

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Nahuatl-Language Petitions and Letters from Northwestern New Spain, 1580-1694

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0c8870kw>

Author

Garcia, Ricardo Medina

Publication Date

2016

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Nahuatl-Language Petitions and Letters from Northwestern New Spain, 1580-1694

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Ricardo Medina García

2016

© Copyright by

Ricardo Medina García

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Nahuatl-Language Petitions and Letters from Northwestern New Spain, 1580-1694

by

Ricardo Medina García

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Kevin B. Terraciano, Chair

The dissertation investigates relationships in colonial Northwestern Mexico between literate Indigenous leaders and Spanish officials of the Diocese of Guadalajara, the *Real Audiencia* of Nueva Galicia, and the Franciscan Order. The study is based primarily on the transcription, translation, and analysis of dozens of Nahuatl-language texts, written in the Roman alphabet during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Indigenous notaries on behalf of Indigenous leaders. The authors of these Nahuatl-language texts, mainly petitions and letters, belonged to at least four Indigenous groups: Cocas, Coras, the Mexicas, and the Cazcanes. The records represent more than thirty different towns within northwestern New Spain, a region located approximately within a one-hundred mile radius from the city of Guadalajara.

The dissertation examines how and why the Nahuatl-language documents were created. Indigenous notaries who wrote the petitions, letters, and other records responded to the *visita*, a colonial practice in which church officials based in Guadalajara traveled to rural provinces to

consult with Indigenous leaders about the performance of local clerics or colonial officials. Subsequently, notaries in the visited communities drafted petitions or letters that formally stated their grievances in writing and then sent the documents to church officials. The petitions, in particular, were structured texts consisting of three main parts. The first introduced the petitioners to the addressed subject by his title, usually not his name, and with reverential, if not deferential, phrases that combined elements of polite Indigenous discourse with colonial conventions of obeisance before authorities. The main section presented the grievance itself, employing specific language that recalled conversations and speeches with colonial officials. The final part, the conclusion, listed the Christian names of the petitioners, noted the Christian date of the document, and referred to the acts of writing and signing the text. The writers of these Nahuatl-language texts exhibited a strong awareness of their mediating roles in the colonial exchange between Indigenous communities and colonial institutions in Northwestern New Spain.

The dissertation also examines the Nahuatl language of the texts. Each notary wrote a distinct variant of Nahuatl. Whereas many secular officials and priests promoted the teaching and use of Central Mexican Nahuatl throughout New Spain, local Indigenous notaries in the area where the petitions were written favored Sayulteco or another western Nahuatl variant. The native-language texts thus record how various Indigenous groups around Guadalajara sought to protect and advance their interests, during a period of great transformation, by communicating with urban colonial officials in one or another variant of Nahuatl. Thus this dissertation also contributes to the study of Nahuatl as it was written in the colonial period outside of central Mexico, including texts produced by groups who spoke other native languages.

The dissertation of Ricardo Medina García is approved.

