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6. The Tulancingo Perspective: Some Documents from the UCLA Tulancingo Collection

As the process of collecting, transcribing, translating, and publishing a corpus of mundane Nahuatl documentation continues, we see the importance not only of a chronological spread and a wide variety of document types but also of a wide representation of regions across central Mexico. To date, the Valleys of Mexico and Toluca are somewhat overrepresented. Concentrations of documents from Tlaxcala, Cuauhtinchan, and Cuernavaca go far toward correcting the imbalance, but whenever a cache of Nahuatl texts from an additional region reaches the eyes of scholars in the field, a wider perspective is gained, and our sense of the universality or peculiarity of a whole range of social-cultural developments is strengthened.

The Tulancingo Collection of UCLA is a potentially valuable resource in this respect, concerning as it does a large province on the northeastern periphery of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples (east of Pachuca and north of Tlaxcala) about whose internal development until now little has been known. The collection is in two parts, of which the one relevant here is numbered 2073 in the Research Library's Special Collections.¹ It consists of diverse documents dated from the 1560's to the 1820's, apparently taken at some time from the archive of the chief magistrate or *alcalde mayor* of the Tulancingo district. Most of the papers are in Spanish, but perhaps a fourth or fifth are in Nahuatl, dated variously from 1567 into the 1760's. Many were written in Tulancingo proper, others in surrounding settlements such as Acatlan, Tototepec, Xaltepec, and Acaxochitlan. The material is distributed in 34 folders, none containing more than fifty to seventy pages, and most far less.

Fragmentary as it is, containing only a small fraction of the larger archive of the *alcalde mayor* reputed to be in private hands, the collection is the only one presently known to me which originates in a single Mexican provincial center, is distributed chronologically across all three postconquest centuries, and contains Nahuatl documents of diverse types integrated with Spanish documents (as opposed to some invaluable collections that are largely from one period—usually an early one—, are entirely internal to the Indian community, or consist entirely of one kind of document, such as testaments).

From the collection quickly emerges the fact that, despite its relatively peripheral position, Tulancingo shared the general characteristics of post-conquest central Mexico in several basic ways: internal organization of the indigenous community, the latter's cultural, social, and economic practices, its manner of expression, its relation to the Spanish community growing up alongside it. The overall chronology of change was also similar, with perhaps a retardation of some years in certain respects, compared to centers such as Tlaxcala and areas close to Mexico City. Item 2 in the present volume points these things out in the realm of sixteenth-century local governmental practice, comparing Tulancingo with the better known Tlaxcala.

It is a bit surprising to find out how much in the mainstream Tulancingo was as to language and writing. The style of writing and orthographic conventions in the Nahuatl texts of Tulancingo are very much like those seen in the larger centers of the Valley of Mexico, more polished and standard than what is typically found, for example, in the Valley of Toluca or in smaller or more remote centers generally. The same is true of the language itself, which turns out not to share any of the special characteristics of the Tlaxcala-Puebla region to the south.² By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is true, some of the texts do show greater idiosyncrasy, but that fact itself places them within the broader trend of the time.

Two outstanding subsections of the collection are 1) a liberal selection of documents from the 1570's and 1580's, in which individuals both Spanish and Indian recur frequently enough to throw some light on the overall articulation of the community, and (2) a sheaf of documents, mainly in Nahuatl, showing how a Gómez family gradually bought up bits of land over two generations (middle and later seventeenth century) from individual Indians, usually commoners. In the first section especially, and to a lesser extent throughout the collection, one will find scattered details concerning the organization of indigenous Tulancingo into two halves, Tlatocan and Tlaixpan (see Item 2).

The Spanish-language materials are also instructive, especially for the late sixteenth century. For that time they reveal dominant *encomendero* families, based in Mexico City, with employees and lesser relatives taking care of family interests on the local scene. Mainly humble Spaniards, with some foreigners among them, were beginning to raise stock, especially sheep, and in some cases to grow wheat and maize for sale. Some mulattoes and mestizos held intermediate positions, while a certain number of Indians had learned enough Spanish skills to enter Spanish employ as craftsmen and keepers of stock. The center of the town of Tulancingo was be-

ginning to become Spanish. At the main church, a mass was said for Spaniards after the one for Indians. A Spanish merchant rented a store on the square, and a black owned a house there. Also to be found on the square was Antonio Genovés, an Italian *tratante* (petty trader) and tavern keeper. In a word, the picture is strikingly similar to that seen in the Toluca region at the same time (see Item 12 in this volume). Indeed, one of the stockmen in Toluca, Francisco Gómez Maya, came there directly from Tulancingo, where he had leased the sheep ranches (*estancias*) belonging to the two halves of the indigenous corporation.³

Here follow, then, some sample Nahuatl documents from the collection, in transcription and translation, with comment. Texts 1 and 2 belong to the materials of the 1570's and 80's. Document 3, from the mid-seventeenth century, belongs to the Gómez papers, and Document 4, dated 1720, shows the municipal council of Tulancingo in its late-colonial unified form, in contrast to the two separate cabildos of the earlier period.

Text 1. *Petition of a group of painters to the Spanish alcalde mayor for pay from the altepetl.* Tulancingo, 1570. Folder 1.

Conflicts over whether indigenous artisans should be paid by the altepetl for services performed for the municipality or its church are a recurring theme in Nahuatl documents of the sixteenth century. An example is found in the cabildo minutes of Tlaxcala.⁴ Here the altepetl officials have refused to pay a group of painters for some work done in connection with the church (not on the church building proper, apparently); nor is this the first time they have done so. The reason for their reluctance is doubtless not any feeling that the matter was outside their purview, for Nahua municipal organizations in general shouldered a large financial responsibility for church construction and other functions, but a belief that by preconquest standards craftsmen should work on palaces and temples as part of their altepetl duty. (It is not clear whether this matter affects Tlatocan or Tlaixpan, or both.)

