governor (Taylor, 1972. pp. 51-2). However, although a non-cacique might become a gobernador this had to be confirmed by the Audiencia. This was the case in Coyotepec in 1745, when a gobernador, who was not a cacique was elected (AGN. Ramo de Indios. Vol 55, exp. 363).

That then, as now, it was necessary for those in office to conform to the accepted norms is suggested by a document dated 1810, when, in an election for alcaldes and regidores, one man was accused of theft, adultery and incest in an attempt to prevent his election to office (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol. II. Leg. 38, exp. 5). These are Spanish, as well as community norms, but in 1811 the vecinos (inhabitants) of San Juan del Rey, Huitzo asked that they might be allowed to choose their alcalde in accordance with their customs, as the one chosen by the Subdelegado was, amongst other defects, too old (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol. 2. Leg. 24, exp. 8). The cabildo officials were also in the same age-range as they are now: say forty to fifty-five, with the occasional thirty-five year old (APZ. Libros de Casamiento 1706-1824). That is, when they are at that phase of the domestic group's developmental cycle which is their most economically successful, for they can command the assistance of an extended family of young married sons living virilocally, as well as their single sons and daughters, to help with their milpa and other occupations, thus giving them freedom for their cargo activities (Goody, espec. pp. 87-8). This would have been just as necessary in the Colonial era.

I have dealt with the cabildo, that is the civil cargos, at some length in this chapter, although I am primarily concerned with the religious ones, as I shall be considering the interaction of the civil-religious authorities, and the existence, or not, of an

achievement ladder in the colonial period in the following chapters. I now turn to the various religious cargos, and their importance in the colonial era. These were those of fiscal, sacristán, maestro de capilla, and mayordomo. I shall also discuss the singers, although theirs was not a cargo in the accepted sense.

The fiscal was the most important of these officials; he was of the nobility and, according to Gibson, often became gobernador immediately after leaving the office of fiscal, or vice versa (Gibson, 1952. p.40). The Third Mexican Regional Council shows clearly that he was the priest's officer. He was, it states, obliged to note, and report to the priest, those who did not attend Mass, or behaved irreverently when there, as well as those who did not keep the fiestas. He was also to report "public sins and vices" on fiesta days, such as those selling food or drinking in taverns during Mass or behaving incorrectly during processions, but not trivial matters. He was forbidden to ask for money, or accept donations or gifts (Concilio III. Tít. XXIII). Another duty of the fiscal was concerned with public morality. He was to report any sexual indiscretion, as well as the continuation of such customs as concubinage, and divorce. Then, more important still, he had to denounce idolatry and sacrilege (Arroyo, II. p. 185). He might also be seen as the priest's scapegoat, in that it was he who had to court unpopularity by punishing the delinquents, not the priest, although excessive punishment by him and the alcaldes was forbidden (Concilio III, p. 210).

Burgoa gives us a number of insights into the role of the fiscal, which are pertinent to this study. He refers to a principal "de mucho razón" of Chicahuastla, Mixteca, whom, for this reason, the religious kept in office for many years in the early 17th century. This argues against his being able to participate in any civil-religious achievement ladder that existed at that time (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 356). But, Gibson's

material suggests that there was a rotation of offices, rather than an achievement ladder, in 16th century Tlaxcala (Gibson, 1952. p. 40), and the 18th century Archives of Teozapotlán-Zaachila, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8, show this to have been the case throughout the colonial period, for they show that two men usually undertook this cargo at a time and that several fiscales were in office for three concurrent years in the 1720s and 1730s, whilst two held office for six years from 1756 to 1761. I have virtually no record of the civil officials at that time, so cannot tell if they also held civil office (APZ. Libros de Casamiento).

Burgoa refers to an old Zapotec of Teticpaque, who had been brought up by the Dominicans, been fiscal for many years, and taught the doctrine, without having been christened. His parents had not returned to the pueblo from their distant landholding for over a year, and had then been afraid to ask for him to be baptised. This he finally did himself on his deathbed (Burgoa, 1934. II. pp. 89, 94-5). He also tells us that the literate Mixtecs of Achiutla were expected to read the "Doctrina Cristiana" written by Lucero's friend Fray Benito Hernández, so as to fit them for the office, for they were expected to teach Christian doctrine.

Burgoa recounts how, when he visited Chicahuastla with the Visitador, the latter asked him to question the clever fiscal mentioned earlier, in order to ascertain his ability to teach the doctrine in his community. They were both very impressed, and Burgoa, on asking whether he had any manuscripts in Mixtec, was told; only that of Fray Benito, which he regarded as the word of God leading them to heaven (Ibid. I. pp. 355-6, 358-9). When a cabecera had several visitas, the teaching abilities of the fiscales in them would have been of paramount importance. They would also have been expected to send for a friar in case of need, as when a man was dying and needed

Absolution and the Last Rites (Ibid. pp. 350-1). This cargo, then, might be seen as that nearest to the priesthood for those with a vocation that they were unable to follow by reason of their race.

The fiscal, says Fray Esteban Arroyo, enjoyed the complete confidence of the priest (Arroyo, II. p. 185), yet, two of the native priests, or colanis, whose existence was revealed by Balzalobre in Sola (see page 50) held this office themselves, as well as owning the Zapotec "Libro de los trece dioses", which was essential to them if they were to be accepted as officiants in pre-Hispanic ceremonies. Indeed, one of them, Domingo de la Cruz, had held the cargo of fiscal when he was denounced to Balzalobre in 1657 (Berlin, pp. 16-17, 37, 42-3). No doubt such rogue fiscales were not uncommon, but in 1700 two showed such devotion to the Faith that they were martyred, after they had denounced the idolaters of San Francisco Cajonos, near the Villa Alta Sierra. The fiscales took the native priests to the convento, but their followers knocked down the door, and so the priests handed over the fiscales on condition that they were not harmed. They were taken away, but refused to deny Christianity and were brutally murdered. Fifteen of the perpetrators were executed at once, and seventeen were sent to Mexico City, but their fate is not documented (15).

A less orthodox use of the fiscal was that of the saintly author of the Mixtec Doctrina, Fray Benito, who, zealous of his chastity, never spoke to a woman alone, and, when he was likely to suffer an "impertinence" from one during confession, asked the fiscal to attend him (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 54, 330-2, 334). This, surprisingly, does not appear to have been normal practice, although the Dominican historians, writing for the Order, show that there could be temptations both ways. Inquisition records show that accusations of "solicitudación" against priests, both regular and secular, were not

uncommon, although some certainly resulted from spite. But, the Inquisition responded by recommending improvements in the way the confessional was constructed, rather than suggesting that a fiscal hover in the background (González M., pp. 239-246. Alberro, p. 207).

The cargo of sacristán was also an important one, for the holder of this position was expected to report on those chaplains who did not say the number of Masses required by their chantries, and oversee the making of the Host. These duties may only refer to the Spanish sacristanes in the city churches, for the indigenous ones were not supposed to carry out the latter task without supervision (Concilio I. Ch. XVII. Concilio III. Lib. IV. Tít. IV. I. & III). Apart from this, he was the treasurer, was charged with keeping the church, altars and vestments clean (Ibid. Tít. IV. I), and was in charge of the keys of the Sacrament, font, boxes for the Holy Oil, and trunks for sacred vessels.

However, in 1778, on his Visita to Etla the Bishop of Oaxaca ordered that the keys of these should be kept by the priests, rather than the sacristanes and other "lay ministers", except when necessary, because of the "inconveniences and irreverences" which otherwise occurred. He also complained that the Third Concilio's rulings regarding burials were not being observed (Concilio III. p. 266), and stated categorically that the sacristanes and singers were not to carry these out by themselves, without a priest to officiate. It was precisely this abuse, which the Concilio had sought to stop two hundred years previously (APE. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1804. Visita 8.4.1778. Llaguno, p. 122).

The Parish Archives of Zaachila show that a sacristán, like a fiscal, could hold this office for many years, and at a relatively advanced age. Crispin de Aguilar, who signed the Libro de Bodas as a witness, was the sacristán from at least 1778, when he was sixty-two until 1788 (16).

A priest who had served in the Valley for sixteen years reported, somewhat negatively, on the government of the curacies. The Zapotec men, he said were inclined to laziness, given to drink, and apt to abandon their families, but they were basically good people in need of good teaching. Unfortunately, the teachers were usually of low quality. He added that a priest needed at least one sacristán in each pueblo <in his care>, to keep the church clean, and ring the bells, but there were no funds to pay them, and they only undertook the cargo if obliged to do so by custom. A sacristán also needed two topiles, without whom there was no one to fetch the priest when the fiscal was advised that he was needed to administer the last rites (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 16, exp. 9). It was the topiles de la iglesia, of course, who would also undertake the actual cleaning of the church, and other menial ecclesiastical tasks.

There are references to the pueblo maestros cantores in the archival material of the Valleys of Oaxaca, but nothing specific regarding their role. They are not mentioned at all in the 1609 Relaciones Geográficas, which all give information about the cantores. Farriss, however, shows them to have been of great importance in the Yucatan, and argues that, having been trained, they had other duties apart from schooling the choir and this gave them great authority, so they were chosen from the nobility. As a result of these factors they had the power to decide upon their successors and choose the escribanos and cantores, as it was they, rather than the priests who were in charge of instruction in the missions (Farriss, pp. 236-7). Whilst it

will be seen that the Relaciones of 1609 do not bear this out, for the Corregimiento of Miahuatlán, documents of a Zaachilan case taken before the Audiencia, which will be discussed on page 374 show that the maestro there was of the higher nobility, and that the office was held by his family for at least three generations in the first half of the 18th century (AGN. Indios. Vol. 55, exp. 185, fol. 144).

The church musicians were not major cargo holders, but they were extremely important, if not vital to church worship. It was Pedro de Gante, who first perceived the importance of music in the proselytising process, and Fray Juan Caro, who dedicated his days to teaching Plain Chant and then polyphonic music at the school. The musicians also learned to compose to the satisfaction of Spanish masters of the art. As a result, at the end of the century, Mendieta was able to say that they were adept at every kind of church music, liturgical and non-liturgical alike (Mendieta, p. 412). Music copied from Europe formed the libraries, and Behague says that the Oaxacan Cathedral archive testifies to the "intense cultivation of music there" (New Grove Dict. Mus. p. 227. Behague, p. 27). This one would expect to have had an influence on church music making throughout the See. It was said to be excellent in the Valley.

By 1561, there were so many musicians that Philip II ordered a reduction in their numbers (Ibid. p. 2), although Ricard argues that he was more concerned with their paying tribute, from which they were exempted. But as they were only paid 2 pesos a year this would have entailed their augmenting their salaries, which were paid not by the Church, but with those of the cabildo officials (García Martínez, p. 94 n. 79), to the neglect of their duties (Ricard, p. 179). However, by the time of the Third Council, the situation had changed so radically that the bishops referred to it in a letter

written to the King. This, states Llaguno, was because, although the decrees of the Council had covered the religious aspects of a number of matters, others, including the position of the musicians, also, as was shown above, concerned the civil authorities. Hence, the bishops complained that although the musicians played a vital part in ensuring that the cult was a sumptuous and attractive one, they worked hard without payment. Furthermore, they were expected to pay tribute, and fulfil their repartimiento and tequio obligations, and, as a result, it was difficult to find many, who were prepared to fill the office. It was therefore suggested that, because their role in evangelisation was so vital, they should be excused from paying tribute and from repartimiento, and that music schools should be set up for them (Llaguno, 140).

These measures must have been effective, for Mendieta, whose "Historia Eclesiástica Indiana" was completed in 1596 says that every town had its singers and musicians and every hamlet three or four singers, who sang the Hours of the Virgin every day. He also refers to the pueblo singers practising every day after Mass for the following morning's office, when they would sing a Motet to organ accompaniment, as well as for Vespers, if Solemn Vespers were to be celebrated. Those who could sing also taught others, as well as training the instrumentalists (Mendieta, pp. XXIII, 412, 418). They were, as has been said, no rustic musicians, but widely admired for their remarkable abilities (Ricard, p. 178), which included writing fine compositions, copying polyphonic music complete with illuminated letters for their own use, and instrument making (Béhague, p. 4).

Given the circumstances it is hardly surprising that they had a reputation for being uppity and a nuisance outside their working hours, and no doubt this was because of the vital role they played (Ricard, pp. 177-9). Farriss argues that, although the

complaints against them were probably well-founded, they might also have resulted from "cultural misapprehension", an assessment with which García Martínez concurs, especially, he suggests, at a time when so many were either intent on integrating into colonial society or resistant to its usages and values (García M., p. 94).

The Relaciones Geográficas of 1609 for the Partido of Miahuatlán yield some interesting information regarding the singers. There were twenty-four in Coatlán, where they, the cacique, and his son were the literate members of the community (p. 312); twenty three in Ocelotepec and its hamlets (p. 306); and twelve in Amatlán (pp. 318-9). They received no salary, but were literate in Mexican and Zapotec, which they studied at the pueblo school, and so the scribe was chosen from their ranks, and those of the few other literate vecinos, when the yearly election of cabildo officials took place (p. 293). This factor may account for the number of literate men available as scribes in Zaachila in the late 18th century: for there, they changed yearly for over twenty years.

Apart from this, it appears that most of the school-masters were appointed from amongst the choristers, probably in rotation, for, according to the Relación de Miahuatlán, the community appointed a master each year to teach the boys Doctrine, as well as reading and writing (p. 300), whilst the Relación de Amatlán, which had fifteen literate vecinos, including, presumably, its choir of twelve, states that all the children were taught the Doctrine from the age of five (pp. 317, 318). The master was not paid, but was excused from paying tribute and from personal service (p. 300). This, however, was a considerable advantage, as it included service in the mines, which was paid at a rate of 1 real a day (p. 296) in this Partido, and from which they fled (p. 292).

The mayordomos de los santos, who had such a vital religious cargo, seem not to have acted with the other officials even in church matters, for they appear never to have signed any official documents connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the community, although the civil officials, and, often, the fiscal did. This was the case, even when a priest was thanked for having the custodia, sagrario and retablo put in order (AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 26, exp. 6), which suggests that their duties and interests were strictly confined to the care of the saint, his altar, his fiesta and the cofradía.

Mayordomas in their own right were not uncommon in colonial Oaxaca, a fact, which would certainly argue against their participating in the civil hierarchy, or any other official activities including the signing of documents. Mendieta, as was stated on page 140, tells us that beatas (devout women) played a vital role in teaching the doctrine and devotions to the other women and girls, and in:

"guiar las confradías que tienen del Santísima Sacramento y de Nuestro Señora, que en todas partes son comunes, mas en pueblos grandes tambien tienen las del Nombre de Jesús y de la Veracruz, y de la Soledad en la Semana Santa. Todas estas confradías en algunos pueblos se rigen tan principal y aun mas principalmente por medio de estas matronas, que de los hombres" (Mendieta, pp. 420-1).

He was writing at the end of the 16th century, but women were always admitted to the cofradías so that they might receive their indulgences. However, they could also achieve office, as in Santiago Huaxoltipaque, Noxítlán, La Mixteca where the pairs of mayordomos included Elena Hernández in 1709, and Magdalena Hernández in 1711

and 1712, as well as Pascuala García in 1713. Unfortunately there are only two fragments of the relevant Libro de Cofradía, that of N.S. de la Asunción, left. They cover the years 1708-1729 (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 18, exp. 16 & 17). A further example is that of the Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario, which was erected in Santo Domingo, Etlá, barrio de abajo, in 1836 with María Victoriana González and María Alejandra Jiménez as mayordomas. There were also mayordomas in 1845, 1850, and 1852, and in 1854, when three were appointed. Precisely why this was done is not clear. These women may have been very devout and capable, the pueblos concerned may have been small and lacking in suitable men, or such men might have been absent during the years in question (17).

The only mayordomas in their own right, today, are found among the patrilineal Tehuanas, and are, presumably, the "viajeras", who are comerciantes, and sell fish and shrimps purchased from the Huaves of the Isthmus and preserved, as well as jewellery, in the Valley markets and at important city and pueblo fiestas. It would be interesting to know if it was they or the Tehuanos, who sold their fish and shrimps in the Mixteca Alta at the time of the Codice de la Sierra (18).

It is also evident from 18th century Libros de Cofradía that this religious cargo too could be held for a number of years. Several mayordomos, apart from Magdalena Hernández, held the cargo for two years running in Santiago Hauxoltipaque, whilst two served it for a number of years: Gabriel Velasco from 1722-1729 and Diego Ruiz from 1724 to 1729.

The format of the priest's entry at the yearly change of mayordomos for this cofradía hardly varied:

".....Hize parecer ante mi los mayordomos.....para efecto de tomarles cuentas del dinero de esta Cofradía, que ha sido a su cargo, y haviendoles hecho cargo de \$30 y 3 reales que recibieron en reales, los entregaron de manifiesto, haviendo grangeado con dicho dinero el celebrar la fiesta de N.S., y pagan 12 misas al año a seis reales la limosna, por las cofrades vivos y difuntos; y por lo bien, que le han traído, les dé las gracias, y en viendo de elegir nuevos mayordomos para este año de veinte dos, se juntaron al Alcalde, Mandones y Cofrades, y eligieron a Gavriel Velasco, y re-eligieron a Diego López por tales Mayordomos; quienes aceptaron dicho cargo; y a quienes entregue en presencia de todos \$30 y 3 reales, en reales: y encargue el culto, y aseo de Nua Señora y porque así conste lo firme en dicho Pueblo, dicho día y año" (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 18, exp. 17).

Such re-elections were not merely a colonial phenomenon, however, for they frequently occurred in the cabecera of San Pedro y San Pablo, Etlá after Independence, and as late as 1837-8 and 1845-1847 (APE).

The mayordomo was a steward elected by his peers, and his duty was to increase the funds of the cofradía so as to enhance the cult, a fact often stressed by the Bishops of Oaxaca. I shall consider to what extent the priests influenced the choice and re-election of the 18th and early nineteenth century mayordomos, as well as their varied duties in managing the bienes de cofradía, in Chapters 8 and 9 of this book.

The priest, however, was not the only arbiter of suitability for office, always accepting that his view was endorsed by the cofrades. The principales apparently had an important initial role in the appointment of the 18th century mayordomos, for, in a

deposition concerning a murder case in Coyotepeque, the witness, Nicolas Aragón, declared that the victim, Juan de Aquino, his brother-in-law, had asked him to go to the barrio principales with him, in order to see if they would appoint him mayordomo. Unfortunately, they met two men, a fight ensued and Juan de Aquino died of his wounds. It is possible that he sought one of the civil offices of mayordomo, but the nature of these is usually specified, so, it may be assumed that he sought the cargo of mayordomo to a saint. Furthermore, the role of the pueblo mayordomos in propitiating the saints, and thus ensuring the well-being of the place, its lands and its inhabitants, would be of such a serious nature as to require the nobles to ensure that any candidates were of a character which accorded with village norms, as is the case today (AGEO. Real Intendencia II. Leg. 14, exp. 29).

Usual nobles would have undertaken this cargo. The Cacique, Don Tomás de Mendoza, is referred to as mayordomo of N. S. de la Asunción, in the town that had the mayordomas, Santa María. Esquintepeque (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 18, exp. 17). It is also possible that some nobles only undertook religious cargos, which, if they were very religious, might have been their means of fulfilling a vocation. Again, although this appears to have been the case in Zaachila, there is very little information regarding the civil cargo holders there before the last decade of the century, so cannot draw a definite conclusion.

Tables 8.2 and 8.3 will show that some cargo careers in 18th century Zaachila demonstrate that there was no discernible hierarchy of either civil cargos - apart from that of gobernador - or of saints, whereas, nowadays, both the civil cargos and the hierarchy of saints are ranked according to prestige. That of the latter is indicative of both the cost and the importance of a particular fiesta; with the patronal fiesta at the

apex. This is undoubtedly because it is the mayordomo alone who is now responsible for financing the various components of a fiesta, although some of the huge costs of a patronal fiesta will be borne by the cabildo.

Let Burgoa have the last word upon the office of mayordomo, when he was priest of Cuilapan, with its seven altars, and its two chapels of Santo Cristo and el Rosario:

"...todos los altares tienen sus particulares mayordomos, que cuidan de su adorno, y le dan tan aseado, con la suavidad de los perfumes y flores que les ponen, que en cerrando las puertas, como no se divierten por la iglesia los olores, todos juntos hacen un paraíso: ..." (Burgoa, 1934. I. pp. 402-3).

Until now the civil and religious hierarchies in the colonial period have been specifically referred to, but the parish archives of Zaachila and San Pablo and San Pedro, Etla extend into the post-Independence era, which saw a marked change in the juridical position of the repúblicas de indios and of their vecinos. Further to this the population of the See had been reduced by 31% as a result of famine, epidemics and the Wars of Independence, such that the status of the pueblos had been materially affected, whilst the continuance of natural disasters and unrest meant that they did not recover until the 1870s (Reina, pp. 221-2). This may explain why a number of women served as mayordomas in the moiety of the sujeto, Santo Domingo, Etla.

Independence, with Iturbide as Emperor, was proclaimed on September 28th, 1821 and the Indians became equal citizens with the rest of the population (Borah, 1983. pp. 405-6, 392), whilst their political and ethnic autonomy as vecinos of the repúblicas was lost; for only pueblos with over 1,000 citizens were accepted as municipios, whereas under Colonial Law any pueblo with 80 tributaries, which Pastor

estimates as a population of 360, had been autonomous. This ruling, together with demographic collapse, meant that many a sujeto that had achieved cabecera status during the 18th century lost its status. Further to this, those repúblicas, such as Zaachila, which had been large enough to attract Spaniards and other castas as settlers were no longer indigenous enclaves, in that non-Indians could now vote and hold office in them (Pastor, 1990. p. 90-91).

Pastor shows that the small repúblicas in the Mixteca Alta were particularly hard hit, for of 220 pueblos only 5 had the requisite population, whilst in the Valles Centrales, where there were only 45 municipios, 145 small pueblos became subject to the Ayuntamiento (town council) of the City of Oaxaca (Pastor, 1990. pp. 91-2). The vocales who had voted for the cabildos, and who were of the nobility, were now replaced by electors chosen during a mass election and Pastor shows that, whilst in Tlaxiaco, Mixteca Alta seven of the nine electors chosen by from 20 to 41 votes were nobles, two were mestizos. This he argues was a ploy of the ladinoised nobility to keep the pueblo under their control (Ibid 93-4).

This argument is borne out by the names of the councillors of Zaachila, where the mayordomos were referred to as "ciudadano" from this time. Several new surnames appear among those of the civil cargo holders in the 1820s. Of these Pedro Benítez, an alcalde in 1828, bears a Spanish surname according to the Padrón of 1776 (AGI. Méx. 2589. Exp. 37, fol. 99-121), when 21 Spanish families and 23 castas lived there, as does José Miguel Flores a regidor in 1827, whilst in the same year Pablo Méndez, called the secretario rather than the escribano in the municipio, and Sebastian Martín, a regidor, both bear surnames listed under "Mestizos, mulatos y demas castas" in the padrón. The gobernador in 1824 was Luis Antonio Ceneros, and his, as well as

the surnames Pérez, Martínez and Caseros, may be those of Spaniards or castas who had settled there after 1776, whilst Martín Félix, the secretario in 1828 and an alcalde in 1829 might well have been a macehual; but unfortunately the padrón does not distinguish between classes (Op. cit).

The size of the municipios brought further difficulties for some were formed by arbitrarily joining several smaller repúblicas together. Here, Pastor instances San Juan Itunyaya, in the Mixteca which was appointed as cabecera to two ex-repúblicas three and two and a half leagues distant, but the alcalde and community protested that it would be impossible to manage their economies or administer justice for them as they were unfamiliar their costumbres (Pastor, 1990. pp. 94-6).

One of the weaknesses of the Liberal government in its legislation for the pueblos must have been its ignorance of, or indifference to, the history of the pueblos and their enmities, for these operated against such rulings, as Pastor shows in an instance from Nochixtlán (Ibid. p. 96), as did the fact that each pueblo had evolved in its particular ecological niche as a separate entity and with its specific consuetudinary law. Furthermore, if a cabecera reverted to its category of sujeto of the cabecera from which it had been at great pains to achieve its liberty, it is doubtful whether either side would have relished their enforced reunification.

Aguirre Beltrán categorises the century after Independence as one of "completa desorganización", and thus a reflection of the state of the country at large. He argues that the Ayuntamientos became "meras dependencias del poder estatal" (Aguirre B., p. 61), but believes that the success of the Indian municipios libres depended upon their ability to interact with the larger society. Thus, those who clung too closely to

their traditions found it difficult to function successfully (Ibid. pp. 63-4). In short, the coming of Independence together with their receiving equality of status heralded the reverse for the Indian population of Mexico.

In this chapter I have discussed the nature of the Spanish Colonial administration in New Spain and the Valle de Oaxaca at some length, in order to show the background against which the civil-religious hierarchies operated. Following this I discussed the rights and duties of both the civil and the religious officials. I then demonstrated that the ideal model of an interacting hierarchy with a carefully graded achievement ladder could not have existed at that time or even during the post-Independence period which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 9, before the time of La Reforma. This was for the following reasons: there were female "mayordomos", who could not undertake civil cargos as these were the domain of the male nobility; mayordomos could be kept in office for years at a time, possibly at the wish of the priest, although the yearly appointment of a mayordomo was held in public, and there is an instance of a man seeking permission from the principales to become a mayordomo; finally, records from 18th century Zaachila show that there was no hierarchical ranking of saints to be served in a specific order and also that there was no discernible ranking of civil offices at that time, apart from that of gobernador. Finally, I discussed the status of the pueblos after those with sufficiently large populations had been given the juridical status of municipios libres and their inhabitants equal status with the rest of the population as citizens. In doing so, I showed that many small repúblicas de indios completely lost their autonomy, including sujetos which had become independent cabeceras in the 18th century; whilst those large enough to include Spaniards and castas among their population now had to include certain of them as elected voters,

and members of the council, although it has been argued by Pastor that this was partly a ploy by which the Indian nobility maintained its hold upon pueblo government.

I shall now turn to the archival material of Zaachila and Etlá, which I shall analyse in depth in the following two chapters.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 7.

1. R.G. pp. 295-6, 305, 311, 317. These Relaciones were written in reply to a 355-part questionnaire devised during the reign of Philip III. It appears that few survive, and it is fortunate that those pertaining to the Partido of Miahuatlán were published by Señor del Paso y Troncoso, as they constitute a much richer source of information than do those of 1580. This is particularly so insofar as civil and religious matters are concerned.

2. AGN. Ramo Tierras. Vol. I. Exp. 167. Fol. 88-9. Cecil Welte, "Mapa de las Localidades del Valle de Oaxaca...según el censo de población de 1960."

3. Ibid. Vol. 1. Exp. 224. fol. 112-112v: Vol. 1. Exp. 240. fol. 116v-117.: Vol. 1. Exp. 241. fol. 117-117v: Vol. 1. Exp. 256. fol. 123iv-124.

4. Nancy Farriss argues that, in the Yucatan, exemption from tequios (communal work) and servicio personal was a privilege, albeit unofficial, which the cabildo extended to all the pueblo's principales (Farriss, p. 185). As it would not have been unduly difficult to arrange, this may have been the case throughout Mesoamerica.

5. Aguirre Beltrán, pp. 36-7. In a case brought by a Spaniard, Morcillo, against Cortés and the Indians of Etlá, in 1537, for cultivating ranch land, the Etlá gobernador, Don Domingo, and the caciques Don Diego and Don Josepe were the defendants (Zavala, 1984. p. 122). They held that fallow land had been mistaken for tierra baldía (unused land), that Morcillo's mares were ruining their land, and that those working on the land had been threatened. They presented a number of papers in their defence, and called,

amongst other witnesses, the Caciques of Apasco, and Talistaca, and a brother of the Señor of Teozapotlan (Ibid. pp. 127-8, 113-140).

6. A matrícula is a list of persons required for a specific purpose. A list of tribute-paying vecinos is usually called a padrón. The judgement is not given in this case, but it seems strange that the gobernador had ignored the first request, which would have eased the burden of tribute paying in the community. He was complaining about conditions in prison (AGEO. Real Intendencia, Vol. II. Leg. 1, exp. 9).

7. AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 27, exp. 27. By the late 1680s the Crown had accepted the existence of a class of agricultural labourers known as gañanes, who were tied to the haciendas where they lived, especially if they had been born on them, and even without debt peonage. However, such was the importance the Crown attached to the hacendado's paying his workers' tribute, that, if bankruptcy prevented his doing so, a petition by the gañan to leave the hacienda was allowed. The hacendado's paternalistic functions usually included payment for gañan marriages, funerals and fiestas (Riley. pp. 260-67, 270-1). A gañan was most likely to have been a landless macehual, which appears to have been the case in Ocotlán in 1799, when a man then in prison and, therefore, unable to seek a new master requested 26 pesos owed in respect of two months' work as a gañan (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol. I, Leg. II. exp. 3). In 1785, Gálvez, as Viceroy, promulgated the Bando de Gañanes, which released them from any tie to an estate by virtue of birth on one, as well as modifying the regulations regarding debt. This Riley sees as conforming to the Bourbon desire to create a free and Hispanicized peasantry (Riley, p. 278).

8. Aguirre Beltrán, p. 37. Haskett, p. 210. Whitecotton, 1977. p. 144. Spores, p. 122. R.G. pp. 102, 106, 117, 145, 149.

9. Carrasco, 1975. p. 187. They could abuse their authority in this, for, in 1809, the Real Sala de Crimen of the Audiencia ordered that the alcaldes were to punish those who did not attend Mass, got drunk, or committed crimes of a similar nature, with a day in prison and six to eight lashes. Women were to be suitably punished, but not to spend more than six days under arrest. A woman had died after receiving eight lashes, but the gobernador had ordered that she should receive twenty (AGEO. Real Intendencia. Vol. II. leg. 26, exp. 3).

10. Three names are repeated, but after a period of twenty years in each case, so they might have been those of fathers and sons. However, from 1823 to 1829 Pablo Martínez, who was also the scribe in 1817, held the position three times, whilst Pedro Martínez held it in 1825 and 1829.

11. APZ. Libros de Cofradía. This will be more fully discussed in Chapter 8. Since Independence the secretary has taken the place of the scribe, and in this century the position has usually been a permanent salaried one, as literacy has been rarer. But, nowadays, when most, if not all, of the younger Zapotecs are literate in Spanish, they hold civil cargos in their late twenties in some villages, whereas before these were only held by older men, who had worked their way up the achievement ladder and financed mayordomías. In such cases these young officials may not, according to an informant in the Etla Valley, intend to undertake a religious cargo.

12. Nowadays the topiles, who have thin staffs attached to their wrists by a thong, are particularly visible when they are out in force during those acts of a fiesta which attract many people, such as the firework displays with a castillo, or the calenda de luces with the marmota, both of which were described in the Introduction.

13. Taylor, 1972. pp. 76-7. The fate of the caciques was not uniform, as has been seen in the case of the Partido of Miahuatlán previously referred to. Burgoa, writing as the priest of Teozapotlan, refers to the poverty of some, once they "lacked" the tributaries and vassals who had "sustained" them, and states that the direct descendants of the Rey de los Zapotecos were so poor at the time when he was writing, that they had to seek maize to eat and water to drink. He, himself, took dishes from the convento to the Cacique and his wife out of pity (Burgoa, I. 1934. p. 414).

14. AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 24, exp. 1. This is the only Valley document I have seen, which is signed by mayores and topiles, who would have been macehuales. Although nowadays everyone must serve as topil, it is unlikely that even impoverished nobles would have undertaken this civil cargo, although that of topil de la iglesia might have been seen in a very different light in the early post-Conquest, as the bigana had been chosen from the second sons of caciques and principales. Referring to Tlaxcala in the 16th century, Gibson states that the nobles undertook the most menial work in the convento, rather than let the macehuales do so (Gibson, 1952. p. 40).

15. Arroyo, II. pp. 185-6. Gillow, Chapters VI & VII. In a short article entitled "Mártires de Cajonos" written on the anniversary of their death, the Archbishop of Oaxaca states that a process for the beatification of the two martyrs, Juan Bautista

and Jacinto de los Angeles, is in progress. Interestingly, he refers to the office of fiscal as heading a ladder of civil and ecclesiastical cargos, which strengthens my belief that everyone who considers cargo, has this ideal mental model, which they assume has always existed ("Noticias." Oaxacan newspaper dd. 17.9.1989).

16. The Libros de Bodas are usually signed by two fiscales as wedding witnesses, but Crispin de Aguilar first signed in his capacity of sacristán in 1778. Various sacristanes, one of whom was forty-two, signed from 1801 to 1815. The ages of the others are not stated. I have used the marriage entries from 1727; of these, the early ones cover three pages each, and give very full information regarding the bride and groom and the witnesses, including their ages, but from 1738 they are much shorter, and so, less informative. Nor does every priest give the full information required. The attitude still commonly expressed in Spain, "Obedezco, pero no cumplo!" seems to have been particularly prevalent amongst the Valley priests with reference both to their keeping of their archives, and their selective obedience to the wishes of their ecclesiastical and civil superiors!

17. The wife of the modern mayordomo is very important, to the extent that in Tzotzil-Mayan Zinacantan ritual humour, the bad ones, who do not help a man pay for his cargo, and for whom he buys fripperies instead of focussing upon cargo expenditure, are represented by stuffed squirrels, because squirrels seem to be hypocritical - they are always crossing themselves and looking heavenwards (Bricker, 1940. pp. 58, 49-50, 160)! In Zapotec practice, she stands with her husband when he is appointed in a ceremony in the atrio and in front of the town hall after a mayordomía Mass of the outgoing mayordomo.

18. Elsie Clews Parsons states that, in Mitla, each mayordomo appoints a youth as his deputy, and informs the alcaldes of this. His duties are to take the candles to church for a Mass, ensure that they do not burn wastefully, and snuff them out as soon as possible, as well as filling the saint's vases with flowers. However, the majority of these youths ask their mothers to carry out these functions, although, as she observes, it would not do for a mayordomo to appoint a female deputy, as women have no public role in the community (Parsons, pp. 193-4. Fieldwork 1929-1933. p. X).

CHAPTER 8.

THE CIVIL-RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY IN TEOZAPOTLAN-ZAACHILA FROM
1785-1830.

In this chapter I shall use as my principal primary sources the 18th century Libros de Cordillera of the Bishops of Oaxaca, and the parish archives of Teozapotlán/Zaachila from the late 17th century to the early post-Independence period. The bishops used the Libros de Cordillera to advise the parish priests of those Crown and Church policies which affected them, as well as giving their own instructions for the running of the diocese. Thus there are master copies of these books in several archives, and the priests' own copies in the parish archives.

Perhaps the most important decisions to make an impact upon the lives of the parishioners in the individual communities were the records of the episcopal Visitas, which the bishops sometimes penned in the Libros de Cordillera, but more frequently in such parish archives as the Libros de Cofradías. These lengthy epistles followed a strict formula and dealt with everything from the state of the church fabric, to those Zapotec costumbres that were felt to be at variance with, or a threat to, the Church. These included, in the case of the cofradías, the state of their funds and the nature of fiesta celebrations.

In the latter part of Chapter 6 the Cordilleras and other documents were used to show the manner in which the bishops impinged upon the private lives of their flock - sometimes to quite devastating affect - as well as upon their religious costumbres. Now, by focussing upon the records of a specific parish with particular reference to the cofradías, I shall demonstrate that it was not uncommon for a bishop to intervene personally in the mayordomos' stewardship of their sodalities if he considered this

defective. He was not, then, a remote figure as far as they were concerned, but, as will be seen from the late 18th century records of Zaachila, neither were they so overawed by such high office that episcopal rulings and strictures were obeyed unquestioningly - or indeed at all. Again this is in line with the evidence of Chapter 6.