Lauren Derby

Pamela Munro

Kevin B. Terraciano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Indigenous Literacy	
1.2. Northwestern New Spain	
1.3. Alphabetic Nahuatl Writing	
1.4. Language and Literacy	
1.5. Peoples of Northwestern New Spain	
1.6. Sources and Methodology	
1.7. Chapters	
Chapter 2. Northwestern Mexico and Northwestern New Spain.....	38
2.1. The Present	
2.2. The Past: Climate, Sub-Regions, and Transportation Networks	
2.2a. The Rainy Season	
2.2b. The Hot Lands	
2.2c. The Cold Lands	
2.2d. Guadalajara and its Indigenous Correspondence	
2.2e. Roads and Correspondence Communities	
2.3. The Colonial Past of Northwestern New Spain: Indigenous Peoples	
2.3a. Chichimecas	
2.3b. Bapames	
2.3c. Cazcanes or Tochos	
2.3d. Tecuexes	
2.3e. Cocas	
2.3f. Coras, Coanos, and Huainamotas	
2.3g. Totorames	
2.3e. Huicholes, Tecuales, Tescoquines, and Guachichiles	
2.4. Indigenous Colonists and Northwestern New Spain	
Chapter 3. From the Sword to the Pen: Indigenous Groups, Western New Spain, and Alphabetic Writing.....	120
3.1. Nahuatl and Writing	
3.2. Pre-Columbian Nahuatl	
3.3. Nahuas in Western New Spain	
3.4. Nahuatlato, Franciscans, and the Mixtón War	
3.5. Franciscan Convents and Indigenous Towns	
3.6. Reading, Writing, Signing, and Marking	
3.7. Literacy as a Weapon	
Chapter 4. Nahuatl Alphabetic Writing in Western New Spain.....	174
4.1. Types of Documents	
4.2. Petitions	
4.2a. Diocesan Petitions	
4.2b. Alcalde Mayor, Royal Audiencia, and Royal Petitions	
4.2c. Classifying Unidentified Petitions	
4.2d. A Pseudo-Petition	
4.3. Cartas and Other Types of Documents	
4.4. Spanish Loan Words and Phrases	

4.5. Nahuatl from Central and Western Mexico	
4.5a. The Absolute Suffix in Ávalos and Nearby Provinces	
4.5b. The Plural Subject Marker in Ávalos and Nearby Provinces	
4.5c. Correlations: Central and Western Nahuatl	
4.6. Two Western Variants of Nahuatl	
Chapter 5. Writing and Adjudication.....	248
5.1. Indigenous Grievances	
5.2. Early Literacy and Correspondence, 1569-1622	
5.2a. Cycles of Literacy I, 1569-1595	
5.2b. Cycles of Literacy II, 1593-1600	
5.2c. Standardization and Printing, 1611-1622	
Chapter 6. Standardization.....	285
6.1. 1622 SCPM	
6.2. Visita-Petition Cycles, 1626-1646	
6.3. Cycles in the Tenure of Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, 1648-1664	
6.3a. The Long Year of 1649	
6.3b. 1652-1654	
6.3c. 1656-1657	
6.3d. 1658-1664	
6.4. Visita-Petition Cycles within the Tenure of Provisor Baltasar de la Peña y Medina, 1668-1673	
6.5. Visita-Petition Cycles within the Tenure of Bishop Santiago de León Garabito, 1678-1694	
6.6. Colonialism and Literacy in Western New Spain	
Conclusion.....	334
Appendix A. Identified Petitions and Letters.....	350
Appendix B. Two Petitions and One Letter.....	353
Appendix C. Loan Words.....	378
Appendix D. Correlations.....	393
Bibliography.....	400

Acknowledgements

Many people and institutions helped, prodded, pushed, and supported me during my journey as a graduate student. I arrived to UCLA as an incoming graduate, who did not have a lot of experience with academia, and I leave somewhat wiser because of the many who helped me along the way. I hope that I can repay their aid by helping other students.

My academic career path began when my friend Luis Ramirez introduced me to Manuel Aguilar Moreno, an Art History professor, who invited me to participate in the California State University, Los Angeles Ulama Project in 2004. I also met María Ramos. I have enjoyed working on the project, but more than that, I enjoyed meeting Luis, María, and Manuel. Their advice inspired me to apply to PhD programs at different institutions.

I had started studying Nahuatl on my own in 1999, but I learned more about this Indigenous language in a few months from native Nahuatl speakers at the Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ) in 2007 than in my previous eight years of study. I thank Ofelia Cruz Morales, Delfina de la Cruz, Victoriano de la Cruz, Sabina Cruz, and Youalsitlalli Cruz for teaching me their beautiful language, Huasteca Nahuatl, and accepting me into their community. They are my friends and remain my teachers. John Sullivan, the director, taught Classical Nahuatl in a passionate way that inspired us, the students of that 2007 class, who included María Ramos, Rafael Benavides, Chrissie Arce, León Galagarza, Kelly McDonough, Margarita Ochoa, and Miriam Melton-Villanueva. I returned to IDIEZ in 2010 for a few weeks and met Eduardo de la Cruz, a native speaker, who has also taught me Huasteca Nahuatl. Then, I was able to go to IDIEZ in the summer of 2012 due to funding from the UCLA Foreign Language Area Studies Institute, which generously provided me a summer fellowship.