The eleven artisans requesting pay are an interesting set about whom the document contains some suggestive hints. They refer to themselves as *tlapallacuiloque*, "painters with color," apparently to distinguish themselves from writers on paper, who shared the generic term *tlacuiloque*. None of them is able to sign his name. On the other hand, the names themselves tell us something of the group's status, for even though rank and name type do not always correspond in a single case, a whole set of names can be very indicative.

Not one of the painters bears an indigenous surname, which, given the time period, tends to place them above the lowest ranking members of society, nor do any show the double first name that was the next step up. Five, however, have saints' names as surnames, a name type that at a moment's notice could become a double first name. That is, it is possible that the Juan de San Francisco on the list was known ordinarily as just Juan Francisco and appears here somewhat dressed up for the occasion. Two painters have a higher-sounding religious surname, de los Angeles. Four have surnames of the same type as Spaniards, the most prestigious kind borne by Indians, but some distinctions must be observed. Three of the four are patronymics, the lowest-ranking among Spanish names, and two of these are Juárez, which for whatever reason was often used as a name for Indians and was per se not especially prestigious. Only one person bears the kind of non-patronymic surname, Delgado, that was characteristic for the highest-ranking nobles. Not a single one of them has the "don" which preceded first names at the highest level. Thus the overall naming pattern is consonant with a group status intermediary between ordinary commoners and noblemen.

The following listing can perhaps render the above clearer:

non-patronymic Spanish surname	1	Leonardo Delgado
ordinary Spanish patronymic	1	Marcos Alvarez
Spanish patronymic much used as an Indian surname	2	Francisco Juárez Pedro Juárez
religious surname	2	Gabriel de los Angeles Pedro de los Angeles
saint's name as surname	5	Juan de San Francisco Antonio de San Juan Francisco de San Juan Baltasar de San Miguel Pedro de San Gabriel

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Linguistically and orthographically, the most unusual feature of the document is its attempt to notate the glottal stop. Full consistency is not achieved (for example, in "toveytlátocatzin" no glottal stop is indicated after *o*, and in "huallaq̃h" none is indicated after the second *a*), but even so it would be hard to find another text done outside Spanish auspices with such a full notation. The notational devices employed are equally unusual. The use of *h* is in itself not uncommon, though the notation of a word-final glottal stop in any fashion is virtually unseen elsewhere (as in "tlátoq̃h," "otihuallaq̃h"). The most unique aspect of all is in the diacritics employed.

Spanish-inspired texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often use a grave accent to indicate glottal stop, but here an acute accent is put to that use. In all likelihood, some Franciscan friar with his own notions about how to write Nahuatl was stationed at Tulancingo at some point, and the writer of the present document had been his pupil.

al muy magnifico señur

Ca nican catqui yquixpatzinco oti-
huallaque y tlacatl totlahtocauh yn
tēhuantin titlapallácuilóque nican
tochan tollantzinco ca tictlatlauhtia
yn itlátocayotzin yn toveytlátocatzin
son majesdad yhua yn yehuatzin yn
señur tocalcalde mayor ca nican cat-
qui ynic yxpatzinco titlacaquiztilia
yn ipampa yn totlatequipanoliz yn
ipa axca xihuitl yn otictequipanóque
yn itechcopa sancta yclesia otitlah-
cuilóque yey metztli yn ixquich o-
ticchiuhque nauhtetl calli yn otiqui-
cuilóque yoa chiquaqentetl tilmahli
huéhuey tlayxtlapachiuhcayotl yn
ipampa yn ca hamo tle techtlaocolia
yn altepetl yn totlaxtlavil ca oti-
quintolhuilique yn tlátoq̄h ca hamo
techtlaocoliznequi auh ca ypampa yn
ixpantzinco otihuallaq̄h yn totlato-
catzin ca çecá miyecpa yn techtza-
cuilia y totlaxtlavil yn ipampa y
totlatequipanoliz ca yxquich in yni-
quixpatzinco otihuallaq̄h y tlacatl
totlahtocatzin ynic tictennamiqui yn
itlátocamatzin yn itlátocaycxitzin
ma yxpatzinco titlaxtlavilocan ynic
ahmo ça tlapic tleyn totech tlamiz
ca ye yxquich ynic tictotlatlauhtilia
yn tlacatl totlátocatzin

/Ca nica titotocayotia yn tehuantin
otitlatequipanóque yn ipa xiviti año
de mill y quinientos y setenta años

To the very magnificent lord:
Here is that with which we have
come before the lord our ruler, we
painters whose home is here in Tu-
lancingo; we address ourselves to
the rulership of our great ruler the
king, His Majesty, and to the lord
our alcalde mayor. Here is what we
announce about our work; in the
present year we worked three
months for the holy church; the
total of what we did is that we
painted four houses and six large
cloths for covering (i.e., awnings?),
for which the altepetl has not grant-
ed us any of our pay. We have told
the rulers (the cabildo members),
but they do not want to grant us
anything. Therefore we have come
before our ruler, for very often they
withhold our pay for our work.
This is all with which we have
come before the lord our ruler and
with which we kiss his rulerly
hands and feet. Let us be paid in his
presence, so that we will not be
falsely accused of something. This
is all with which we implore the
lord our ruler.