I shall also show how ambivalent the attitude of the bishops was vis-à-vis the cofradías, for, as far as they were concerned, they placed them in both a religious and an economic dilemma, and so, much as they might deplore the cost and nature of their fiestas they defended the sodalities against the exigencies of the civil officials as being vital for the maintenance of worship in the pueblos. There can be no doubt from the formula used by the priests, as the Ordinary's representatives, to exhort the mayordomos at their yearly change of office, that the cofradías were still seen as an instrument for enhancing the cult, but equally the mayordomo's function in so doing was an economic one: that of maintaining the sodality's vital fund of candle wax, as well as increasing its pecuniary funds by the good husbandry of the saint's fields and flocks or other possessions. Thus the requisite Masses could be said, the altars properly maintained and furnished with candles and flowers, and oil provided for the Sacristy lamp; apart from this the cofrades' burials, Masses for their souls, and any other entitlements under the cofradía Patents had to be provided. All this then linked the cofrades to orthodox Church worship, whilst at the same time ensuring that the priest had an adequate income - a requirement which was expressed by the bishops in terms of the continuing poverty of the See owing to insufficient tithe income.

However, although the mayordomos were enjoined to increase their funds during their period in office, this was not always possible. The saint's fields might be affected by drought or disease, and his cattle decimated by epidemics to such an extent that the

funds were no longer viable, as will be seen when this is discussed in detail in Chapter 9. Whatever the cause, in Zaachila there were two occasions, at the beginning and end of the 18th century, when bishops actually extinguished a number of cofradías for this reason.

The cabildo, rather than the priest of particular importance because the cofrades ignored the Ordinary's orders and had their yearly change of mayordomos witnesses the second instance. As a result, the names of a number of these officials, which are usually only available for Zaachila in a few cases when unsatisfactory cabildo elections were referred to the Audiencia, appear as signatories in the Libros de Cofradía for some thirty years. The Libros de Cofradía include the names of all the mayordomos for the same period, as well as those of many of the fiscales and some sacristanes, and so I am able to negate another assumption often made by anthropologists, namely that the ideal model of an achievement ladder accruing prestige and alternating between civil and religious offices existed in the Colonial era. Instead I shall show that there was no apparent hierarchy of service either in serving the cabildo cargos, apart from that of gobernador, or in sponsoring the village saints, although this is the norm in the Valleys today. Finally, I shall suggest, from the Zaachilan evidence, that the Audiencia was more concerned with maintaining cabildo office as the prerogative of the nobility, than is supposed.

Firstly, I shall turn to the bishops' policies regarding the cofradías, using as my principle source the parochial archive of Zaachila, which is particularly rich, as it covers the late 17th, the 18th and the early 19th centuries. It should be said that inevitably it is not complete, but I believe I have sufficient sources to argue convincingly that the ideal model of the civil-religious hierarchy did not exist in the

Colonial era; to consider to what extent the priests might have influenced the model; and to give at least some idea as to the kind of cargo career, which could be followed at that time.

The particular importance of the Bishops' Libros de Cordillera for this study is that they contain, apart from the Bishop's orders to his curas regarding the requirements and policies of the State, the Church, and himself, his recommendations after his Visitas to the pueblos. These, however, were sometimes entered in other parish books. The Visitations were carried out in accordance with the legislation of the Third Regional Mexican Council of 1585, and were intended to ensure that the church building and ornaments were suitable for public worship, that its archives and accounts were correctly maintained, and that the spiritual welfare of the community was properly attended to, and so his comments invariably express his thoughts on the cofradías, and the celebration of fiesta, including his strictures upon any practices seen as pagan or idolatrous. However, those aspects of these that concern the financing of fiesta will be dealt with in Chapter 9.

The earliest entry in the Libros de Cofradía of Zaachila is in that of San Nicolás de Tolentino. It is dated March 4th 1654. But the first Visita recorded in the books is that of Bishop Maldonado to Zaachila in 1726, in the Libro de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. This shows that his ideas and actions were still typically robust some 24 years after his arrival in the See. Having discovered that in each case the assets of the cofradías of Santo Christo, N.S. de Guadalupe, Santa Rosa, San Pablo, N.S. de los Dolores and San Nicolás de Tolentino consisted solely of 3 or 4 arrobas of wax (1 arroba = 25 lbs), he called their respective mayordomos before him, and complained; for it was not merely that they had no funds. Each had sold some arrobas of wax, and

bought zacate (maize stalks, fodder) at 2 reales a sontile (zontle, a load of 400 units, say of stalks or bundles) with the proceeds.

It was not unusual for cofradía possessions, such as altar cloths and canopies, and very occasionally wax, to be hired out for a fee, but they were not sold, so this suggests an urgent need for the zacate, which might have been required for roofing, or huts as a result of earthquake damage. It could also have been used as fodder for any cofradía herds. However, the only remaining book, of the cofradías cited (1), that of San Nicolás de Tolentino, has no record of herds at that time, although it does show that Fray Miguel de Castro had sold 4 arrobas 4 libras of wax for the cofradía that year, and that 5 arrobas 2 libras remained. It is unlikely that the friar would have done such a thing without good cause, and he may have had some plan for incrementing the cofradía funds in this way. Presumably he bishop visited this book and saw the entry, but he was unlikely to have been receptive to any Dominican explanations of the matter.

Whatever transpired, the bishop was adamant. He ordered the money to be returned and used as principal for the Cofradía del Santísimosmo Sacramento, which was dedicated to ensuring the decency of the cult. Its mayordomos were then to carry out their legal duty by planting a field in order to increase their funds from its crop and so, help the sick. The excess funds were to be used by the friars for the altars of the extinguished cofradías, so that they lacked neither cult nor veneration. Only one peso was to be spent on the saint's day, when a Mass paid for from the year's alms was to be sung. No other expenses were to be allowed, nor were the mayordomos to cover any themselves (APZ. Libro de la Cofradía del Ssmo Sacramento). There is no entry

in the Libro de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento for 1727, so there is no record of the sums received from the other cofradías.

The Santísimo Sacramento was probably the most essential cofradía in the eyes of the Church for it covered the cost of wax, oil for the lamp, and Misas de Renovación. Bishop Fray Tomás de Monterroso O.P. (1665-1678) had erected and approved this cofradía in Tlacoahuaya for these reasons, and Maldonado himself had done the same in Achiutla, Mixteca Alta in 1708 (2).

No doubt many other cofradías were similarly approved by the Bishops of Oaxaca, but unless the original book with the erection data was available the priests writing in 1803-1804 had no access to this information, and so were inclined to refer to them as 'hermandades' with no legal evidence of erection. A Patente of the Santísimo Sacramento, probably dating from the 19th century and not referring to the Valleys, shows that its cofrades attended 121 sung Masses each year, as well as all the other pious works for its living and dead cofrades. On death they received a shroud, a pañó (altar cloth), twenty candles, apart from those for the sacrament, and 25 pesos (INAH, Méx. Leg. 66). They paid 2 reales on becoming cofrades, 1 real on Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi, and a real each week. But those 18th and 19th century Libros de Cofradía which I have seen neither state how many cofrades belonged to the different cofradías, nor give any detailed accounts of their alms and contributions.

The Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento is clearly what I have defined as a cofradía proselitista, and would have been erected in every parish, but I would place that of San Nicolás as being secondary in that category, as it is an Augustinian cofradía de sangre of the utmost severity and solemnity, mostly concerned with succouring sick

members, standing vigil over the dead and saying masses for the repose of their souls for a year after death (Sepúlveda, 1976. pp. 6, 21). This was, presumably, why the bishop did not extinguish it, together with the others that lacked funds.

There was one further cofradía at this time, that of the Rosary, but, by long-standing Papal decree, its books were only to be visited by the Dominican Provincial, although Maldonado had illegally charged for examining them during his first decade in the See (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 80). Unfortunately, the first extant book dates only from 1730, when the bishop-elect, Dr. Francisco de Santiago Calderon, made a Visita and noted an improvement in its funds. That year the Virgin's field had yielded 40 fanegas of maize and 55 zontles of zacate, so it may be that the yield had been poor when Maldonado visited the doctrina, and zacate had, for whatever reason, to be bought in the market.

The bishops' ambivalent attitude towards the cofradías, on the one hand deploring the pagan aspects of their patronal fiestas, and their lack of funds, but on the other hand never extinguishing all of those in a given doctrina, and even defending them, when they were threatened by the state, I would attribute partly to their continuing difficulties in balancing the financial needs of the diocese against its income from tithes. Maldonado had attempted to tithe cochineal and cotton, after his 1702 Visitation, arguing that land given over to cultivating the latter and to the nopales on which the cochineal insect lived, inhibited the volume of subsistence crops produced.

The Real Acuerdo advised the Crown that this additional burden upon those paying tribute was indefensible, and an attempt by the cathedral Chapter to tithe cochineal in 1715 was allowed by the Audiencia but quashed by the Crown in 1719 (Hamnett,

1971. pp. 14-16). By the mid-1720s the annual tithe yield was nearly 60,000 pesos, which Borah attributes partly to more efficient collection, but mainly to the greater numbers of Spaniards and mestizos engaged in economic activity, and to the increase in the use of European crops and livestock among the Indians, at a time when they had still not recovered from their collapse in population (Borah, 1949. p. 503), but this required an increase in the number of collectors, and the setting up of the Clavería - the accounts department of the cathedral. There had been a prolonged dispute in the Colony between the Orders and the Bishops regarding the tithing of their property, but this had been solved in 1657, in favour of the latter, as tithes were deemed to be a royal perquisite in the Indies, a right which could not be denied, and which must have increased the amounts in the cathedral Chapter's coffers greatly (Ibid. pp. 505-6). This had resulted, in Oaxaca, in the two canons', who had been appointed as collectors from the 16th century, being invested with additional powers as ecclesiastical and Crown judges with the title of "jueces hacedores" from 1662 (Ibid. p. 505).

The Indian tithes were now being collected directly in the Valleys and the Mixteca, and the practice of farming out the Spanish and mestizo tithes died out in the last quarter of the century. By 1775 the collection procedures involved such complex transactions as inspection, storage, transport, sales for cash or against the issue of short-term promissory notes, and the training of competent Clavería staff. The Valley was the only area divided into small districts. These included Etla, Oaxaca City, Tlacolula, Ocotlán, Miahuatlán, Tlacolula, and Zimatlán by Independence, and this situation then continued until the time of La Reforma some fifty years later (Ibid. pp. 506-9, 516-7). Spaniards and other non-Indians, caciques and community organisations, such as the cofradías, paid 10% on most crops and stock, whilst the

indigenous peoples paid this amount on Cosas de Castilla, which now included all European crops and livestock, as well as on salt. Then, on a sliding scale, they paid 5% on sugar, 4% on honey, molasses and brown sugar, 4% on cheese and butter products but nothing on tobacco. The dues on slaughtered female livestock, which affected the cofradía herds, were 1 peso per head for ganado mayor, as well as 5% for ganado menor slaughtered by the owner, and 10% by the buyer (Ibid. p. 510).

Despite all this, the Church was in financial difficulties throughout the 18th century. In 1732 Bishop Calderón thought the Santísimo Sacramento important in that its presence stimulated the cofrades to plant maize or cotton, which financed the oil and wax of the Sagrario (Canterla & de Tovar, p. 91), and in 1740 a pastoral letter from Bishop Montaña warned of divine punishment, in the form of famines and plagues, for those parishioners who did not pay their tithes. This had to be printed and widely circulated in 1806 (Borah, 1949, p. 511). The need to pay tithes was resented by Spaniards and Indians alike, and the latter were believed to hide their livestock rather than do so, so it is hardly surprising that Montaña's warning had to be printed and widely circulated in 1806.

The possibility of tithing the cochineal trade in full was a temptation to the Church, for the cathedral Chapter had raised this question again in 1773, the cathedral being in need of reconstruction, as the result of an earthquake in 1741, and the fabric fund from the tithes being inadequate for the purpose. This was refused in 1776 (Hamnett, 1971. p. 58). Soon after, Ortigoza was to lament that the low percentage of tithes dedicated to the upkeep of the fabric of the churches only allowed for 15 to 20 days work on them each year in the See. The sales of grana should, he felt, yield more, but they were only sufficient to pay the salaries of the dignitaries (AGI. Méx. Ecles. Leg.

2584). He therefore issued the Edicto Sangriento in 1780, which demanded full payment of the cochineal tithe under pain of excommunication. However, this was refused by the Real Hacienda, as the majority of the growers were Indians, and the few Spanish growers should, they felt, only be liable for a 3 or 4% payment. But in 1806 the Jueces Hacedores attempted to collect the full 10% tithe once again (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 58-60).

The Fiscal of the Real Hacienda also argued that the dignitaries of the cathedral were really very well paid, for the dean received 2,625 pesos, the archdeacon, precentor and treasurer 2,334 pesos each, and the canons 1,757 pesos in 1779. In contrast, the equivalent salaries in Guatemala Cathedral were 150, 130 and 100 pesos (Ibid. p. 59). Then again, it appears to have been excessive, when the needs of the curatos are taken into consideration. The bienes de cofradía were under attack by the Crown by this time, and Ortigoza argued, and it does appear to have been the case, that they were indispensable for church repairs, the provision of ornaments and the light for the Sacrament, and so for this reason they had traditionally been excused the payment of the alcabala, (a tax on sales) and other taxes. The Intendente Juan Navarro declared them profane, illegitimate and unauthorised and wished them to be taxed (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 205-6), but Ortigoza in his Visita report to the King of 1784 pointed out the illogicality of this position, for, if Crown taxes could be levied upon them, they must have been recognised as being legal (AGI. Eccles. 2587).

Nevertheless, true to the spirit of the Fourth Mexican Council, on his Visita to Zaachila in 1777, Bishop Ortigoza extinguished a number of cofradías, which had no funds, including the Santísimo Sacramento, Rosario, Animas, which possibly refers to San Nicolás de Tolentino, and Trinidad, for which there is now no book, both in

the cabecera and Coyotepec. He expressed himself in no uncertain terms, stating that they were not to be called either cofradías or hermandades in future. I question his being able to take this action with regard to the Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario, although there was no resident friar to defend it. He then stipulated that the cura should appoint a "persona de satisfacción" to collect the relevant alms daily, weekly or monthly, so that the Cults of the Santísimo Sacramento, and of the image of N. S. del Rosario, as well as the necessary Masses could continue. At the same time he deplored the state of the church, which, like a number in the Valleys, was in a ruinous condition, and unsuitable for the Cult (APZ. Cordillera 1779-1789). This may have been as a result of the secularisations, although this had only occurred a matter of twenty years before in Zaachila. Work might have been due at that time, but tremors and earthquakes often take their toll in this region. This was the case with the church of nearby Ayoquezco, Zimatlán, which was badly damaged in the tremor of 1787 (ACG. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1802. Visita of 1790).

Church repairs were a constant problem in this very seismic zone. At this time there were a number of tremors and earthquakes so serious that the population left the city and lived in tents and zacate huts. This was the case in 1682, 1696, when the cathedral was left in ruins, and presumably rebuilt before being destroyed in 1741, 1702 and 1727. Then in 1787, when the earthquakes known as San Sixto occurred, the most dreadful one was on March 28th, when there was also a massive tidal wave on the Pacific coast, but there were daily tremors throughout the year. It was the custom after serious quakes to take the patroness, the Virgen de la Soledad, through the streets of Antequera in procession, but the processions themselves were sometimes caught by further severe tremors and had to return Her to Her basilica. Padre Gay, in recounting these misfortunes, mostly dwells on the destruction and damage to the city

churches, but Oaxaca was cochineal-rich at this time and the churches were rebuilt and new monasteries and convents constructed, although they must sometimes have been destroyed more than once during building and reconstruction (Gay, pp. 385, 389-90, 426-7).

However, the situation in the doctrinas was quite another matter. The Dominicans had had to give grants for the rebuilding of churches and conventos after the early 18th century earthquakes, but when the doctrinas were secularised this became the liability of the Bishopric, especially after the Ordenanza de Intendantes of 1786 stipulated that the fabric fund, obtained from the tithes, should be used for the upkeep of the parish churches, as well as the cathedral. It also decreed that royal officials should work with the jueces hacedores, but the bishops were able to have this requirement suspended in 1788 (Gay, p. 385. Borah, 1949, pp. 514-5).

The terrible situations that could arise, and the importance of cofradía funds in alleviating them, are shown in the curas' replies to Bishop Bergoza's Cuestionario of 1802. A very serious earthquake which occurred at midnight on October 5th 1801, affected the city, closed the roads with landslides and seriously damaged or destroyed many churches and casas curatales, (the conventos in the case of the ex-doctrinas), in the Miahuatlán region, including every one in the cabeceras and sujetos of Miahuatlan and San Juan Ozolotepec. It also affected Nochixtlán, in the Mixteca Alta, where the cacique priest, the Licenciado Matías José Feria, had rebuilt part of the casa curatal at his own expense, Ecatepec, in the Chantal region of Nevada, where an entire pueblo and four churches had been destroyed and three others badly damaged, and the Sierra Zapoteca (AGEO. Cuestionario. I. pp. 121, 125, 131, 182-3, 148. II. 363-4, 383). The Valley pueblos for which there are replies were not affected,

but the cura of Tlacoachahuaya commented that although the barrio bajo experienced the same tremors as the city, the barrio alto, where the beautiful church is situated, was not affected (Ibid. II. 285). The church in the Chocho/Mixteca pueblo of Tamazulapam, was partly ruined in 1803 (Ibid. II. 257).

After such damage services were held in specially built huts, but it was essential for a pueblo to have properly constructed and adorned churches, and priest after priest refers to the Caja de Cofradía as a source for the building and maintenance of his cabecera and sujeto churches in the replies to the Bergoza Cuestionario. Excess funds were used for the church fabric and to buy and repair chalices and other sacred vases and ornaments, all of which were inspected by the bishops on their Visitations (Ibid. I. pp. 5, 114, 145, 173, II. 286). But, when, as in Itundujia, Mixteca Alta, all the indigenous population of a curato were very poor, the churches and contents were apt to be in what their priests described as a "deplorable" state (Ibid. I. p. 199).

However, when, as was often the case, there were cofradía herds, some livestock were sold to help with the upkeep, although the herds themselves needed a considerable outlay, as the priests of Aciculae, where the cabecera mayordomos managed 433 goats and 114 cattle, and Nochitlán explained. These included the food, wages, tribute and equipment of the herdsmen, and shepherds, who might be as many as four, salt for the animals, the payment of the tithes on their yearly increase, and, by that time also, the alcabala tax on any sales (Ibid. II. pp. 299-300, I. 144-5, II. 301, 386-7). In the pueblo of Ytnuyete, a sujeto of Achiutla, one of whose three sodalities had a herd of 932 goats and paid rent for the land they grazed on, the cura was animating his flock to continue building their first church by offering to pay a third of all their tribute (Ibid. pp. 300-301). In another of his sujetos, Nocuyñe, this priest,

Padre Castellanos, had had a "milpa de la obra" cultivated annually, and its harvest sold by the cacique, who also sold the cofradía livestock, so that the sums raised could be used to complete the construction of its first church (Ibid. pp. 302, 303). In all these cases, of course, this was what remained after covering the cost of the monthly masses of each of the cofradías involved, assuming that all their herds ran together, as well as the vital candle wax for their Masses, and fiestas (Ibid. p. 197), for, as the cura of Loxicha, in the Sierra Zapoteca observed, the real importance of the sodalities was that they should ensure the greater decency of the divine cult (Ibid. p. 173).

These views echo those of Bishop Don Joseph Gregorio de Ortigoza in his report to the King in 1784 on the Visitation he carried out in accordance with a Real Cédula of 1776. He accepted that many cofradías had been erected without obtaining royal permission, but added that it was easy to understand why, for without them the churches in the pueblos would entirely lack endowments for repairs, wax, the lamp for the Holy Sacrament, and sacred vessels for the Sacrifice of the Mass, moreover, a large part of the priests' stipends consisted of the fees for the cofradía Masses and festivals, and without them many parishes would either have to close, or celebrate the mysteries improperly. He then demonstrated his ambivalence on the subject by stating that, although "mil desordenes" flowed from the cofradías they were a necessary evil that could be contained by the bishop and priests, with the assistance of the Real Jurisdicción (AGI. Méx. Ecles. leg. 2587).

The case of Zaachila demonstrates particularly clearly both the dilemma of the Church and the priests and the burden upon the faithful. The repair of its church was the subject of litigation against the priest by members of the community, because of

its cost and the amount of work entailed. They contended that 3,000 pesos had had to be paid from the Caja de Comunidad for the purchase of beams, and the wages of the bricklayers and carpenters. This apart, the priest wished each married tributary, of whom there were 500 at that time, to pay 4 reales towards the purchase of an organ, as well as 3 reales towards a bell, whilst a bell clapper, silver Cross, candlestick, and surplice had also been bought. The priest named certain of the signatories as troublemakers. These were principales from the cabecera, of whom only two had served in the cabildo, according to the records for 1781, 1783, and 1785-1789: the serving scribe, and Jacinto García who had been the scribe in 1787. But, the others did serve civil and/or religious cargos later, as will be shown on page 385.

García had been arrested for his part in the disturbances caused by these problems, but no others had, although this had been suggested. The cura stated that lessons for two church trumpeters had been paid for, but as there was no organ and one was being sold for 325 pesos, he had suggested that the 4 reales should be paid towards it in the form of Church alms over four weeks, and he would pay the rest. That is, he had hoped to raise 250 pesos in this way. The Intendente Corregidor ruled that the priest had properly accounted for the 3,000 pesos, and that the arrangements for the organ payments showed that, in this case, they had not been forced upon the community, although it must be understood by the clergy that no priest could enforce such payments upon his parishioners. As to the other purchases, surplices had been a necessity for the different sacraments, and he had paid 8 pesos of the 13 pesos that three had cost. The Cross and large candlestick had been in such a bad condition that they had had to be repaired, and the previous priest had had to ring the bell with a stone, there being no clapper. This suggests that the bell had had to be recast rather than newly founded (AGEO. Real Intendencia II, Leg. 20, exp. 16).

According to the Relación de los Meritos de Bachiller Don Joseph Domingo de Cortobarría y Aquero (referred to as Licenciado in the above documents!), dated 1792, he was Antequeran, had been ordained in 1772, acted as Bishop Alvarez de Abreu's chaplain, and held a number of Valley benefices before becoming the priest of Zaachila in 1785. He had had no complaints from the Indians during this time. He had found the church of Zaachila in a deplorable state, and had rebuilt it at the cost of the King and himself, so that it was one of the best in the Valley by 1792, and "sufficiently adorned". He had also kept a maestro de escuela for the children, with some help, and by "overcoming the resistance of the faithful." He was recommended as cathedral precentor, but does not appear to have been a canon or dignitary during the 18th century (AGI. Méx, Ecles. 2582. Canterla & de Tovar pp. 257-262). As regards the school, as was explained in Chapter 6, in small pueblos the sacristán was expected to teach the primary pupils, but in other cases the community was expected to pay a teacher's salary (AGI. Méx. Ecles. 2587). Cortobarría had explained this requirement to the Zaachileños from the pulpit to little effect (AGEO. Real Intendencia II, Leg. 20, exp. 16).

This case also highlights the problems encountered by priests whose stipends were not covered by the bishopric's tithes. This cura was reasonably well-educated, and so, benefited, but he had not been able to collect the obvenciones, or limosnas sinodales, which he was legally entitled to do. Unfortunately, the documents do not state what this would have amounted to in Zaachila (3). This meant, however, that he was dependent upon his aranceles, his parish fees, for Masses and life crises sacraments. These would have been variable, and could have been considerable had there been a number of flourishing cofradías in a pueblo, but the curas were not

supposed to charge their indigenous parishioners for their other services. In Guatemala they were, in fact, charged a lower fee than the Spaniards (Van Oss, pp. 92-3), but in his letter to the King dated 1784 Alonso de Ortigoza argued that the castas, who included mestizos and mulatos, should be treated in the same way as the Indians; that is, they should pay obvenciones, which they had not done before, and which posed a problem in the coastal doctrinas where they were in the majority, but not aranceles. The aranceles paid in Oaxaca by the Spaniards were still those arranged by Maldonado, so they must have varied as between Sees (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 204-5).

Ortigoza's second Visita to Zaachila took place in 1789, when he was pleased to find the church much improved, so that, as he commented, "the mysteries could be celebrated with decency and majesty." It showed great devotion, although the tabernacle was in a bad state. However, the cofradías were another matter. The fact that he had extinguished three of them had been disregarded

"por los caprichos, y observancia de antigüidades a que son tan adictos los Indios, han continuado en su antiguo methodo, celebrando sus fiestas y missas" (APZ. Libro de Cordillera 1779-1789).

In the case of the Dominican friar at the beginning of the century, it was hardly surprising, given the antagonism between the Bishop and the Province, that he should have allowed certain cofradías to continue their celebrations, but in this case, it can only be assumed that the mayordomos, whilst asking the cabildo rather than the priest to witness the yearly exchange of mayordomos, had been able to persuade the cofrades to give the alms for Masses to them, rather than the priest's appointee, and, as the Bishop had ordered the Masses to continue, the cura had no choice but to

accept payment from them. The Bishop in his turn was forced to accept the matter philosophically.

"Y como quiera", states the Visitation record, "que en ello no hay perjuicio grave y que por otra parte conviene contemporizar con ellos en todo lo que positivamente no es malo, con el vano objeto de evitar dísonos con los Parrochos y Ministros: su Señoría Illma permitía y permitió que sigan en el manejo de estas tres debociones, y en la celebración de sus fiestas y misas en la misma forma que hasta aqui,..." (Ibid.)

But he did not condone expenditure on fiesta celebrations. If this was excessive, he declared, it was to be punished with excommunication, and fiestas were to be celebrated without expenditure on gunpowder and other profanities (APE. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1804. Visita of 1778). He was opposed to men and women dancing together, and prohibited a number of dances as being very sinful (ACG. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1802. Entry of 1780), but these will be considered in Chapter 11.

Another cofradía, that of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción de Juquila, had been left unscathed before, and the bishop also ordered that it should continue to celebrate its fiesta and Saturday said Masses, and keep its house and lands in good order, whilst the alms it collected weekly were to be handed to the priest, so that he could keep its accounts in an orderly manner (4). This cofradía, had been canonically erected only three years before Ortigoza's first Visita, in accordance with the will of Nicolasa Vázquez, a native of the parish. It was exceedingly well endowed with 15 milpa, of varied types and sizes, which could be sown with an estimated 37 1/2 almudes of maize according to an expert who had assessed the plots at the request of the priest. Apart from this, according to the Will, this Virgin also owned some houses in the cabecera, which had rooms used as shops or kitchens, and

suggests that they were the same type of general stores and economic restaurants that are found in the Valley pueblos today. However, there were twenty-one Spanish families in the community and the first mayordomos were to be the Spaniards, Don Joseph Gil de Agama and Juan Manuel Pardo, whom the cura ordered to make certain that none of the deceased's kin entered the milpa to the prejudice of the cofradía. Whatever the problems Nicolasa Vázquez caused her family by the erection of this cofradía, its aims were impeccable: to increase the Cult and devotion to the Virgin for the spiritual and temporal good of the "naturales" of the parish, and to help souls in Purgatory. All the natives, which would have included Spaniards and castas, according to the 1767 Padrón (AGI. Méx. 2589, exp. 37, fol. 99-121), were to be cofrades, but without making any contribution whatsoever, apart from voluntary alms.

But although the bishop countenanced the continuation of the extinguished cofradías, he evidently did not re-erect them, as their yearly changes of mayordomos continued to be witnessed by the cabildo, as did those of another sodality erected in 1791: San Antonio de Padua. This is particularly interesting, as it was referred to from the first as a mayordomía, a term which only came into general use with regard to the sodalities, from the evidence of the late 19th century Libros de Cofradía of Zaachila, the Liberal Reform of Juárez. In this case, however, it appears to have been used because the bishop would not authorise it, and, strangely, the Spaniard Jossé (sic) Angel Gil de Agama appears to have instigated its foundation. There is no information as to its funds, but Gil de Agama donated a statue of the saint to it, a retablo was constructed at a cost of 30 pesos, and such essentials as silver candlesticks were purchased for a further 11 pesos. Gil de Agama gave 32 pesos towards this, and "Bernardo" 6 pesos. Bernardo Joachim was the gobernador at this time. The initial entry states that the first mayordomos were elected with the agreement of all as well as

the "co(...)", (? cacique) and principales. The rest of its accounts refer only to the amount of wax given to the incoming mayordomo for the year.

Ortigoza's successor, Bishop Omaña y Sotomayor (1793-1797), treated the existing cofradías more circumspectly. On his 1798 Visita to Ayoquezco, Zimatlán, he ordered that the priest should preside at the election of the mayordomos, and that he should authorise the appointment of men of good character and conduct, who would work to increase their funds and not include superfluous expenses in their accounts. Above all they were to co-operate in helping and fomenting the greater cult and the veneration of the Divine (ACG. Cordilleras. 1776-1802). This pragmatic approach is also evident in his stipulations for the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora which he erected and authorised in the Chichahuaxtla sujeto of Sta. María Yucunicoco, Mixteca Alta, in 1794 during his Visita. Its cofrades were to attend a spoken Mass, on the 8th of each month, to the honour and glory of the Virgin, and for the benefit of its living and dead members. Eight pesos from its principal of thirty were to be used for the priest's fees, whilst the rest were to be used for wax and the other expenses of the cult, "prohibiendo todo exceso." There was a herd of 482 goats, and the profit from the sale of their products and yield was to be employed in maintaining the church fabric (AGEO. Cuestionario, I. p. 187). They would have paid tithes on the yearly production of kids.

In his Visita to Etlá in 1804, Bishop Bergoza (1800-1812) praised the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario as one of the most pleasing to the Virgin, and one which administered to the spiritual needs of its cofrades. He therefore asked the cura to establish it not only in the cabecera but in all its sujetos as well, so that its cofrades could process through the streets praying and singing the Rosary. It is interesting that he, like the Dominicans, saw this cofradía as a proselytising instrument. But, he too

alluded to the lack of a fabric fund for the parishes, which was, of course, particularly disturbing after the 1801 earthquake, and to the role of the cofradías in this regard. In his Visitas to Etla and San Pedro Tenula, in 1803 and 1804, he stated categorically that their bienes were the only parish funds, which regularly covered the cost of wax, the repair of ornaments and sacred vessels, and other expenses and offerings. It was therefore vital that the mayordomos kept their accounts clearly and did not indulge in unnecessary expenses even if they paid for them themselves. In San Pedro two cofradías had been extinguished, and so the priest was to make sure that their fiestas were not continued. He was also to endeavour to obtain their funds, so that he could use them on the most urgent needs of their respective churches, but without making further calls on the debtors (BMG. Vol. 68. Cordillera 1791-1811. APE. Cordilleras 1776-1804). Not surprisingly, several years later he referred to defrauding the Church of tithes as one of the greatest sins (BMG. Ibid. p. 72).

In their paper "Cofradías and cargos: an historical perspective on the Mesoamerican civil-religious hierarchies.", Chance and Taylor reviewed the literature on the hierarchies and their colonial antecedents, and, using their own research, made certain assumptions, and raised a number of questions, which will now be addressed, regarding the existence of a civil-religious hierarchy in the colonial period.

Here it should be stated that a neat exchange between the two groups would have been impossible then, because a mayordomo might be in office for as many as six years at a time (AGEO, Obispado. Leg. 18. exp. 17, 18). In San Pedro, Etla one mayordomo of the Santísimo Sacramento served for four years, and four for two years consecutively between 1817 and 1830, and two years continuous service were not uncommon. This may have been because no-one else would serve, or because of

the influence of the priest when a man was particularly efficient, although in a 19th century case in Etla, it was for precisely the opposite reason, and the cofradía ended up with no wax at all at the end of his second term (APE. Libro de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento 836, 1837). This demonstrates also that although a mayordomo might have paid towards some fiesta expenses, there was no question of his expecting, or being expected to, spend large sums, as is the case today, when he would spend some years recouping his debts, and acquiring credit through his guelaguetza prestations before he could sponsor another saint. However, there are references to indebtedness which will be dealt with in the following chapter, and which appear to be the result of poor management or poor harvests.

Another factor, which demonstrates that there was no civil-religious achievement ladder to climb at that time was the existence of mayordomas, who could never have served civil cargos. The accounts, referred to on page 346, of the cabecera of Santiago Huaxoltipaque, Mixteca from 1709 to 1718 (AGEO. Obispado, Leg 18, exp. 17, 18), and of the Cofradía del Rosario, Santo Domingo, Etla, barrio de abajo, newly erected with two mayordomas in 1836, and with mayordomas also in 1852 and 1854 (APE), suggests that, although this may only have occurred in isolated instances and small communities, the ideal model could not have existed before the Juárez Reform.

The priest who completed the entry for 1718 in the fragment of the Santiago Huaxoltipaque Libro de Cofradía referred to above, Bachiller Andrés Miguel Ramos, stated that the mayordomos selected were Ambrosio García and his wife Anna López, and Gabriel de Velasco and his wife Pasquala Rojas. Usually, the records only state the names of the two mayordomos elected for the year, but in this entry their wives emerge from their colonial anonymity, and appear as persons of some standing.

However, if the generality of colonial priests thought them of little consequence, it must be admitted that their role is as little considered today outside their communities (5).

The way in which the mayordomos were elected gives some indication as to the influence of the priest, and several replies to the Bergoza Cuestionario show that there was a slight variation in the manner of doing so: in Mixtec Tejupan the pueblo elected them, and the priest approved their choice; in Loxicha, in the Sierra Zapoteca, the Repúblicas in the different pueblos elected them annually; whilst in Santa Cruz Mixtepec, Valles, where the sodalities were "verdaderas devociones que los indios han creado" the común and the República chose them annually, and the priest approved them (AGEO. Cuestionario. pp. 264, 173, 401). These entries suggest that the priests might have defined the República as the cabildo, rather than the cabildo and the community. None of them refer to the presence of the royal justices, although Bishop Bergoza stated in his 1804 Visita to Etna that new mayordomos should be elected annually with their agreement, and in their presence, by order of the King (APE. Libro de Cartas Cordilleras 1776-1804).

Apart from this, a document in the State Archive suggests that the principales played a significant role in their choice, for it concerns the murder case referred to on page 348, in which the victim became involved in a fight, whilst on his way to visit the principales of the barrio, in order "to see if they would make him mayordomo" (AGEO. Real Intendencia. II. Leg. 14, exp. 29. 1812), presumably of a cofradía. I suggest that the priest was highly unlikely to disagree with the decision of either the cabildo officials, or of the community as a whole, but there is some evidence that it was due to his influence that a man sometimes held office for more than one year, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The modern cargo holder is expected to be acceptable to the community, that is to uphold its norms, which might not be those acceptable to the priest, and there is evidence that this was the case in Colonial times. The litigation brought by certain cabecera principales in Zaachila against the priest in 1789 regarding the repair of the church and collection of his obvenciones, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, was said by him to be, and accepted by the Intendente Corregidor as being, the work of troublemakers. These were Lorenzo de Nava, gobernador in 1790, Juan Pacheco, escribano in 1792 and Mayordomo del Rosario in 1798, Jacinto Garcia, Mayordomo del Rosario in 1786, Juan de Aguilar, presumably Juan Martín de Aguilar, Mayordomo de San Nicolás in 1788 and del Rosario in 1793, and the escribano. Only one, Martín Pérez, apparently held no cargo, but of the other twelve litigants only two appear to have held civil office (6); Agustín López as gobernador in 1799 and 1810, and Manuel Martín as alcalde in 1800 and 1801 (AGEO. Real Intendencia II, Leg. 20, exp. 16. APZ. Libros de Cofradía).

A modern mayordomo will serve because he has a devotion to a particular saint, and there is no doubt that, despite the bishops' comments on paganism, many Colonial Indians were very devout, and few Zapotecs or Mixtecs served as priests (7). Regarding this, I would suggest that the cargo of fiscal or, if length of service is taken into consideration, sacristán - at least 10 years in the case of Crispin Aguilar in Zaachila - was that most likely to fulfil a religious vocation; that of mayordomo to a saint would also have fallen into this category, but more independently of the Church, when the nature of fiesta celebrations is taken into account. A mayordomo normally served for a year, but, during his time in office, he was placating the supernaturals on behalf of the community, as the pre-Hispanic temple priests and the cacique had

done. It is hardly surprising, then, that the cacique family, de Velasco, served as mayordomos throughout the 18th century as follows:

TABLE 8.1.