Chrissy, María, and Miriam encouraged me to apply to PhD programs in history. I traveled to investigate different schools, and at UCLA, I met Kevin Terraciano, who generously invited me to join him, Miriam, León, and Bradley Benton to a dinner to celebrate León's advance to candidacy. I met Dana Velasco-Murillo, a UCLA graduate student at that time, and she told me of her research and of what to expect if I chose UCLA. I did indeed choose UCLA, in large part, because these individuals were erudite scholars who were also kind to a newcomer.

At UCLA, I was able to focus on my studies due to generous funding provided by several institutions. The University of California Office of the President, the UCLA Graduate Division, and the UCLA History Department offered me the Eugene Cota Robles Fellowship, University of California, Los Angeles, which helped me from 2008-2013. The National Science Foundation offered me a National Science Foundation University of California Diversity Initiative for Graduate Study in the Social Sciences (NSF UC DIGSSS) 2008-2009, which I used to travel to Mexico in the summer of 2009. The UCLA history department offered me a History 96 Fellowship during the 2014-2015 school year. The Sociology Department hired me as a Teaching Assistant (TA) during the Fall 2015 and Winter 2016 quarters, and the Anthropology Department hired me as a TA during the Spring 2016 quarter. Thank you very much.

I thank Kevin Terraciano, the chair of my committee for challenging me to grow. He taught me to be a careful student of history and encouraged me to not be satisfied with being average. He suggested that I find Nahuatl documents from Xalisco in 2010, and when I was able to get a digitized copy of Nahuatl documents from the Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco-Juan José Arreola (BPEJ-JJA), he advised me to keep looking, and I subsequently went to the Archivo Historico de la Arquidiocesis de Jalisco (AHAG), where the head archivist, Glafira Magaña Perales, had identified a large number of Nahuatl documents, most of which became the

basis for my proposal, which was approved by Kevin Terraciano and my committee: Pam Munro, Robin Derby, and Teofilo Ruiz. I have since turned the proposal into the dissertation, “Petitions and Power: Indigenous Correspondence from Western New Spain.” I also thank Kevin Terraciano for inviting me to be a participant in the study of Nahuatl along with Rebecca Dufendach and Fernando Serrano. He also invited Celso Armando Mendoza, Juan Pablo Morales Garza, and León García Galagarza to edit two of the documents, which appear in Appendix B, and he edited the third document of Appendix B.

I am indebted to Pam Munro, who shared her knowledge of Uto-Aztecan languages, taught me how to gloss transcriptions and translations, and provided great advice on how to make strategic proposals about Nahuatl. In 2012, Rebecca Dufendach asked Pam Munro to lead a colonial Nahuatl group, and she agreed and went on to lead a group that included Rebecca, myself, Michael Galant, the late Cal Watkins, Xochitl Marina Flores-Marcial, Niki Foster, Kristina Nielsen, and Celso Armando Mendoza. I have learned a great deal from Pam Munro and these scholars and graduate students.

I am also grateful to Robin Derby and Teofilo Ruiz. Robin Derby taught me about the importance of oral history and its hidden presence in notarial documents. Teofilo Ruiz brought to my attention how Fernand Braudel did not examine language in his *Mediterranean* and how other authors have brought the study of language to the fore.

During the dissertation-writing stage, my committee has been graciously helpful even with the infamous Chapter 2. Thank you Kevin Terraciano, Pam Munro, Robin Derby, and Teo Ruiz for all of your advice and comments. I hope my work reflects well on your mentorship. Outside of my committee, I thank the late Claudia Parodi-Lewin, Steve Aron, Peter Nabokov, Muriel McClendon, Karen Wilson, and Reynaldo F. Macías.