/Here we who have worked in the
year of 1570 give our names:

- gabriel de lus ageles - marcos
alvarez - pe^o de lus angeles
- ju^o de sanc fran^{co} - balthasar d.
s. miguel - ant^o d. s. ju^o
- fran^{co} juarez - leonardo dergado
fran^{co} d. s. ju^o - pe^o d. s. gabriel
- pe^o juarez
(all in the same hand)

Gabriel de los Angeles. Marcos
Alvarez. Pedro de los Angeles.
Juan de San Francisco. Baltasar de
San Miguel. Antonio de San Juan.
Francisco Juárez. Leonardo Del-
gado. Francisco de San Juan. Pedro
de San Gabriel. Pedro Juárez.

Texts 2A and 2B. *Petition and counterpetition concerning the activities of (don) Martín Jacobo in Xaltepec.* Tulancingo, ca. 1570. Folder 1.

Xaltepec was a major constituent part or subkingdom of the complex altepetl of Tulancingo, and the person accused here, who then makes petitions in return, must have been Xaltepec's dynastic ruler, or at least the head of one of its lordly houses. He styles himself don Martín Jacobo, though his enemies deny him the "don." The brunt of the accusation, made in the court of the Spanish alcalde mayor, is that don Martín has been taking calpolli land as his own and alienating it to Spaniards; one of these Spaniards has married don Martín's daughter. In his own statement don Martín reveals that he has also been accused of excess in exercising the traditional prerogatives of a lord. Both of these complaints were common all over sixteenth-century central Mexico. It is not entirely clear what body the accusers represent, but some if not all of them are persons of rank rather than the directly affected commoners. Pedro Jiménez, who heads the list of petitioners, was regidor on the Tlaxpan cabildo in 1569 and majordomo in 1582. He is the same person as the Pedro Tepanecatl teuctli at the head of don Martín's list (as regidor he appeared as Pedro Jiménez Tepanecatl teuctli). *Teuctli* means "lord," and in don Martín's list two of the accusers bear this title. The Andrés de Soto who is second among the petitioners must be the same person as the don Andrés de Soto who was alcalde on the Tlaxpan cabildo in 1585. (For the cabildo positions see Item 2 in this volume, Table 3.) Xaltepec, then, clearly belonged to the Tlaxpan half of Tulancingo.⁵

Each side in the controversy has Spanish allies, and each accuses the other of aiding them or being instigated by them. In Spanish-language documents in Folder 1, it turns out that don Martín's Spanish son-in-law, Francisco de Morillones, had occupied the rather lowly post of constable in Tulancingo and had worked for an encomendero. The friend of the other side, Pedro Giraldo, was a farming entrepreneur (*labrador*) residing in Xal-

tepec. Although he was somehow related to an earlier encomendero of the area, his enterprises were not very high flying; he had been accused of selling beef to local Indians without precise weight. As usual, Spaniards who are directly involved in Indians' affairs prove to be relatively marginal in Spanish society.

Text 2A contains some noteworthy Nahuatl terminology. The document makes one of the clearest explicit statements known concerning the basic structure of Nahua land holdings, which consisted of two types, first a central plot where the household was located and second, optionally but characteristically, one or more often smaller plots at some distance. The statement runs "atley yn ijolal yvā anotley yn ivecāmil y qchivā," "they have no lot, nor do they have any distant field to work." The usual term for the central plot was *callalli*, "house-land." Here it is *jolal*, taken from Spanish *solar*, "lot." In Spanish the word usually means an assigned residential lot of uniform size and rectangular shape in an urban setting, but it is clear that to the writer of the present text it signifies the same thing as "house-land." House-land is mentioned quite frequently in Nahuatl documentation generally. But though scattered additional plots are frequently seen in wills and other sources, a well defined general term for this kind of holding is mainly lacking. Here we have such a term, *huecamilli*, literally "far field."⁶

Equally interesting, but more obscure, is the term *nauhco*. Since it contains the element *nauh-*, "four," and since Nahua sociopolitical units at all levels often had four subdivisions, I take it to refer to four parts of Xaltepec, but the *-coco* element remains mysterious to me at present.⁷

Text 2A. *Complaint against Martín Jacobo by a delegation from Xaltepec.*

muy mag^{CO} señor
Ma evatzin y dotlahçomaquixicatzin
jesu xpō [m]otlahcincō ye dotlah-
çonmaviztlahtōcahçinne çan achiçin
yc dicnepechtēq̄lia y mojusticiatzin
ma xintechmiximachilin ca tevantī
y ditoteylviyā yn ixpācinco yn do-
veitlahtocauh Rey
Ca tevatīn p^O xinmenez yvā ātres de
suto yvā augustin viznavatl yvā
pablo tepanecatī yvā nicolas fra^{CO} de
sā marcos tochan xaltepec nauhcoco
Very magnificent lord:

May our precious redeemer Jesus
Christ be with you, our dear hon-
ored ruler; it is with only a small
matter that we bow down to your
justice. Recognize us, for we make
complaint before our great ruler the
king.
We, Pedro Jiménez, Andrés de Soto,
Agustín Huitznahuatl, Pablo Tepan-
ecatī, Nicolás, and Francisco de San
Marcos, our home being Xaltepec,
mixpācinco tineçin y titotlatocatzin
cah ticteylvia y mīn sacobo ma xic-