The Cacique Mayordomos.

San Nicolás de Tolentino: 1722 Don Miguel de Velasco.

Santísimo Sacramento: 1742 Don Juan. 1744 Don Antonio. 1755 Don Mario.

1778 Don Juan.

N.S. del Rosario: 1788 Don Antonio de Velasco.

It appears too that certain Zaachileñas served purely religious cargos (Table 8. 3. p. 394).

Chance and Taylor believe that cofradías were rare in the 16th century, an argument that has been refuted at length in Chapter 2, but that some in Oaxaca were founded in the 17th century, whilst many were erected following the secularisation of the Dominican doctrinas (Chance & Taylor, p. 8). It might be felt that the Parochial Archive of Zaachila substantiates this view, but it is doubtful on several counts. Unfortunately, when continuation Libros de Cofradía are begun, they give no information as to the history of the cofradía, or its possessions, but when a new cofradía is erected, the data given about the intentions of those initiating it, as well as its possessions are given in some detail. So, although the first entry in the Libro de Cofradía de San Nicolás de Tolentino is dated 1654, the lack of this information shows that it is clearly a continuation of an earlier book, and the evidence of the extant Zaachila books shows that they can cover a considerable time span. That of San Nicolás, for example, is dated from 1664 to 1798, but the initial entry was made in 1654.

The Libro de la Cofradía del Rosario is dated 1716-1801, but some loose pages show that it had had to be re-erected in 1630, because the mayordomos had lost the book six years before, and with it, what was most important, the indulgences and graces conceded to its cofrades - probably the entire community. The cura of Achiutla decided that the same had occurred in respect of this cofradía, in his cabecera, as the first book he had was dated 1615 but lacked details of its erection (AGEO. Cuestionario. II. pp. 299-300). It may be that the Provincial removed completed books when he visited them yearly, but carelessness is equally possible. Certainly, as was stated on page 144, the evidence of Dominican historians shows that this cofradía was first erected by Fray Tomás de San Juan, known as Fray Tomás del Rosario, in 1538, and appears to have spread throughout the Dominican doctrinas soon after, whilst Fray Jordán de Santa Catalina, another Dominican more than usually devoted to the Rosary was active in Villa Alta in 1558 (Gay, p. 212), and Burgoa refers to his extending the indulgences of the cofradía to a penitent there (Burgoa, 1934, I. p. 124). The books of this cofradía were visited annually by the Provincial.

It is unfortunate that Bishop Maldonado removed the books of the cofradías he extinguished, but we at least have the evidence of his Visita that in 1726 there were eight cofradías in Zaachila, and it is probable that these had been erected some, or many, years before. There is further evidence as to the proliferation of cofradías in the Dominican doctrinas for, in 1708, a Memorial from the Procurador General of the Dominicans to the Council of the Indies stated that the doctrina churches had many ornaments and numerous, prosperous cofradías, and this is borne out by the inventories of the vessels and images in the ten churches secularised at that time,

although the small pueblo of Santo Tomás Jalieza, and that of Quiechapa are exceptions (Canterla & de Tovar, pp. 77, 43-49).

Chance and Taylor suggest that the hierarchical arrangement of the cabildo offices "conferred differential power and prestige" on the office holders (Chance & Taylor, p. 15), and they tie this in, in the Rincón, with the Alcaldes Mayores' use of the high-ranking civil cargo holders to administer the repartimiento de efectos in cochineal dyestuff and cotton cloth. This, believe Chance and Taylor, satisfied their own needs, whilst confirming the status of the impoverished nobility as regidores, alcaldes and gobernadores and so strengthening the civil cargo system. They also argue that in the 18th century there were two types of principal: principales de nacimiento and also principales de oficio, who had achieved this status by serving as regidores in the civil cargo system (Ibid. pp. 15, 16). But, it is hard to determine whether this was also the case in Zaachila.

The Libros de Casamiento (APZ), which contain the most complete information about the vecinos of Zaachila, only occasionally identify the head of the de Velasco family as the cacique; at other times he is referred to as "indio y vecino". In the Padrón of 1767 (AGI. Méx. 2589. Exp. 37. fols. 99-121) it is only he who is given the honorific title "Don". No other principales are identified in either the books or the documents. The "Rey de los Zapotecos", as has been stated, was baptised as Don Juan Cortés in 1521, but this surname does not appear among those of the 18th century cargo holders, perhaps the family were still as impoverished as Burgoa, who did not name them, stated they were in the 17th century (Burgoa, 1934. I. p. 414). However, the name Cortés appears three times in the Padrón of 1767, in respect of Pasqual Cortés aged forty-six with three young children, Pasqual Cortés with a

daughter of fifteen, and Pasqual Cortés with a daughter of twenty-five. It is impossible to tell their relationship to each other, but they might be cousins, or even brothers, as, in a number of cases in the Padrón two brothers, or sisters have the same Christian name. This may have been because one child was seriously ill, when another was born.

Documents in the Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Indios, for the late 16th and early 17th centuries, also refer to Don Domingo de la Cruz (Vol. 3, exp.197), Don Juan Vázquez (Vol 3, exp.12), Don Gaspar de Arellano (Vol 4, exp. 504), Don Melchor de Avendaño (Vol. 4, exp. 502) and Don Domingo de la Trinidad (Vol. 7, exp.7) as caciques, who were seeking permission to ride horses or requiring confirmation that they would still receive servicios de indios. Some of these may have been the caciques of sujetos or barrios. At that time also cabildo office was held by Don Juan Vázquez (Vol. 3, exp.12. Vol 4, esp. 886), who was an alguacil in 1590. All these surnames appear as those of mayordomos or cabildo officials in the 18th century (8).

I have compiled lists of the mayordomos del Rosario from 1715 to 1801, San Nicolás de Tolentino from 1654 to 1798, and the Santísimo Sacramento from 1721 to 1794 from the relevant Libros de Cofradía, and later from that of San Antonio de Padua from 1791 to 1830, but not from those of Nuestra. Señora de la Limpia Concepción de Juquila, who were Spaniards. This was possibly because the bishop had more confidence in them after extinguishing the other cofradías, and it may be why the Mayordomía of San Antonio de Padua was erected with its Indian mayordomos, albeit through the good offices of a Spaniard. The fiscales are listed as wedding witnesses from 1727 to 1815, with a gap in the 1790s in the Libros de Casamiento,

and a few sacristanes also acted as witnesses. However, records of cabildo officials are sparse before the 1780s, and mostly derived from official documents regarding unsatisfactory elections (9).

However, within the limits of the above, a certain amount of information is available about the de Velasco family. In 1590 documents in the Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Indios, identified the Cacique in direct line (por via recta) as Don Luis de Velasco, then gobernador (AGN. Indios. Vol. 3. Exp. 17. Vol 4. Exp. 459, & 500). According to the Libro de la Cofradía del Rosario the cacique was gobernador in 1630 when the Cofradía del Rosario was re-erected, and also in 1654, 1700 and 1718 (Ibid. Vol. 34. Exp. 19. Vol. 43. Exp. 148). According to Chance and Taylor, only one Valley cacique held the position after 1725. Don Miguel de Velasco was the gobernador of Zaachila in 1761, so they may be referring to him (AGN. Indios. Vol. 59. Exp. 217, fol. 227). But, the lists of officials from 1781 to 1782 show that his descendants only held positions as escribano in 1799 and regidor in 1811. The family appear to have had a devotion to the Santísimo Sacramento, as caciques were its mayordomos on four occasions (see Table 8.1).

Another family referred to as caciques in early 18th century documents are de la Cruz y Juárez, and in 1590, documents show that Domingo de la Cruz was a principal suitable to act as gobernador (Ibid. Vol. 3. Exp. 154). It is, unfortunately, very unusual for both surnames to be recorded in any document, which adds to the difficulties of tracing the kinship ties between the cargo holders with any certainty. In 1735 it was ordered that Don Matthias de la Cruz y Juárez be given the privileges accorded to an Indio principal, and in 1743 he and his brothers are described as

caciques cantores (Ibid. Vol. 54. Exp. 113. fol. 199. Vol. 55. Exp. 185. fol. 144).

There is some evidence that the cargo of maestro de capilla was inherited in this

TABLE 8.2.
CIVIL CARGO CAREERS.

CABILDO OFFICIALS WHO SERVED CIVIL CARGOS ONLY.

Lorenzo de Naba:
Alcalde 1785. Gobernador 1790.
Mariano Peralta:
Regidor 1801. Escribano 1804. Alcalde 1808.
Joseph Mendés:
Alcalde 1803. Gobernador 1812 & 1822.
José Marciano Jiménez:
Alcalde 1804. Escribano 1806.
Carlos Pacheco:
Regidor 1805. Alcalde 1814 & 1820.
Lucas Méndez:
Gobernador 1806. 1807.
José Ramírez:
Regidor 1808. Escribano 1813. Regidor 1815.
Pedro Martínez:
Alcalde 1817. Regidor 1821. Escribano 1825 & 1828.
Domingo Torres (de la Torre):
Escribano 1818. Gobernador 1823.

CABILDO OFFICIALS WHO WERE ALSO MAYORDOMOS.

Pasqual Hernández:
Regidor 1792. Alcalde 1795. (Santísimo Sacramento 1793).
Pedro Manuel:
Alcalde 1794. Gobernador 1803. (San Nicolás 1786).
Lucas Méndez:
Regidor 1796. Gobernador 1801. (Santísimo Sacramento. 1787).
Augustín López:
Gobernador 1799 & 1810. (Santísimo Sacramento 1796).
Domingo de Aguilar:
Gobernador 1800 & 1805. (Santísimo Sacramento 1790. Rosario 1797).

- a) The names of all the regidores are not available, except on certain documents for the years 1808-1810, 1818-1821, 1823, and 1825-1829. In these cases from one to four further names are given.
- b) It will be noted that, whilst there are no instances of the office of gobernador being followed by a lesser cargo, or of a regidor later becoming an alcalde, there is no other discernible pattern of civil cargo holding in Zaachila.

Source: Libros de Cofradía. APZ.

family, for a Don Pasqual was maestro in 1706 (Ibid. Vol. 36. Exp. 351. fol. 312); and in 1743 Don Matthias refers to his father, Don Pasqual, as having been maestro, alcalde and regidor. A Pascual de la Cruz was a mayordomo of the cofradías of el Rosario in 1716 and of San Nicolás in 1718. Don Matthias stated in 1743 that his brother Bartolomé Juárez was the maestro de capilla. He may have used his second surname to distinguish himself from the gobernador, Bartolomé de la Cruz, who was trying to deprive the brothers of their privileges as principales (Ibid. Vol. 55. Exp. 185. fol. 144). This gobernador had been given office because the vocales were unable to reach an agreement during the election, and the priest had intervened in his favour. This was nullified in 1744 (Ibid. Vol. 55. Exp. 230. fol. 203), and may not have been an unusual procedure, for, in 1715, the two alcaldes had been deprived of their varas (staffs of office), because they were not "inteligente en castellano" (Ibid. Vol. 22. Exp. 116. fol. 166).

There were 32 voters, or vocales, in Zaachila (AGN. Indios. Vol 43. Exp. 159. fol. 234.) in 1719, which suggests that there were 32 principales, but, as I have stated, only a few of their names can be verified from archival evidence. Chance and Taylor state that, as the Rincón (Villa Alta) pueblos were small, everyone could participate in the civil cargo hierarchy, so that the number of principales increased by the ascription

of those who had completed the cargo of regidor, that is became principales de oficio (Chance & Taylor, pp. 15-16), but this appears not to have been the case in Zaachila. In 1741 the first regidor, Joseph de Aguilar, was removed from office because he was a macehual. This the Audiencia substantiated from the fact that his father had held no cargo, and so, ordered that he be replaced by Don Juan Luis (AGN. Indios. Vol. 55. Exp. 32. fol. 17). Then in 1772, Bartolomé Juárez was declared to have no right to call himself an indio principal, and so was only to serve the offices suitable for indios inferiores, which would have included topil civil, topil de la iglesia, and tequitlato. This is confirmed by a document issued in 1781 in which Felipe Méndez of San Pedro Apostol stated that although he was a principal, had been a regidor, juez de la obra de la iglesia, "administrador del culto del Señor Crucificado, que solo sirven los principales", and fiscal, one of his sons had been made topile de las casas curatales, and the other topile del Alcalde del Barrio Grande, which cargos were only served by plebeians. He furnished a document dated in Mexico in 1779 substantiating his claim. This stated that, in view of the status of himself and his sons, should they serve cargos in the República de Indios they should be those "distinguidos y decorosos en que se emplean los Caciques ..." (10).

In Coyotepec in 1745, Sebastián de Dios Zárate was confirmed by the Audiencia as gobernador "no obstante no ser cacique" (AGN. Indios. 55, 363). However, if the cargo of mayordomo was sometimes served by women, it may have been open to macehuals as well, and this would account for the fact that 56 surnames of mayordomos are listed, whereas there were only 32 vocales in the community. In this regard Rodolfo Pastor comments that whilst it was not juridically essential for the mayordomos to be nobles, it was usual for

"personas de medios económicos que pudieron responder por los bienes del Santo; los principales eran consecuentemente los candidatos más idóneos." Pastor, 1987, p. 251).

He goes on to say that a rich macehual who had been a successful mayordomo could serve a cabildo cargo as a result. He argues that this came about through the barrio affinity of cofradía service, but gives no source for these remarks (Ibid. p. 251). His research refers to the Mixteca Alta with its smaller pueblos, and the fact that a female could be a mayordoma of a barrio of a sujeto appears to bear this out.

The table of certain civil cargo careers deduced from the names of the cabildo officials of Zaachila, who witnessed the changes of mayordomos from 1781 to 1829 (Table 8.2) shows that the gobernador was, naturally, head of the hierarchy, and no man became a regidor after serving the higher cargo of alcalde, but otherwise it will be observed that there appears to have been no pattern of cargos that had to be served in a hierarchical sequence, which again suggests a variation in practice in Villa Alta, where Chance and Taylor found that the cargos were served "in ascending order", that is regidor, alcalde, gobernador (Chance & Taylor, p. 15). But I suggest that this would have been essential, in the Rincón Zapotec Communities, where a macehual became a principal de oficio after serving as regidor. The yearly change of the cargo of escribano in Zaachila shows that there were more literate men available at that time, than earlier in this century. This is possibly because, like the cacique family of de la Cruz y Juárez, they had been church singers, and there were also the Castilian schools, which the bishops thought so important. It was only in the 1820s that Pablo Martínez served the cargo three times and Pedro Martínez twice.

The identification of the cargos served by particular families by using the 1776 Padrón, was only possible in a few cases. Some sons of the mayordomos would obviously have been born after 1776, but any married sons living in the solar (house plot) in an extended family, or as a nuclear family unit elsewhere, would have been listed separately, and cannot be identified in the absence of their second surnames. The same surnames recur and recur, but in the absence of second surnames and barrios or sujetos of residence, it is not possible to trace precise lineages or kinship

TABLE 8.3.

RELIGIOUS CARGO CAREERS.

MAYORDOMOS.

Manuel Vázquez: Gobernador 1785.
 San Nicolás de Tolentino 1767.
 Santísimo Sacramento 1772.
 N.S. del Rosario 1776.
 Martín de la Torre: Alcalde 1798.
 N.S. del Rosario 1791.
 Santísimo Sacramento 1796.
 Francisco Melchor: Gobernador 1809.
 Santísimo Sacramento 1794.
 N.S. del Rosario 1800.

CAREERS WITH VARIOUS RELIGIOUS CARGOS.

Salvador Peralta: Alcalde 1729. (Aged 51).
 Santísimo Sacramento 1733.
 Fiscal 1733.
 Lucás de Nava:
 Santísimo Sacramento 1728.
 Fiscal 1728 (Aged 44).
 Crispín de Aguilar:
 Santísimo Sacramento 1753 (Aged 37).
 San Nicolás de Tolentino 1755
 Sacristán 1778 (Aged 61)– 1788.

Sources: Archivo Paroquial de Zaachila:
 Libros de Cofradía.
 Ages verified from Libros de Casamiento.

ties. As will be observed, only a relatively small number of the cabildo officials served as mayordomos. Some men only held religious cargos, but there was no hierarchy of saints served as there is today, when they are ranked by cost with the patronal fiesta as the most expensive, and no man can serve an important saint, without serving lesser ones first (Table 8.3). It will also be observed from the table of Civil-Religious Cargo Careers (Table 8.4), and that of Civil Cargo Careers (Table 8.2), that there are no discernible hierarchies, other than the obvious civil cargo ones, and no patterns of service.

In this chapter it has been shown that the bishops of Oaxaca were ambivalent in their attitude to the cofradías. On the one hand defending them and erecting them, because they ensured the attendance of the cofrades at Masses for the souls of living and dead members, and their Christian burials, as well as furnishing wax and oil for the cult, and funds for the maintenance of the churches, but on the other hand extinguishing them, when they lacked funds. The latter attitude was reinforced, by their abhorrence of those fiesta customs, such as masked dances, feasting and drinking, which were survivals from pre-Hispanic religious celebrations.

These and any other causes of excess expenditure, were liable to prohibitions, which the Zapotecs, and their neighbours from other indigenous groups, appear to have largely disregarded, and which continue today, whilst in the case of Zaachila, the complete extinction of several sodalities by the bishop, was completely disregarded; the change of mayordomo being witnessed by the cabildo instead of the priest. All these factors would have added to the strain under which they lived at this time, because of the factors discussed in the previous chapter, but, I suggest that the burden

of the need to finance and rebuild their churches, because of the inadequacy of the

TABLE 8.4.

CIVIL-RELIGIOUS CARGO CAREERS IN ZAACHILA.

Lucas de Nava:

Santísimo Sacramento 1728. Fiscal 1728, aged 44.

Salvador Peralta:

Alcalde 1729, aged 51. Santísimo Sacramento 1733. Fiscal 1733.

Manuel Vázquez:

San Nicolás de Tolentino 1767. Santísimo Sacramento 1772. N. S. del Rosario 1776. Gobernador 1785.

Francisco de la Torre:

Santísimo Sacramento 1774. Fiscal 1777. Alcalde 1786. N.S. del Rosario 1789.

Francisco Consecó:

Fiscal 1779 aged 52. Alcalde 1781. Escribano 1786.

Jacinto de la Torre:

San Nicolás de Tolentino 1786. Alcalde 1794. N.S. del Rosario 1799 & 1800.

Martín de la Torre:

N.S. del Rosario 1791. Santísimo Sacramento 1796. Alcalde 1798. Gobernador 1802.

Francisco Melchor:

Santísimo Sacramento 1794. N. S. del Rosario 1800. Gobernador 1809.

Domingo de Aguilar:

N.S. del Rosario 1797. Santísimo Sacramento 1790. Gobernador 1800 & 1805.

Sources: Archivo Paroquial de Zaachila: Libros de Cofradía, Libros de Casamiento, Padrón 1776.

N.B. Several Libros de Cofradía referred to in the Bishop's Visita in 1726 are missing, and there are few records of the civil cargo holders before 1789.

bishopric's fabric fund, and the effect of innumerable tremors and a number of serious earthquakes in the Valleys and bishopric in general, was particularly serious.

I have also suggested, contrary to the contention of Chance and Taylor, that numbers of cofradías existed in the Valley doctrinas before secularisation, and, using as my main source the Parochial Archive of Zaachila, demonstrated that nothing approaching the ideal model of alternatively served civil-religious offices culminating in the cargo of gobernador occurred in the Valleys in the colonial era. Some Zaachileños only served this, the highest cargo, and it appears that civil and religious cargos could be served quite separately, although there was some interaction, in that a number of cabildo officials also served as mayordomo or fiscal - two religious cargos which were sometimes served concurrently. At that time too, there was no hierarchy of service to the saints, and it appears that the priest had little influence on the choice of the mayordomos, but might have been responsible for their serving for two or

more consecutive years. Although the 18th century is thought to have been a time when macehuales were serving civil cargos, documentary evidence suggests that, in the Valles Centrales de Oaxaca, only principales de nacimiento served as cabildo officers, except in exceptional circumstances when the permission of the Audiencia in Mexico City was sought. However, the evidence of the number of vocales, thirty-two, and the number of surnames of mayordomos, fifty-six, suggests that some of them may, like women, have served as mayordomos. I shall now turn to the economics of the cofradías and their official fiesta celebrations.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 8.

1. It used not to be possible to obtain access to the Cathedral Archive, but this policy has now changed. The archivist, Padre Vázquez, kindly let me see it in 1991, but this was at the end of my stay in Oaxaca. Part has now been boxed and catalogued, but most is in a very poor condition. Bishop Maldonado removed the books of the extinguished cofradías, and they are presumably in the Cathedral archive. However, I was unable to locate them in the time at my disposal, and they are not included in Señor Pompa y Pompa's 1940s microfilms of the Cathedral Archive at INAH.

2. AGEO. Cuestionario. II. pp. 291, 299. This has been discussed in Chapter 6, Footnote 12.

3. AGEO. Real Intendencia II. Leg. 20. exp. 16. The sínodo was an ecclesiastical tax included in the tribute revenue. Van Oss states that it amounted to less than a quarter of a peso from 1750, and calculates that it accounted for 30 to 50% of the tribute payments in the 18th and early 19th centuries, but was very much less than the amounts which would have been yielded had the indigenous peoples been fully tithed (Van Oss. pp 81-2). But, according to Farriss, it was 12 1/2 reales for a man and 9reales for a woman in the Yucatan (Farriss, p. 41).

4. The miraculous Virgin of Juquila, in the Chatino region, close to the Pacific coast, is the object of a great pilgrimage, culminating on December 8th each year. The image was removed from the small Chatino pueblo of Amialtepec to Juquila, Tutupec in 1719, as a result of a decree by Bishop Maldonado. There it was placed in a temporary church. The building of the fine permanent church was to have begun in

the time of Alvarez de Abreu, with the fees from the 100,000 masses celebrated there, and the 51,104 pesos in alms received, over a period of forty years. But even this was a source of conflict: there were local disagreements over the site of the church, which were only finally resolved, with some difficulty by Ortigoza himself, who is honoured for commencing construction (Gay, pp. 421-3). The fiesta lasts from November 15th to December 16th. An account of 1786 describes the huge pilgrimage to Juquila from the diocese of Oaxaca, and outside it. Some 25,000 a year went, including many sick, crippled and dying persons; some saying the Rosary as they walked, and some singing hymns (Greenberg, p. 45).

5. AGEO. Obispado, Leg. 18, exp. 16. There is no doubt that the mayordomo's wife, referred to as the mayordoma in the Valleys today, has a vital role to play in modern Zapotec communities. She helps him to accrue his guelaguetza prestations by cooking at mayordomías, is beside him when he is appointed for his year in office, and presides with him at his banquets.

6. In stating this it should be said that the documents were always signed by the gobernador, the alcalde, a regidor, and the escribano, although they contain a number of names of other officials.

7. I only have definite evidence of the two cacique Mixtec priests who answered the Cuestionario (pp. 148, 152), but a document in the AGI, Seville refers to a number of indigenous priests in the See of Oaxaca in the 18th century (Personal communication by Dr. David Brading).

8. AGN. Ramo de Indios. Vol. 3. Exp. 197 & Exp. 12, Vol. 4. Exp. 504 & Exp. 503, Vol. 7. Exp. 7. And, regarding cabildo office, Vol. 3. Exp. Vol. 4. Exp. 886.
9. The cabildo archives of Zaachila are said to be lodged in Zimatlán, but the Presidente of Zimatlán was ambivalent about both their existence and their state in 1986, and I was not able to see them. I had hoped to see them on my return to Oaxaca in September 1989, but there were problems in a number of the Valley pueblos, including Zimatlán, regarding local elections and so, again, it was not possible.
10. AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 27, exp. 22. Today this is the case with men from poor families, who are landless, or whose plots provide subsistence only, or are men lacking entrepreneurial skills. It is not a class proscription. Chance and Taylor refer to the cargo of mayor (police chief) as an intermediate one between topil and regidor in the Villa Alta district, but I have seen no reference to it in the Valleys (Chance & Taylor, p. 15).

CHAPTER 9.

THE VALLEY MAYORDOMOS AS THE OFFICIAL ADMINISTRATORS OF THE BIENES DE COFRADIA.

In this chapter, in which I shall consider the mayordomos' official economic role as administrators of the Bienes de Cofradía, I shall begin by analysing the rather sparse evidence as to the manner in which fiesta was financed in the 16th century. Most historians deny the existence of cofradías in Oaxaca before the 17th century, but I shall show that cajas de cofradía existed in the Dominican doctrinas at that time and speculate as to their sources of income and the uses to which their funds were put, for it appears that the costs of fiesta banquets were defrayed by payments from the sobras de tributo which were kept in the cajas de comunidad. I shall therefore discuss Spanish policy regarding the setting up and maintenance of the cajas de comunidad and the various uses for which the funds they contained were intended.

The Codice de la Sierra and the Relaciones Geográficas of 1709 for the Partido of Miahuatlán are both useful evidence as to the manner in which these official policies were carried out. My principle archival evidence for the economic activities of the mayordomos of the cofradías, that contained in the parochial archives of Zaachila and Etla, dates from the second half of the 17th century, and its emphasis is upon the financing of the cofradías' Masses rather than the yearly fiestas. The accounts of the Libros de Cofradía of Zaachila covering the late 17th, the 18th and the early 19th centuries show how the mayordomos managed the funds but the Libros de Cofradía of Etla give a very much fuller account of the way in which cofradía plots were cultivated and the funds used in the early 19th century (Appendix B). It was their duty to increase these, when undertaking this cargo, in order that the cult might continue to be celebrated fittingly; hence their account books show their successes and failures in

attempting to do so. Apart from this, both the Libros de Cofradía and the Libros de Cordillera give some evidence of the role of the mayordomos in financing the fiestas, but unfortunately, apart from the cost of the Masses, little information was given as to what was entailed in celebrating a fiesta at that time apart from the records, which will be discussed in Chapter 10, of the bishops' attempts to prohibit the prehispanic survivals which accompanied the celebrations.

This chapter is mainly concerned with the economics of the cofradías, but the nature of the accounts contained in the Libros de Cofradía is such that they cannot be reduced to tables. It will, therefore, be necessary to discuss them at some length and my hope is that the reader will bear with this. I shall however commence my discussion by considering the ways in which the cost of the 16th century fiestas was covered and follow this by an analysis of the relative information in the 1709 Relaciones Geográficas of the Partido of Miahuatlán.

The evidence for the existence of Bienes de Cofradía in the Dominican doctrinas during the 16th century is irrefutable for the Actas of the Dominican Chapters make several references to them in additional actillas, which will be discussed later. Although Libros de Cofradía existed in the pueblos at an early date, for we know that a repentant Indian had had his name inscribed in one in 1539 (Cruz y Moya, II. p. 130), as none appears to have survived there is no evidence of the manner in which the cofradías were initially funded or endowed. However, it was usual for a fee to be paid upon entry and alms to be given monthly, and Zorita tells us that there were two Negro cofradías in Mexico City, one at Santo Domingo and one at the cathedral, where the cofrades met to be taught Christian doctrine on Sundays and all present gave at least one real each in alms (Zorita, 1909. p. 191). But the monthly alms

recorded in the 18th century Libro de Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario (APZ) suggest that much smaller sums might have been given in the Valleys of Oaxaca. It was probably customary to leave legacies to the cofradías, especially by those cofrades who, like the Cacique of Yanhuítlán, were of the nobility and still reasonably affluent. He had endowed a chantry for the Dominican friars in 1576, whilst, in his Will, he left a peso de oro común to each cofradía in the pueblo, besides stipulating that all the cofradías to which he belonged should take wax, that is candles, to his funeral (Codice de Yanhuítlán, pp. 34-6).

It is also probable that even at this early date the cajas de cofradía were funded in part by the harvest from the sodalities' plots. This would have followed pre-Hispanic practice, for in 1532 the cabildo of Antequera asked the King that the nearby estates, which had been dedicated to the priests for their idols and sacrifices, should be divided amongst the settlers (Colección de Documentos, I, Item 27, p. 22). This was a logical request, for the city lacked land, but the necessary procedures had still not been completed by 1538, although numbers of local caciques had taken parcels without permission (Chevalier, pp. 19, 52). Taylor refers to their religious functions in defence of this, whilst suggesting that they used the land to increase their cacicazgos (Taylor, 1972. p. 43). However, I would argue that this might also have been a means of ensuring that such lands were still devoted to religious purposes, as they could then be cultivated by the mayeques for the ritual banquets and drinking which distinguished the fiestas and particularly the patronal festivities. It might have been such land that the Cacique of Tehuantepec gave to the Dominicans for their convento in the Isthmus. It is also possible that the practice of leaving plots to the cofradías in testaments started this early, for there is evidence that cofrades were extremely generous to their sodalities.

The cofradía funds in the doctrinas were evidently quite substantial; for example a document in the Archivo del Juzgado de Teposcolula refers to the theft of 120 pesos from the Caja de Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of that town in 1576 (AJT. Leg. I. exp. 16), whilst the first reference to the bienes de cofradía in Padre Ulloa's study of the Dominican Actas was made in those of the Chapter of 1561, celebrated in Teposcolula, when it was stated that the friars were not to use any of the cofradía and hospital funds in their doctrinas as this was prejudicial to their proper administration. It was at this time that the extensive building programmes of churches and conventos were being carried out and the friars were apt to devote the alms that the Crown advanced them for Masses to financing this work, and then pay for the Masses from sodality and other funds (1). Such abuses must have continued, for this prohibition was repeated more emphatically in the Cuestlaguacan Chapter in 1564, when it was stated in the actillas that should the superior of any convento be found to be in possession of cofradía or hospital funds he would be removed from office, whilst a subject friar would be sentenced to six days fasting on bread and water (Ibid. p. 172).

The First Mexican Regional Council of 1555 forbade the charging of fees for the sacraments, and the Crown stipends for the Orders' Masses were intended to cover the cost of wine, wax, and oil for the sacristy lamp (2), so it is possible that the cofradía funds, which would have included any alms received at their Masses, were used in the 1560s to pay for flowers for the altar, and the elaboration of candles for the cofradía's Masses, and cofrade funerals, as well as any extra wax needed for these. According to Gibson, in the 1570s the secular clergy were permitted to charge for burials and marriage ceremonies (Gibson, 1964. p. 125), however, the Third Council of 1585 stipulated that only voluntary alms were to be accepted for patronal

fiestas, Masses, burials and other offices. Any priest exacting fees for these was to be fined 50 pesos for the first offence and 100 for the second: the fines were to be used for the church fabric or pious works in the doctrina (Llaguno, p. 275). However, Gibson shows that even in the 17th century, after a tariff of parish fees had been introduced, this custom varied, and it is possible that no fees were paid in some instances (Gibson, 1964. p. 125).

Other calls on the Caja de Cofradía might have included sickness benefit for the cofrades, and payments to poor widows and orphans, but this would have depended upon the statutes of the cofradía concerned. As will be shown, the banquets for the patronal fiestas in particular were funded from the Cajas de Comunidad once these were established, so I suggest that it is probable that the cofradías furnished anything required for the fiesta Masses and the embellishment of the church, whilst those activities regarded as profane by the Church were funded from the sobras de tributo.

The clear evidence that sums from the cajas de comunidad were used to finance patronal fiestas may be the cause of the scholarly confusion of the two funds, and indeed that of some colonial officials (Lamas, pp. 90-1). The community chests held the sobras de tributo and appear to have been introduced by Fray Francisco de Marín in the Mixteca Alta in the late 1530s. He conformed to the Dominican ideal of the "santo varón", leading an exemplary and abstemious life and devoting himself for thirty years to the spiritual and material welfare of his Mixtec flocks (Dávila Padilla, pp. 238-41. Ricard, p. 137). He was also responsible for the architecture of a number of Dominican churches (Mullen, pp. 127-141), and introduced sericulture and cochineal production into the area. During the half century when it flourished, that is until cheaper Chinese silk was imported (Méndez Aquino, pp. 94-5, 106-7. Romero

Frizzi, 1990. Vol. II. p. 34), the silk generally produced an income well above that required for tribute, as is evidenced by the Codice Sierra (Appendix A. Community Income), and this may be why Fray Tomás introduced the cajas as a means of ensuring that this income was saved for general community expenses and contingencies. The Valley doctrinas may not have flourished to such an extent at that time, but the Etla Valley produced wheat for the area and numbers of mercedes for ganado menor were granted between 1560 and 1580. These were usually for goats and sheep, whose various products, particularly cheese, could easily be marketed (Ibid. pp. 34-5).

The chests, which came to be used by all the Orders, entered into general use as the result of a Real Cédula of 1554 which ordered that Cajas de Comunidad be constructed in all the Indian pueblos and their contents used to finance community needs, including those of the Church. The keys were to be held by the cacique and two principales (3), but Archbishop Montúfar complained to the King in 1556 that the caciques, gobernadores and principales made the Indians work in the fields for the cajas and, where there were no friars or secular priests, spent the sobras de tributo on feasting and drunkenness. This, to him, meant that they had no respect for the common good (Paso y Troncoso, VIII. 441. p. 86), whereas we may assume that their intention was the opposite at a time when they and their communities were under stress from the building programmes and other vicissitudes.

The Archbishop also referred to a further problem, namely that some principales expended large sums from the Cajas de Comunidad, and then placed the blame for having done so upon the friars (Ibid. p. 87). Whether or not this was the case in Oaxaca, the Dominicans evidently did make inroads upon the cajas on occasion, for

in their actillas of 1559 it was stated that no friar should take any of his own community's reserves, namely those of the "sacristía, enfermería, librería, hospedería y demás oficinas", or "los de las comunidades de los indios" on pain of "gravioris culpa", which punishment included being flogged and fasting upon bread and water (Ulloa, pp. 169, 207). In 1561, at Teposcolula, the Chapter ordered the convento superiors not to allow any friar Masses or money from the Bienes de Comunidad, for himself, to help his kin, or for any other reason (4).

Despite the references to heavy expenditure upon fiesta during the 16th century, there is some difficulty in isolating the sources from which it was funded, and unfortunately in the Zapotec case there are no accounts of pre-Hispanic practices, apart from the existence referred to above of the estates cultivated for the temples and the celebration of the Zapotec cult. However, Chance quotes a document from the Cortés archive, Hospital de Jesús, which may be a further clue, for in 1558, for the fiesta of Santiago, the patron saint of Cuilapan, the cacique's 300 mayequés gave him 13 pesos, fifteen turkeys, and 3,000 cacao beans, per household, and for Easter 2 pesos and some turkeys (5). Although chocolate is a fiesta drink, cacao beans were still used as currency then, and as traders went to Oaxaca to buy fruit, in which Cuilapan was rich, and other goods (Zorita, 1909. pp. 55, 196), were probably acquired by the mayequés through such transactions (6). At Easter they each gave him 2 pesos and some turkeys. A similar situation occurred in Nahuatl-speaking Tlaxcala, near Puebla, where, at Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi, the Assumption of the Virgin, and on St. Peter's Day, a turkey and two hundred cacao beans, as well as tamales, wood and chile were given to Don Julián de la Rosa by his dependants (Anderson et al. p. 51). These two documents might explain why Montúfar referred to the large amounts that the señores spent on fiesta and stated that it was "sin tener respecto al bien común"

(ENE. VIII. 441. p. 186). However, this statement ignored the fact that it was the señores duty to placate the supernatural beings on behalf of their subjects, and moreover that this was a right of the commoners. Indeed, Zorita states that the commoners, by ancient custom, expected lavish fiestas to be given on their behalf, and if they were not, neither esteemed nor obeyed their rulers (7).