Many scholars and graduate students have helped me by sharing their knowledge of Nahuatl. Celso Armando Mendoza transcribed and translated five documents in my study, which greatly enhanced Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Celso Armando Mendoza and Allison Caplan shared their Nahuatl work during winter and spring meetings. Louise Burkhart edited one of my translations and provided invaluable information for Chapter 4. Stephanie Wood shared information from her research to help me with Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Samuel Tecpaocelotl Castillo allowed me to join the Nahuatl Facebook group, where I have received help and counsel from Joe Campbell, Chris Cuauhtli, John García, Magnus Pharaoh Hansen, Franzisco Maziel, and others. I have also received advice and encouragement from Karen Dakin and Una Canger.

Several people working at UCLA helped me in many ways. Hadley Porter was kind and helpful to my many questions. Paul Padilla always made time to listen to my concerns. Kamarin Takahara helped during the home stretch, and Indira García always listened. Thank you.

In Mexico, many scholars and archivists aided my requests, my research, and my growth. In the Universidad de Guadalajara (U de G), Rosa Yáñez Rosales shared her research with me about Nahuatl, literacy, the town of Tlajomulco, and the Diocese of Guadalajara. She also gave me an opportunity to co-teach an intermediate Nahuatl class and invited me to be a co-editor in a collaborative work titled, *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)*. In the Colegio de Jalisco (ColJal), José Refugio de la Torre Curiel taught me about clerics in Western Mexico. Furthermore, the aforementioned Glafira Magaña Perales always shared her time and knowledge at AHAG along with other archivists at this institution. Mariela Bárcenas Yepis, Rocío Escobedo Alvarez, Emma Aguilar, Alvarado, Estela Esteban Navarro, Herlinda López Nuño, Alejandra Durán Olmedo, and Mariana Silva

patiently fulfilled my many requests at the ColJal library. I also want to thank the archivists at BPEJ-JJA, at the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), and at the Archivo General de Indias (AGI).

In the United States, many archivists were helpful. The archivists from the Special Collections in the Young Research Library, UCLA allowed me to see the transcripts of the Byron McAfee collection. David Kessler sent me a microfilm copy of documents from *Nombre de Dios, Durango* held by the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

I could never have finished my doctorate without support from my friends and family. Thank you Luis Ramirez and Doris Celina Diarte de Ramirez for joining me at Denny's all of those late nights. Thank you Matt Luckett and JoAnna Wall for listening, for disagreeing, and for getting me involved in fantasy football. Thank you Rosie Rivas, Ruben Rivas, *tia* Rosa Medina, Miguel Medina, Rosie Rubio, Josefina Rubio, Rosendo Rubio for opening your homes and for helping me whenever I had to travel to Mexico. Thank you Mary Momdjian and Arnon Degani for listening to my questions and comments. Carrel walls will not stop our voices. Thank you *tia* Cuqui, Loren, Mary, Noemi, and Francisco for hosting me and my mom during the holidays. Finally, I am indebted to two special women in my life: Cecilia Habacon and Rafaela Aliaga. Ceci, I am glad that your beautiful self came into my life. You complement me in many ways and your encouragement and prodding have helped me finish my dream. Your life is an inspiration, and I can not wait to see where we go next. Mom, you have always let me find my way and supported me when I fell. I will never be able to repay you. Thank you.

Ricardo Medina García

EDUCATION

- 2016 PhD Candidate, History, University of California Los Angeles.
Dissertation: “Nahuatl-Language Petitions and Letters from Northwestern New Spain, 1580-1694.”
Committee: Kevin Terraciano (chair), Robin Derby, Teophilo Ruiz, and Pam Munro.
- 2010 M.A., History, University of California Los Angeles.
- 2007 M.A., Linguistics, California State University, Fullerton, CA.
Thesis: “Echoes: The Words and the Aztec Past of the Game of *Ulama*.”
Adviser: Angela Della Volpe.
- 2001 Single Subject Teaching Credential, History, California State University, Fullerton, CA.
- 1999 B.A., History, California State University, Fullerton, CA.