momachitīn ca y yehuatl y mīn sa-
cobo chicotetl y vevey yn ixtlāvactl
y tocalpolal y tomil õq̄nanaq̄iltin
espanoles vel tocolhua totava ynmil
tovevemil yvā cenquitīn doxvivā do-
pilvā ymil y q̄ncuilia yn oq̄maxcatīn
y castilā tlācah av ivā yn maceval-
tzitzintī cenca ye motoliniayā aocle
y quimochivilia y miltzintli av ivā
y cenq̄ndī y macenvaltīn atley yn
ijolal ça moch q̄mocuilītiuh çan
moch ēvatl q̄tlacova y mīn sacobo y
moch q̄maxcadia y q̄motlatq̄tia yn i-
tlatq̄ n altepetl auh cenq̄ntīn macen-
valtīn çā q̄nemānā yn tlacalāq̄lli
atley yn ijolal yvā anotley yn ive-
cāmil y q̄chivā ca õ moch caxcahtīn
yn imo fra^{CO} morilonis ypapā cenca
e motolinnīā y macevaltīn oca yx-
çh in yn ixpāçino odiq̄toque in se-
ñor diego de surio deniete av ascan
õtivalmovicac in tintotlātocantzin
ma xintechmomāq̄lli y tojusticia y
tley dictitlaniliyā ylatocauh Rey
canel ic ça cenjusticia yn amomac-
tzincō cā

p^O xinmenez / atres de joto /
augustin viznavatl / pablo tepānecatī
/ nicolas / fra^{CO} de sa marcos /
alonsu tliivatecuhtl (signatures all
in same hand)

the four [parts], appear before you,
our ruler, and accuse Martín Jacobo.

Be informed that this Martín Jacobo
has sold seven large meadows, our
calpolli land and our fields, to var-
ious Spaniards, which were very
much our fathers' and our grandfath-
ers' fields, our patrimonial fields,
and from some of our children and
grandchildren (i.e., constituents) he
takes their fields and has made them
the property of Castilians. And the
poor commoners are suffering great-
ly and no longer plant fields. Some
of the commoners have no lot; this
Martín Jacobo takes it all and spoils
everything and appropriates the prop-
erty of the altepetl. Some com-
moners wrongly pay tribute who
have no lot nor any distant field to
plant, for he gave it all to his son-
in-law Francisco Morillon, for
which reason the commoners are
suffering greatly. All this above is
what we have said before señor
Diego de Soria, lieutenant (of the
alcalde mayor), and now you have
come, our ruler. Give us our justice
and what we are demanding of our
ruler the king, since entire justice is
in your hands (or since that would
be entire justice and it is in your
hands?).

Pedro Jiménez. Andrés de Soto.
Agustín Huitznahuatl. Pablo
Tepanecatī. Nicolás. Francisco de
San Marcos. Alonso Tliihua
teuctli.

Text 2B. *Rejoinder of don Martín Jacobo to the complaint against him.*

Al moy mag^{co} señor
 Nehuatl don mīn jacobo yhua juā de
 la Cruz mixpantzinco tineçi yn ti-
 xiptlatzin yn tohueytlatocauh por so
 magestad ma xicmocaquitzinno
 tlatohuanie ca niz cate y nechteixpa-
 huia yn ixpatzinco justicia ytoca p^o
 tepanecatl tecvhtli yua antres de jodo
 yhua alos tlihua tecvhtli yhua juā
 çacancaul yhuā pablo tepanecatl yhua
 fran^{co} de s. margus yhuā fabia yc-
 notl yhua juā yconoquauh ca yehuā-
 tini yn ixpatzinco moquetza justicia
 /auh ca niz catqui y notech quitla-
 mia ynic niqitolinia yn totoli yn
 ca[ca]hualt yn quahuil yn ocotl
 yhua aquin atlacuih aquique yn teci
 y nocha yhua y nechmiltia y nech-
 caltia ma mixpatzinco quimelahuaca
 ceceyaca xiquimotlatemolili y mo-
 chinti tlayacanque auh ma tlachia-
 loqui y nocha yn quenami ca yhua y
 nomilpa ca yn axca momactzinco
 ninocahua nicniñlania nojusticia ma
 huel melahuac yn xicmocaquiti auh
 yniy can za yehuatl oquicuihtlahuiliti
 yn itoca p^o giralto auh yniy can çà
 tecocoliztica quimeltilia yn ixpatzin-
 co justicia auh yn axca ca onicno-
 maquili yn señor deniēte centetl no-
 petiçio yhua nosentecia auh quenin
 oquimochihuili y nosenteçia yhua y
 nopeticio Cuix oquimotzōquixtili ca
 hamo nicmati ma xicmitlanilili ynic
 ticmotzōquixtiliz ca ye ixquich ynic
 mixpatzinco ninopechteca

To the very magnificent lord:
 I don Martín Jacobo and Juan de la
 Cruz appear before you who are the
 representative of our great ruler His
 Majesty. Listen, O lord, here are
 the names of those who are accusing
 me before the law: Pedro Tepan-
 ecatl teuctli, Andrés de Soto, Alon-
 so Tliihua teuctli, Juan Çacancatl,
 Pablo Tepanecatl, Francisco de San
 Marcos, Fabián Icnotl, and Juan
 Icnocuauh. These are the ones who
 are presenting themselves before the
 law. And here is what they are ac-
 cusing me of: that I mistreat them
 (by demanding from them) turkeys,
 cacao, wood, pine torches, and peo-
 ple to fetch water, grind maize at
 my home, plant my fields, and build
 my house. Let each one of them
 verify it before you; interrogate all
 the (subdistrict) leaders, and let
 someone come to see how my home
 and fields are. Now I leave myself
 in your hands and demand my jus-
 tice; hear it truly. And further, a
 person named Pedro Giraldo pres-
 sured them (into complaining), and
 they are verifying it before the law
 only through malice. Now I have
 given the lord lieutenant (of the al-
 calde mayor) a petition of mine and
 a judgment (in my favor). What has
 he done with my judgment and
 petition? I don't know whether he
 has concluded with them or not.