We may assume, then, that in the early post-Conquest the señores continued their pre-Hispanic custom of financing the fiestas from their tribute and mayeque rents in kind, but even by the mid-16th century many were impoverished, for, principally as a result of the epidemics of 1520 and 1540, their tribute was much reduced (8). In such situations the placating of the supernaturals by the traditional means would have been even more important, and we may assume that this is why the principales of New Spain fulfilled their obligations by levying such high derramas (9) upon the macehuales that they constituted an abuse (Zorita, 1909. p. 410). As a result, in a Real Cédula dated February 1st, 1561, the Viceroy gave orders that henceforth nothing was to be spent upon fiestas and banquets without a licence from him (10).

Given the sparse documentary evidence of the manner in which the Caja de Comunidad functioned in the Valleys at that time, it is instructive to turn to the Codice Sierra, although the Valley communities are unlikely to have had such large sums at their disposal at that time as those resulting from sericulture. The pueblo of Santa Catalina Texupan in the Mixteca Alta, which was a single entity, was a secular parish during the period covered by the Codice, but in 1564 it became a Dominican doctrina and this account book was concluded.

The Fiesta Expenses of Texupan (see Appendix A) show that from the time of the initial entries in 1551 candles were bought for all the fiestas, but, 1563 apart, this ceased to be the case from 1559, which leads one to the assumption that these were furnished by the relevant cofradía from then on. Wine, however was always bought. The Codice is partly pictorial, and as the entry for 62 pesos in 1551 includes a drawing of a Spanish botijo (small wineskin) this appears to have been wine for the Eucharist, which I have never seen included in the extant cofradía accounts, even in secular parishes, which unlike the friars' doctrinas were not supplied with a wine allowance.

The foods purchased for nearly all the fiestas were those such as turkeys, chile, maize for tortillas, and salt which are still fiesta foods, and which would be given as guelaguetza prestations (11) in the Valley nowadays. It is sometimes specified that they are for the tecpan (cabildo palace), or the señores, as occurs in the initial entries for 1561, but sometimes for the community, as in the tenth entry for that year. In 1559 certain meals were purchased on the Viceroy's orders, namely for the feast of San Pedro and San Pablo, and for Christmas, but it is possible that this order was conveyed to them by "el Señor de la Audiencia", Lebrón de Quiones, during his Visita (ENE. Tomo VIII. 467. Appendix A. Cacica & cabildo. Fiesta). Then, from 1561, further such meals were furnished on the Viceroy's orders: for Corpus Christi, and the Feast of the Assumption in 1561; for Whitsun in 1562; and for Easter and Whitsun in 1563. All these feast days were among those which had to be observed by the Indians according to the specially reduced list in the First Mexican Council of 1555 Chapter XVIII, and so it appears that the orders concerned were general ones, which were given to communities throughout the colony.

It further appears that the Real Cédula of 1561, requiring a petition before fiestas could be financed from the Caja de Comunidad, referred to patronal fiestas, which were not included in the official list of those to be observed, and that this is substantiated by the tenor of two later documents. In the first, dated 1576, Cuilapan was granted permission by the Viceroy Manrique to take the large sum of 100 pesos a year, but no more, from its "comunidad y sobras de tributos" for the celebration of its patronal fiesta of Santiago. But nothing was to be spent on wine or pulque, and any drunkenness was to be punished by the withdrawal of the licence (AGN. Indios. Vol 1, Exp. 90, fols. 34r, 34v). Such permits were not issued lightly, however. In 1590 the people of Neoxtlatepec, Yanhuatlán had asked the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco II, for a licence to spend 50 pesos from their sobras de tributo and Bienes de Comunidad so that they might celebrate the fiesta of their patroness, Santa María Magdalena, fittingly. His response was to ask the Alcalde Mayor of Yanhuatlán to ascertain what tribute, sobras de tributo and Bienes de Comunidad the community had; whether it was convenient for them to hold such a licence; and how the money would be spent. They had made their request so that the lack of funds for the fiesta should not lead to derramas and vexations so the Viceroy also enquired whether this was indeed likely to be the case (AGN. Indios. Vol. 4, Exp. 654, fs. 186v-187r).

Legislation to ensure that tribute could be paid and the Cajas de Comunidad properly funded was enacted in the second half of the sixteenth century at the time when scattered communities were congregated the better to ensure their Christian indoctrination. In 1567 the Viceroy Marqués de Falces decreed that they should have a fundo legal (town site) of 500 varas, that is 1,375 feet in each of the cardinal directions, to be divided into a nucleated village of house plots 69 feet square

surrounded by private plots held by the head of each family, the vacant plots to be worked by landless peasants (Taylor, 1972, pp. 67-8).

Then in 1573 a Real Cédula established that each town should receive an ejido: an inalienable community pasture one league square for recreation and for grazing livestock. This was to include pasturage for the oxen and horses as well as the livestock which the communities were expected to keep, as well as woodland for gathering wild herbs, fruits and firewood (Ibid. p. 67. Ots Capdequi, pp. 28, 129-30). Such rough land is usually located on the sierra foothills in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca. There was also communal land worked by the vecinos, which funded the Caja de Comunidad through the sale of its crops, and the livestock raised upon it and the ejido land (Taylor, p. 68) as well as on such products as cheese, wool and hides. But the most important income was that from the censos (rent) raised by renting plots on community land to Indians and Spaniards for private cultivation (Ots Capdequi, p. 29). The Dominicans, however, in their Chapter of 1561, had ordered the friars to refrain from advising their catechists to sell land or lend money to Spaniards on pain of "gravior culpa", whilst in that of 1568 they had forbidden them to advise the Indians to make loans or rent land to any Spaniards, for it was justifiably believed that the behaviour of lay Spaniards was likely to be prejudicial to their missionary work, as well as leading to difficulties between the Spaniards and Dominicans concerned (Ulloa, pp. 171, 179).

Once the bulk of the tribute was payable in reales, it became necessary for the Indians to have limited entry into the cash economy although they were reluctant to do this. In 1560 tributaries had to pay half a fanega of maize and 8 silver reales, which sum was increased to 10 reales by 1565 (Chance, 1978. p. 81). The Spaniards had bought

produce direct from the communities or at the pueblo tianguis (markets), often by putting the Indians under duress, and so measures were taken to develop the Antequera market as the principal one in the Valleys. Even so the Corregidores and Encomenderos continued to buy locally and resell in the city at exorbitant prices. By 1580 when many Indians attended the market, the community woodlands proved to be financially important at a time when so much building was being undertaken, for the main products sold, apart from maize, wheat from Etla, frijoles (beans), turkeys, and fodder, were beams, boards and charcoal. Further to this, produce had to be transported throughout the valleys by pack animals and this was a welcome and vital source of employment for the tratantes (traders), who were men from the Tlacolula Valley towns, where sparse rainfall meant that the sale of crops from family plots and communal land was a variable and unpredictable source for paying tribute and funding the Caja de Comunidad (Ibid. pp. 80-2).

In 1582, a Real Cédula ordered that 10 brazadas (2.60 cubic metres) of land be set aside for maize for the caja, instead of the 1 1/2 reales each tributary had paid until then, but suggested somewhat less for the caciques and principales (Lamas, p. 87, 87 n 38). However, the 1609 Relaciones Geográficas of the Partido of Miahuatlán, whose information regarding civil government was discussed in Chapter 7, suggest that either this order was not carried out, or that payment in specie had been found to be more practicable. It is unfortunate that these Relaciones are thought to be the only ones which are extant for 1609, for they contain a wealth of information owing to the length of the questionnaire, which included questions as to whether a Caja de Comunidad actually existed in the community, and what Bienes de Comunidad there were. There were also a number of questions regarding the hospitals and others concerning religion, but, unfortunately, none about cofradías despite the number that

then existed (R.G. pp. 273-288). The Partido of Miahuatlán consisted also of the pueblos of Ocelotepec, Coatlán, and Amatlán, but although all four replies appear to have been written by the same Spanish official, Esteban Gutiérrez, the nature of the information given varies, and, as will be seen, information which one would expect to be general may only be given in one case.

All the pueblos concerned were secular parishes and the comunidad payments were used to finance the cult in various ways. The Caciques were clearly unable to do this for although they were all of ancient lineage, they were all very poor by then and received no tribute. The Cacique of Miahuatlán administered no land, had no dominion over his subjects and barely maintained himself from a small flock of sheep and goats (R.G. p. 296-7). The four Caciques of Ocelotepec held the office of gobernador in turns, when the others all obeyed them, and lived by cultivating grana for cochineal on a moderate number of nopal cacti (Ibid. p. 305). In Coatlán where the cacique was old, neither he nor his heir exercised any control over their people, and both lived poorly and miserably (Ibid. p. 311). It is clear then that no cacique in the partido was obeyed unless he held office as gobernador, and this together with their poverty bears out the Oidor Zorita's statements, cited on page 406, regarding the lack of esteem in which those who were unable to carry out their ancient role as placators of the supernaturals by staging brilliant festivities for them were held by the macehuales.

Apparently no cajas de comunidad as such existed in any of these towns, although in each case the dues were collected and administered by a mayordomo who was elected each year at the patronal fiesta together with the other officials, and rendered his accounts to his successor. The formula used in responding to the questions

shows that only Miahuatlán had a viable source of caja income apart from the communally worked land; namely a horse ranch whose sale of colts and mules was valued at 800 to 900 pesos per annum. This and the yearly 2 reales 'comunidad' given by the tributaries was spent on fiestas, the year's supply of wax for the cult, receiving the bishop on his Visita, and some sustenance for the priest, whose stipend amounted to 1,000 pesos de oro común, although his salary was only 250 pesos, which was paid by the Crown and the Encomendero (Ibid. pp. 294, 296, 299). This was, then, a comparatively rich town, and one would expect it to have saved a reasonable amount each year towards such contingencies as crop failure and sickness affecting the town's ability to pay tribute. So its lack of an actual chest seems curious.

The other pueblos in this partido had no Bienes de Comunidad apart from their comunidad dues. Ocelotepec had no property and its 776 tributaries paid only 1 tomín = 1 real in dues, which were spent as the mayordomo ordered. Here there were two doctrinas, whose beneficed priests received 100 and 150 pesos salary respectively from the Encomendero, but had stipends amounting to 1,000 pesos de oro común each (Ibid. pp. 304, 307). Coatlán's twenty-six small settlements had been congregated into two pueblos, of which the cabecera had fifteen hamlets, whilst the vecinos of San Baltasar Losicha had been consigned to one pueblo although they still returned to their hamlets in order to cultivate their milpas there. Here the 768 tributaries paid the mayordomo 2 reales each year, which were spent in accordance with the Corregidor's instructions on whatever was needed by the church, including wax and wine. The doctrinero was paid by the King and the Encomendero and again his stipend totalled 1,000 pesos (R.G. pp. 310-11, 313). The same sum of 2 reales was paid by the 194 tributaries of Amatlán, and the resultant yearly total of 48 1/2 pesos was spent on wax and wine for Mass (Ibid. p. 317).

The land here was extremely poor and the men worked in the distant mines of Chichicapa for 1 tomín for each day spent there; that is they received no compensation for the time spent on their journeys. The priest's salary only amounted to 100 pesos de minas from the Crown and 50 pesos de minas from the Comendador, but his parishioners paid him nothing extra. Nevertheless, it need hardly be said that a poor community in the See of Oaxaca was at a disadvantage when it was the doctrina of a secular priest rather than of the Dominicans, who received wax, wine and oil for the cult. The church at Amatlán owned a flock of fifty sheep and thirty goats, but there is no indication as to precisely how its income was spent (12).

The above, then, confirms that the contents of the Cajas de Comunidad were used to finance the community's requirements insofar as the cult was concerned, although this might only have entailed the provision of what was most vital in the eyes of the Church: the candles and wine for the Mass. It also confirms the conclusion of Zavala and Miranda quoted in the Index of the Ramo de Bienes de Comunidad; that in the 17th century community funds tended to be spent almost exclusively upon religious and profane public fiestas, although they had also to support the primary school teachers of Spanish (13). As has been stated no information is given about any cofradías in the partido, as this information was not requested in the questionnaire.

It is unfortunate that the earliest document I have found relating to a Oaxacan cofradía is a statement by the Dominican vicario of Zaachila in 1630 referring to the "gracias, indulgencias, y privilegios" to be gained by the cofrades at their altar, as well as the three loose pages in Zapotec, to which I referred on page 154, regarding the re-erection of the Cofradía de N. S. del Rosario. The latter appears to give no

information regarding any payments to be made by the cofrades. However, the documents do contain a series of Spanish words, which point to the serious proselytising intentions of the Dominican friars when they erected this particular cofradía. They are "cofrades, indios, misterios, visperas, purgatorio, indulgencia", and the fact that the document is written in Zapotec shows that all those who were members of the cofradía were expected to understand exactly what their commitment was (APZ).

By 1630 all members of society had to buy the Bula de la Santa Cruzada, if they were to receive the indulgences of the cofradías. Therefore Farriss's comment that it merely allowed the purchaser to eat meat on fast days is inaccurate, although she rightly states that the funds were destined for the royal coffers (Farriss, p. 40). As we have seen, the friars' attempts to protect the Indians from buying the Bull had been thwarted by Archbishop Moya de Contreras (see page 158). It was an imposition, but it included information regarding ways of obtaining plenary indulgences and the most propitious days for interceding for the removal of souls from purgatory (AGEO. Obispado de Oaxaca. Leg. 20, exp. 33), so, in the context of his times, Moya had acted sincerely in wishing that all could enjoy these privileges. I would also argue that the friars of that period, with their own theological certainty of the need to seek indulgences themselves in order to obtain some remission of the time their souls would spend in purgatory, would have made certain through their preaching that their flocks had these same values and commitment, and understood the importance of praying the Rosary.

I suggest that it was quite possible for the indigenous peoples to hold these orthodox views, even whilst they continued to follow the old costumbres in their fiesta

celebrations. So we may assume that at that time the cofradías would have made certain that their fiestas were sumptuous ones with beautifully decorated churches and altars, flowers, candles, incense, and a procession, whilst the Caja de Comunidad covered the cost of feasting, drinking and other diversions, so that the whole honoured the saint in the manner which the Zapotecs considered fitting.

The cajas were not, however, intended to alleviate individual needs, for in 1609, the year when these Relaciones were written, Philip III decreed that the poor were not to pay for La Bula de la Santa Cruzada from them, even although they asked that they might do so (Lamas, p. 104). However, the Bishop of Oaxaca had made provisions for the celebration of important fiestas, such that each tributary was to pay 1 real each year for each of the five fiestas of All Saints, Christmas, Maundy Thursday, Easter, and the pueblo's patron saint. This was only mentioned in the Relación of Miahuatlán and the patron saint, San Andrés, was specifically referred to in it, so it is difficult to determine whether this instruction was to be followed throughout the See, as would normally have been the case. It is, however, highly probable that the bishop had made this provision during a Visita and intended to enforce it elsewhere as he journeyed through his diocese; especially as he had added that the fiscal had "memorias" authorising him to go from house to house collecting these payments, and was to make sure that anyone absent from the pueblo at the time paid the amount due on his return. This Relación also states that First Fruits of maize, chile and frijoles were paid to the priest, and he was provided with two Indians to make his tortillas, and two to fetch his firewood and water (R.G. 299). It was these services, and the payment of obvenciones (parish fees), which would have accounted for the fact that the total stipend of a priest was often considerably higher than the salary paid him by the Crown and/or the Encomendero, and so represented a reasonable income and way of

life. The measures could have caused hardship as they stood in times of agricultural failure or epidemics, but even so some clergy maltreated their parishioners in their attempts to extort more.

I cite two cases brought before the General Indian Court a few decades later as examples of such abuses by doctrineros, and of the Court's work in restraining them. The first, in 1633, concerned the officials of San Juan Teticpac, Province of Chichicapa, and its two sujetos who had complained that their Dominican doctrineros were forcing improper financial and labour dues upon them. Within a fortnight the Viceroy, acting on the advice of the Fiscal Protector and his own assessor, had ordered the Alcalde Mayor of the mines of Chichicapa neither to send any of his Indian workforce to the friars, nor to permit such an assignment. He also wrote to the vicario advising him that an Ordenanza of 1632 had ended the repartimiento de indios for agriculture, and that he must keep his subject friars from committing such abuses. Further to this, he asked the Dominican Provincial to assist him in ending the maltreatment, and the Bishop to make a formal enquiry into the matter (Borah, 1983. p. 163).

The second case was presented by an Indian lawyer on behalf of the pueblo of Ocelotepec, Miahuatlán in 1654. The secular priest there was accused of extorting money and cochineal from his flock, making them work without pay, taking their property, and beating and imprisoning them. The Fiscal Protector stated that his actions were shameful, that he should only charge his parishioners the official obvenciones, and that he should treat them well. He advised the Viceroy that he should, as the community's legal aide had requested, issue a letter to the cathedral Chapter of Antequera, the See being sede vacante, so as to ensure that the abuses

ceased and enforce a fine of 500 pesos on the priest if they did not. On the advice of his assessor the Viceroy complied with this request, and enjoined a local judge to ensure that the Indians were properly treated (Ibid. pp. 164-5).

Such actions would have made considerable inroads upon the amounts the communities concerned could place in the Cajas de Comunidad over and above their statutory dues, but this was not all, for the Corregidores abused their position by removing funds from the cajas for their commercial enterprises and delaying the repayment of their debts. As a result, Philip III (1598-1621) enacted legislation to end this situation in 1615, when the caciques and gobernadores were also warned against abusing the bienes, and then, in 1619, ordered the royal officials to register such debts with the official collector. Yet, despite this the abuses were so serious that in 1621 Philip IV (1621-65) decreed that any Corregidores taking public money from the comunidades under pretext of their position were committing a criminal offence, which was punishable by the death penalty in the most serious instances (Lamas, pp. 99-101. Pastor, 1987. p. 93). Even this was insufficient, and so in 1639 he sought to safeguard the cajas from similar depredations by their successors, the alcaldes mayores, by having them placed in the cities where the officials of the Real Hacienda lived so that they might guard all that was placed in them. Certain officials were then placed in charge of the care and collection of the dues against which they had to pay a fianza (Lamas, pp. 98-9, 101).

The pueblos were, however, still vulnerable to the commercial activities of the Alcaldes Mayores through the repartimiento de efectos; that is, they were forced to buy goods at inflated prices in exchange for cochineal, livestock and other products, but, as this was a means of obtaining the tools and money which they needed,

accepted the attendant problems. However this led to such excesses by the Alcalde Mayor of Tehuantepec and others in the area that they provoked a rebellion in 1660, which reached Nexapa, Villa Alta and the environs of Antequera. It was only through the intervention of Bishop Cuevas Dávila in Tehuantepec that the communities were pacified (Romero F., pp. 44-5). Angeles Romero Frizzi argues that it was as a result of such behaviour that, in the mid-seventeenth century, the pueblos sought to safeguard their community funds by registering their flocks, and some of their plots as Bienes de Cofradía (Ibid. pp. 44-5), whilst Pastor believes that in the Mixteca Alta the communities placed their economic assets with the cofradías at the end of the century, as a 'refuge' from civil legislation (Pastor, 1987. p. 94). This is also borne out by Berry's study 'The Reform in Oaxaca. 1856-1876' in which he states that at that time, apart from the canonically recognised cofradía plots, there were others similarly designated in the propios: community lands used to finance cabildo expenditure. Such plots were rented out to vecinos or others and the usufruct income from them set aside for the financing of the patronal fiesta (Berry, p. 174).

A similar situation occurred rather earlier in the Yucatan according to Nancy Farriss. She believes that most Yucatec cofradías were established in the late 16th century but were reorganised or founded by the Maya in the early 17th century as "an unofficial and so less vulnerable <from the attentions of the Spanish royal officials> substitute for the cajas de comunidad". She dates this from the introduction of obvenciones mayores - a fixed head tax which was set at 12 1/2 reales for a man, and 9 reales for a woman, and paid to the priest, instead of informally negotiated alms - there in 1722 (Farriss, pp. 41, 498 n. 20), and argues that as a result the communities had to find a means of financing their other religious obligations. Although this may have been so in the Yucatan, I take issue with her statement that "...caja de comunidad and cofradía,

then, should be viewed merely as different Spanish terms applied to what was essentially the same institution governed by a mayordomo" (Ibid. p. 265). García Martínez is inclined to accept it, but is unable to ascertain whether a similar situation occurred in the Sierra Norte de Puebla for lack of cofradía documents (García Martínez, pp. 273-4). The cofradías, of course, continued to pay for the Masses celebrated in accordance with their statutes. It should be added that the fact that both bienes were administered by mayordomos is immaterial, for mayordomos (stewards) administered every kind of communal property, as Gibson has shown (Gibson, 1952, pp. 117-8).

Farriss further argues that the cofradías were incompatible with the "values and structures of Indian peasant society, organised almost exclusively along the lines of kinship and shared territory and with a collective rather than an individual approach to the pursuit of divine blessings", and later states that the Maya transformed the cofradías into "public institutions supported by the entire community" and dedicated to its "general welfare ... through general obsequies to its sacred guardians" (Ibid. pp 264-5, 329). But surely the success of the 16th century cofradías had been due to the fact that, although the Church emphasised the individual salvation of its converts, they enabled their cofrades to act as a collectivity in celebrating their Masses, interceding for their dead, and celebrating fiestas for the patron Virgins or saints of such territorial units as the cabeceras, barrios and sujetos in which they lived. Moreover, the patronal fiesta of the cabecera, in particular could be observed and participated in by the community as a whole - the cabecera and its sujetos.

However, in Oaxaca the greater part of the sobras de tributo in the Cajas de Comunidad was still devoted to financing the patronal fiesta banquet, whilst, as I shall

show, the cofradía funds were confined to the religious celebrations of fiesta. Rodolfo Pastor states that in the case of San Juan Itunyuya, Teposcolula, 50% of the funds in the caja were spent on "consumo" for the fiesta of San Juan, pointing out that whilst the caja was the community's means of saving, it also had a redistributive role in times of crisis and during the fiesta (Pastor, 1987. pp. 242, 245-6). A similar situation occurred in another Mixteca Alta pueblo, San Martín Huamelupan, as Romero Frizzi shows from her analysis of the Memoria de los Bienes de Comunidad from 1757-1782. Indeed from 1757 to 1763, when the caja was in deficit, the expenditure on the fiestas was greater than the income from the sale of community maize and labour: for example, 24 pesos 1 real in 1757, as opposed to 21 pesos 4 reales; and 30 pesos 1 real in 1758, as opposed to 17 pesos. Further to this, in 1759, 1760, and 1763 contributions of 8 pesos 2 rr, 5 pesos, and 15 pesos 5 rr respectively were made towards the fiestas of the cabecera, Tlaxiaco (Romero Frizzi, 1975, p. 3. Apendice 2).

The need for unofficial cofradía plots is shown by the vigour with which the proscriptions regarding the use of caja funds were expressed in the Memoria. One stated that no more than twenty pesos a year were to be spent without a licence, and if this sum was exceeded the regidor would be responsible for the debt, whilst, according to another, the cabildo were not to dare to spend any sum upon fiestas, meals, wax or incense without a licence from the Superior Governor. This was merely a continuation of the Audiencia policy previously discussed; nevertheless after 1763 no cash expenditure on fiestas was entered in the Memoria, and the only contribution made was of between 1 and 2 fanegas of maize in 1763, and 1768, and from 1770 to 1772 (Ibid. Apendice 2). But we may be sure that fiestas were still celebrated with banquets.

I now turn to the mayordomos' accounts for the various cofradías of Teozapotlan/Zaachila. The earliest accounts I have, those of the Libro de Cofradía de San Nicolás de Tolentino, date from 1654 but the initial entries are somewhat mystifying. It can be assumed that the book is the continuation of an earlier one as it gives no information as regards the original endowment of the cofradía, or the rights and duties of the cofrades, however, from the first partly illegible entry, it appears that on March 4th the two mayordomos took the vicario's representatives 400 pesos in reales for a gilded wooden statue of San Nicolás, which was then placed in the church (14). Nothing was owed, but the mayordomos appear to have been in deficit for an unspecified sum, so it is possible that all the cofradía funds had been used to buy the saint's image (MCP).

Whatever the circumstances the cofradía appears to have lapsed, for in 1656 the same vicario, Fray Nicolás Hernández, and his flock "...mobido del bien de las Animas..." sat down together in the cabecera, and tried to found an "hermandad cofradía" for the souls in Purgatory, to be called San Nicolás de Tolentino, so that a Mass might be said for them each Monday. It was modestly endowed with 20 pesos in reales, including, apparently, alms collected at the meeting, and half an arroba (12½ pounds) of wax. The mayordomos Pablo Hernandes and Sebastian (...)tin (? Martín) were chosen because they were the most careful and devout there.

The next completely legible entry, that of 1663 shows that the cofradía funds then amounted to 800 pesos and had paid for fourteen Masses at 4 (reales). The cofradía had mixed fortunes, for in 1664 it had heavy extra expenses, which were unspecified, but amounted to 400 pesos over and above the cost of Masses. It might have been

necessary to repair the church after a very serious earthquake had affected Antequera in 1662 (Gay, pp. 102-3), for in 1665, although it had had its normal expenditure on wax, Masses for the dead at 4 reales every Monday, and gunpowder and other essentials for the fiesta, all to a total of 66 pesos, it had no funds left. This was clearly the result of misfortune, for the mayordomos were reappointed because they were held to have served their cargos very carefully.

They were reappointed for the next three years because they were so careful and honest, and by 1668 they had succeeded in accumulating 37 pesos, of which 22 pesos were owed to them by some Indians, as well as 6 pesos in alms to be collected. This was after their expenditure on the cult, the altar, the fiesta, the second Monday in Lent, and Masses for all kinds of souls. They would clearly have gained much prestige from such universal approbation, but, inevitably, there is no means of knowing whether they had many additional fiesta expenses.

Unfortunately, there are no further entries until 1689, when the Masses cost 1 pesos, and from then until 1711 when wax, flowers and "olores" (incense) were bought, the information given is either illegible and eaten (book worms) or negligible; although in 1697 the mayordomos for the year had received two arrobas of wax and candlesticks for the altar, whilst the Masses and fiesta had been paid for from the cofradía funds and alms. It is regrettable that these, which must be amongst the earliest cofradía accounts in the Valleys give so little information, but it seems unlikely that this cofradía subsisted from more than the alms of the cofrades at its weekly Masses. However, the amount of wax increased steadily to 9 arrobas 6 libras in 1723, but no further information is given apart from the names of the mayordomos, the cost of the

Masses and the occasional purchase, such as some cloths and a curtain in 1723 and 1726. The most intriguing entry is that of 3.10.1727:

"Hizieron los mayordomos de San Nicolás un (...) de madera tallado y plateado que costo (...) y ocho pesos."

There are no detailed accounts at this time, but after the Visita of Bishop Maldonado in 1726 the mayordomos increased their funds to such an extent that in 1734 they were able to buy 32 sheep and two rams. In 1736 the doctrina was secularised and the priest exhorted them to keep the altar clean, increase the herd of 38 sheep by honest means, and not to lend any wax. But, the herd brought its own problems: shepherds and sheep shearers had to be paid; salt bought; and the tithe of 2 pesos on the new lambs and wool paid. In 1741 there had been 70 sheep, 10 large rams, and 12 lambs, but 41 head had died of hunger, and 6 sheep had been sold, as well as 6 rams, 4 at 12 reales and 2 at 1 peso, whilst another was given to the buyer (This entry is partly illegible).

Gay records a drought in 1739, which was relieved after a novenario dedicated to the Virgin of La Soledad, the patroness of Antequera, but there were general epidemics, droughts and hailstorms at this time (Gay, p. 395. ed. Trabulse, p. 3). Hence, in 1742 the new mayordomos received only 18 sheep, three rams and a goat, with instructions to improve and increase the flock. The fortunes of the cofradía continued to fluctuate such that whilst there were 6 arrobas 6 lbs of wax in 1742, by 1744, when there were only 4 arrobas 15 lbs, no more could be bought because it was too expensive and the tithe on the first sheep shearing had had to be paid.

Clearly, the size of the flock was of vital importance to the cofradía but although it numbered 148 in 1757, 63 head died the following year, which suggests death from disease, although slaughter because of famine was not unknown. But any agricultural enterprise was vulnerable in some years, 1756 having been one of droughts, epidemics and starvation, and the Bienes de Cofradía fluctuated accordingly. In 1759 there were 83 sheep, but the agricultural crisis after the measles epidemic of 1762 (Trabulse et al. p. 38), meant that by 1764 there were only 35 and from then on there was a near constant decrease to 20 in 1777. This never built up to more than 38 in 1780, but 1779 and 1780 were years of great drought, famine and a smallpox epidemic (Hamnett, 1971. p. 63. 1971a. p. 60. Gay, p. 426). At no time was any more information given as to the value of the herd, or the amount of any monetary funds passed on to the new mayordomos, nor was the cost of the fiesta ever mentioned after 1665: only that of the twelve monthly Masses at 1 peso each (15).

Despite the fact that the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Zaachila was re-erected in 1630, the first Libro de Cofradía now available dates from 1716. Amongst the erection documents, which must have been torn out of the previous book at some stage, the gist of a badly torn one in Spanish from the gobernador, alcaldes and república requesting Letters Patent for the reinstitution of the cofradía, is that without the lost Libro de Cofradía and its erection constitutions the cofrades, male and female, had been deprived of the cofradía's "graces" (16).

Three 18th century entries in this book testify to the importance these privileges still held in the eyes of the Dominicans and demonstrate how important the spiritual welfare of the cofrades of this, the most important Dominican cofradía, was to them. On his Visita in 1724 the Provincial, Fray Leonardo Levanto, stressed the importance

of placing the names of the cofrades in a special book so that they might receive the graces and indulgences to which they were entitled, and of making sure that the names of the sick and the dying who had received the Eucharist were recorded there also. Such a book would have been invaluable for the purposes of this research, but it is no longer in the parish archive and so there is no information as to the number of cofrades in the cofradías of Zaachila. Fray Leonardo added that it was also important for the cofrades to be made aware of the manner in which they could avail themselves of these benefits of cofradía membership.

In 1732 the Provincial, Maestro Fray Dionisio Levanto, ordered that a summary of the numerous indulgences available to the cofradía be displayed so that the cofrades could take advantage of them, whilst an entry in 1743 by the then Provincial, Fray Juan de Zeguinaiche, emphasised the need for the friars to state in the Libro de Cofradía what graces and indulgences had been conceded to the cofrades, and to make sure that they knew what they needed to do in order to receive the plenary indulgences to which they were entitled on death. There was also a special indulgence for those who died holding a candle that had been blessed by a Dominican prelate (17).

The mayordomos of this cofradía were charged with the care, cleansing and cult of the Virgin's altar, which also entailed, as Fray Leonardo stated, augmenting Her funds by legitimate means for the greater splendour of her cult ("por maior culto de su soberano") (MCP). We may assume that he envisaged attracting more men and women to membership of the cult and so access to its graces and indulgences, which would assist in their salvation. Again it should be stressed that the confraternities cannot be regarded merely as economic entities, and that the friars would have

expected nearly the entire adult population of the doctrina to become members of this particular cofradía, as had been the case in the late 16th century (Dávila Padilla, p. 524).

There is nothing to indicate what the possessions of this sodality were before 1716, when, in accordance with one of the Visita recommendations recorded by Bishop Maldonado in the "old" book, a plot was prepared for maize or other seeds. Neither, is it possible to give a clear account of its fortunes throughout the century, as the entries are very variable in quality. They are most informative in the years before secularisation, but even then the expenditure is never fully itemised and the information given varies over the years and decades, so that a single entry may be the only indication of ongoing costs or strategies (MCP).

Clearly the most important expenditure for which the mayordomos were responsible was that of the monthly and fiesta Masses, the supply of fresh flowers for their altar, and the maintenance of a sufficient supply of wax to pass on to their successors, towards which they received 12 pounds of wax from a bequest by Pedro Martín in 1716. Occasional entries also refer to olores. In 1731, for example, the expenditure on wax for the year was 20 pesos, and that on Masses, incense, and flowers amounted to 74 pesos, but unfortunately the sums paid for the incense and flowers, some 45 pesos in all, are not stated separately (MCP).

The entry for 1716 shows that the Masses for deceased cofrades then cost 2 reales. In 1720 the cost of the fiesta and the year's supply of wax and flowers was 47 pesos 4 reales, whilst an undated entry between 1725 and 1729 shows that the fiesta cost 3 pesos. This included Vespers, Mass with a sermon, a procession through the

cemetery in the morning, and another through the pueblo with the Rosary in the afternoon. In 1729 the Mass cost 5 pesos, possibly because the procession went through the plaza, and the Mass on the octave of the fiesta cost 1 peso. An occasional cost was the bishop's fee for visiting the book, which was usually 2 pesos (MCP).

This book is alone in listing the alms, which were received at the monthly, and fiesta Masses in the early decades of the century, and which were placed in the Caja de Cofradía. Over the years they averaged 3 pesos each month and 6 pesos for the fiesta, although there were months in the early 1720s when only one peso was given. They cannot be taken as an indication of the size of the congregation however, for granos, which were a twelfth of a tomín or a real, are sometimes noted, so that 1 peso might have represented the alms of 96 cofrades. In 1735 it was stated on three occasions that the secular priest had asked for alms in church, and these had amounted to 2 pesos, 6 reales, and 6 pesos 7 reales, which suggests that not every cofrade could afford, or was expected, to give them each month.

Additions to the saint's cult goods were made from time to time as in 1728 when 31 pesos were spent on re-plating four blandones (large candlesticks), and twelve candlesticks, and buying a further six plated ones. Such expenditure could also be a strategy for adding a small but steady income to the funds, as when, on a number of occasions, canopies and altar cloths were bought and later hired out. The hiring out of wax, however, was strictly forbidden although it occurred from time to time; despite the friar's yearly admonitions.

Some of the more extensive accounts for this cofradía show the problems which had to be faced by the mayordomos and the doctrina friars in administering the cofradía and give some insights into the way in which some of the matters referred to above worked in practice; as will be seen from the following summaries. In 1716 the value of the maize harvest was 33 pesos 6 reales once the tithe, which had to be paid on all cofradía income including that from indigenous crops, and the cost of transporting the maize harvest had been paid, so that the total income from the alms and the harvest was 72 pesos 2 ½ reales. But the mayordomos had been unsatisfactory stewards and so two fiadores (guarantors), Diego de Aguilar, an alcalde, and Raiment de Nava, were appointed:

".... por aver de satisfacer los daños i abusos que dichos mayordomos causaron por negligencia en los bienes que pertenecen a dicha cofradía" (MCPD).

In good years sufficient seed could be sown for the following year's crop, otherwise more had to be bought.

In 1726, when separate plots were sown, the sale of the frijol (kidney bean) harvest amounted to 38 pesos 2 reales, and that of the maize 70 pesos 4 reales, which was fortunate as the first sowing had been lost through drought the year before. The zacate (maize stalks) was sold for a further 16 pesos. All this, together with the year's alms of 56 pesos 1 real, of which 11 pesos 1 real were given at the fiesta, amounted to 182 pesos 7 reales. The mayordomos had received 88 pesos 4 reales that year and spent unspecified sums totalling 81 pesos 2 reales on wax, the milpas, for which they would have had to buy seed, frijoles some new mantles and an embroidered canopy. The small residue was added to the funds in the Caja, so that 135 pesos 3 reales and 7 arrobas of wax were handed to the following year's mayordomos.

In 1730 the bishop elect visited the doctrina, and exhorted the mayordomos to increase the bienes de cofradía provided they did nothing illegal, but not to spend more than was essential. The Dominican Provincial made his Visita in 1731. The accounts for that year show that the income derived from alms, which included 4 ½ pesos at the fiesta Mass, and from hiring out a mantle three times at 2 reales a time, as well as some doceles (canopies) twice at 3 pesos a time, amounted to 24 pesos 5 ½ reales shown erroneously as 22 pesos 2 reales. This, together with the sale of zacate for 1 peso, and of the harvest, amounted to 92 pesos 6 reales.