EDITED PUBLICATION

- 2016 *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina *et al.* Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming.

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2016 “Entre la lengua mexicana y la *mera* mexicana: El náhuatl de Juan Guerra, D. Gerónimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño, y escribanos de la provincia de Ávalos, *ca.* 1600 a 1765,” “Transcripción y ordenamiento alfabético del vocabulario registrado en la obra de fray Joan Guerra, 1692,” and “Transcripción del *Vocabulario* de Romance a Mexicano de Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño, 1765” in *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina *et al.* Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming.
- 2016 “The Prehistory and History of Rubber Ballgames” and “Nahuatl and Spanish Words of *Ulama*” in *Ulama: 3,000 years of the Mesoamerican Ballgame* edited by Manuel Aguilar-Moreno and Jim Brady. Submitted to editor.
- 2014 “Where Bilingualism Mattered: Nahuatl on the Western and Northern Frontiers of New Spain” in *Voices* 2(1)(2014), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1058h69n>.
- 2011 “Lord 8 Deer’s Beard: The Mesoamerican Ballgame Tradition and its Protective Equipment” in *LiSA 16: Tradition and Innovation in Mesoamerican Cultural History, A Homage to Tatiana A. Proskouriakoff* ed. by Roberto Cantú and Aaron Sonnenschein. Munich: LINCOM EUROPA.

PRESENTATIONS

- 2015 “Writing and Identity: Nahua and Non-Nahua Peoples in Western Mexico, 1525-1650.” In the Realm of the Vision Serpent: Decipherments and Discoveries in Mesoamerica Conference, California State University, Los Angeles, April 10-11.

- 2014 “Voices and pens from the West [of Mexico]: What type of Nahuatl did the scribes of this region use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?” Taller de los Amigos de las Lenguas Yutoaztecas, Universidad Autonoma de Nayarit, Tepic, Mexico, June 19-21.
- 2011 “Back to the Future: Possible Heritages of the Modern Game of Ulama.” 2011 meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory. University of California, Los Angeles, October 19-22.
- 2008 “Going in Circles: The Mesoamerican Ballgame Tradition and Ball Courts with Rings.” First Conference on Ethnicity, Race and Indigenous People in Latin America and the Caribbean, University of California, San Diego, California, May 22-24.
- 2007 “The Way the Ball Bounces: The Aztec and Acaxee Ballgames.” Paper presented at the 78th Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Anthropological Association. Sacramento, California. April 12-15.

COLLEGE TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant at UCLA

- 2016 Anthropology 33, “Culture and Communication.”
Sociology 101, “Development of Social Theory.”
- 2015 Sociology 186, “Latin American Societies.”
- 2015 History 96, “Memos from the Past: Literacy, Life, and Death in Colonial Mesoamerica.”
- 2014 History 96, “The Pen and the Sword: Co-existence, Conflict, and Literacy in colonial Middle America.”
- 2011 History 1B, “Introduction to Western Civilization, Circa A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1715.”
History 8B, “Political Economy of Latin American Underdevelopment.”
- 2010 History 1A, “Introduction to Western Civilization, Prehistory to A.D. 1000.”
History 8C, “Film and Latin America.”
History 8B, “Political Economy of Latin American Underdevelopment.”
- 2009 History 8A, “Colonial Latin America.”

OTHER EXPERIENCE

- 2003-2009 Translator/Linguist at Protrans Inc., Santa Ana, CA; Spanish to English.
- 2006 Essay Composition and Grammar Tutor at California State University, Fullerton, CA.