Demand them from him so that you
 will conclude the matter. This is all
 with which I bow before you.

Don Martín Jacobo.

dō mīn jacobo

Text 3. *Sale of house and land by Agustín de Santiago to Juan Gómez Monteagudo, Spaniard, and wife.* Tulancingo, 1645. Folder 14.

The present document is one of several Nahuatl land sales in the Tulancingo collection concerning the Gómez family; in each, the Gómezes acquire a small piece of land from an indigenous individual. Some of the persons selling land in one document appear as witnesses in other transactions. One gets the impression that the Gómez family was gradually accumulating plots around the borders of their property from Indian neighbors who possibly also worked for them. The documents probably came into the archive of the alcalde mayor of Tulancingo as evidence in one of the campaigns of title verification (*composición*) which took place in central Mexico in the seventeenth century. Without confirmation by higher Spanish authority, sales by individual Indians to individual Spaniards were of dubious legality, and all the more so if the local indigenous municipal council did not sanction the transaction. Such is the case here, for no mention is made of the cabildo of Tulancingo or any of its officers. The document is prepared by a Juan Hernández who calls himself a notary, but he does not say that he is presently employed by the cabildo.

As far as one can tell, the process of land accumulation by the Gómez family was not very swift, aggressive, or methodical. The main strategy seems to have been simply to await likely opportunities. In the present case, opportunity came in the form of the death of one Agustín de Santiago, leaving an aged wife, Cristina Cecilia, and no son or daughter. The proceeds from the sale could pay for Agustín's burial and provide some support for Cristina, who would doubtless not have been able to work the land. Thus the transaction seems to have been in the interest of the sellers as well as the buyers. Similar sales frequently took place in which all the parties were indigenous. The unknown quantity here is a grandchild Baltasar Juan who might have expected to inherit the place; the buyers are concerned enough about him to give him a pittance and have him specifically renounce further claims. Possibly Baltasar Juan was too young to care for the property; possibly he had other assets, perhaps inherited from Agustín's now dead son or daughter; or possibly his interests suffered in the sale. Without more information, we have no way of knowing.

A notable feature of the original document is a diagram of the house and land in question, reproduced on p. 101. Its style contains nothing reminiscent of preconquest pictorial conventions, but its very existence and its placement on the page put it within a certain indigenous tradition. In Tetz-coco in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, land documents were often written around a preconquest-style pictorial representation of the land in question, placed in the center of the page. The pictorial part must have been done first; the alphabetical document would then comment upon it, in part duplicating it. As it happens, Tulancingo was in the cultural and political orbit of Tetz-coco in preconquest times, and some hints exist of ties continuing after the conquest. It is entirely possible that the land diagram here goes back in some sense to the Tetz-coco tradition even though there is nothing in the drawing itself that a local Spaniard might not have done.

Note that while the witnesses for the Spaniard are male, those for Agustín de Santiago are female. The Nahuas long remained more willing than the Spaniards to call upon women to attest to the authenticity of legal proceedings.

- Y nican ypan alltepetl tollantzinco propicia Sant ju^{On} pablista axca ypan mardez yc 8 ylhuil mani metz-tli Agosto yn ipan niquinomaquillia notlatol yn yehuantzitzin señor ju^{On} gomez modeacodo yhuan yn ynamictzin señora franc^{ca} diaz ca noçe-yollocacopa y niqinnonamaquiltilia y notlal yhua nocal yhuan mochi cahuatl quahuil yn ipan mani notlal yhuā yhua (sic) yn omac mani notlal ypan icac dorazno yhuan nochtli mochi niqinnonamaquiltilia yca caxtolli pesos tominez yztac teocuitlatl onicçelli 11 pesos nomatica auh yn oc çequi ca yc ninotocaz nechmotoquiliz yn señor ju^{On} comez ca nima ayac tlen quitos yn huecauhtica ytla oninomiçilli ca notlatqui ca naxca y nicnamaca hayac ytlatqui ypanpa nican nino-tocayotia y nehuatl agustin de

Here in the altepetl of Tulancingo, province of San Juan Bautista, today Tuesday the 8th day of the month of August, I give my word to señor Juan Gómez Monteagudo and his wife señora Francisca Díaz; with my entire will I sell them my land and my house with all the walnut trees which are on my land, and a piece of my land on the other side of the road on which there are peaches and fruit cactus. I sell it all to them for 15 pesos in silver reales; I have received 11 pesos in my hands, and with the rest señor Juan Gómez will bury me. When I have died, no one whosoever is to make any objections for a long time to come, for it is my property I am selling, not anyone else's property, wherefore here I give my name, Agustín de Santiago, and so that my statement

s.tiago ypanpa yc neltitiaz y notlatol nica nicmachiotia y nocal yhua notlal yn queni ca nican neztiéz

will be verified I manifest here my house and land; how it is will appear here:

(Here the picture)