The accounts for 1732, which were again witnessed by the Provincial, are of interest in that the superior of the convento had taken 24 pesos from the caja for unspecified reasons, and although the mayordomos owed 13 and 14 pesos respectively, they were excused repayment because they had bought more wax with their own funds. One pound of this, which was superfluous, had been sold for 2 pesos. In 1741 the yearly entry explicitly stated that the mayordomos were to contribute towards the alms for wax, so this entry and that above show that they were not expected to cover this rather heavy expenditure by themselves, when there were insufficient funds to do so (MCP).

Frijoles (kidney beans) were sometimes sown with the maize from 1740, although this is now a common practice in the Valleys. In 1740 they sowed 1 fanega 3 almudes of beans, and harvested 7 fanegas, kept 1 fanega 10 almudes, and sold the remainder for 12 pesos. But in 1744 the cofradía was in difficulties because the previous year's mayordomos had been too lazy to sow the milpa, although they had maintained the weight of the wax at 3 arrobas 13 lbs. The new mayordomos were to pay for the

monthly Masses by hiring out four canopies, and asking for alms in church and in the pueblo, but they were on no account to lend any wax.

Two years later "un indio llamado Juan", presumably a macehual, left the cofradía 8 pesos, which paid for two of the monthly Masses and the 6 pesos for the Visitation of the book, and 100 magueyes to cultivate for pulque. However, his wishes were ignored and the magueyes were sold the following year, either to avoid taxes although these were not a serious consideration until the 1780s, or because there were not sufficient plants to compete commercially with San Martín Tilcajete, Tlalixtac and nearby Santa Maria Coyotepec which were the main producers in the Valleys at that time (Taylor, 1979. pp. 47, 50). Clearly the plants could not be used to supply drink for the fiesta banquets, and so the sale produced funds with which the image of the Virgin was repaired and crowns purchased for Her and the Child, as well as some cloths and a canopy. Unfortunately, the entries for the next twenty years contained little information, which may have had some connection with the secularisation of the parish. The last decipherable entry was made in 1801 (MCP. APZ).

The third Libro de Cofradía remaining in the church archive after Bishop Maldonado's disastrous Visita of 1726 was that of the Santísimo Sacramento. Its first entry was dated 1721, but again the lack of information regarding its erection, endowments, and indulgences, shows it to be a continuation book. The cofradía's expenses were funded from its maize harvest and as its most important duty was the maintenance of the lamp which burned near the Reserved Sacrament, a glass lampshade was bought in 1732 in order to prevent the light from going out. At that time the sodality's expenditure on the feast of Corpus Christi was 3 pesos for the

procession, Mass, and sermon, 3 pesos for flowers and incense, and one peso each for the 9 Missas de Aguinaldo (Christmas -tide).

In 1730 a notary public was present at the exchange of mayordomos and it was stated that the priest, Fray Pedro Arías, and his successors were to keep the accounts clearly without passing the book to the mayordomos. Nevertheless those following give little precise information, as appears to have been the 18th century custom (18). But an entry in 1737 to the effect that the mayordomos had had six candles made "con sus angelitos" at a cost of 14 pesos is of particular interest. Elaborate candles are customarily made for modern mayordomías, and resemble the flower laden candles carried by the "monjas floridas", that is the nuns who are depicted in 18th century portraits wearing elaborate floral crowns when they were professed (19).

On his 1749 Visita Bishop Diego de Angulo ordered the priest to find out what possessions each cofradía had, so as to ensure that their income could be used for the greater cult. The mayordomos were to be the most hard working and devout possible, and their accounts were to be kept in accordance with the constitutions of their respective cofradías, but without unnecessary expenditure. This cofradía had a number of possessions, but there is no record of their having been hired out or of any of the alms, which they must have received. The last entry was dated 1799.

A reference was made on page 365 to the erection of the well endowed Cofradía de N.S. de la Limpia Concepción de Juquila in 1774 with its 18 milpa, with an estimated yield of 46 ½ almudes of maize, houses, and house plots but, as was then stated, although all the inhabitants of Zaachila were to be cofrades, the mayordomos nearly all had surnames which appeared in the Padrón of 1767 as those of Spanish residents

of Zaachila. The mayordomos of this cofradía were to clean the altar, administer its possessions in consultation with the priest, collect voluntary alms, and arrange the monthly Masses and the fiesta titular (patronal fiesta), which was to be celebrated on December 8th with a procession, solemn Mass and sermon. Anyone from another pueblo who wished to become a cofrade had to pay two reales on entry, and a ½real every month. All of this was in accordance with the will of Nicolasa Vázquez.

Doubtless the Bishop having extinguished the other cofradías in Zaachila intended this to be an exemplary one, but the Spaniards proved to be even more fallible as stewards than the Zapotecs. As early as 1777 Bishop Alonso de Ortigoza had ordered the mayordomos either to collect what was owing to the cofradía or to apply to the Tribunal de Justicia for the papers authorising them to do so. They were also to cultivate its lands and let its houses and solares (house plots). The rent from the houses varied; 4 pesos in one instance, for example, and 12 pesos in another, and, as was the case with all cofradía goods, the income was not constant from year to year for they had to be maintained. Thus the improvement of a room and the kitchen in one cost 17 pesos, which was stated as the equivalent of the rent for a year and five months, whilst another had to be re-roofed. Apart from this the area suffered serious maize shortages owing to drought in the early to mid-1780s (Hamnett, 1971. pp. 62-3).

In view of the fact that whilst all the men and women living in the cabecera were to be members of this cofradía, none were expected to pay contributions to it, it was surely essential that all its bienes were properly administered, yet the continued shortcomings of its mayordomos were made plain by the priest in January 1810, for in July 1801, when he had entered the parish, he had received none of its funds although

he was expected to take charge of its accounts (see page 365). However, he had, through his efforts, recovered some sums owed to it by the "Castilians" in the parish as follows:

TABLE 9.1.

Year	Debtor	Amount Paid.	Year in Office.
1803	Lorenzo Martínez	200 pesos 7 rr	1794-1802.
1804	Pio Medinella	266 pesos 3 ½ rr	
1805	Felipe Robles**	129 pesos 4 rr .	
1806	Josef Gil Moreno*	106 pesos	
1807	Josef María Robles	137 pesos 6 rr.	

* 1806 owed 832 pesos 6 reales .

**1810 owed 26p. 3rr.

In 1810 Gil de Agama owed 254 pesos, Rodrigues 115 pesos 7 reales, and Areyano 101 pesos. Padre Nuñez Carrión had felt impelled to make these comments and entries after the mayordomo Manuel Llanes, whom he commended for his zeal, and the deputies had appeared before him at the change of mayordomos on January 30th. There was also a letter from the other mayordomo, Gil de Agama, who was too ill to attend, but who stated that he had worked hard for the cofradía. There is no evidence as to how these debts had accrued. They may have represented unpaid rent although it seems improbable that Spaniards would have rented houses in the pueblo, moreover, as this would have amounted to 12 pesos a year at most, such sums would have taken over ten or twelve years to accrue. It may have been, therefore, that sums had been lent at interest, which was usually 5%, and not been repaid; especially when such a sum as 832 pesos 8 reales was outstanding. It seems unlikely that it represented the misappropriation of bienes de cofradía for only one of the

debtors had been a mayordomo. Lorenzo Martínez had held the cargo for eight years, but so had Lorenzo Castro who had served with him but incurred no debts. Gil de Agama appears to have become a mayordomo in 1810 despite his debt, but no Christian names are given in the relevant entries so they may refer to different members of this family. Had the debtors been Zapotecs, or come from the Mixtec barrio, they might well have become debt peons for life in their efforts to repay such sums.

The final records for Zaachila are those of the Mayordomía de San Antonio de Padua founded in 1791, after the bishop had extinguished the existing cofradías. It was presented with a statue of the saint by Don Jossé Angel Gil de Agama as well as a canopy and a white altar, and the immediate concern of the mayordomos was to ask for alms with which to gild the latter. As a mayordomía, one would assume that the celebration of the fiesta of San Antonio de Padua would have been its prime consideration, but there is no account whatsoever of its expenditure on this during the sixty-nine years covered by the book, despite the fact that it was independent of the Church from the first.

It will be seen then that the 18th century Libros de Cofradía of Zaachila are a rich source of information on many aspects of the running of the cofradías and their economics, but contain a minimum of information about the elaborate fiestas with which they undoubtedly celebrated their patron saints or Virgins, even in the case discussed above. The 18th century priests of Zaachila were not isolated in accepting this minimal data for at the yearly change of mayordomos recorded in the two fragments of the Libro de Cofradía de N. S. de la Asunción of Huaxolotipaque covering the years 1709 to 1728, the priests always referred to the expenses of the

Masses and fiesta, but only recorded the 3 peso fee paid for the fiesta Mass, which must have included a procession and sermon as the monthly ones there only cost 6 reales (AGEO. Obispado. Leg. 18, exp. 16 & 17).

This was, of course, the only expenditure the Church officially countenanced, yet the fact that a few entries included the cost of fireworks and other unspecified necessities suggests rather more forbearance on the part of some priests and friars. The cost of the patronal feast was probably still covered by funds from the Caja de Comunidad under licence from the civil authorities (20), as in the cases referred to earlier in the Mixteca Alta, and it is probable that other expenses were covered by the income from any "cofradía" plots in the propios.

But the 18th century mayordomos, and their successors had every cause to feel vulnerable, and, perhaps as a result, to conceal such "misconceived" expenditure owing to the bishops' attacks upon the cofradías and the Crown's attempts to defray its war debts by plundering community funds. The pueblos were expected to invest in the Banco de San Carlos, which was founded in order to cover the costs of public works and war debts, with funds from their Bienes de Comunidad. The total sum involved from 1784-1786 was 134,000 pesos, of which the communities in the Intendancy of Miahuatlán bought 80 shares valued at 8,000 pesos, and that of Oaxaca 189 to the value of 18,900 pesos (Lamas, pp. 106-110). In 1785 a number of pueblos in the Valleys were expected to buy shares in accordance with the amount of their bienes, which totalled 11,100 pesos (AGEO. Alcaldías Mayores. Leg. 27, exp. 34).

In 1805 the Ley de Consolidación de Vales Reales, which had been enacted as a means of financing the War with Great Britain of 1804, was published in New Spain.

It was a direct attack upon the wealth which the Church had accrued from legacies left to endow obras pías and capellanías, but, as this was the source of long term mortgages and loans at 5%, its effect upon the Mexican economy when these debts were called in was dire and many bankruptcies resulted; for merchants, hacendados and miners who depended on mortgages to invest in their enterprises were severely affected. In Oaxaca this was the case for a number of hacendados, and for merchants who invested in cochineal dye (Lavrín, 1973. p. 1. Hamnett, 1971a. pp. 66-7).

Apart from this, the beneficed parish priests were particularly hard hit for their stipends were still negligible and capellanías were a means of increasing their incomes (Hamnett, 1969-70. pp. 86-7, 101-2), but those who had título de capellanía were dependent upon such chantries, whilst títulos de patrimonio, funds invested from the parent's estate, often included a chantry (Schwaller, 1985. p. 9). Either of these might have been centuries old (see page 226). The clergy's plight was one of the causes of the abortive Insurgency movement led by Hidalgo and Morelos in 1810, but eventually the rich Creoles became disaffected too and fought for Independence their confidence in Spain lost through the Peninsular government's inability to repay even the interest on the capital it had appropriated, after 1812. The sum expropriated is thought to have been from 10 ½million to 12« million pesos (Hamnett, 1969-70. pp. 100-2).

The Indian cofradías were exempted from enforced sale of saint's lands and other properties provided that they did not admit castas as cofrades, but their Bienes de Comunidad were not immune, and under Article 14 they were expected to contribute the excessive amount of two thirds of these funds, which were considerable in some cases. The sum contributed from the Oaxacan communities amounted to 161,924

pesos, paid on August 8th 1806 and November 25th 1808. Nor was this the extent of their obligation, for some communities had mortgages on their ejido, and private individuals also had debts (Lavrín, 1973. pp. 32-3, 41-2, 41 n. 56. Hamnett, 1969-70. pp. 97-8).

But, unfortunately, there were calls upon cofradía funds in 1809, when the Archbishop of Mexico appealed to the generosity and patriotism of the cofradías and hermandades, even asking them to sell part of their herds if they had no funds, and give the proceeds to the king for the defence of the country's religion. The Peninsular War was, as was by definition every other war Spain had fought in the Colonial era, a Holy Crusade, but it was not, by then, one for which the cost of the Bula de la Santa Cruzada was the only contribution required from the inhabitants of the Indies (BMG. Vol. 68. Cordillera. 1791-1811).

The Dominicans had, over the years, borrowed large sums from chantries and pious funds in their attempts to make their haciendas economically viable, but the depredations of the Insurgent's 1812 campaign in their Province had worsened the situation. Hence, by 1814 their debt to the Caja de Consolidación on both principal and interest amounted to 143,500 pesos and they had had to borrow a further 30,000 pesos from private sources and other Oaxacan conventos in order to sustain the friars where their haciendas ran at a loss. Finally, in order to avert bankruptcy, buildings and land had to be sold (Hamnett, 1971a. pp. 67-8).

The very detailed accounts kept by the mayordomos of Etlá from shortly after the events discussed above will now be considered, as will the affair of their mismanagement of the funds in the fourth decade of that century, which also

demonstrates that after Independence nothing had changed in the attitudes of the Church and civil authorities towards fiesta. The only Libros de Cofradía in the parish archive of San Pedro and San Pablo, Etla are those of the Santísima Virgen del Rosario and the Santísimo Sacramento, which both date from 1815 when Padre Antonio de Arango prepared them, and that of the Santísima Virgen del Rosario of the barrio de abajo of the pueblo of Santo Domingo dating from 1836; that is of one of Santo Domingo's moieties. They are all continuations of earlier books. They contain a wealth of information and continue until the middle of the century, and so certain conclusions can be drawn from them regarding the period after Independence and before La Reforma.

Ten of the surnames borne by the mayordomos appeared in the 16th century Etla Genealogy of the Caciques of Etla, the Ramírez family (Whitcotton, p. 71), and several of these nobles were serving this religious cargo as late as the mid-century. They were José Ramírez in 1842, Francisco Ramírez in 1849, Enrique Pérez 1845 to 1847, and Dionisio Cortés in 1853.

During this period it was not uncommon for the same individual, or members of the same family to serve the cargo over a number of years: Pio Quinto de Santiago was mayordomo of the Santísimo Sacramento from 1819-1820, and Alberto de Santiago from 1821-1824, followed by Francisco López from 1825-1827. This pattern was repeated in 1835-1836, 1837-1838, and 1845-1847, whilst Manuel Cruz Martínez was mayordomo of N. S. del Rosario from 1821-1824 and Agustín Hernández from 1830-1831. This, then, shows clearly that the ideal model of a prestige ladder of civil and religious cargos served alternately, could no more have been in existence at that time than it could in the colonial era, and the fact that women served as mayordomas of

N.S. del Rosario in Santo Domingo in 1836, 1845, 1850, 1852 and 1854 is conclusive, as it was still impossible for them to serve civil cargos (APE).

The accounts of these two Etlá cofradías show that they owned a number of plots, including one belonging to the Santísimo Sacramento, which was next to "la tierra de la Virgen". They included irrigated (el riego) land used for raising wheat, and unirrigated (temporal) plots in which both wheat and maize were grown. The seed was distributed to various men, presumably cofrades, who planted it in the cabecera and its sujetos. It will be seen from Appendix B that in 1819 the Mayordomo de N. S. del Rosario was able to show a yield of 70 fanegas 6 almudes of wheat from 17 fanegas of seed which, after 20 fanegas 6 almudes had been set aside for seed, realised 226 pesos. Different qualities of grain had fetched different prices. The milpa yielded little maize that year, and in five instances none at all, so that after the seed had been distributed only 11 fanegas 5 almudes had been sold for the sum of 84 pesos ½ real. Chickpeas, which had also been planted, only yielded 23 almudes of which 21 almudes remained after cleansing and realised 7 pesos 4 reales. Thus the income from the total harvest amounted to 317 pesos 4 ½ reales.

The expenses involved in the cofradía's agricultural enterprises are set out under "Data" in Appendix B. The wheat production was a large and complex operation to oversee for there appear to have been some 31 plots in 8 pueblos. The irrigation canals had to be cleaned, and the workers fed. They were given bread and cheese, which cost 3 pesos (21). The water used for irrigating the wheat cost 8 pesos 2 reales, and the boys who irrigated that sown by Francisco Vicente of Santo Domingo so that the topiles were not overworked received 11 reales at the rate of ½ real a day. The harvest incurred further expenses: each pueblo was paid 2 reales for harvesting its

crop; the petates (matting), used to protect it cost 6 pesos 2 reales; whilst the transport of the sheaves and wheat and the hire of beasts, presumably mules, to thresh it was 18 pesos 2 reales. Lastly five loads of flour were milled at a cost of 8 pesos 3 ½reales. The harvesting of the other crops was far less costly; cutting the mazorca (maize cobs) cost 2 pesos, and 7 almudes of beans were cut for seed at an outlay of 3 pesos 4 reales. These sums totalled 53 pesos ½real, so that the harvest showed a handsome profit of 264 pesos 4 reales that year.

The total income from alms, 72 pesos 2 reales, was added to that of the harvest, so that the final total was 379 pesos 6 ½reales, and gives further insights into the way in which they were collected. The previous year's mayordomo had handed over 15 pesos from which the priest had received, in a departure from the 18th century practice, a fee of 1 peso for approving the previous year's accounts; he received the same fee in 1819 despite having overlooked several errors. These accounts suggest, as was argued with regard to the alms given in Zaachila, that there was no pressure for cofrades to give alms at the monthly Masses, for only 5 pesos 2 reales had been given during the entire year, although 25 pesos had been given at the fiesta and a further 16 pesos collected for it in the cabecera and its sujetos. Apart from this, 12 pesos were placed in the plate at the feast of the Purification of the Virgin.

The total given in alms was 72 pesos 2 reales, but the Data in Appendix B shows that although 25 pesos were given at the fiesta Mass, the priest's fee was 11 pesos 4 reales, and he was given a present costing 13 pesos, and so virtually nothing could be placed in the caja de cofradía. The church also benefited from a number of parish fees some of which were surprisingly high, for whilst a payment of 12 pesos "de aguinaldo" refers to the 9 Christmastide Masses, a later entry refers to 64 pesos paid

for the monthly Masses and processions held throughout the year. This greater number of processions must account for the heavy expenditure of 79 pesos 6 reales on replacing the 59 pounds of wax which had been used that year; but a surprising entry is that of 28 pesos in respect of six bottles of oil for the lamp, as the Cofradía del Ssmo Sacramento had also bought six bottles that same year for which it had paid 34 pesos 2 reales. A further fee of 6 pesos, including 2 for the choir, was paid for the Misa de Purificación, as well as 3 pesos for the Saturday of Holy Week and 2 pesos 4 reales for the year's incense. This totals 217 pesos 4 reales, which demonstrates the burden caused by secularisation, for the alms collected in Zaachila had paid for the monthly and fiesta Masses, and the friars had received the oil for the lamp from the Crown. The great increase in parish fees and the cost of replacing the wax is due to the fact that there were processions after Mass each month (APE).

Clearly the cult as celebrated at Etlá was an elaborate one as further expenditure included 12 pesos for new surplices for the altar boys, a monthly payment of 12 reales to the organist, 11 pesos for the cantores at the fiesta, and 2 pesos at the Misa de Purificación. There were also payments to the clarinetists at the fiesta and Easter Saturday, whilst the church was, by tradition, beautified. The sacristán received 3 pesos for arranging the altar, which must refer to the High Altar as the mayordomos would have arranged the cofradía's altar, and 7 pesos 3 reales were spent on hiring curtains for it, whilst 3 reales purchased ribbons, and 15 pesos bunches of flowers. In this way the beauty of the church services and the Masses for the patronal and other fiestas was maintained but the cost was high, although the accounts were balanced that year. After this, the cofradía's fortunes, or more particularly those of the mayordomos, floundered. The following year the mayordomo owed the cofradía 41 pesos 7 reales, and in 1821, when the yield was lower, 192 pesos 27 reales.

That was the year when the Insurgents, who had declared for the Plan de Iguala, fought for Iturbide, who was then chief of staff. Some of the garrisons on the coasts of Oaxaca deserted and the rest proclaimed Independence. Don Antonio de León and his troops reached Etlá on July 29th after defeating the Royalists under Obeso in the Mixteca Alta, and taking Huitzo. He triumphed in a battle at a nearby hacienda, and reached the church atrio. Here there were no defences and a three hour battle ensued after which Obeso asked to negotiate. They bivouacked overnight and Obeso left for Puebla with a hundred men, the rest having deserted. An Insurgent captain, Don José Pío Gaystarro, went to receive munitions and a canon from the convento, and on July 31st the Insurgents left for the City of Oaxaca, their arrival coinciding with a severe earthquake. Independence was declared shortly afterwards, and León went to Mexico City, as a lieutenant colonel (Gay, pp. 504-7). No reference to these events appears in the Etlá Libros de Cofradía (APE).

Iturbide was elected emperor on June 17th, 1822 so that, logically, once Mexico ceased to be part of the Spanish empire La Bula de la Santa Cruzada became null and void in Mexico, although the Bishop declared on October 16th that the graces, indulgences and privileges which it extended to the cofradías would continue. An Edict suspended these on October 2nd. 1823, but Pope León XII declared that they would continue in November 1824 (APE. Cordillera 1815-1889).

The expenses and outlay of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento were similar to those of the Santísima Rosario. But additionally in 1817-1818, they included glass lamps for Corpus Christi at 22 pesos, and opar (cassocks) for the altar boys costing 26 pesos 4 reales. The mayordomos, like those of the Santísima Rosario, were unable

to balance their books in the 1820s. In 1824 the entire harvest had to be sold, as there was a deficit of 147 pesos, and the re-elected mayordomo was told to collect alms throughout the town so that seed wheat could be bought. By August 1832 the debt had risen to 232 pesos 2 reales although they did have 10 fanegas of seed wheat, and three milpa had been sown with 1 fanega 10 almudes of maize, but in 1833 the Mass and wax for Holy Week had cost 25 pesos, and that year's mayordomo was 276 pesos 7 reales in debt.

Padre Arango declared the cofradía to be in a decadent state in 1836, but the mayordomo was re-elected. The following year the accounts were handed in late and had been poorly kept, to the fury of some of the Junta, who complained of the mayordomo's excessive use of wax and the wretched state he had left the Bienes de Cofradía in. He therefore promised to give the new mayordomo a ½ arroba of wax within eight days, and 1 arroba in December, as well as paying him the sums owing for the harvest, but he did not do so, and his successor, who had had to cover much of the cofradía's expenses himself, could only produce a few accounts although it was generally agreed that he had done his best.

I would argue, then, that whilst the 18th century mayordomos in the Valleys might well have incurred heavy expenses by financing the hidden costs of fiesta, that is those festivities which could be characterised as pre-Hispanic in nature, by the post-Independence period the actual costs of the cofradías' Masses and yearly contributions towards the maintenance of a lavish cult had risen so dramatically that in an area like the Valley of Etna, which though fertile was lacking in rainfall, even a partial failure of the harvest could make serious inroads upon a mayordomo's personal finances. As we have seen in the early decades of the century even large operations

like those of the two cofradías discussed here were barely sufficient to balance the books when the harvests were good, but as time went on the situation became disastrous, and some elected mayordomos were reluctant to serve the cargo.

The first recorded instance of a refusal to serve the cargo in Etla, where several of the relevant cofradía books are no longer in the parish archive, occurred in 1833 when Justo María Cervantes repeatedly refused to serve the cargo of mayordomo of the Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario, and Manuel Castellanos of San Juan Guelache was elected in his stead. A more revealing case occurred in 1842, when Florentino Diaz of the pueblo of Natividad was elected mayordomo of the Santísimo Sacramento to succeed José Rafael Ramírez, but the following Sunday, October 23rd, the república reconvened to consider his renunciation of the cargo, as the cofradía's reserves of seed grain and cultivated milpa were not sufficient to cover its expenses for the following year, and he lacked the personal funds to cover the deficit. This may have been a result of the 1839 drought and smallpox epidemic (ACG. Cordillera 1820-1879). The case was taken to the Subprefect and on November 16th, after he had reviewed Ramírez's accounts and evidently found that Diaz's fears were justified, the república and ancianos elected Ignacio Morales of San Juan Guelache as mayordomo. Matters worsened however over the next decade.

In 1842 Padre Arango left the parish in which he had spent nearly thirty years, if we assume that he had arrived there in 1815 when he prepared the new books, to become cura of the cathedral Sagrario (22). He was succeeded by Padre José María Pérez y Piña, who took charge of the archive from 1843, but no itemised mayordomo's accounts were recorded from then on: only the cargo and descargo. There is then no means of knowing precisely why the deficits mounted up so greatly in the next ten

years. Certainly, in 1846 the See was trying to raise 2,000 pesos from the funds, land or livestock of the cofradías as a contribution towards the Mexican American war, but with indifferent success,

There were, however, other possibilities. Had there been a series of poor harvests? Did the parish fees rise too steeply? Were the complexities of organising the cofradía's affairs too great? Were some mayordomos inadequate? Or were they and the cofrades too poor, or too few as a result of the epidemic, to cover the deficits which occurred during the their year in office? If the latter was the case, were they too timid to refuse to serve? Or did the república and the priest ignore their protests? It is impossible to tell, but in 1854 Padre Pérez noted in the Libro de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento that there was a total deficit of 3,254 pesos 1 real and 7 granos made up as follows: the Santísimo Sacramento 1,135 pesos approximately; Santísima Rosario 1006 pesos; Benditas Animas 400 pesos; Santo Entierro 149 pesos, Santísima Rosario of the barrio de abajo of Santo Domingo 161 pesos. There is a discrepancy of 403 pesos, but the amounts owed by the Santo Entierro are missing for 1848-1850 and 1852, and those for the Benditas Animas for 1845, 1850 and 1851, and these two books are now missing from the Parochial Archive of Etla.

Clearly the priest had been negligent in allowing these debts to mount up to such an extent, and when the matter was referred to the governor of the Sagrada Mitra of Oaxaca Cathedral he did not escape blame for when the accounts were approved it was stated that he must take a greater interest in the cofradías' affairs, and especially in the saints' plots, as through a lack of consistency in the archive some had been lost. This suggests that he might have produced some accounts for the Mitra which he had neglected to enter in the Libros de Cofradía, for no information of this nature appears

in them during the decade in question. But it also appears that the mayordomos had been remiss in allowing plots to be alienated - or even corrupt (APE).

Needless to say, the mayordomos escaped less lightly. They were held responsible for repaying the debts, and accepted that they must do so. Twenty would have been responsible in each case over the decade, and this included four women in the case of the Santísima Rosario of Santo Domingo, although the amount owing in this sujeto, where the Masses would have been simpler and possibly less frequent, was naturally much lower. Those for the Santísimo Sacramento in the cabecera, however, ranged between 57 and 107 pesos per mayordomo each year (23).

The fact that Mexico had gained her independence, and the indigenous populations had become equal citizens with the rest of the population did not, however, lead to their being regarded as equals by them. Moreover, as has been stated, such colonial institutions as the General Indian Court of the Half Real, which had defended their interests to an extent, had been disbanded, although, as was seen in 1842, the subprefect had treated them more sympathetically than many Spanish colonial officials had done. But the accountants' office of the Sagrada Mitra took a different view, concluding that the state of the accounts was due to customs established as a result of "La poca civilización que tienen los indígenas...". Yet, had they looked at the earlier accounts in the book, they would have realised that the mayordomos of that period had kept theirs meticulously and had them properly drawn up as can be seen by referring to Appendix B.

It was at this time that President Santa Anna's attempted repression of the Liberals led to the Revolution of Ayutla (1854-1855), as a result of which the Liberals achieved

power and Juárez, newly returned from exile in the United States of America, became Minister of Justice in President Comonfort's government. But in late 1855 he was sent to Oaxaca as governor, a post he had held from 1847 to 1852, to put down a military revolt against the Ley Juárez (Berry, 1981, pp. xv-xvi, 27). Its intent was to abolish the fueros (immunities) of the military and churchmen from civil trials and justice, and the revolt convinced him of the danger posed by the army such that he had it disbanded in Oaxaca and replaced by the already established National Guard, which Carmagnani believes Juárez saw as a means of suppressing the rebellious tendencies of the Isthmus and Sierra Zapotecs, the Mixtecs and the Triques; that is as a means of control of the ethnic majority.

He argues that whilst in 1848 the municipios still had a certain autonomy, by 1852 the Subprefects had them under political and economic control, and sees this as the second Conquest of the indigenous people of Oaxaca (Bazant, 1984. p. 67. Carmagnani, pp. 233-6). However, Guy Thomson emphasises that there were remoter areas, such as the Sierra de Juárez, where the wishes of the mining élite converged with those of the ethnic majority in securing a degree of autonomy from Oaxaca through their control of the National Guard (Thomson, pp. 280-1).

The Liberals sought to turn Mexico into a strong progressive state, and believed the turmoil of the post-Independence era resulted from the Conservatives' continuation of the Colonial model of a central administration underpinned by the Army and the Church. They, on the other hand, stood for a federal government, which held supreme power, the abolition of social and legal privileges, and a people bound by their Mexican citizenship regardless of their ethnic identity as well as the freedom of the individual at the expense of corporatism (Hamnett, 1991, p. 9. Berry, 1981. pp.

27-9). The latter when applied to corporately held lands greatly affected the municipios and, as it transpired, to their detriment.

However, Juárez, although a Sierra Zapotec had been formed by his legal studies at the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes in Oaxaca, whose lecturers were all Liberals influenced by the Spanish Enlightenment. He had studied there from 1828, when its director was a Dominican, Fray Francisco de Aparicio, who had supported Morelos during his occupation of the city, and when it was the only means by which an Indian could pursue a non-clerical career (Hamnett, 1991. pp. 45). Thus, by the time he became a national politician his Zapotec identity was completely overridden by his Liberal bourgeois persona (Ibid. p. 9), and the Liberals regarded the indigenous peoples with their defence of their traditions and links with a Church, which in fact viewed the manifestations of their syncretic religion, with dismay, as an impediment to the modernisation of the Mexican State. Moreover, the indigenous peoples acted as a collectivity, and this was contrary to the Liberal ideal of the enterprising individual as a key element of modernisation.

He had, states Hamnett:

"Though a freemason.... no personal or ideological quarrel with the Church, or with religion as such. Even so, two principles motivated his political conduct with regard to the Church - the establishment of supremacy of the civil power and the removal of the clergy from predominance in education" (Ibid. pp. 12-13).

His object, therefore, as state governor, was to seek an accommodation with the Church, not, as Hamnett shows, confrontation (Ibid. pp. 13-14). The army's threat to stability had been contained in Oaxaca, however, when Puebla was seized by

Conservative sympathisers early in 1856 it was believed that Church property had financed the venture. Indeed, Comonfort's confrontation with Bishop Labastida of Puebla over the matter engendered such bitterness that Bazant believes that the Ley Lerdo was enacted in June 1856 as a less blatantly direct attack upon Church wealth (Berry, pp. 27, 30. Bazant, pp. 67-9). This is feasible as it was an attack upon corporate property in general, but it meant that it affected both the ejido and the canonically recognised cofradía properties of the municipios.

The Church in Oaxaca was considerably weakened at this time in affluence, numbers, and influence, for the Crown's actions at the beginning of the century and Morelos's enforcement of loans from the priests during the Insurgency had been compounded when the Spanish merchants and cochineal manufacturers, whose wealth had supported the Church and its work, were expelled in 1828 and 1829 (Berry, p. 10). Then the Dominicans, some of whom had become secular priests when the secularisation of the doctrinas was completed in the late 18th century, had declined in numbers in the decades following Independence, and were of dubious behaviour (Hamnett, 1991. p. 13). Added to this the existence of the prestigious Instituto de Ciencias y Artes, and even the addition of courses in civil and criminal law to the curriculum at the diocesan seminary meant that educated men increasingly failed to enter the Church. Thus, by 1847, 330 curas served 140 parishes probably to the neglect of their sujetos, and of these a number preferred to live in the city rather than the remote communities (Berry, 1981. pp. 9-12, 23-4).

There were some fine and compassionate rural priests, as had always been the case, but there was controversy over parish fees at this time for they were higher than many could afford added to which numbers of curas demanded more than was their due,

refusing even to officiate at burials without payment (Ibid. p. 24. Powell, pp. 302-5). As a result of this there was widespread disaffection, but, under state law, the parishioners had to help maintain their clergy in this way and during his first governorship Juárez upheld Bishop Mantecón's attempts to enforce the payment of obvenciones, for, states Hamnett, whatever the circumstances the Liberals enforced the law (Hamnett, 1991, p. 14).

However, after the difficulties in Puebla, the Liberals no longer sympathised with the Church's problems and when all corporate wealth came under attack the Church in Oaxaca was unable to resist for it was no longer a cohesive body of priests and laity. Hence in November 1859 a cordillera was issued referring to the payment of congrua as a just increment for priestly services but urging the priests to:

"....abstengan de todo espiritu de Simonia y avaricia, pa. desmentir con una conducta prudente y moderada las imputaciones de los enemigos de la Iglesia y del buen nombre de sus ministros:..." (ACG. Cordillera 1820-1879).

Under the provisions of the Ley Lerdo corporate Church property had to be sold at a discount to those renting and leasing it, whilst any land or urban property which they refused to buy had to be sold at public auction. The conventos with their urban estate and haciendas were particularly hard hit, and, the worst blow of all for its future well-being, the Church was forbidden to acquire more property (Berry, p. 31. Bazant, 1989, pp. 155-6).

Insofar as the pueblos were concerned, that property required by the cabildo for the maintenance of the municipio, that is the ejido, was exempted, although some was sold against the wishes of the vecinos, but all cofradía property had, as in the case of

the Church, to be sold to tenants and lessees at a discount. This would have meant a considerable financial loss, as it was often a major source of cofradía income. A further means of financing fiesta was from the usufruct of those plots designated "Cofradía" in the propios. The municipios of Oaxaca responded to the law in a variety of ways (Berry, pp. 172-5).

The Central District with scarce communal land sold the cofradía plots to outsiders, or divided it among the vecinos. Decisions were taken at public meetings and it was sometimes arranged that the vecinos could still pasture their livestock on higher land and use any woods for charcoal. This district and a wide area around the capital quickly complied with the Law, but the remoter areas far from Liberal influence which were more traditional and Conservative in their views had to be forced to sell. They often quickly complied once they understood the position, sometimes in the hope that if they divided the land it would not be alienated. In distant Pinotepa enquiries were sent through Juárez as to the possibility of the municipio's purchasing communal land, rather than selling it to tenants, but Lerdo de Tejado refused to allow this (Ibid. pp. 176-181).

By 1859, when most who wished to buy disentailed property had done so, President Juárez allowed community and cofradía land and property to be divided among the vecinos as private property. The Jefes Políticos were to preside over this, giving preference to those heads of family, who had done most for their pueblos. Presumably, those who had suitable cargo careers. They were to be given land titles, and any complaints were to be heard (Colección de Leyes. 20.10.1859). A similar decree was published in 1861, as compliance with the first had been delayed by the Three Years' War (Ibid. 13.2.1861).

Berry has analysed the disentailment of communal land in Oaxaca at length and demonstrated that frequently plots were bought which were too small for adequate subsistence. Sometimes too vecinos grouped together to purchase land valued at as little as under 100 pesos, and bought cattle in the same way. He also shows that by 1861 the number of municipios in the state had declined from 285 to 120 (Berry, pp. 181-185). This suggests that the law was inadequately drawn up and administered. Indeed, Berry states that some Jéfes Políticos took community funds, which in any case began to show a considerable loss as a result of these enforced sales (Ibid. p. 187).