- auh y nehuatl xpina çecilia yhuan noxhuiuh ytoça paltaçar ju^{On} ca nican tiquitohua ymixpantzinco y señores diego de gastro yhuan luyz lopez ytezticotzitzihua yehuatzin ju^{On} gomez yhuā tehuanti totezticohua ysabel clara yhuan melchiora de s.ta ma^a tleynel tiquitosque yc oquimonamaquillitehuac y nonamictzin agostin de s.tiago yn ical yhuan y noxhuiuh ca ayocmo cepa tlen quitoz y huecauhtica yc oquicauh y tlalli auh ca çano yuhqui y nehuatl ca ça nomiquiz nicchixtica ca hayocmo ytech nitlatohua yn tlalli yhua calli ca tonehuan otiquaque y nonamictzin oticoncahunique yn oticpopoloque ca huel ymaticatzinco yn otechmomaquillique yn tomi oquimocuiliz (sic) nonamic yztac teocuitlatl ca nima ayac tlen quitoz y huecauhtica auh y nehuatl ju^{On} pathacar ca nican nechmomaquilia ome pesos y yehuatzin señor ju^{On} gomez ca çaniuh motlaocolia ca çenca nictlaçocamati onechmotlaçoyncelilitzino ca nima ayac aquin tlatoz y huecauhtica ca ye ixquich ca ye oticcauhque yn total ca ye yc çe. . . ytlatquitzin yn señor ju^{On} gomez yhua ynamictzin señora franc^{ca} dias ca nima ayac aquin quinmocuiliz y huecauhtica auh yn aquin tlatoz y quenmania ca quixtlahuaz huaz (sic) matlactli pe-

And I Cristina Cecilia and my grandchild named Baltasar Juan say here, in the presence of the gentlemen Diego de Castro and Luis López, witnesses for Juan Gómez, and our witnesses, Isabel Clara and Melchora de Santa María, that what we will say is that my husband Agustín de Santiago sold his house at dying, and my grandchild will never make any objection in the future about how he gave up the land, and likewise I am awaiting my death and I no longer have any say about the land and house which sustained us both, my husband and me, and we shared (our expenses? that which we have now given up?), for with their very hands they gave us the money and my husband took it in silver, and no one whosoever is to make any objections for a long time to come. And I Juan Baltasar am being given 2 pesos by señor Juan Gómez, which he is just giving me as a favor, and I am very beholden and grateful to him, so no one whosoever is to make any objections far into the future. This is all, for we have left our house and it is once and for all the property of señor Juan Gómez and his wife señora Francisca Díaz, and no one whosoever is to take it from them in the

sus tominez ytech monequiz yn ijusticiacaltzin tohueytlatocatzin Rey n̄st̄ro senor yn techmopielia yn oquimotequimaquilli yn dios yn tohueytlatocatzin totemaquixticatzin - tt^o jesu christo ca amo tahahuiltzin ca toteoyocoxcatzin ma çemicac tic-toyetcenehuillica yn timochinti nican ticate ma yuh mochihua amen jesus

auh nican tiquintocayotia yn teztigo yn tehuanti totezticohua nican tiquintocayotia ynic neltities yn tolatol ynic ce ytoaca ysabel clara yc ome melchiora de s.ta ma^a auh yn yehuatl yn sefior ju^on gomez mondeacodo ca nican cate yn itesticohua

diego de gastro luys lupez de ribera ysabel clara melchiora de s.ta ma^a (all signatures by notary)

- nehuatl ju^on h̄ndz ezcrivano nica nictlallia y nofirma yc neltitiez ynin tlatolli ca melahuac yn oniquicuilo amo tle onicpollo axca ypan martes yc 8 tonalli mopohua metztl̄i agosto años 1645 yn ipan quimoçelilia yn tlallamatl y yehuatzi sefior ju^on gomez mondeacodo yhua ynamictzin seniora fran^{ca} diaz ypanpa nican nictlallia nofirma ju^on hrnz ezcrivano

- yhua ynic omotocac y nocoltzin yn tomi 4 p^os yhua 4 t^os yc onaci yn ipatiuh y calli caxtolli pesus nel yc oquipanahui nahui tomi nican neztica ayac aqui tlatoz

future. Whoever should sometime make objections is to pay 10 pesos in cash to be used for the courthouse of our ruler the king our lord who guards us, who was given office by God our great ruler and our redeemer Jesus Christ, who is not our plaything but our divine creator; let all of us who are here always praise him. May it be so done, Amen, Jesus.

And here we name the witnesses: we name here our witnesses to how our words are true: the first is named Isabel Clara and the second Melchora de Santa María.

And here are the witnesses of Juan Gómez Monteagudo:

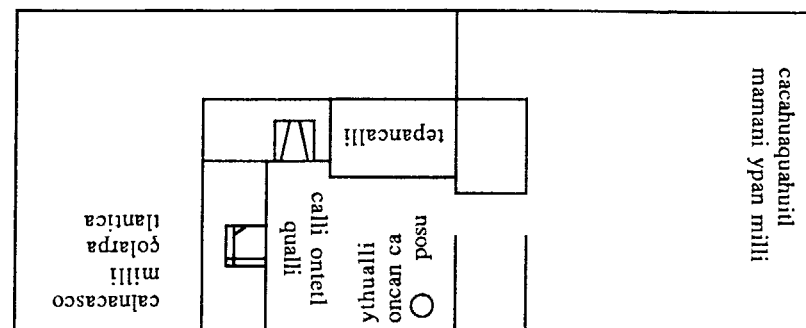
Diego de Castro. Luis López de Ribera. Isabel Clara. Melchora de Santa María.

- I Juan Hernández, notary, place here my signature verifying this statement, and I wrote it truly and left nothing out. Today, Tuesday the 8th day of the month of August of the year 1645, sefior Juan Gómez Monteagudo and his wife sefiora Francisca Díaz receive the land document, wherefore I set down here my signature. Juan Hernández, notary.

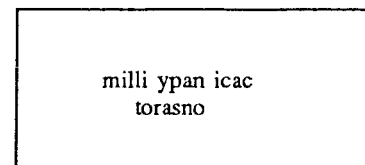
- And the money with which my grandfather was buried was 4 pesos and 4 tomines, with which it attains the price of the house, 15 pesos, and in truth exceeded it by 4 tomines. Here it appears, and no one is to make objections.

The diagram from the center of the page:

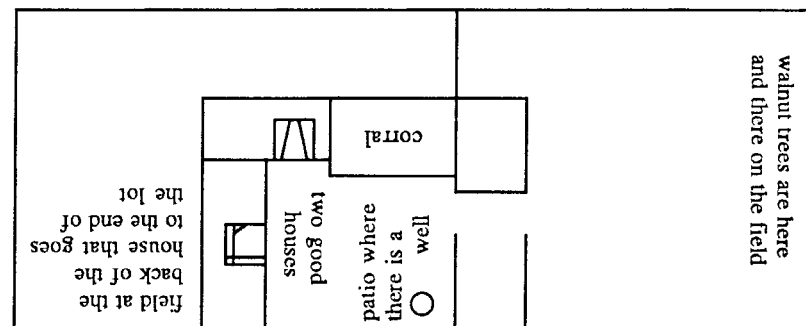
(Nahuatl)



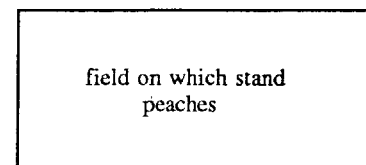
golar ye toncalaqui calitec



(English)



where you go into the lot



Text 4. *Confirmation of the status of fields belonging to Santa Elena.*
Tulancingo, 1720. Folder 19.

In a common convention of postconquest Nahuatl inheritance, a dying person bequeathed a piece of land not to a relative but to a saint (or saint's image); the relative was then put in charge of the land, "to serve the saint with it," i.e., to support the saint's cult. What are we to make of such arrangements? It is hard to achieve certainty, for the Nahuas themselves could not; ambiguity and contention pursued the lands of saints. In most cases, the actual intention seems to have been to leave the land to the relative, with some expectation that a saint to which the family was devoted (often housed in the family residence) would receive some candles, flowers, and incense. Yet by an underlying Nahuatl rationale, saints were conceived to be the residual owners of land, perhaps indeed of all lands. In some cases, and particularly when the whole community was involved, the holder of the land really was a custodian only, a steward for the saint. Yet such a holder might still aspire to full ownership.⁸

The present document, at whose instigation we cannot be sure, attempts to clear up the picture for one saint's lands case, but with dubious success. The text speaks at times of the land being left to María Agustina, the holder, but it also says in no uncertain terms that the land belongs to Santa Elena. Where the document says "her grandfather Francisco de la Cruz bequeathed it to her," or "left it all to her," the English is no more ambiguous than the Nahuatl. Either Santa Elena or María Agustina could be meant. While it appears that María Agustina's rights are being confirmed, the mere fact that the municipal corporation is intervening could be ominous. Cases of this type, often eventuating in prolonged and bitter controversy, abound from central Mexico in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Notice the form of the cabildo illustrated here. In the sixteenth century Tulancingo had two separate municipal councils for the two moieties of Tlatocan and Tlaixpan, each with its own governor, alcaldes, and regidores (see Item 2 in this volume). At some point in the seventeenth century the two were consolidated, with one governor, one "regidor mayor" (with no simple regidores as far as one can see), and four alcaldes, apparently two each for Tlatocan and Tlaixpan.⁹

yn nican ypan Altepetl Sⁿ Ju^o
Bapt^{ta} tollantz^{co} axcan yc cempo-
hualli yhuau matlactli mani metztili

Here in the altepetl of San Juan
Bautista Tulancingo, today the 30th
of the month of July of the year

julio mill setezientos y Veinte años
Nenuatl Dⁿ Ju^o maldonado go-
u^{or} - Dⁿ Ant^o de galizia Rexidor
m^{or} - Dⁿ P^o de la cruz - Dⁿ Bar-
tholome de la cruz - Dⁿ Ju^o rra-
mos - Dⁿ Joseph de Sⁿ Ju^o al-
caldes Ant^o rodrigues escriu^o de
Republica - nenuatl Dⁿ Ju^o
maldonado gou^{or} yn timochintin y
titlatequipanohua yn it[ec] yn alte-
petl omoteneuh auh ca nican tixpan
omonexiti yehuatzin maria aug^{na}
temascaltitlan ytechcacopa yn tlali
onpa mani motenehua atenpa mil-
yahualtontli meyotoc ocan pehua yn
itech yn itlaltzin Dⁿ Augⁿ omoetz-
ticatca onaçi yn itech yn otli ynic
huilohua tianquizco oquimonemacti-
litiaque yn inantzín maria Augustina
omoetzticatca oquimomaquilita yn
itlaçotatzin omoetzticatca ytocatzin
fran^{co} de la cruz yhuau oc çe calte-
zontli onpa mani caltitla ce xololpa
ycaltitla ant^o de Sⁿ Ju^o omoetzti-
catca auh ynín tlali omoteneuh ca
ytlatquitzin S^{ta} Elena yc quimote-
quipanilhuis y maria Aug^{na} oqui-
monemactilita yn icoltzin omoetz-
ticatca fran^{co} de la cruz yhuau oc çe
tlalli meyotoc onpa mani tetela ocan
pehua yn itenco yn apamitl ynic
yauh yn atl teopan timocuaxoch-
namiqui yn tlatohuani Dⁿ Diego de
galizia niman yauh tlamelahua onaçi
atenco niman yauh huitecoya tlame-
lahua atentitech niman tlacolohua oc
çepa tlamelahua onaçi oc çepa yn
itech yn apamitl ynic yauh yn atl