The financing of fiesta suffered in the same way after the suppression of the cofradías (ACG. Cordillera. 2.8. 1859), and Berry records that according to the Jefe Político in the Etla district many pueblos concealed the true amount of their revenues in order to continue financing "Masses, church functions, banquets and other festivities as they had traditionally spent their revenues in the past" (Berry, p. 251). That is, they wished to continue to act as a collectivity. However, we may assume that a rich man might have taken advantage of the 1861 decree to buy a number of plots of varying types, and that at this time those who would be rich enough to finance the mayordomía fiestas as sole sponsors of a saint were acquiring their property, whilst those caciques who rented out land would have faced considerable losses. But Buve argues that many village élites were in a position to take advantage of the Reform (Buve, pp. 20, 22).

It may be assumed too that even the rich would have had difficulty in financing mayordomías without the backing of the cofradías and cofrades, and it may have been from this time that guelaguetza was articulated as a means of instituting long term

loans in work and kind, for there is no reference to this means of financing a fiesta in any archives of previous periods, when it appears to have been confined to house building, and possibly agricultural labour and rites de passage.

Throughout this thesis I have striven to make it evident that after the Conquest the Oaxacan pueblos were affected to an extraordinary degree by Church and civil policies, the interaction of the Bishops and the Dominicans, and the behaviour of the Spanish settlers in the Valleys. But, perhaps what is most evident from the latter half of this chapter is the vulnerability of the communities, however remote, to International politics through the Crown's call upon their funds to finance its wars, and, post-Independence, to national politics through the policies of various governments which saw their maintenance of their ancient way of life as a threat to programmes designed to create a modern progressive Mexican state. One cannot but think that there would have been less urgency in this desire had it not been for the existence of Mexico's aggressive, greedy and unscrupulous northern neighbour, and her unfortunate experience of these traits in the annexation of Texas, in 1845, and the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, with the added loss of New Mexico and California. In any event, it was as a result of this desire for modernisation and equality that the municipios were, paradoxically, weakened and although fiesta remained as their prime integrating institution, the onus for administering the celebrations passed from a collectivity, the mayordomos and cofrades with funds at their disposal, to a single mayordomo who was still nevertheless expected to placate the saints in the time-honoured manner through his financing of his mayordomía.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 9.

1. Ulloa, pp. 170-171. Ley VII, tít. IV, Lib. I of the Novísimo Recopilación stipulated that 1 tomín per person should be contributed to the hospital, as well as any cofrade fines (Lamas, p. 146, 146n10).

2. Concilio I, Chapter LIX. The "Limosna de vino, cera y aceite" was paid to the Orders from the Real Hacienda from the time of Charles V. According to a Real Cédula of 21.7.1672 it consisted of 6 arrobas of oil for each convento which had a lamp before the Holy Sacrament, and 1-½ arrobas of wine for Mass for each priest. These they were expected to buy at the most competitive prices. This legajo, which does not specify the amount of wax allowed, covers the period from 1674 to 1721 (AGI. Méx. 2525). According to Zorita, who was an Oidor from 1557 to 1566, a pound of wax cost 6 reales at that time, and sometimes 8 reales (Zorita, 1909. p. 188).

3. Gibson, 1964. p. 213. Gibson states that in the transitional period the keys were held by the cacique, an alcalde and the Corregidor, whilst in the mid-18th century the Audiencia ordered that the priest, the Corregidor and the gobernador should hold them (Ibid. p. 213).

4. Ulloa, p. 170. Under the Rule of Poverty at that time no friar was allowed to celebrate more than one Mass a day, or to spend more than two pesos without the permission of the superior (Ibid. pp. 174, 173), whilst it was frequently stressed that the doctrineros were not to ask their converts to spin more thread than was needed for their habits, or for more food than was necessary for their subsistence (Ibid. pp. 170, 175).

5. Chance, p. 26. Chance sees this as evidence of the abject status of the mayeques, and certainly they were inherited by a cacique as part of his patrimony. According to the

Visitador Zorita, who included Oaxaca in his definition, they regarded the land they worked as their own, but gave the cacique a share of the crop, and disposed of the rest as they wished. They also gave him personal service, as well as firewood and water for his house, and served him in time of war, but they neither paid tribute to him nor to any other señor, nor worked community land (Zorita, 1963. pp. 113-4, 120, 127); hence, after the Conquest the caciques argued that the mayeques owed no tribute to the Crown or the Encomenderos. Zorita distinguished them from the renteros, or terrazgueros, who were true sharecroppers, both paying tribute and tilling community land. But the Spanish texts appear to have referred to the mayeques as terrazgueros (Chevalier, pp. 21-2).

6. Chance, p. 26. Cacao which is still sold at the Ocotlán weekly market, was used in large quantities - as many as 80,000 loads at 30 pesos a load annually - and would have reached this area from the Pacific coast (Zorita, 1909. p. 196). In 1545 a judge of the Audiencia had set a number of equivalences for the market of Tlaxcala. Thus 1 gold tomín = 1 silver real = 200 full cacao beans or 230 shrivelled ones; a turkey cock = 200 beans; a chicken = 40; a fish wrapped in maize husks = 3; and a large tomato = 1 (Anderson, et. al., pp. 209-13).

7. Zorita, 1909. p. 408. Zorita, 1963. pp. 35, 43 refers to the Aztec macehuales, whilst Zorita, 1909. p. 408, refers to those of Michoacan, so this view of macehual rights and cacique duties was presumably widespread.

8. Zorita, 1909. p. 406. By the late 1560s the population of the Diocese of Oaxaca had fallen dramatically: from some 700,000 to 100,000 in the Mixteca Alta, and from 350,000 to nearly half that number in the Valleys (Romero Frizzi, 1990. pp. 31-2).

9. Derramas were levies enforced by the cabildo upon the macehuales for extraordinary expenses. 10. Lamas, p. 105, 105 n. 59. This order was directed at the clerics and the religious, but Lamas explains that this was due to a misunderstanding of the situation in Tepeaca in 1555 and 1560 where in fact the caciques and principales had been at fault.

11. Guelaguetza is exact equivalence in gift exchange over a long period of time. That is, prestations of help or goods may be recalled years later.

12. R. G. p. 318. Obvenciones menores, that is fees for the priest's services could be collected for weddings and funerals from 1590, but not for the Mass, confession and baptism (Schwaller, pp 104-5). This together with primicias (First Fruits)) and the service of four Indians (R.G. p. 299) may explain the difference between the salary paid by the King or the Encomendero and the value of the stipends. The Relación de Amatlán states "Valen las obvenciones de este partido quinientos pesos cada año, demas del salario" (R.G. p. 319).

13. AGN. Index. p. II. Various 17th century decrees stressed the need for the Indians to learn Spanish, so that they might understand the Doctrine the better (Van Oss, p. 143). This policy was an attempt to quash the practice of idolatry.

14. APZ. This is probably the statue, which is now in a room in the convento. It appears to be estofado - an elaborate process of painting flesh so as to look natural- and the saint's habit is, as is the custom with this saint, covered in gilded motifs.

15. APZ. This book ended in 1798, and I found no subsequent book in the parish archive until that of "La Mayordomía de San Nicolás de Tolentino. 1915-51". However, this states

that the previous book had been used for eighty years from 1836, and the new book had been presented to the mayordomos so that they might continue "...esta religioso veneración..." The entry for 1918 recorded that there were then two images of the saint: one standing and one kneeling, as well as 11 arrobas 11 lbs of wax.

16. It may be assumed that the first witness to sign this document, the Cacique Don Luis de Velasco, was the gobernador of Zaachila at that time.

17. This indulgence had been conceded by Pope Adrian VI, and extended to the Province in New Spain by Pope Pius V., O.P. (1566-1572). If such a candle, blessed in honour of the Virgin, was placed in the hands of a dying person, who invoked Her name, he would receive "plenary indulgences and the remission of all his sins" (Dávila Padilla, p. 500).

18. A number of entries in this Libro de Cofradía are indecipherable or hardly decipherable due to water damage, and the pages are out of order, as are those of the Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario. In 175, Bishop Blanco y Elguero considered the entire archive unsatisfactory. He showed the priest how to cut the pages, and ordered him to prepare all his books in the same way and number the pages, or be suspended from office.

19. The elaborate candles made for modern mayordomías resemble the flower-laden candles carried by the "monjas floridas", that is the nuns who are depicted in 18th century portraits wearing elaborate floral crowns when they were professed (Romero Flores. Reproductions of "monjas floridas" on pp. 8, 135, 178, 216). This custom would have been a familiar one in the cities of New Spain for the girl went to her convent in a "lively" procession preceded by a cohetero (Ladd, Doris M. "La Nobleza Novohispana" p. 27 in Artes de México. Núm. 12. 1991.). It must have continued until La Reforma for Frances

Calderón de la Barca refers in 1840 to a girl arriving at the convent of Santa Teresa in Mexico City "...arrayed in pale blue satin, with diamonds, pearls, and a crown of flowers. <having been> paraded through the streets in all her finery." Later, the church doors were opened "... a crowd burst in.... <and> Rockets were let off outside the church" (Calderón, pp. 192-3).

20. The civil archive of Zaachila is now held in Zimatlán, but the Presidente was unwilling to give me permission to see it, so it is impossible to tell whether any Memorias are still in existence.

21. The Valley of Etlá is now famous for its cows milk cheese, which is sold in the markets, as many families there keep one or two cows in their solares, but had had mercedes for sheep and goats in the colonial era.

22. AGEO. Fondo Espec. Benito Juárez. Leg. 1. (Box 13744).

23. I searched the Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca as far as it was possible, as the mid-19th century, as opposed to the Colonial archives are not completely in order, but was unable to trace any documents regarding the payment of these debts.

PART THREE.
FROM COFRADIA TO MAYORDOMIA.
CHAPTER 10
THE VALLEY MAYORDOMOS AS THE CUSTODIANS OF ZAPOTEC IDENTITY AND
RELIGIOUS COSTUMBRE.

In this chapter I shall consider the extra-official role of the mayordomos in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca: that of organising and, possibly, financing those aspects of fiesta which had been condemned by the Church. That is the banquets, drinking at banquets, masked dance groups, even such appended Spanish diversions as fireworks and bullfights.

In the previous chapter it was shown that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries official provision was often made for the banquets to be paid for from the Bienes de Comunidad, despite the fact that there had been constant strictures upon the feasting and drinking which accompanied the saint's fiestas from the early post-Conquest era. There is also some evidence from the civil accounts, the Memoriales of the Mixteca Alta, in the 18th century, that this continued to be the case, whilst the Libros de Cofradía available from the mid-seventeenth century onwards show that officially, apart from a few references to fire-works, the Bienes de Cofradía were only used to pay for the fiesta Masses, although the information given in the Libros de Cordillera of Etla was more informative, as is shown by the extract in Appendix B. Nevertheless, the lack of empirical evidence makes it difficult to determine whether cofradía funds were used to finance any unofficial aspect of fiesta activities, or whether this devolved in part upon the mayordomos.

In Chapter I, I isolated certain pre-Hispanic rituals, which survived long after the Conquest and for which there is archaeological evidence, and I shall expand upon this theme in the present chapter. I also referred to the scattered definitions in Fray Juan de Córdova's "Vocabulario" as well as the references to dancing, feasting and drunkenness in front of the idols in the "Relaciones Geográficas" with the proviso that the reality was almost certainly less orgiastic than these accounts suggested, but one difficulty which attends any attempt to describe the festivities which accompanied fiesta is the lack of comprehensive descriptions of Zapotec celebrations at contact, during the Colonial era and in the post-Independence decades prior to the Reform Government.

I shall cite Burgoa's very interesting 17th century descriptions of fiestas, but apart from these, although I have read the journals of those, mostly friars, who travelled through the Valleys during the Colonial era, I have found no references to fiesta celebrations, either because they saw none, or, more probably, because custom, or distaste, made them indifferent to them, when they were not involved as priests. As a result my main sources, apart from some slight evidence from the Libro de Cofradía accounts, are the prohibitions of the bishops, which particularly referred to dances, feasts, and drinking and an order from the Viceroy in 1777, for information regarding the costs of the various "diversiones" which accompanied the fiestas.

There appears to be no doubt, however, from the displeasure expressed in the bishops' Libros de Cordillera at expenditure upon pre-Hispanic survivals and the mayordomos' excesses in this respect, that they, like their élite pre-Hispanic and 16th century forebears before them, were the custodians of their pueblos' costumbres. Moreover, as the Spanish royal officials also complained of the nature and cost of

fiesta, I would argue that such celebrations were, as they had been since the Conquest, a statement of Zapotec identity, which, by celebrating the religious icons specific to the community concerned, emphasised and ensured the solidarity of the group in opposition to the colonial society of the time. Neither was this situation altered in any way by the fact that the indigenous peoples became equal citizens of the Mexican State once Independence had been declared (1).

Heavy expenditure on ritual was a pre-Hispanic custom, and is documented amongst the Nahuatl-speakers of the ceremonial centre of Cholula, where the noble priests of the cult of Quetzalcoatl gave all or most of their wealth to the temple, to which they devoted their lives. Another instance of conspicuous expenditure was the cult of Huitzilopochtli, in which merchants, craftsmen or one-year fasters achieved higher status by a sponsorship so expensive that they might find it necessary to pledge themselves or lose land through undertaking it (Carrasco, 1975. pp. 488, 489-90). The only reference to fiesta in the Relaciones Geográficas, that of the patron saint, San Andrés, of Miahuatlán, states that it was attended by people from other towns, that there was singing in praise of the saint, as well as dancing, and that a quantity of money was spent on eating and drinking (R.G. p. 131).

Music and dance date, according to the archaeological evidence from the early Formative period (1500-850 B.C.). Flannery has found evidence from that time of turtle shell drums, shown being struck by antlers in Classic pottery, as well as conch shell trumpets and suggests, from their comparative rarity, that they were used at community level (2)

The instruments Fray Juan de Córdova refers to include drums played by hand, others played with sticks (possibly the huehuetl), and the long wooden teponaztli (3) made from a beautifully carved tree trunk. Other percussion instruments he defined are a rattle and small bells made from "las patillas de animalejos" (4). There are also references to bone instruments played for dancing, and a hollow stick. These presumably are wind instruments, of which ancient pottery examples still survive. A small drum is used to play traditional music at Valley mayordomías today, but the wind instrument which it accompanies is the chirimía (5), or shawm: a Spanish introduction.

Flannery refers to the many figurines, especially from the Early Formative period, which appear to represent dancers in costumes and masks. These occur in association with household clusters, as do the actual pottery masks used, and from this evidence he posits the existence of widespread dance sodalities linking households, rather than connected with public rituals (6). Modern masks are usually made of wood, although those from the Isthmus may also include reptile skins, shells, and fur on a wooden base. Clearly, early examples of any of these would have disintegrated. Fray Juan de Córdova refers to "Dança una compañía de dançantes, dos, tres", for which he gives Zapotec terms, and "dançante" under which reference is added "Y fiesta bailando, Pènitoyàani", as well as "Cantor, el que lleva el canto en los bayles", and "Entonar el canto o canción en el bayle", which hardly suggest the Bacchanalian performances of the "Relaciones Geográficas". Indeed, Zorita, in discussing these topics refers to the dexterity and conformity of Aztec song and dance. He adds that the Señores had private choirs who prepared dances and composed songs with ingenious verses, which they performed at the principal fiestas, or the Señor's large patio, and at the principales houses (Zorita, 1909. pp. 311-2).

There are other references to music and dance in Fray Juan de Córdova's "Vocabulario", as at the time of the Conquest, dancing was virtually synonymous with public rituals. He has three entries under "Cabeça", "Cara" and "Rostro", which describe the stuffed, flayed skins of human heads, which the dancers carried. It may be that these were connected with the use of the tzompantli (skull rack), if it occurred in the Valleys. He also refers to the special clothes and plumage they wore. National dance rituals in the Valley were performed at Mitla in the sacred space before the temple of Bezelao (R.G. p. 149), now they are usually performed, as a result of vows in the sacred space before the church, the atrio. Some roles require masks, and all need elaborate costumes. Feather headdresses denote Indians in the Conquest dances, and particularly spectacular ones are used in the Danza de la Pluma.

The definitions of dances given in the "Vocabulario Castellano-Zapoteco" are minimal descriptions, and are mostly insufficient to identify modern survivals. Four entries refer to poles. "Palo como arbol de nao, en que buelan los yndios." and "Bolar por este palo." clearly refer to the Voladores dance, which is still performed today by the Totonac of Vera Cruz State, where their high poles are permanent fixtures in the church atrios. This dance probably originated in that area, but spread through most of Mexico. The Spaniards were fascinated by the five dancers who climbed the tall pole; one playing a pipe and tabor and dancing in the centre, and the other four dancing on the small surrounding platform, secured by the thick vines, which held them, when they hurled themselves downwards. But there were so many deaths, as a result of Spanish enthusiasm, that the Church tried to suppress the dance. It is of great antiquity, and some Aztec codices show it to be related to human sacrifice by

bow and arrow and the cult of Xipe Totec and Tlazolteotl, deities with powers over the earth and crops (Mompradé & Gutierrez, Tomo 1. pp. 136-41).

The two other references are "Palo otro donde boltean o buelan", and "Palo el juego del palo de los yndios el jugar y todo el bayle vide boltear." It is difficult to determine what he had in mind, as boltean suggests acrobatics (7), but there are certainly stilt dancers in parts of the Valley today. The only other reference to a specific dance is "Dança de matachines. Hueyápecuana, porque hazen gestos." Matachín translates as bully, and Arturo Warman states that the matachines of Europe danced throughout carnival, masked, ridiculously dressed, and hitting out with wooden swords or air-filled bladders (8).

Elements of the Jardineros dance may be survivals of what Córdova witnessed, although it is now regarded as a version of Moros y Cristianos (9), that is as a Conquest dance. It is danced in some villages in the Zimatlán arm of the Valley by young men dressed as men and girls, and led by a Christian and a Moorish king and queen (Mompradé & Gutiérrez, II. pp. 322-324, 252-3), with the jardineros in their hideous modern rubber masks and bright loose costumes providing a burlesque bullying element by clowning and joking, which were features of some Aztec celebrations (Zorita, 1909. p. 315) and chasing those boys bold enough to venture near them (10). In this dance in La Ciénega, Zimatlán, the "girls" entered the square carrying light floral arches, which they hung on a tree before dancing. One of Fray Juan's entries reads "los arcillos que emplean cuando baila."

Burgoa, discussing the life of Fray Gonzalo Lucero, when priest of Chila in the Mixteca, in the early part of the Conquest commented:

".... no consentía que hubiese danzas en la procesión, sino antes o después de ella, porque advertía, que con las máscaras y gitanerías de los bailes, se divertían, y perdían aquel tiempo los que habían de ocuparle yendo abrasados de amor de tan grande beneficio, y bien considerado no se había de permitir en su presencia, la menor distracción, ni livianidad," (Burgoa, 1934. Tomo I. p. 48).

According to Mompradé and Gutiérrez the Danza de los Matachines is one of the most widely disseminated in Mexico today. It is performed by ritual dance groups, usually connected with the church, whose members are fulfilling a vow, but if their parents made one for them during their childhood, they may perform throughout their lives. The costumes they wear in the illustrations appear to be prehispanic (II. pp. 357-361, & I illustrations 184-7, 149-51). So, it appears that this is an example of the Church Christianising what might otherwise have become, when one considers Córdova's definition, an overtly subversive dance.

The Danza de la Pluma is clearly in the same context, for the Dominicans converted it into a long dance drama in which the Christians, Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado, whose spoken parts represent a considerable learning effort, defeat Moctezuma and his Aztec nobility. It is performed over some four afternoons and evenings. The dancers, who perform to fulfil a vow, are very athletic and well rehearsed, and the orderly proceedings are directed by two men wearing tusked black boar masks and bright costumes, who are also clowns. They are the "campos." The leaping dances of Moctezuma and his Aztec nobles, which contrast with the marching of the Spaniards, are thought to be authentic survivals of prehispanic ones. It is a variation of the dance of Moros y Cristianos, and its story of the defeat of the Mesoamericans

by Christianity suggests that the missionaries led the way in syncretising fiesta, as a means of making acceptable aspects of Zapotec religion that could not be eradicated in view of the spectacular nature of prehispanic religious ritual.

This is evident from the description of the fiesta of San Andrés of Miahuatlán in 1580 (R.G. p. 131) refers specifically to "bayles y areytos, cantando en loor del santo" and Zorita explains that there were two kinds of festive dance among the Aztecs, "metotiliztli" (bayles) which were dances of joy and rejoicing, of which the ordinary dances at the mayordomos' feasts must be the equivalent, and "maceualiztli" (areytos) The latter were danced at the great fiestas in the squares, and at the feasts of specific gods, as an offering (Zorita, 1909. pp. 315-8), and both types must have been present throughout Mesoamerica. Such Conquest dances as La Danza de la Pluma and Jardineros, which are performed in the atrio if it is sufficiently large, are clearly descended from the "macehualiztli".

The few seventeenth century accounts of fiestas by Burgoa are surprisingly informative. He was loud in his praise of the cantores' singing of sacred music, and the ability of the other musicians. He stated that at the fiestas in the larger pueblos there were pairs of dancers stretching from the church into the distance, all bedecked, some from head to foot, in green feathers. But before the celebrations some three hundred men went hunting for game in the mountains. Each pueblo arrived for a fiesta shouting triumphantly and bearing a stag or other game wreathed in leaves and flowers for the banquet, which they gathered in groups to enjoy. Some of the women were appointed to serve the food and drink at these, as is the custom today (Burgoa I. pp. 287-8).

He then referred to a banquet that he had attended with some other friars. Great amounts of meat had been prepared for them, music had been alternately sung, and played on trumpets, clarinets and chirimías, and on the eve of the fiesta clothing and silk cloths had been presented to the Caciques, Señores and other guests (Ibid. p. 288). These accounts appear to refer to the early 17th century when he began his mission and sound remarkably close to what we know of the Zapotec customs at contact, for one of Juan de Córdova's definitions is "Dar dones o presentes, los que davan antiguamente en los banquetes a Señores," and his next entry refers to a similar courtesy extended to the "principales mas baxos" (Córdova, p. 113). Burgoa, writing in the late 1660s, stated that such celebrations continued but on a less lavish scale (11).

The above passage occurs in a chapter about Yanhuitlán, but was written when Burgoa was living in the Valleys in the late 1660s as Vicario of Zaachila. There he referred with admiration to the musicians of the doctrinas, and the teachers who prepared the dancers. During the fiestas the dancers wore expensive costumes with silver veils, silk ribbons, and plumes and the musicians played guitars, rabeles, harps and bandurrias (lutelike instruments) (12).

In writing about Huitzo, he referred to a miraculous incident there when, after some very fierce bulls had been fought, the Dominicans, who were not allowed to attend bullfights (Arroyo, II. p. 92), were invited to watch the horse races held afterwards. One, however, left later and when in the atrio was attacked ferociously by a loose bull, which he deflected with his escapulario (shoulder cape) (13). Bullfights were celebrated for several days. Burgoa recounts the above passages without adverse comment, but he was not always so benign on the subject of fiestas. In speaking of

Etla, where he referred to the Wednesday market, which is still held there, he complained that the people there spent excessively on adorning their altars, on wax, on the boys' dances, and on eating and drinking. The fiesta of the Santísimo Sacramento in particular was, he said, observed with great pomp and splendour (Burgoa, II. p. 8).

Fireworks are not referred to by Burgoa although gun-powder was bought for the fiesta of San Nicolás in Zaachila in 1665 and they appear in the reproduction of part of a 10-leafed Mexican screen of the period entitled "El Palo Volador" (Artes de México, Núm. 12, verano 1991, pp. 35-7). It shows plumed dancers, dressed in a variety of costumes reminiscent of the prehispanic period, dancing to a teponaztli, whilst nearby is a forerunner of the modern castillo. It is a high pole with a diamond-shaped structure near the top bearing Catherine wheels and pennants; the whole is surmounted by a cockerel with another Catherine wheel, pierced with pennants, on its back. The diamond structure is covered with exploding rockets (14).

The Bishops of Oaxaca consistently complained about the mayordomos' excessive expenditure upon feasting and drinking in their 18th century Libros de Cordillera, and would have preferred them merely to arrange for Mass and a solemn procession on the saint's day. Then, during a session of the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council on February 28th, 1777 the members concluded that the cofradías were a pretext for the Indians to maintain their traditions and organise their fiestas which were superstitious and pagan, for they wished to promote their spiritual and material well-being by integrating them into New Spanish society. This, argues Gonzalbo Aizpuru, would have meant not only their attaining religious orthodoxy, but also their submission to the State (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, pp. 23, 23 n. 30). This Concilio was never ratified by the Vatican however.

The spirit of the Council was Jansenist and Brading argues that from this time on the clergy "increasingly came to view popular religion with disfavour" (Brading, 1990. pp. 191) and by the end of the century were seeking to ban the carrying of images through the street in some dioceses. There was an order from the Viceroy, dated 3.2.1798 that images were not to be taken out to processions, even those in the cabecera, into the fields or into the countryside, or to collect alms, but provided they were not ridiculously dressed they could be taken out when needed for processions in the pueblo or sujeto to which they belonged. They could only be taken elsewhere in accordance with the regulations for a procession, Novenario or Rogation in case of need, and then no further than one league. But a Cross and candles could be taken to other places provided that they did not accompany an image and returned before dark (ACG. Cordillera).

To revert to Brading's comments, it could be argued from the evidence marshalled in previous chapters that in fact there was little difference in their attitudes. Indeed, it was at the time of this Council that the King expressed a wish for a quarter of the seminary scholarships to be reserved for Indians and mestizos, and their numbers increased from then on despite the misgivings of some prelates from the Peninsular (Gonzalbo A. pp. 21-23), so it might be argued that a number of ecclesiastics of the period were more enlightened than their predecessors of the Tridentine Third Council, who had refused to countenance an Indian priesthood. Although it must be said that the Dominicans had also been opposed to this (Ulloa, p. 229). I do not believe that a delight in the liturgy was as common among this religious people (15) as David Brading suggests, but I do think that this was a tragedy for those with vocations and I suggest that had the priesthood, regular or secular, been available to the indigenous

nobility they and their subjects might have been less marginalised in Colonial society. Padre Ulloa states that the Indians were never fully integrated into religious life as a result, in the case of the Dominicans of the ultrarreformista vision (Ulloa, pp. 228-9). As it was, by the mid-18th century vocations could be followed but the damage had been done.

In 1777, the year of the Fourth Council, the Corregidor of Oaxaca informed the Viceroy that the income of many of the cofradías was little more than 3 or 4 pesos, but the mayordomos ruined themselves by spending 80 to 100 pesos on food and drink and so were forced into debt peonage for years. The Bishop agreed that this happened on many occasions. If a man with a large debt sought to discharge it by asking the owner of an obraje or an hacendado for a loan in return for work, he might spend the rest of his life working it off (Brooks, pp. 73-4). According to the Bishop his heirs might also be condemned to this kind of slavery (Ibid. p. 74). Further to this, it was the Corregidor's belief that such costs were usually undertaken by the rich, who were reduced to penury by this means.

This came to be a commonly accepted anthropological model of mayordomía, until Cancian disproved it in his study of Zinacantan, Chiapas, and in this instance it is difficult to reconcile it with the evidence given in previous chapters that in 18th century Zaachila members of the same families served this cargo over several generations, as well as the indisputable evidence that the same man might serve as mayordomo for two or more years. Indeed Table 10.1 demonstrates the degree to which kin might serve within a few years of each other and over generations. This is not to refute the statements of the Corregidor and the Bishop, which must have been based upon their own evidence, but it may be that some exaggeration or misconception might have been involved.

In modern Mesoamerican and Andean villages, such misfortunes usually occur when a financial catastrophe, caused for example by crop failure, sickness, or death coincides with cargo holding, rather than as a result of cargo holding. But it is impossible to reach an objective conclusion as to whether such situations might have occurred in the

TABLE 10.1.
KIN AS MAYORDOMOS CONCURRENTLY AND OVER GENERATIONS.

FAMILIA DE AGUILAR.

<u>San Nicolás de Tolentino.</u>	<u>N.S. del Rosario.</u>	<u>Santísimo Sacramento.</u>
1718 Domingo.	1718 Nicolás	
1720 Pedro.		
1733 Lorenzo		1733 Lorenzo
		1739 Sebastián.
1742 } Juan		
1742 } Juanito.		
1744 Raphael.		
1746 -1747 Juan.		
		1749 Antonio.
1750 Domingo.		
	1751 Juan	
		1753 Crispin.
1755 Crispin.	1755 Juan	
1762 Antonio.		
1764 Hipólito.		
		1766 Domingo
	1768 Martín.	1768 Pasqual.
	1771 Domingo.	
1775 Domingo.		
	1777 Lucas.	
1778 Juan.		
1788 Juan Martín.		
		1790 Domingo.
1793 Rafael.	1793 Juan Martín.	
		1794 Lucas.

1795 Isidro Manuel.

1797 Domingo.

Mayordomía de San Antonio de Padua.

1799 Francisco.

1802 Sebastián.

1806 Josef.

1812 Gregorio.

a) It will be observed that some of the above served on more than one occasion.

b) Similar situations occur with the Familia Martín and others.

Source: APZ. Libros de Cofradía.

pueblos whose accounts have been discussed, because of the lack of relevant data.

This is particularly so in the cases where large debts were incurred, for they coincided in both Zaachila and Etla with the most basic data for some years before, and so suggest the failure of the priests concerned as much as that of the mayordomos.

It may have been as a result of the Bishop's report that there was an order from the Viceroy that year, which the Bishop forwarded to his priests for exact information about those cofradías:

"....que teniendo suficientes fondos que no consisten en bienes de comunidad, estime dignas de que subsisten en este Obispado..." and also for the costs involved in "... Toros, Bayles, y diversiones, o otras semejantes... (ACG. Cordilleras 1776-1802).

but I have been unable to trace any replies to this request (16).

The accounts for the fiesta of the Cofradía de N.S. de la Limpia Concepción de Juquila, Zaachila in 1778 for that and the previous year had been: 2 Masses at 1 peso, with a later entry for 3 pesos; the singers 8 pesos; the chirimía players 5 pesos; the maestro who made the candles 1 peso; and the Voladores of 1777 4 pesos 6 reales.

This reference may be to the forerunner of the castillo referred to earlier, or merely to rockets. Apart from this, curtains had cost 1 peso 5 reales in 1777, and 3 pesos in 1778, the arrangement of the altar 3 pesos; silver 6 reales; Rosaries 12 reales; lime 2 reales and firewood 1 real. An additional 12 reales were taken from the caja and the bishop's Visita was included at 5 pesos. Thus the total for the two years was 40 pesos, which was quite a small sum, but this is the fullest account of such expenses that I have seen for the 18th century, and it is unusual in that some items refer to events other than the Mass. The lime and firewood might have been used for making and preparing tortillas for a banquet with maize from one of the Virgin's milpas. So this and the Viceroy's prohibition on carrying saints in processions and asking for alms give some evidence of unofficial means of financing fiestas, and show that it was not entirely dependant upon the two mayordomos and their diputados.

The initial entries in the Libro de la Mayordomía de San Antonio de Padua founded in Zaachila in 1791, after the bishop had extinguished the cofradías, show that the mayordomos and their diputados were elected from the different barrios of Zaachila: el barrio grande; San Sebastián; Chilachego; Chilachiqui; San José; and, in 1793, Lessio. This information was not given for any of the other Zaachilan cofradías, and it may have been recorded in this instance because, once they were completely in control of a sacred institution, it was vital for the Zaachileños to demonstrate their territorial ties in a way which was foreign to official Church thinking. This territorial stress is central to Carmagnani's important argument that, after the disjunction of the Conquest, the Zapotecs reconstructed and defended their ethnic identity by redefining their territory as a series of sacred spaces, which allied them with the supernatural beings pertaining to them. Thus they had status conferred upon them by their alliance with the new territorial deities, the cofradía saints of their cabeceras, sujetos and

barrios, whom they lauded in their fiestas and who were their defence against their external and internal enemies alike. Carmagnani sees this partnership above all else as "el referente de las acciones económicas, sociales y políticos de los grupos étnicos" (Carmagnani, pp. 9-15).

He also argues that the Zapotecs and Mixtecs were most in need of these Holy allies and defendants in the 18th century when increasing commercialisation rendered them more vulnerable to external pressures and to internal social change as a result of the upward mobility of the successful manipulators of trading opportunities (Ibid. p. 108). Brooks would concur with these beliefs, for he too believes that the cofradías strengthened the communities' social organization (Brooks, p. 61), whilst he states that certain Churchmen realised that they served the same function for their economic co-operation in that whilst the Archbishop and the Bishop of Oaxaca complained in the 1790s that more time was spent on cultivating cofradía land than on the ejidos, the Bishop of Michoacan, commented that in fact both agriculture and trade benefited as a result (Brooks, pp. 69-70).

It could, however, be argued that the Zaachileños' vulnerability is demonstrated by the fact that even in the case of their independent mayordomía, whilst they freely expressed their territorial allegiance, they still maintained a silence over the costs of the fiestas which strengthened their ties with San Antonio de Padua. But the mayordomos had every cause to feel particularly threatened at this time owing to the attacks upon the cofradías as a result of the Fourth Regional Mexican Council, the Bourbon Reforms, and the Crown's later attempts to defray its war debts by plundering the cajas de cofradía.

In 1780, Bishop Ortigoza prohibited certain dances because they were "contrarios a la protección del Cristianismo " These were "La Manta, el pan de manteca, o de Jaraves, Las Lanchas, el Zape, La Tixana, La Poblanera, y Las Temescales", together with others he held to be so because of their verses, their texts, or the movements or excesses of the dancers. He also ordered the priests to be vigilant in checking on pairs of dancers hidden at night (ACG. Libro de Cordillera 1776-1802. Entry dd. 1780). He regarded them as sinful, but they are all clearly what Zorita defined as melolilitzi. It is possible, however, that this is why in the serious macehualiztli type of dance, when pairs dance together one will be a youth dressed as a girl (17)

Twenty years later after his 1802 Visita, Bishop Bergoza y Jordán ordered that fiestas should be observed with moderation and without the undue expenses on dances, meals and drinks that made them "abominables". But not even the comprehensive Etlá accounts give any insight into such expenses and it seems highly probable that they were funded from a combination of contributions from the saint's possessions, the cofrades, income from the unofficial cofradía plots in the propios (Berry, pp. 19, 174), and, if necessary, contributions from vecinos with the mayordomo making up any residue. But it seems unlikely that he would have contributed an excessive amount.

The Etlá accounts of expenditure on gunpowder (18) and fireworks are of great interest. A total of ten dozen rockets does not seem excessive, for the cohetero (the rocket maker) walks in front of every fiesta procession, of which there may be several daily letting them off at intervals, also the chirimía and tabor players and the cohetero mark the beginning and end of the various fiesta Masses and the moment of elevation of the Host. This is a costumbre loathed by the priests, but presumably of long

standing. They and the cohetero lead the procession bearing the mayordomo's gift of food, on the second day of his banquet to the house of the following year's mayordomo, and they also play at his banquet, alternating with music for dancing.

The large number of ruedas (Catherine wheels) bought in 1819 likewise does not seem excessive. Eleven were probably let off in the atrio tied between two short poles as they are covered in rockets, but I suggest that the item of seven dozen and six ruedas was for the adornment of several palos voladores/castillos as described on page 461. The camara was a tube of piping rammed full of gunpowder and then set off, but I was told that it is no longer used because the affect was that of an earthquake and it damaged the church façades.

The Spaniards introduced fireworks early in the Colonial era and the same was the case with bullfighting, which was still a knightly combat in 16th century Spain, with the noble riders using especially schooled horses rather in the manner of present day rejoneadores, except that their peones, on foot, acted rather like a modern torero's cuadrillo placing banderillas, and using capes. Finally, it was they who butchered, rather than killed, the bull. Up to 20 bulls were fought and there were always some deaths of riders and peones. It was this plebeian fighting, which took place at village fiestas, with local amateurs and hired professional matadors (Defourneaux, pp. 133-5). Such was the general delight in the spectacle, that in 1572 Rome forbade the clergy's attendance on holy days, but this prohibition was largely ignored, and the decision later reversed at the behest of the king (Ibid. p. 133).

The first bullfight in Mexico took place in Mexico City in 1529 at the feast of San Hipólito. It became the custom at this date to kill two bulls for the monasteries and

hospitals at the corridas (Warman, p. 61). Bernal Díaz del Castillo refers to bullfighting at a great fiesta in Mexico City in 1538 (pp. 547-8), and, in his discussion of Indian fiestas, referred to in this chapter, fn. 9, mentions bullfights and juegos de cañas taking place, especially at the fiestas of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, San Juan, and Santiago (p. 582).

A document of 1591 recording a complaint of the vecinos of the pueblo of Santiago Azala in the Corregimiento of Chietla is of some interest, for it states that the Corregidor forced them to build corrales and barreras (seating) at their own expense in order to run bulls, as well as making them buy novilleros (young bulls) at too high a price - 6 pesos each. This appears excessive for the cost of bulls for viceregal bullfights in the late 18th century was 10 to 15 pesos (AGN. Hacienda. Leg. 250-253). Bullfights were abolished in Oaxaca in 1826, because they caused too much excitement and attracted dubious elements, although some villages went to great lengths to obtain permission to hold them at their fiestas (Berry, pp. 8-9, 216 n. 17).

But in 1835 the Independence celebrations included bands, fireworks in front of the Cathedral and corridas de toros in the Plaza Principal, whilst the streets were adorned with curtains and lights (ACG. Cordilleras). Even so, the ban persists in the State and they have been replaced by jaripeos (rodeos) in the mayordomías. However, the toritos of the firework displays referred to on page 15, are reminiscent of the custom of attaching fireworks to a bulls' horns, which still occurred as late as the 1840s, and which Fanny Calderón de la Barca described as enveloping its head in fire (Calderón de la Barca, p. 79).

These are clearly spectacular foreign elements which were introduced early, but many of the elements of mayordomías appear to be creative variations on cofradía themes, for, as was stated in footnote 19 of Chapter 9 , even the vital candles have evolved from the feathered and gilded ones of the early post-Conquest to replicas of those carried by the Colonial and pre-Reform monjas floridas. Flowers decorated the streets during the early processions, and Mendieta tells us that the night before a fiesta a procession wound its way round the barrio singing and led by a standard bearer with a banner of coloured taffeta (Mendieta, pp. 989-9). Now, on the eve of a mayordomía, the Convite de Flores of women bearing baskets of elaborately arranged flowers, walks around the barrio or pueblo boundaries led by the cohetero, a band, and the gigantes introduced by the Creole Bishop Montaña (1738-1742) to add spectacle to the processions (Velasco Pérez, p.119).

The mayordomía processions after Mass are more serious, especially when the mayordomo takes the saint to his house for a short while, but then the path is strewn with flowers, and candles and copal, prohibited because it censured the idols, is carried on either side of him and burns at points along the path. He is led by the cohetero and the traditional musicians whose music is probably prehispanic, but the chirimía is a Spanish 16th century introduction, whilst the brass bands which lead processions and play for the masked dances were introduced by the French and Austrians at the time of the French Intervention of 1862 to 1867 (Thomson, p. 4).

The masked dances themselves are a changing element, and, as has been stated had Christian elements added by the friars. The costumes have naturally evolved, but so have the dances. The steps and formations of the Jardineros dance for example are probably English. Charles II, when in exile in France asked for English dances and

later Louis XIV sent dancing masters to England to learn contra dances. The Bourbons took them to Spain and they reached the Americas by 1730. Having seen Jardineros danced I believe now that the provenance of its formations is English. They could well have been observed by those working as servants in Oaxaca. I am indebted for this information to Alan Stark, a dance scholar resident in Mexico City, who also state that the problem with dance is similar to that for fiesta - there are proscriptions but no descriptions.

This apart, over the years other elements have been added to the dances, the wearing of the uniforms of French grenadiers of the time of the French Intervention by the Spaniards in La Danza de La Pluma is another example of creativity, and possibly irony, for here was an example of an invading army which was defeated. It can be argued that the impact of the Intervention on the Valleys is demonstrated by the fact that the only reference to national or international events made in any Libro de Cofradía in Zaachila or Etlá is an entry dated July 21st, 1869 in that of the Mayordomía de San Antonio de Padua. This explains that the small amount of wax held by the mayordomía dates from "... la época que invadieron los franceses la República...". It is signed by an alcalde and two other officials (APZ).

The banquets again have various introduced elements, in that certain foods and drinks are European or fusions of the Zapotec and Spanish cuisines. But what is notable is the formality of the drinking. Guests are served four at a time whilst having their meal and must drink together. It is no orgiastic riot, but outsiders still persist in seeing it as such. Its reputation has not changed over the centuries. Formality in drinking is also observed at the firework display, when the cabildo arrive led by the cohetero and a

brass band. They take their seats and when they are served tequila or pulque this is done in an order that clearly confirms their hierarchical cargo status.

The final act in the most important and costly fiestas is the Calenda de Luces, when the marmota is removed from its side chapel, and its bearer dances in the atrio and before the municipal building before leading the crowd through the night streets to greet and receive the hospitality of the pueblo's civil and religious officials. The Zapotecs take especial delight in the use of the marmota at these important mayordomías. They are the canvas spheres carried on a pole and lit by candles within, which were introduced by the early Dominicans, who painted the moon and stars upon them, to show that they did God's bidding by circling the earth and providing it with light (Gay, p. 180). There is then not one aspect of fiesta celebrations that has remained exactly as it was at the time of contact, and yet it remains as a coherent complex of rituals that are true to the spirit of Zapotec religion. Many of the changes were initially forced upon them by the spiritual Conquest, but they themselves have incorporated those facets of Hispanic and other practices, which, it can be assumed, they have deemed as particularly suitable for enhancing their celebrations. Added to this there are in certain more remote pueblos apparently chaotic celebrations, which Levi-Strauss refers to as bricolage, which were, and are, a means of satirising those aspects of Hispanic and national life that they find distasteful.

The Zapotecs, then, have maintained their costumbres since the Conquest despite every effort of the Church to suppress those elements, which were and still are considered too reminiscent of their preHispanic religion. But they continue because they represent a completely different definition of religious behaviour, and one based

upon prehispanic rituals, which had been practised and had evolved over at least a thousand years before the Conquest. The Mass is central to fiesta but the role of the cacique, who ensured the welfare of his subjects by interceding with the pitào with sacrifices, and magnificent celebrations with music, dancing and the drinking of hallucinogenic beverages, was continued after the Conquest by the mayordomos who ensured that the Zapotec vision of fiesta as a complex whole propitiating and honouring the saints continued. Saints, moreover, who were frequently conflated with the prehispanic spirits.

I have argued in this chapter that Zapotec fiesta celebrations were, and are, a constant from prehispanic times, in that during the hundreds of years before the Conquest they always celebrated, as throughout the centuries since they have continued to celebrate, their important religious feast days with religious rituals, which include for them masked dances, feasting and drinking and so have been impervious to strictures and prohibitions by Church and civil officials. But they are not and have never been static observances, in that there was a certain religious homogeneity and dissemination throughout Mesoamerica from Olmec times as archaeological sites in the Valley demonstrate. The Zapotec deity lists show that they did not incorporate the supernatural beings from other nations into their pantheon with the profligacy of the Aztecs but the initial trauma of the Conquest, the brutality of the certain Spanish settlers in the Valley and the apparent desertion of their pitào must have made the assimilation of Christianity as preached by such dedicated men as Lucero, Fray Juan de Santa Catalina and Fray Jordan the easier to accept.

Added to this the fact that it was the caciques who were first targeted and pressured into accepting the new religion must have affected their subjects profoundly; for it

was they, who, amongst the Zapotecs, were not man-gods, but held the responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their people. This they fulfilled through the nature and brilliance of the religious celebrations they staged before the temples where the idols were tended by the state priests. Had not the traumas continued and been added to by the horrors of the epidemics, and had the nobility, which had also furnished the state priesthood, been allowed, as had been the initial intent, to be prepared for at least minor Christian orders, they might not have returned to their earlier beliefs so readily.

However, Christianity emphasised personal salvation whilst their own beliefs and worship had been based upon collectivity, and it was the cofradías, which offered, through the monthly Masses and fiestas, the means of collective worship for the mutual salvation of the cofrades. Further to this the pueblo officials, including initially the cacique/gobernadores were responsible for administering the fiestas. It is no wonder then that from the first they incorporated the banquets, drinking, and areytos which provided some continuity with the ancient practices of the Zapotecs. This they did, until the caciques lost the tribute that had been the means of their providing the celebrations, which had been their duty towards their subjects, and an accepted right of those subjects. Once that ability had been lost it was the mayordomos, who were principally drawn from the nobility until well into the 19th century as the Etlá archives show, who assumed the role of the caciques and continued to accumulate prestige by the manner in which the fiestas were staged. Hence, in part, their imperviousness to the strictures of the Bishops of Oaxaca, which was almost certainly compounded by their gradual loss of respect for the priests as scandal after scandal swept the Valleys, as the Bishops attempted to secularise the doctrinas.

The cofradías then provided continuity in two ways: in the pagan context discussed above, and in the Christian one as the secularisations reached their peak during the 18th century. There were fine and caring secular priests as has been seen, but when they were inadequate and exploitative, the mayordomos were able to ensure that the fiestas consisted of the essentials that the Zapotecs deemed vital for the propitiation and worship of the pueblo saints.

It is hardly surprising then that, having acquired the hollow status of an equality which was introduced by the Liberals as a means of "civilising" the indigenous peoples, the continuity of fiesta was achieved after the extinction of the cofradías, by the general introduction of the mayordomías which were the responsibility of a mayordomo using his own wealth in a manner totally reminiscent of the prehispanic caciques, but with guelaguetza as a substitute for cacique tribute. This was no easy matter and the 1869 entry for the Mayordomía of San Antonio of Padua, Zaachila states that there had been no mayordomos since 1861 as no one had had the means to undertake the task. Now, however, Fermín García and Sebastian Reyes had been entrusted with the cargo with Searing Luis and Feliciano Sesero as their deputies. Only Sesero bears a name that does not appear in the 18th century lists of mayordomos!

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 10.

1. The continuing importance of religious celebrations as a vital communal activity was emphasised by a reporter for Oaxacan T.V. Channel 9 'Para el apoyo de las comunidades', who, in interviewing a Zapotec migrant who had recently returned from the U.S.A. in 1991, was amazed to find that he had lived there for three years without even returning for his community's patronal fiesta. It should be stated here that, even in pueblos where mayordomías are in abeyance, the patronal fiesta will be financed by contributions from its vecinos.

2. Drenan, 1976. p. 357. Nader, p. 359. Flannery, 1976a. p. 335. The traditional musicians of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec still play turtle shell drums with antlers, and Flannery comments that the conch shell trumpets still summon the men to the tequio (obligatory unpaid service on public works projects organised by the civil officials in each community) in some Valley villages today.

3. The hollow teponaztli has an H-shaped incision on one side, so that the tongues of wood thus formed can be tuned to a minor 3rd or a major 2nd. It was placed, together with the huéhuetl, in the centre of the many dancers during great religious celebrations, and a singer provided the melody to their rhythm. The dancers moved around it in a series of hierarchical circles with the nobles in the centre, but each circle danced at such a speed as to synchronize the revolutions of the group as a whole (New Grove Dictionary of Music. Vol. 12. p. 230). This was probably also the custom in Oaxaca, given the homogeneous nature of much Mesoamerican religious practice, and suggests very well ordered festivities.

4. "Las patillas de animalejos" may be the hooves of small deer or other creatures used as rattles, as is still the case in the Andes. Plant bulbs were also used in this way in Oaxaca. They might have been attached to the clothing or incorporated in the vessels or incense burners carried during dances, rituals, and ceremonies (Contreras Arias, pp. 40-1). The Yaqui of Chihuahua still use cocoons wound round their ankles when dancing Venado (the Deer dance).

5. The chirimía, or shawm, was introduced by the Spaniards soon after the Conquest and played in the village churches until the organ appeared later in the 16th century. A number, of various sizes, were played by the musicians, but that now used by the Zapotecs is a tenor one. Later the instrument was used to introduce different phases of the liturgy and the fiestas (Contreras Arias, pp 71-3, 79-80). Its post-Conquest use in church ritual may explain why it is still used in this context today, but it appears that preHispanic wind instruments were used in a similar manner for an offering associated with Tomb 103, Monte Allbán, IIIa-IIIb, representing a funeral presided over by five priests, includes several figures playing them (Paddock, 1966. figure 151).

6. Flannery, 1976a. pp. 336-340. He bases his argument partly on the much rarer incidence of drums and trumpets at archaeological sites, and suggests that as they were connected with few households they were used in both community and sodality-level rituals.

7. This definition also suggests the Guaguas dance, which is also from the Totonac region. It is a variant of the Quetzal dance in which the dancers wearing spectacular headdresses end by revolving around on the arms of a huge wooden circle set on a post

8. Warman, p. 40. The name is Arabic in derivation, meaning either "'those who put on a face' or else 'those who face each other.'" (Kurath, p. 97).

9. This dance, which was first recorded in 12th century Spain, and celebrated the expulsion of the Moors from the northwest first appeared in Aragon and then seems to have been diffused throughout the Peninsular as the Moors were expelled from Spanish and Portuguese territory (Warman, pp. 20-21). Warman identifies it as having been performed in Mexico as early as 1524, when it was referred to as "escaramuza" and connected with a tournament, juego de cañas, when canes, or poles, were used instead of lances (Ibid. pp. 61-2). Defourneau refers to this, in Spain after the time of Charles V, as javelin jousting in specially constructed lists (p. 132). The conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo died in 1578, and, in discussing Christianisation towards the end of his "Historia de la conquista de Nueva España", refers to such tournaments at fiestas in some Indian towns (pp. 580-2).

10. In similar dances in Hopi villages the clowns beat the boys quite hard, for, the villages being small, they know which children bully others. (Personal communication by Claudia Cuevas, anthropologist).

11. Burgoa. I. pp. 288. In modern mayordomías traditional chirimía music alternates with music for dancing, and the guests are presented with artificial flowers, which are given to them after morning Mass by a number of young madrinas, whilst liberal amounts of food are served in pottery vessels for them to take home after the banquet. In a three-day mayordomía with some three hundred guests at each banquet, this represents a considerable dispersal of protein.

12. Burgoa, II. p. 422. The Plume dancers of Zaachila now perform to brass bands, as do fiesta dancers throughout the area.

13. Burgoa, II. pp. 57-8. Nowadays jaripeos, in which youths ride zebu cattle in a stockaded enclosure, take place on each afternoon during patronal fiestas as bullfights are prohibited in the state of Oaxaca. Various sports and bicycle races may take place in the mornings.

14. This screen is in the Museo de America in Madrid, and is painted with scenes of fiestas. Unfortunately, in 1988 and 1990, when I was in Madrid, the museum was closed whilst being prepared for the Columbus celebrations. The Valley custom is for the cohetero to make the rockets, and another specialist to construct the castillo with its catherine wheels upon a high wooden frame.

15. The Prior of Santo Domingo remarked to me once, when discussing the fiesta complex, that the Mexican might be opposed to the Church and anti-clerical, but he is undoubtedly very religious.

16. Since completing this thesis I have traced the replies of the bishop, priests and Spanish officials in AGN. Historia Leg. 312. Importantly, the priests all assert that the Cajas de Comunidad were not used to cover cofradía expenses. However, it is hard to determine the actual costs of the fiestas as they are apt to add the costs of disparate elements together, without specifying the separate prices: for example cohetes (rockets) and cheese. Further to this, the cost of tithable goods cannot be

determined by checking with the amount paid in tithes in a given year for these often refer to previous years and sometimes cover more than one year.

17. The Aztec dancers in the Danza de la Pluma in the weaving pueblo of Teotitlán del Valle do so in fulfilment of vows, and weave their own costumes. In La Ciénega, Zimatlán the pairs of Los Jardineros dancers pray in the church before dancing. The masked dancers in Los Jardineros are pairs of youths, one of whom is dressed as a girl, but not in burlesque fashion. The stilt dancers of Zaachila, who wear ranchero style dress, also dress as a male/female pair, whilst in the Danza de la Pluma, the roles of La Malinche and Cehuapila (noble woman), the wife of Moctezuma, are always danced by quite small girls. I was told in Zimatlán that this was because it would be indecent for older girls or women to dance with young men. However, this prohibition does not affect social dancing during mayordomías.

18. Farriss states that the consumption of gunpowder for fireworks was such in the colonial era as to affect the security of New Spain. They were prohibited in the Yucatan in 1806 in order to overcome the shortage thus caused (Farriss, pp. 326, 520. n. 26

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion: The Nature of Fiesta Celebrations.

I have entitled this thesis "Ideal Models and the Reality" because my principal intention in researching for it has been that of testing certain anthropological models of the civil-religious hierarchies, although my emphasis has been upon the antecedents of the mayordomías celebrated in the modern pueblos of the Valles Centrales of Oaxaca. I felt that certain of the models concerned were dubious because they were based upon the practice known, I believe, to American archaeologists as "up streaming", that is extrapolating back from observed modern practices and customs on the assumption that they are exactly analogous to past ones.

Others were constructed by anthropologists, who, in my view, based them upon insufficient historical research into the antecedents of the modern customs and practices of the civil-religious hierarchies. Additionally, it must be said that the fact that I am concerned with testing several models has militated against my producing a history in the accepted sense insofar as, in order to find the relevant archival and published sources for my purposes, I have had to cover an exceptionally long historical period.

I chose the Central Valleys of Oaxaca as my area of study, as I understood from the late Cecil Welte, who co-ordinated anthropological studies of the Valleys, that he would welcome research of this nature. However, a major difficulty has been the lack of prehispanic codices and extant 16th century documents regarding Zapotec religion in the pre-Hispanic era and Christian proselytisation after contact. I have therefore had

recourse to archaeological monographs and the published primary and secondary sources for the period. However, as will have been appreciated, the two most important Oaxacan publications dealing with this period, the "Vocabulario Castellano-Zapoteco" of Fray Juan de Córdova and the first history of Oaxaca based upon the now dispersed Dominican archives, Burgoa's "Geográfica Descripción", have obscured, as much as they have clarified, the subjects under review: Fray Juan's work by its very nature, and Fray Francisco's as a result of his near impenetrable style and his unchronological use of data.

The fact that I have been able to produce any approach to a coherent theory regarding the erection of the cofradías in the 16th century has been due to the fact that I have been able to consult the relaciones and histories of both the 16th century Franciscan friars and the colonial Dominicans, whilst Padre Ulloa's recent study of 16th century Dominican history has been invaluable. It is, however, as a result of this evidence that I have been enabled to reach conclusions regarding the erection of cofradías in the 16th century that are very different from those of the historians who have researched this subject in this and other areas.

My initial impulse in researching for this thesis was Marvin Harris's model of the erection of cofradías by the Church as a means of extracting funds from the indigenous peoples, which seemed to me both simplistic and too prejudiced; for I believed that the 16th century actors, the friars, had a spiritual model of cofradía which was very different from this materialistic one. Apart from this I was firmly of the opinion that anthropologists have on the whole, with such notable exceptions as Vogt on Zinacantan in Chiapas in "Tortillas for the Gods" and Isbell's Andean study "To Defend Ourselves", been too apt to study the modern religious cargos as wholly

economic institutions. Lavrín has said the same of historians. That said, however, I must admit that in this present study I have been unable to divorce my analysis from the economics of cofradía for, after all, the colonial and 19th century mayordomos were the stewards of their cofradías' wealth, just as the modern mayordomos are responsible for the financing of their own lavish mayordomías.

However, to place the emphasis upon this and to ignore the end to which their wealth was and is used is to miss the point entirely. Their aim is the continuation of the kind of celebrations which have been considered pleasing to their supernatural beings for many hundreds of years, and so were a source of prestige and power for the colonial nobility and latterly have served the same function for the successful farmers who have staged them; namely elaborate religious rituals which include music, masked dances, feasting and drinking. Unfortunately, however, neither the Church, nor the State have been able to overcome their view of such rituals as being both inappropriate and pagan, and so they have been an important source of the alienation and marginalisation of the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the Andes since the Conquest.

Apart from considering the Church's reasons for erecting the cofradías, I was surprised to find that most historians regarded them, except for a few' which they believed had been abandoned after the early post-Conquest, as having been instituted in New Spain in the late 16th century, and so this was another of my considerations in my reading of the colonial friars' accounts. As a result I believe that I have shown convincingly, that numbers of cofradías were erected by devout friars in the early post-contact era, for the purposes of consolidating their teaching and ensuring more constant attendance at Mass, as well as familiarity with Christian doctrine: these I

have named "cofradías proselitistas", and I do not believe that those who erected them would have allowed them to fall into disuse, especially when the initial euphoric years of conversion were followed by the disillusionment of both converts and proselytisers. In the case of the most important Dominican cofradía of this nature, that of the Santísimo. Rosario, there is strong evidence that it was erected in the Dominican doctrinas from 1538, and the great devotion of the Dominicans to the Rosary, which is testified to in all their writings, including the works of Burgoa, would hardly have permitted backsliding among the cofrades (1).

These, then, have been my most important considerations but another has been based upon the fact that anthropologists, up streaming from the evidence of current models in Mesoamerican communities, have assumed that the civil-religious achievement ladder, whereby prestige and status are accrued by serving alternate civil and religious cargos, the latter at ever increasing cost, was implanted in the colonial era. I was therefore interested in testing these ideal models against the reality insofar as it was possible to gauge it.

My conclusion in the case of the Zapotecs of Oaxaca is that the fact that in the later colonial period a man would often serve, or be expected to serve, the cargo of mayordomo for two, but sometimes for as many as six or eight years, clearly militated in such cases against any possibility of his being expected to serve civil and religious cargos alternately. Moreover such arbitrarily served long periods of religious office would have made it impossible for an alternatively served system of offices held, for the most part, by the relatively small number of Zapotec nobles in a pueblo to be effectively planned. Added to this there is the clear evidence that women, who were not eligible for civil cargos, became the mayordomas of cofradías in their own right,

and not only as the consorts of mayordomos, important as that role was and is. But, this situation was not limited to the colonial period, for, as the Parochial Archive of Etlá demonstrates, an identical situation occurred there during the post-Independence era. I have argued, therefore, that the alternation of civil and religious cargos in an ascending hierarchical ladder could not have been regarded as being of any importance at that time, and I do not think that the fact that nowadays there may be a lapse of several years between serving religious and civil cargos invalidates these conclusions.

Further to this, having at my disposal the names of the mayordomos for 18th century Zaachila, and those of the most important cabildo officials from 1779-1829, I have been unable to discern any hierarchy of saints to be served in a specific order of importance, as is now the case when an individual embarking upon a religious cargo career is expected to serve several saints whose importance is defined according to the cost of the fiesta being sponsored, with the patron saint at the apex. This is logical as if he is unable to serve a lesser cargo properly, he can hardly be entrusted with the more important mayordomías. However, during the period covered by this thesis, although a mayordomo earned prestige by serving his cargo correctly according to costumbre, he was, nevertheless, acting as a member of a cofradía with various funds at his disposal, rather than as an isolated individual sponsoring a saint from his own wealth, although still in receipt of various bienes de cofradía including wax, and possibly a milpa (2

Insofar as the civil cargos were concerned they appear not to have been served hierarchically either, although the more menial cargos such as topil, which were just as time-consuming as the more prestigious ones, were only served by the macehuales,

who as a general rule could neither vote for cabildo members during the colonial period, nor serve the higher cargos. The offices of regidor, alcalde, and escribano, however, were not discernibly hierarchical, although the most important cargo, that of gobernador was. What is remarkable however is the fact that from 1785 to 1821 a different escribano served every year showing a high degree of literacy in the pueblo. In some cases the same civil cargo, particularly that of gobernador, was repeated, but only after a few years. Some Zaachileños held both civil and religious cargos, but some may only have served religious ones; certainly there was no possibility of the ideal model being the norm at any time before the advent of the Juárez's Reform Government.

The class status of the mayordomos of Zaachila is not clear from the documents available. The evidence, including some legal documents, suggests that the majority of those serving both civil and legal cargos were of the nobility. However, the fact that the number of the surnames of the mayordomos exceeds that of the thirty-two vocales or voters, who had to be of the nobility, suggests that some macehuales did become mayordomos, and it is possible that, as Chance and Taylor suggest, if they were successful this was a means of becoming eligible for cabildo cargos. Such men might have acquired prestige before being appointed to office, by their success as entrepreneurs, farmers, craftsmen, traders or muleteers.

Another widely accepted anthropological model was that the sponsorship of a saint was a mechanism for levelling individual wealth in a community, until Cancian disproved it in the case of Mayan Zinacantan, and this was also the belief of the Corregidor of Oaxaca in 1777, as well as the bishop, who both believed that individuals and their families were frequently impoverished in this manner. However,

although this may sometimes have been the case, it seems inconceivable that, as was the case in 18th century Zaachila, the same individuals were able to hold office for several years, members of the same family were sometimes joint mayordomos of a particular cofradía, and the names of the same families appeared as sponsors generation after generation. Rodolfo Pastor has reached the same conclusion for the Mixteca Alta (Pastor, 1987. p. 256).

The actual manner in which the fiestas were funded at that time is still a mystery, particularly as the Libros de Cofradía are the official accounts which, as a general rule, record the fees for the monthly Masses and the higher ones for the fiestas, which were both low in the 18th century and could generally be covered by the alms of the faithful. But the accounts only refer spasmodically to other expenses and these are unspecified apart from occasional references to incense, flowers and fireworks. It is clear, though, that the funds in the Caja de Cofradía were liable to fluctuate as the Bienes de Cofradía had to be properly maintained and were all liable to be affected by the elements - severely so at times. However, it appears that problems were more likely to arise after secularisation if a priest celebrated a lavish cult, which entailed incidental expenses for the celebrations in the church, and heavy expenditure on candle wax and rockets for the monthly processions, as was the case in Etla. Even then this was not a threat to a mayordomo's well-being unless there was a misfortune such as crop failure, and it appears that in such circumstances in the post-Independence era men were able successfully to refuse to serve as mayordomo if their resources were insufficient to make up the deficit.

The Church was opposed from the earliest post-Conquest era to the feasting, drinking and dancing which had been a vital adjunct of religious ritual before the Conquest and

so legislated against it, but the caciques who had always had a religious role continued to spend lavishly on such celebrations, until many of them became impoverished as a result of their loss of tribute in the later 16th century. Yet, despite the misgivings of the colonial authorities, the Audiencia began to give permission for specific sums from the sobras de tributo to be used for this purpose from the middle of the century and this custom appears to have continued until the mid-18th century, when the limit allowed without licence was 20 pesos and the regidor in charge of the Caja de Comunidad concerned was expected to repay any deficit. This may have been a Jansenist attitude, and the cause of the comments of the Corregidor and the Bishop regarding expenditure upon banquets in 1777.

However, the expenditure upon fiesta also included fireworks, bulls, music and masked dances and there is little evidence as to what they might have cost. This was hidden expenditure for the colonial officials were evidently unaware of what was entailed, which means that the sources of payment were also unknown to them. This suggests that the income from the usufruct of those plots in the community land which were unofficially designated "de cofradía", but not canonically recognised, was used to defray some of these expenses and perhaps contributed towards the banquets. They appear to have been co-opted in order to deflect official depredation of the Bienes de Cofradía and were still in use at the time of the privatisation of community lands under the Ley Lerdo.

The cofradías continued to function until La Reforma, but the canonically recognised plots of the Valley cofradías were also privatised under the Ley Lerdo and their accounts books later reappeared as Libros de Mayordomía. It appears then, that the mayordomos only became entirely responsible for financing the fiestas after Juárez's

Liberals had privatised their land, so it is feasible that it was only then that they found it necessary to articulate the ancient custom of guelaguetza, which is received in front of the house altar (Cordero Avendaño, p. 38), to assist them in meeting the costs of sponsorship at a time when a man might be forced to become a mayordomo regardless of his situation. In Tlacoahuaya, for example there had to be a mayordomo for every image in the church (Ibid. p. 53, n.49), whilst in Macuilxóchitl a man appointed as mayordomo, but with no means, and nothing to sell, might ask for guelaguetza and still be ruined. But this ruinous custom was abandoned in 1930 (Ibid. p. 53, n.51). This exactly reciprocal gift exchange is still a vital component of the sponsorship of a saint.

A further consideration, which I have addressed throughout this thesis, has been that of ascertaining why so much of pre-Hispanic religious belief and practice has survived despite the constant and sometimes brutal attempts of Church and State to suppress it. Gibson has said that our best way of telling what happened in prehispanic times is to observe what is done during modern mayordomías. I shall now, then, recapitulate my findings as to why this should be so, and consider to what extent mayordomías do, in fact, mirror the prehispanic celebrations.

I initiated this thesis by analysing archaeological papers which demonstrated that some Zapotec religious practices were rooted in the Formative period and there was evidence of others in areas of Monte Albán, which had been abandoned centuries before the Conquest, so that, fervent though the first converts might have been, it was inevitable that, given the traumatic events of the 16th century, the caciques and principales should attempt to placate their ancient supernatural beings by sacrificing to them in secret. The state priests serving in the temples were of the nobility, and it was

part of the role of the caciques in particular to provide lavish communal religious celebrations at which music, dancing, masked feathered dance groups, feasting, and drinking took place before the pueblo idols. The emphasis on collectivity was vital, for it is possible, given the incidence of conflict between the town states, that the Zapotecs only acted as a nation when honouring the supreme Valley idol Bezelaio at Mitla. I have argued too that he was probably a culture-hero intercessor with the intangible supreme spirit Piyetào, for he bore a calendrical name. Such was the caciques' view of the importance of this duty to their subjects, and such was the macehuales' perception of their rights in this respect that the caciques continued to finance such celebrations as long as they were able to do so, despite the strictures of the Church.

The Church was deeply concerned, for the friars had introduced cofradías of the kind I have designated "proselitistas" soon after the Conquest, as a means of inculcating the doctrine, ensuring frequent attendance at Mass, and beguiling their neophytes with lavish celebrations to replace those that they had been accustomed to. The cofradías had the added advantage that they could be erected before a church was built. But, the cults of the saints culminated in the cofrades' yearly fiestas, which, like the important Zapotec festivities, were celebrated by a collectivity, and attended by the entire community in the case of patronal fiestas. Thus, from the first the nobility transferred their prime duty, that of placating the pueblo super-naturals by staging lavish celebrations in their honour, from the pagan idols to the Christian saints, with whom they had been conflated by the Zapotecs in at least one well documented instance (3).

However, such celebrations incorporated all the elements that the missionaries associated with pagan worship and human sacrifice, yet, despite the admonitions of the secular and regular priests, the legislation enacted by the Church in its Councils, and the punishments meted out to idolaters, fiesta was during the entire Colonial era, and continues to be to this day, a syncretic celebration composed of Christian elements such as the Masses and processions with the sodality's image, but with the additional manifestations which would be harmless in themselves but for their prehispanic connotations.

The Church, however, was not without blame in this. Most of the early friars were high-minded humanists, who often had a deep affection for their converts, and tried to protect them from the depredations of the alcaldes mayores and encomenderos, as indeed did the law, but disillusionment set in. The Zapotecs and other indigenous peoples were fully aware of the unchristian behaviour of many Spanish settlers, and demoralised by slavery in the early years, repartimiento in the mines and on the huge civil and ecclesiastical building programmes, the terrible epidemics which decimated them, and the need to produce sufficient tribute despite all these. But the friars became disillusioned at their neophytes' inability to grasp Christian doctrine, and were unable to appreciate the difficulties engendered by their own inability to use the many indigenous languages correctly.

The Dominicans were assiduous in studying languages, but were handicapped by the insistence of their ultrar-reformista Provincial, Fray Domingo de Betanzos, that they should move to another convento every two years. His influence as provincial and definidor meant that more emphasis was placed upon a friar's saving of his own soul by adhering strictly to the Rule, than upon his missionary work to the extent that

Padre Ulloa believes that many Dominicans left New Spain in the 16th century disillusioned on discovering that they were unable to concentrate upon the mission work for which the Order had been founded.

These problems were not confined to the sixteenth century, for from the time of the Tridentine Archbishop Moya de Contreras attempts were made to secularise the doctrinas, despite the inadequacies of the secular priests. As a result there were confrontations between the bishops, and other dignitaries and the Dominicans throughout the 17th century, and a further great scandal when the King's chaplain advised the removal of Bishop Maldonado in the early 18th century. The Church had been brought into disrepute, and this may have been why there was an apparent resurgence of idolatry in the mid-17th century, which resulted in the imprisonment of numbers of maestros de idolatría over the next century. In the 18th century the Zapotecs' lives were perhaps as fraught as they had been in the 16th century, as the secularisation of the Dominican doctrinas took place over a long period, and successive bishops attempted to eradicate those religious and ethnic customs which they deemed incompatible with the teachings of the Church; often with the severest of punishments. So, I would argue that it was only by maintaining all their customs that the Zapotecs were able to retain any stability in their threatened world.

This, I believe, was particularly so in the case of the saint's cults, so that by continuing with their ancient customs, whilst honouring the saints, the mayordomos were able to celebrate fiestas in a manner which they believed would placate their supernaturals and please and console their communities. For, although the fiestas have evolved over the centuries, as will be seen, they have never been modified in the way the Church would wish, for they have been from the outset the visible evidence of the continuity of the Zapotec costumbres, and a demarcation and celebration of

autochthonous identity. But this is not confined to the Zapotecs. It is true of every indigenous community throughout the Americas.

Regrettably, it is impossible to construct a coherent model of the evolution of the various elements of fiesta in Oaxaca from prehispanic mass celebrations, through to cofradía and mayordomía communal rituals. In order to do so, one would require a series of complete descriptions of fiesta celebrations covering every century since the Conquest, but this is not possible, perhaps because those who left written accounts of their journeys through the See in the Colonial period, were often friars and so regarded such festivities, always assuming that they saw any, with indifference or distaste. As it is, although we may be aware of the dates or centuries when certain customs were introduced into the See of Oaxaca, the 16th century marmota used by the friars for example, or the 18th century introduction of gigantes (grotesque giant figures) by Bishop Montaña y Aarón (1738-42) (Velasco Pérez, p. 119), without descriptions there is no means of knowing when they were incorporated into pueblo festivities. What, however, is certain is that whilst certain customs such as masked dancing, feasting and drinking are clearly prehispanic in origin, even these have evolved to some degree over the centuries, and are continuing to evolve.

Fiesta, then, is not a static celebration fixed in time, and I would argue that its evolution since the Conquest has been based upon three concurrent thought processes: the incorporation, in the Colonial era, of certain Spanish customs which held a strong appeal for the Mesoamerican observer such as the use of fireworks; oblique references to national events which confirmed the Mesoamerican interpretation of history as being cyclical, such as the wearing by the Spanish conquerors in the famed Danza de la Pluma of the uniforms of the French would-be conquerors in the 19th century (4); and accretions which were and are critiques of, or

commentaries upon, the customs and behaviour of the national society which has so marginalised the indigenous inhabitants of the Indies, since the Conquest. The latter may often result in the apparent chaos, which Levi-Strauss refers to as "bricolage", and may be quite incomprehensible to the observer, whilst for the performer some references may be so far distant in time that they constitute folk memories, but others are newly incorporated. Here it will be realised that I have made general statements rather than confining them to the Zapotecs (5).

The fiesta celebrations may have evolved over time, but the attitudes of the majority of the non-indigenous authorities have not. It could be argued that the Church wished to extirpate the costumbres, because they were a constant reminder of its failure to inculcate a purer form of Christianity than that prevailing in Europe on the tabula rasa of the Indian soul. Moreover, there were a number of costumbres, such as forms of fasting and confession which were remarkably similar to Christian ones. Fernando Cervantes has argued persuasively that this factor, as interpreted by the Jesuit José de Acosta led to the demonisation of Indian religion, which continued until the mid-18th century, for Acosta saw the Indians as naturally good people, with a religious belief system which was intrinsically evil. Cervantes argues that this also led to the 17th century attempts to extirpate idolatry (Cervantes, pp. 20-27).