1720, before me don Juan Mal-
donado, governor, don Antonio de
Galicia, regidor mayor, don Pedro de
la Cruz, don Bartolomé de la Cruz,
don Juan Ramos, and don Josef de
San Juan, alcaldes, and Antonio
Rodríguez, notary of the common-
wealth—before me don Juan Mal-
donado and all of us who serve with-
in the aforesaid altepetl, appeared
María Agustina of Temascaltitlan
about the land at the place called
Atempan, a small round field plant-
ed in maguey; it begins next to the
land of the late don Agustín and
reaches as far as the road going to
the marketplace. María Agustina's
mother (and her grandfather?) be-
queathed it to her; her (the mother's)
late father named Francisco de la
Cruz had given it to her, with an-
other house foundation beside a
house on a lot, next to the house of
the late Antonio de San Juan. This
aforesaid land belongs to Santa Ele-
na, with which María Agustina is to
serve her, since her late grandfather
Francisco de la Cruz bequeathed it to
her, along with another piece of land
planted in maguey at Tetela, begin-
ning at the edge of the irrigation
ditch by which water goes to the
church, where we border on the lord
don Diego de Galicia, and then it
goes straight as far as the edge of
the water; then it goes to the
threshing place, straight along the
edge of the water, and then it turns
and goes straight again until it again
reaches the irrigation ditch by which

teopan niman ontlami y canin
 opeuh ca mochi ytlatquitzin y Sta
 elena yc quimotequipanilhuisque yn
 santa Elena mochi oquimocahuililita
 yn icoltzin omoetzticatca y maria
 Aug^{na} auh tiquitohua timochintin
 Gou^{or} Rexidor m^{or} yhuan alcaldes
 timochintin ofiçiales de rrepublica
 ca neltiliztli melahuac ca tixpan
 opanoc yn iamayo y tlali omoten-
 euh y quenin yaxca ocatca yn tlali y
 fran^{co} de la cruz auh yn axcan ca
 oquimocahuililitiaque y maria au-
 gustina yc quimotequipanilhuis y
 Sta Elena auh ypanpa yn axcan tic-
 tomaquilia ynin amatl yn yehuatzin
 maria Aug^{na} ypampa ca tixpan
 opanoc yn iamayo yn tlali omoten-
 euh tlacuitlapa auh ynic nelli mela-
 huac ca nican tictlalia yn tofirma
 auh yn xihuitl yn tonalli ca ye
 tlacuitlapan omoteneuh

Dⁿ juan maldonado Gou^{or} Dⁿ
 Antt^o de Galizia Rexidor m^{or} Dⁿ
 p^o de la cruz alcalde Dⁿ Juan
 rramos Alcalde Dⁿ Bartholome de
 la Cruz alcalde Dⁿ Antt^o mexia
 ynterino alcalde tlayxpan

Antt^o rrodriguez escriu^o Repu-
 blica (signatures all in same
 hand)

water goes to the church, and then it
 ends where it began. All of it is
 Santa Elena's property; with it they
 are to serve Santa Elena, and María
 Agustina's late grandfather left it all
 to her. And all of us, governor, re-
 gidor mayor, and alcaldes, all of us
 officials of the commonwealth say
 that verily and truly we were shown
 the documents for the aforemen-
 tioned land, (proving) how the land
 belonged to Francisco de la Cruz,
 and now they have left it to María
 Agustina to serve Santa Elena.
 Therefore now we issue this docu-
 ment to María Agustina, because we
 were shown the documents for the
 land mentioned on the other side (of
 the sheet). Here we set down our
 signatures; the year and day were
 already given on the other side.

Don Juan Maldonado, governor.
 Don Antonio de Galicia, regidor ma-
 yor. Don Pedro de la Cruz, alcalde.
 Don Juan Ramos, alcalde. Don Bar-
 tolomé de la Cruz, alcalde. Don
 Antonio Mejía, interim alcalde for
 Tlaixpan.

Antonio Rodríguez, notary of
 the commonwealth.

7. A Language Transition in Eighteenth- Century Mexico: The Change from Nahuatl to Spanish Recordkeeping in the Valley of Toluca

By the mid-eighteenth century central Mexico's dominant indigenous language, Nahuatl, had been in contact with Spanish for over two hundred years. As a result, it contained numerous Hispanisms, and many Nahuatl speakers habitually used Spanish in certain contexts.¹ At what point in time, among what groups, and for what reasons did Spanish replace Nahuatl as a vehicle of communication? In general, one must still answer such questions rather schematically and speculatively, but for one aspect of the matter—the language used in conducting corporate community business—texts are beginning to come to light which give us a closer view of how certain towns, in the course of the eighteenth century, made the transition from Nahuatl to Spanish in their internal recordkeeping. The particular texts to be used here come from the southern part of the Toluca Valley (the western neighbor of the Valley of Mexico), supplemented by a glimpse at some parallel texts from a segment of the indigenous community of Mexico City.²

The countryside of central Mexico during the colonial period, the area lying in between the dominant but widely interspersed “Spanish” towns such as Mexico City and Puebla, was organized into a large number of Indian municipalities, based on local preconquest states, which despite numerous obligations to the outside were, on a day-to-day basis, locally autonomous under their own town councils. From the mid-sixteenth century forward these Indian towns maintained records of council meetings, trials, land grants, wills, property sales, and the like, in essentially Spanish genres, but written (using the Roman alphabet) in Nahuatl. In some towns, at some periods, a large portion of the local upper group was literate in Nahuatl; in other situations Nahuatl literacy was confined to two or three local specialists who rotated as notaries attached to the town council or church. While almost universal over a wide area, the tradition of Nahuatl writing and recordkeeping was handed down locally in each case, and the numerous texts still preserved are a rich source for the study of Nahuatl speech in a time dimension one might have thought lost to direct observation.