In 1856 the Liberals of Oaxaca were equally eager to have done with the "abusos" of the sponsorship of saints, for they saw the feasting and drinking not only as ruinous, but as preventing the "mejora y engrandecimiento del país", and as continuing through the agency of the priests (6). Ten years later, Maximilian's Imperial government, with its liberal tendencies, gave orders that attempts should be made to destroy a custom seen as vicious for much the same reasons (7), and modern priests and Mexicans

have similar attitudes. So, ironically, the anti-clerical Liberals, despite their very different viewpoint, held a mental model of fiesta which was almost identical to that of their clerical predecessors and contemporaries.

However, as I have argued during the course of this thesis, I feel that the model of the Zapotec actors has been a very different one, for it incorporates in a syncretic complex the spiritual rituals of both their ancient ancestors and their Conquerors. Hence, I believe that it has been through their ability to honour the Christian saints and Virgins in their pueblo churches whilst creatively evolving their ancient costumbres in fiestas incorporating preCortesian survivals so as to make a coherent religious whole, that they have been enabled to retain their indigenous identity with dignity, despite every attempt of the Colonial and post-Independence officials to incorporate them into the mainstream of national society - for fiesta is a statement and marker of indigenous identity. Finally, I would argue that this is because the mayordomos in particular, by maintaining the historic religious role of the caciques, have behaved with integrity.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 11.

1. It should be added that although this cofradía was "eliminated" as were all others during the presidency of the Zapotec Benito Juárez, in 1991. I was informed by the then prior, Padre Oscar Mayorcal, that it was re-erected in Santo Domingo de Oaxaca in the 1890s and is a flourishing institution. He kindly showed me the book in which the names of the thousands of cofrades since that time are registered.

2. Angeles Romero Frizzi informed me that saint's fields still exist in the Valleys today.

3. Here I refer to the evidence of Balzalobre in mid-17th century Sola that the thirteen Zapotec supernaturals were conflated with the images in the pueblo church. But the evidence of some of Elsie Clews Parsons' Mitla informants circa 1930 suggests that this may have been widespread, for Parsons refers to the importance of thirteen as a "favoured or ritualistic numeral." Her examples include thirteen beans "swallowed by a woman to hasten the afterbirth"; thirteen tortillas given to the dead as food for their journey; thirteen courses for the Apostles' supper, which one informant attributed to the thirteen pieces of silver for which Christ was betrayed - It was, of course, thirty!; and the belief of another woman, surely not isolated, that there were thirteen Apostles (Parsons. p. 3114, 314 n. 48). Parsons was unaware of the connotations of these beliefs.

4. There might have been an element of triumph over the conquerors in the case of the French Intervention. In 1991 the Southern Zapotecs of Juchitán celebrated their overthrow of the French in the Alameda of Oaxaca.

5. I have made general statements here because my observations are not only the result of what I have seen in the Valleys. I have been greatly influenced in these by the work of Victoria Riefler Bricker on the Maya areas of Chiapas, the Yucatan and Guatemala; my observation of masked dancers in Jauja, Andean Peru, who appeared to be parodying 18th century Spanish dandies as they minced their way through a huayno; and a film seen on Oaxacan Channel 9 TV "Raíz Viva" of a fiesta in the Mixe sierra of Oaxaca, where an apparently chaotic celebration included boxing and masked (in the modern Mexican manner) wrestlers. In the latter case the bilingual teacher explained that such a way of earning one's living had been seen on television, and deemed decadent. It should be explained that the use of television in the pueblos serves a serious purpose, and Channel 9 was focussing upon the diagnosis and prevention of cholera in the summer of 1991.

6. AGEO. Fondo Especial: Benito Juárez 3, Box 1376.

7.BMG.Vol. 18. Cap. X. p. 108. "Mayordomías

APPENDIX A.
CODICE SIERRA.

THE LAVISH CULT.

551 - Vicario A. Maldonado arrived after vicaría founded.	
Blue velvet & yellow satin to cover Santísimo Sacramento.....	61
White damask chasuble & alb	57
Black taffeta altar frontal & 7 panels.....	40
1552.	
White & yellow frontal.....	27
2 silver candlesticks bought in Mexico.....	60
1553.	
A palio (processional canopy).....	50
1554. The new Vicario, Francisco de Zarate, arrived.	
A gold chalice & a silver plate for the wine jugs.....	112
1555.	
A red velvet frontal embroidered in silver & yellow satin with painted flowers, a palio worked with figures, a red velvet cover for the Cross, a beautiful silvered altar cloth, a red taffeta palio for the Santísimo Sacramento edged with red silk velvet: all made in Mexico City by Diego	
Gutiérrez.....	436
A green & red cloth made in Mexico City by D.Gutiérrez.....	75
1558.	
A chasuble, alb & maniple from a tailor in Puebla.....	90
A black sleeve to cover the Cross during funerals.....	53
A silver salt & a basin with its cover.....	47
2 purple chasubles, alb, stole & maniple.....	65
Red silk velvet & yellow satin from Diego Gutiérrez.....	72
1560.	
Manta bought as a carpet.....	138
A white damask frontal & panels.....	60
Red satin chasuble, stole & maniple.....	50
1561.	
A white damask cope edged with red velvet & a red taffeta altar cloth with the bishop's insignia on it. Made like the Oaxacan ones.....	281
12 yards red velvet for dalmatics (overtunics).....	132
1563.	
Mutilated entry re vicar, monstrance Santísimo Sacramento.....	300
Gold cloth ..	50

CHURCH MUSIC.

1551.

8 metal trumpets & food for those who fetched them.....	120
1552. An organ box and pipes.....	180
1553. A sackbut.....	23
1558.	
To the bell founder for a bell made here.....	740
To meals for the Spanish bell founder.....	22
Metal for the bell clapper.....	57
1560.	
8 trumpets.....	55
Paper to line the organ box & cover its cantos (edges).....	4
1561. A book of organ music.....	32

CHURCH NECESSITIES

1552.	
Petates (palm mats).....	7
1554. A net screen to cover the Cross & Crucifix.....	6
A petate.....	3
A cover for the sacristy boxes.....	3
A mesh edged cloth for the church.....	21
Paints & payment to the painter of a cloth.....	15
Three large cups.....	18
Paper for a book.....	6
A tilma (carpet) for the fiesta of Santa Catalina.....	10
1555.	
The palabrero for consecration.....	4
For making an image of St Peter.....	10
1558.	
For the repair of the font by a carpenter from Mexico.....	10
400 nails.....	6
A metal bowl.....	6
A large breviary.....	6
Castillian soap to wash the church floor.....	6
A box for the church corporales (Eucharist linen).....	5
Wood to roof the baptistry & for windows in large room.....	20
Wood for the chapel windows.....	10
Work -unspecified- could be municipal or church.....	340
(Begun June 1556, completed August 1557 - paid from the caja, but much silver remained in it.) 1559.	
Various coloured silks to repair ornaments.....	20
Nails for some Holy Week hangings	5
3 kinds of incense for the Santísimo Sacramento.....	5
1560. 6 varas (yards) of cloth.	8
80 coloured petates (esteras).....	20
1561.	

Paper for church books, & also in blue & black.....	15
Colours to paint church & pay painter.....	23
2 tabernacles of gilded wood.....	44
6 blankets for the padres who came to preach.....	24
20 manos (books of 5 sheets) of paper.....	8
A gilded ring set with a green stone.....	13
Wood for the monument.....	22
1562.	
A sarape	50

CHURCH OFFICIALS & EMPLOYEES.

1550.	
Fiscal, cantores y sacristanes...7 individuals shown.....	34
1552.	
A meal for Señores & Servidores who bought organ pipes in Mexico.....	10
Servidores & employees	16
Employees.....	32
1553.	
Servidores.....	31
1554.	
The employees & a Mexican who taught them.....	42
Church employees, alguaciles, silk spinners.....	201
1560.	
Cacao for tecpan (Cabildo) & church servants.....	30
Wages for singers, musicians, sacristans & employees.....	40
1561	
Paid to servidores as is the yearly custom.....	40

MASS.

1551.	
A pair of twisted gilded candles by Quesada \$48 & a lesser pair \$15. All bought in Mexico.....	63
1552. Wine & candles for the year.....	32
1553	
Wine & candles for the year.....	34
1554.	
To those who fetched the Holy Oil from Puebla.....	2
1555.	
The candle makers.....	4
1558.	
4 arrobas wine for Masses ordered for Texupan Señores.....	36
1559.	
2 arrobas candles for Holy Week.....	50

1560.

2 arrobas candles for Holy Week.....	50
Wine for Masses incl. Easter.....	20
Oil and incense for the year.....	30

1561.

4 arrobas candles & a Paschal candle of 1 arroba.....	100
Copal, incense, estoraque (scented resin or white flowers) & paper for the monument.....	15
2 arrobas wine for Mass.....	16
1 arroba candles.....	25

1562.

Candles for Holy Week from Mexico & payment to the Christian who brought them.	100
2 arrobas wine for the year.....	13

1563.

1 arroba candles from Xaltepec to burn before the Redeemer in Holy Week.....	2
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HOSPITAL.

1559.

The Viceroy ordered the Visitador to be sure it had proper supplies paid for from the sobras de comunidad, and that its alms were collected without coercion (Paso y Troncoso, 1939. Vol. 8. No. 468, p. 212).

Medicines, such as Castillian oil, used by Spaniards.....	70
Food for the sick in the hospital.....	20

1561.

12 sarapes.....	19
15 sarapes for the church & silkworm eggs.....	45
To a Spaniard for the hospital wall.....	30
Sugar & honey.....	10
Wine and raisins.....	20
To the doctors & servants.....	50
40 varas Castillian cloth for mattresses.....	25
1 arroba olive oil.....	5

1562.

Wine, confites, raisins - greatly needed.....	30
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FIESTA EXPENSES.

1551.

Easter - candles, wine, cacao, turkeys.....	62
Santa Catalina - cacao, wine, turkeys, fruit etc.....	53
Christmas - wine and food.....	32

1552.	
Holy Week - wax candles, wine, cacao etc for the church & tecpan.....	53
Santa Catalina, patroness - wine, cacao, turkeys.....	66
Christmas - wine, cacao, food.....	37
1553.	
Holy Week & Easter - candles, wine, cacao, turkeys.....	53
(for the hospital & tecpan).	
Santa Catalina - wine, cacao, food.....	64
Christmas - wine, cacao, food.....	38
1554.	
Holy Week & Easter - candles, wine, turkeys.....	46
A Paschal candle.....	10
Santa Catalina - wine, cacao, turkeys & food.....	74
Wine & candles for the yearly fiesta.....	53
Christmas - wine, turkeys & cacao.....	38
A fiesta meal for the cacica, Doña Catalina, & señores.....	52
1555.	
Holy Week & Easter candles, wine, turkeys, cacao & food for the Señores.....	52
1558.	
A painting for Holy Week.....	12
Candles for the fiestas of Holy Week, Easter, All Saints, Christmas, & Sta Catalina	145
Expenses Santa Catalina - litter for the Saint. The above fiestas, Whitsun, Corpus Christi, San Juan, San Cristóbal & others - 7 fiestas at 20 pesos each.....	140
1559.	
Wine for Easter.....	20
Turkeys, salt, mats, chairs etc. for Easter & cabildo.....	40
Purchases church for Whitsun.....	40
The meal for San Pedro y San Pablo on Viceroy's orders.....	40
Santa Catalina & things made for cabildo.....	70
Christmas meal for pueblo on the Viceroy's orders.....	40
1560.	
Castilian fruits for Easter.....	10
Things needed for Easter by Señores del cabildo.....	40
Various things indispensable for Whitsunhe principales	150
Tercio (bale) cotton - Santa Catalina & other fiestas	40
Purchases for Asunción fiesta	35
Purchases for Santa Catalina.....	70
1561.	
Mat for today's fiesta.....	6
Meal señores for Easter	40

Spent on tecpan for Whitsun.....	40
San Pedro y San Pablo.....	40
Spent on Corpus Christi as ordered (by the Viceroy?).....	40
Spent on Santiago, attended by distinguished people.....	26
Wool for sarapes, Santa Catalina (for cofrades?).....	32
6 handfuls Quetzal feathers, etc. to adorn pueblo.....	75
A tilma & painting for Semana Santa.....	20
The Assumption. Wine, turkeys, cacao, chile, salt, etc For all. Prepared & eaten in tecpan on Viceroy's orders.....	40
Food as above & needs tecpan for Santa Catalina	70
Christmas for pueblo. Turkeys, wine, cacao, chile, salt.....	40
1562. .	
Paper, silk, blue & yellow paints for Maundy Thursday monument.....	20
Easter tecpan. Wine, turkeys, cacao, chile, salt.....	40
Whitsun as above for tecpan. Viceroy's orders.....	40
Bishop's visit - fiesta grande. 6 varas cloth, 12 napkins, 2 pairs knives, 12 plates, 6 spoons	21
2 arrobas wine, 2 chickens, eggs, honey, butter etc.....	32
1563.	
Easter. Turkeys, cacao, chiles, salt etc. Viceroy's orders.....	40
Whitsun. Wine, turkeys, cacao, chiles, salt, frijoles. Viceroy	40
Bishop confirmation. Wine, chickens, honey, fruit, chile, salt.....	30
Farewell meal Vicario. Fruit, chickens, fish, shrimps, chile.....	45
Corpus Christi. Wine, turkeys, cacao, chile, salt	40
San Pedro & St. Pablo tecpan. Wine, turkeys, cacao, salt.....	40
PAYMENTS TO THE VICARIO.	
1551.	
A year's stipend for Padre Maldonado.....	69
1552.	
Wine, fish, turkeys and everything necessary for Vicario's meals this year.....	83
1553. .	
Maize for the Corregidor, Vicario & tecpan.....	120
Vicario's food & things needed for the year	127
1554.	
Wine, chickens, chile, salt for Padre Zarate's meals.....	91
For the vicario to buy wood.....	10
1558.	
Vicario's meals year ending 4th July.....	150
1559.	
Fish & shrimps Vicario & comunidad.....	16

Maize bought by the community for the Vicario.....	70
A year's meals for the Vicario.....	120
1560...	
Fish & shrimps for the tecpan & Cura.....	15
6 arrobas fish for tecpan & Vicario.....	18
1561.	
Lent. Fish, shrimps & turkey's eggs. Tecpan & Vicario	25
20 hanegas wheat. Vicario & community.....	40
100 hanegas maize. Vicario & community.....	100
1562.	
Honey, fish, lard, eggs, chile, salt & turkeys for Easter for friars here Holy Wk & Easter whilst priest in Mexico. * Chickens, eggs, honey, lard, fruit, chile, salt, tomatoes for the meal prepared for the Vicario.....	70
1563.	
Wine, chickens, eggs, honey, fish, shrimps, chile, salt & fruit. Meal for the Vicario. Leaving on Christmas Day. Friars replacing him.....	45
* 15 pesos, but final amount not shown.	
 CACICA & CABILDO.	
1551.	
Appointment orders for alguaciles & alcaldes.....	5
Food for Cacica, Gobernador & Señores del pueblo **	42
1552.	
The orders from Mexico for alcaldes & alguaciles.....	5
The year's food for the Cacica and the Gobernador**	56
1553.	
Orders for alguaciles & alcaldes.....	5
A year's food for Cacica, Gobernador & principales**	73
** Paid in lieu of taxation.	
1554.	
For fetching appointment orders of Alcaldes, alguaciles.....	5
1555.	
To the Alcalde Mayor for drawing up the tribute lists.....	20
1558. .	
A green carpet for the Alcalde Mayor.....	7
To two vecinos for fetching orders Mexico & shoeing horse.....	4
Two saddles	40
Two horses for the community.....	75
Purchases when the Tesorero Francisco de Vergara came.....	35
A large green cloth.....	18

A set of six chairs.....	14
Cloths & six napkins for cleaning hands.....	13
For the vecinos who went to buy tin.....	4
For Spanish Regidor. To Mexico with vecinos of Acalan, who did not wish to attend Acalan juntas & sought a lawyer.....	20
Meal for Alcalde Mayor, scribe & interpreter	15
1559	
Petates, chairs, needs for the Spaniards' visit at Easter.....	40
Tribute paid to Gobernador.....	398
Gobernador, Alcaldes, Alguaciles, Fiscales, Mayordomos.....	130
(Distributed on the Viceroy's orders.)	
To carpenter: railings for Audiencia windows & doors.....	20
Padlock, bolt & iron nails for Audiencia.....	10
Seal for el Señor del Audiencia.....	30
Needs for cabildo house & Santa Catalina fiesta.....	70
Lock etc for the Audiencia.....	10
Meals for those who fetched the Alcalde's & Alguacile's orders.....	10
Metal implements (axes?).....	10
The year's Sunday meals for the Señores.....	25
To Spanish scribe Valdivieso & the interpreter for drawing up the accounts.....	30
1560.	
Various coloured paints to paint Audiencia.....	13
To the painter from Mexico, who painted Audiencia.....	15
Cacao for Señores del Tecpan & church employees.....	30
Building wood bought from Tlachquiyauhco.....	50
Food for those who fetched the planks from Ocotepc.....	20
6 arrobas fish - Vicario & tecpan.....	18
Food for those represented the pueblo in Mexico.....	30
Adze to work wood.....	4
A tepanaztli drum for the tecpan.....	10
To a principal for journey to Mexico to obtain an order regarding some macehuals who had fled.....	.6
1561.	
From the Caja for the first time for gobernador, alcaldes, regidores, mayordomos, fiscales, alguaciles, servidores.....	130
Cacao for señores tecpan.....	30
Shrimps.....	6
For the repair of 2 saddles.....	10
To pueblo servidores to Mexico for silk or gold thread.....	8
For principales to Mexico City for orders for alcaldes, alguaciles, regidores etc.....	10
For goods brought from Mexico.....	500

To gobernador, alcaldes & others who serve pueblo.....	130
A white bowl (fuente).....	8
1561	
Silver pesos needed by this pueblo.....	74
To the corregidor when he did the accounts.....	440
To Alcalde Mayor, Alonso de Castro & the interpreter for the accounts.....	242
1562.	
Lopez to Mexico - orders for Alcalde, alguaciles, Regidores.....	12
The year's turkeys, fish & eggs, 4 mnths maize, huauzontli & cacao. Wages of silkworm carers.....	42
Metates, ladder, rope from Mexico City.....	16
1563.	
To scribe & 2 interpreters for accounts 20/9/63.....	12
Orders for Alcaldes, Regidores, alguaciles from Mexico.....	12
Food for 5 macehuales & interpreter to Mex with tribute.....	13
CAJA DE COMUNIDAD ACCOUNTS.	
1553	
For 110 sheep	70
For spinning silk & to the alguaciles in charge.....	42
For some goats to feed the community.....	61
For 10 lbs silkworms from Tamacolapan.....	130
1555	
To the silk spinners and workers in the silk house.....	17
To the silk spinners & mulberry leaf carers.....	321
1558.	
For two dogs to guard the goats.....	7
For 2,000 sheep bought from a Spaniard.....	812
Necessities for the community - taken from the Caja for the first time this year as loans.....	300
1559.	
Silkworm eggs bought with all the tithe.....	35
6 lbs silkworm eggs.....	210
Iron to spin silk etc.....	15
1560.	
3 lbs silkworm eggs.....	75
To Spaniard who established the estancia.....	12
A sifter for wheat flour.....	6
100 stud rams @ 6 tomines each.....	75
For a sheep needed by Spaniard when estancia inaugurated.....	20
To scribe for 2 title transfers given to the estancia.....	12
1561	

To Señor Villafane for 8 lbs silkworm eggs @ \$27 per lb.....	21
1 lb silk paid as tithes.....	23
Meals for the Spaniard as per our silk agreement.....	42
The tithe on the sheep bought today.....	50
Tool for silk winder & other needs.....	62
To 4 shepherds.....	44
Wood for the silk house.....	162
Canes from Tuctlan for the silk house.....	22
To the shepherds.....	56
To a forced labourer who returned home. Wage for a year in the estancia.....	15
For taking silk to Mexico & purchase of petates, panniers (angarillas), rope & meals.....	41
To 10 people who produce silk.....	100
10 lb silk tithe to the Spaniard against the community's wishes, for they are the true owner. Silk sold in Mexico: 710 lbs @ 4 pesos per lb	310
This year's total from the sheep & their cheeses.....	205
Total value of silk.....	1580
Paid as tribute.....	160
Sheep, wool & cheeses.....	200
1562	
No relevant entry.	
1563.	
Silk made. Tithe paid to Spaniard Alonso Sanchez. 120 lbs sold to Spaniard Francisco Enriquez @ 2 pesos 7 tomines lb as many silkworms had died.	341
(103 pesos left for the completion of village works.)	
Sheep, wool & cheeses.....	200
Sale of 15 hanegas wheat @ 2 pesos per hanega.....	30
This year's total from silk, sheep & wheat.....	670
1564	
Silk made. Tithe to Spaniard, Francisco Martín. 230½lbs left. Part sold @ 5 pesos, part @ 4 pesos.....	1067
Work on church stopped because tribute paid was.....	870
Sale of sheep, cheeses & wool.....	200
11 ½hanegas wheat.....	23
Amount remaining in the Caja after year's accounts drawn up by Señor Enríquez, Scribe Ramirez & interpreter Dunras.....	210

APPENDIX B.
THE MAYORDOMO'S EXPENDITURE IN ETLA IN 1819.
LIBRO DE LA COFRADIA DE LA SANTISIMA VIRGEN DEL ROSARIO.

Cargo de Reales.

Primeramente quince pesos que recibí de mi Antecesor de los que rebajados un peso que pague al Sr Cura de la aprovacion de las cuentas de mi antecesor quedaron solo	14.
25 pesos que recibí de limosnas en el platillo en el día del Rosario	25
16 pesos que me entrego el Governador recogido en todos los pueblos para esta función	16.
12 pesos que recojí en el platillo en la Iglesia el día de la Purificación de Nuestra Señora	2.

5 pesos y 2 reales que he recogido en la Iglesia. en todo el año	5.2.

Cargo de Trigo.

Recivi de mi Antecessor 17 fanegas 0 almudes	
Con Pablo Coronel de Guelache tocaron el temporal.	1f.
02alm.	
Con Juan Pinelo del mismo Pueblo tocaron de (...)	20.

Del riego de 1819

En la compañía con el Alcalde* de San Miguel.....

9 fan. **

Con Gabriel Santo de San Gabriel	8 fan 3.
Con Santiago Martín de Reys	2 fan.2.
Con Francisco Vicente de Sto Domingo	4 fan.12.
Con Mateo Ruíz de Guelache	6 fan.
Con Damián López de dicho Pueblo de Sto Domingo	4 fan 6.
Con Pasqual López de dicho Pueblo	4 fan 6.
Con Mateo López de dicho pueblo	2 fan.5.
Con el mesmo en otro pedazo	3 fan.2
Con Simón Torres en dicho Pueblo	3 fan.
Con Lorenzo Diaz en dicho Pueblo	2 fan. 6.
Con Domingo Himénez de Guelache	2 fan. 1.
Con Antonio Juárez de Sto Domingo	
15.	

Distribución del Trigo.

Con Pasqual López de Sto Domingo en el pedazo del Camino Real se sembra	
1 fanega.	1.fan.
Con Mateo López en el otro lado de la Peña	17.
Con Simón Torres en este lado del Camino Real	1.
Con Mateo López en el otro pedazo en el lado del camino.	14.
Con Damián López	12.
Con Lorenzo Diaz	22.
Con Antonio Juárez	9.
Con Francisco Vicente	23.
Con Domingo Jiménes	1.4
alm.	
Con Mateo Ruíz	1.14.
Con Gabriel de San Gabriel	1.11.
Con Alvino Alcalde de San Miguel	2 14.
Con Santiago Martín	9.

En el temporal de este año.

Con Juan María Aquino de San Miguel	1.3.
Con José Ximénez de Guelache	9.
Con Agustín Santiago de dicho Pueblo	<u>5.6</u>
Descargo del Trigo	20 f.
02 2alm.	
Cargo del Trigo	<u>70 f. 8.</u>
Quedaron	50 f. 6.

De estas cincuenta fanegas y seis almudes que fueron quedando en grano vendi en un principio del que quedo de mi Antecesor después de sacado la semilla 4 fanegas a 6 pesos 4 reales que son 26 pesos. En otra ocasion vendí 10 fanegas de el de riego a 6 pesos, son 60pesos, otras 6 fanegas a 7 pesos 4 reales, otras 10 fanegas que hice arena la que vendí de a 19 pesos (9 pesos .5***) son 95 pesos que junta estas partidas hasen la cantidad de 226 pesos que me traigo cargo de las reales y quedan 20 fanegas 6 almedas para semilla.

Cosecha de mais.

Una fanega que me toca solamente por haverse estado la milpa en la compañía con
 José Díaz de Santo Domingo 1 f.
 Con Luis López de San Miguel solo tocaron 5 f.
 Con Damian Lopez de Sto Domingo 6 f.
 Con Antonio Juarez de dicho Pueblo solo
 .7alm

En otros cinco compañías se perdieron, y solo se cojieron entre todas solamente
 1fan. 1fan.
13fan.7alm.

Distribución de este mais.

A Luis López de San Miguel dí 11 almudes para semillas .11
 alm.
 A Damian López le dí para otro pedazo 7
 Con Pascual López sembré 4
 Con Francisco María 7
 Con Antonio Juárez 2
 Con Agustín Méndez de Guelache 6
 Con Pablo Coronel en id 3 ½
 Con José Himenez en dicho 4
 Con Alvino de S. Miguel 5 ½
 2

f.3alm.

Tube de cosecha. 13 f.7
 11 f.5

Segun se ve me quedaron 11 fanegas 5 almudes las que vendí a razon de 2 ½ reales el
 almud cuio importe de 84 pesos ½ real. me cayo

Me entrego Alejo Vazquez de lo que costiera en su cuenta de garbanza solamente 23
 almudes muy sucio que haviendole limpiado que solo en 21 almudes de lo que vendí
 20 a razón de 3 reales el almud su importe de 7 pesos 4 reales 379.6½
 De 2 fanegas de garbanzo que cojí yo de la cosecha que sembré le di a Damian
 López 6 almudes para semilla y queda para semilla 42 almudes más.

Data.

Al Padre Vicario Don Manuel de Mora entregue 11 pesos 4 reales de los derechos de
 la fiesta de Santísimo Rosario 11
 pesos

Costo el presente del Señor Cura.	13.
11 pesos que pague a los Cantores de esta festividad	11.
7 pesos 3 reales de aquiler de cortinas para el altar	7.3rr.
8 pesos que compre de rosarios para reliquias	8.
4 pesos pagado a los clarineros	4.
3 pesos que pague al Sacristán para poner el altar	3.
Por un peso de clabos me (.....)	1.
8 pesos 4 reales de ocho docena de cohetes y 9 ruedas	8.4rr
12 pesos de las Misas que pague de aquilando	12.
6 pesos que pague 4 de la Misa de Purificación y 2 de los cantores	6.
10 reales que me cortí una libra de polbora, y 2 reales del que quemo las camaras+ en la festividad del Rosario	
1.4.	Otros 12 reales de lo mismo en la Festiv. de
Purificación	1.4
y 5 reales de (...)	4.5
que pague a los clarinetos que tocaron dicho día	3 reales
5 reales que me cortó una Vela para Nuestra Señora	5.
11 reales que me cortó una libra de cera para 3 velas de los Padres dicha día	
.11	
6 pesos de 7 dozena ruedas, 6 ruedas y ½ tra de polbora	6.1
2 pesos que pague a las cantores el sabado de Gloria	2.
19 reales que me costo 2 doz de cohetes 2 ruedas y media tra de polbora en dicho día	
23	
20 reales que me ha costada el insencio de todo el año	24
28 pesos que me costaron en todo el año 6 botijas de aceite para la lámpara	28.
18 pesos que tengo pagado al organista á razón de 12 reales cada mes	18.
79 pesos 6 reales de cinquenta y nueve libras de sera gastado en todo el año y comprado de 11 reales solo costaron a (..)	
79.6	6 pesos que pague al Maestro que labró la sera
todo el año	6.
agua que se regarón al trigo	8.2
acarreo de gavilla y trigo	5.
pesos 2 reales importe de alquileres de Bestias que trillaron todo el trigo	18.2
2 pesos corto del dearreo(..) de la Masorca	
2.	3 pesos que pague a la canavilla? para la Virgen en día de la
Purificación	3.
sobrepelices de los Acolitos	12 pesos *** que pague porque laboran las
	12.

3 pesos que pague al Padre Vicario Don Manuel Mora por la misa del día sabado de Gloria

3.

Pesos que tengo pagados de las Misas y procesiones de todos los meses del año 64. 3*** pesos de pan y queso que compre á todos los que limpiaron las (...) para regar los trigos

3.

12 reales que pague para que compusieron una mesa de la iglesia y 1 (...) di una libra sera para las 3 mariar

1.4½

Por 15 pesos que dí las ramilletes y 3 reales de liston

16.1½ 6 pesos de petates para guardar el trigo con 2 reales mas

6.2 8 pesos 3 ½ reales de maquilas y costos de 5 cargos de arina

8.3½

3 pesos 4 reales corto de 7 almudes de frijol para semillas 3.4

10 reales que pague de los Mozos que regaron el Pedazo de trigo que sembre con Francisco Vicente para que los Topiles no dieron a harto y un real de otro medio día

1.3

12 pesos *** pague 2 reales cada Pueblo de haver cortado el trigo 2.

3 pesos que pague al que me lleba los apuntes y cuenta 3.

Pague al S. Cura de la aprovacion de esta cuenta 1.

Suma de la data 379.7½

Queda en ser.

20 fanegos de trigo para semilla de riego.

1 arroba 18 (..) de sera para el gasto de siguiente año.

Las siembras de Temporal que doy razon atras con mas otros seis alm de Garbanza con Damián.

7 almudes de frijol con los que dire abajo sem de temporal 24 alm de garbanzas para semilla.

Con Mateo Ruiz tengo sembrado al tlaco(..) 4 alm. maiz.

Con Pasqual Lopez tengo sembrado al tlaco(..) dos de frijol y en la punta a 2c 8 tieras alm y de a medias.

Con José Jiménez de Guelache 3 almudes vi (..)

Con Manuel Hernandez vi Yd dq y media almudes (..)

En poder del Señor Cura 95 pesos en reales.

Todo esto que asiento para constancia esto (..) pronto entre el nuevo mayordomo, con este libro y la presente cuenta al Señor Cura para su aprobacion la que firme en esta Villa de Etila en 20. 9. 1819.

Rubrica. José Mariano

Luna.

Reconocido esta Cuenta ante toda la Villa, y dandose por buena y concluida. Se entrega la Cofradía al nuevo mayordomo electo Manuel de los Santos Monterreys para que la continúe con el mayor esmero y cuidado según se le ha prevenido.

Parroquia de Etlá. 20. 9. 1819.

Antonio Arango.

Abbreviations have generally been written in full.

** 12 almudes = 1 fanega.

*** There appears to be a discrepancy, which I have corrected.

+ A camara is a heavy metal pipe rammed full of gunpowder and then set off. It is now prohibited, as its earthquake force damaged the fabric of the churches.

GLOSSARY.

Alcabala. Tax on sales.

Alcalde. A cabildo official with judicial duties.

Alcalde Mayor. A Spanish governor of a district.

Aguardiente. Brandy, spirits.

Barrio. A quarter in a town.

Cabecera. The head town of an Indian community.

Cabildo. The municipal council.

Cacica. An Indian noblewoman. The consort of a cacique, or a hereditary ruler in her own right.

Cacicazgo. A cacique's estate.

Cacique. An Indian hereditary ruler.

Cantores. Singers. The church choir.

Cargo. A cabildo or church office in a community. A burden.

Cofrade. A member of a cofradía.

Cofradía. A lay confraternity or sodality of a saint.

_____ Bienes de. Any land, houses or goods belonging to a cofradía.

_____ Caja de. The chest in which cofradía funds are kept.

Congrua. Income of a secular parish.

Conventos. Used here to define the friaries in the Indian doctrinas where missionary work took precedence over strict adherence to the Rule of the Order.

Coqui. The Zapotec form of cacique. A hereditary ruler.

Cordillera, Libro de. A book, kept in the parish archive, in which the bishops' letters and Visitations were recorded.

Costumbres. Hereditary indigenous customs.

Cura. A secular priest.

Curato. A secular parish.

Corregidor. Spanish official administering an Indian district.

Depósito. The placing of a Zapotec girl, whose novio was doing bride service for her father, in a safe moral house, which she could not leave until they married.

Doctrina. A parish where Christian doctrine was taught by missionaries, who were usually friars.

Ejido. Community common land often used for grazing.

Escribano. A cabildo scribe or secretary.

Fiesta. The celebration of a saint's or Virgin's feast day.

Fiscal. An Indian official appointed to assist the priest.

Grana. Cochineal.

Gobernador. The highest Indian cabildo official.

Hermandad. Brotherhood, cofradía.

Intendente. The Spanish administrator of a district.

Juntas Eclesiásticas. Six synods of bishops and friars held between 1524 and 1546.

Libro de Cofradía. A mayordomo's account book.

Macehual. An Indian commoner.

Maestro Cantor. The doctrina choirmaster.

Maestro de idolatría. A Spanish term for a post-conquest priest of the Zapotec religion.

Mayordomo. A steward, especially of the possessions and funds of a cofradía.

Milpa. A maize plot.

Muertos. All Souls' Day.

Municipio. An Indian community post-Independence.

Obvenciones. A priest's fees for his services.

Oidor. A judge of the audiencia (the viceregal court).

Oposiciones. Competitive examinations for professional people.

Pitáo. The supernatural beings of the prehispanic Zapotec pantheon.

Pueblo. A town.

Pulque. An alcoholic drink made from the maguey (agave) plant. It contains protein and vitamins A and C.

Principal. An Indian nobleman equivalent to the hidalgo (gentry) class.

Real. A Spanish coin worth an eighth of a peso.

Reducción. The enforced grouping of Indians in scattered settlements into a pueblo.

Regidor. A councillor in a cabildo.

Relación. A written report.

Repartimiento. A draft of labourers granted to a Spaniard.

Repartimiento de efectos. The enforced sale of goods to Indians by Spanish officials.

Sacristán. A vergger. An Indian church official.

Sujeto. A subject pueblo of a cabecera. Now called an agencia.

Temascal. The steam bath beside a Zapotec house.

Tepache. A fiesta drink based upon fermented sugar cane or pineapple juice.

Teponaztli. A prehispanic sacred drum.

Título de lengua. Eligibility for the priesthood after studying an Indian language in a secular parish.

Topil. A lowly civil or church cargo.

Vicario. The friar in charge of a friary. An assistant priest in a secular parish.

Vecino. An inhabitant of a pueblo.

Visita. An official visit made by a Spanish ecclesiastical or civil official.

Xonaxi. The Zapotec form of cacica. A consort or a ruler.

Zacate. Hay, maize stalks, fodder.

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AGEO... .Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca.

AGI..... .Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

AGN.....Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F.

AHI...Archivo Histórico del INAH, Museum of Anthropology, México, D.F.

APE.....Archivo parroquial de San Pedro, Etla.

APZ.....Archivo parroquial de Zaachila.

BAGN.... Boletín del AGN. Tomo XXV, Secretaría de Gobernación, México, 1954.

BMG.....Biblioteca Martínez Gracida

BN..... Biblioteca Nacional, México, D.F.

BNM.....Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

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DS..... Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique

ENE..... .Epistolario de Nuevo España.See Paso y Troncoso

EUI..... .Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrado, Madrid.

INAH.....Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

MCP...Microfilm Collection of Don Antonio Pompa y Pompa.

NCE..... New Catholic Encyclopaedia.

NLS..... National Library of Scotland.

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