AWARDS

- 2012 Summer Foreign Language Area Studies Grant (FLAS).
- 2008-2009 National Science Foundation University of California Diversity Initiatives for Graduate Study in the Social Sciences (NSF UC DIGSSS).
- 2008-2013 Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship, University of California, Los Angeles.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Historical Association and Conference on Latin American History.

LANGUAGES

Nahuatl (Advanced reader, Intermediate speaker), Spanish (Native fluency), and French (Intermediate reader).

Chapter 1. Introduction

neguati nicora moch nopiliguan quasamota corami yhuān ayotochpa nopiliguan corami yhuān guaxcore nopiligua corami¹

I am Cora. My children are all the Cora in Guazamota; in Ayotochpa, my children are Cora; and in Guaxicori, all my children are Cora.

Don Francisco Nayari

1.1. Indigenous Literacy

During the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, Nahuas in the Valley of Mexico employed a pictographic writing system known as the Mixteca-Puebla Style and the Roman alphabet to record the Indigenous language of Nahuatl in this region.² Meanwhile, Nahuas who lived in the hinterlands of Guadalajara, hundreds of miles northwest of Mexico City, do not appear to have used a pictorial system of writing and, until recently, only a few of them appeared to have written in the Roman alphabet because only a few Nahuatl alphabetic documents had surfaced.³ However, the diligent work of archivists working under the direction of Glafira Pérez

¹ Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de Guadalajara (AHAG), Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

² My usage of “Nahua” is more precise than Spaniard. I use Nahua to denote a native Nahuatl speaker, and I rely on non-Nahua to refer to individuals who had a different native language. For example, evidence suggests that Doña Marina was a Nahua, but Nayari and Bernardino de Sahagún were non-Nahuas because they spoke different native languages even if, at a certain point in their lives, they learned to speak and write Nahuatl.

³ John Sullivan translated and analyzed a series of documents from Los Altos de Jalisco from the early seventeenth century in two works. Sullivan, “The Jalostotitlan Petitions, 1611-1618” in *Sources and Methods for the Study of Postconquest Mesoamerican Ethnohistory* Provisional Version ed. by James Lockhart, Lisa Sousa, and Stephanie Wood (Eugene, OR: Wired Humanities Project at the University of Oregon, 2007) <http://whp.uoregon.edu/Lockhart/index.html>; and Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618* (Guadalajara, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2003). Rosa Yáñez Rosales has translated and analyzed a series of documents from the province of Tlajomulco. Yáñez Rosales, *Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de padua tlaxomulco 'En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco': Textos en lengua náhuatl, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Guadalajara: Editores Prometeo, 2013) and Yáñez Rosales, *Guerra espiritual y resistencia Indígena: El discurso de evangelización en el obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Colección Producción Académica de los Miembros del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SIN), 2002).

Magaña have unearthed a large number of Nahuatl documents within the correspondence of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara from the seventeenth century.⁴ A second corpus of Nahuatl documents sent to the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara and the Franciscan Order have also survived to shed more light on Guadalajara and nearby Indigenous communities during the sixteenth century.⁵ These documents are petitions, letters, and receipts written by peoples who lived in towns that stood within a hundred-mile radius of Guadalajara.⁶ The writers were literate Indigenous men who included people like Don Francisco Nayari, Diego Juan, and an unnamed writer who wrote on behalf of María Magdalena. They sometimes wrote on their own behalf but most often represented their communities before the colonial institutions of the region such as the Franciscan order, the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara, and the Diocese of Guadalajara.⁷

In 1649, Don Francisco Nayari, a Cora, wrote three letters to the bishop of Guadalajara, Juan Ruiz Colmenero.⁸ Nayari was a *ladino*, a Hispanicized Indigenous person, because he identifies himself as a resident of the town of Tzacamota, as a Christian, and as a Cora, but he does not write in the Indigenous language of the Cora but in Nahuatl.⁹ He writes in response to several letters that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero appears to have written him. Nayari addresses the

⁴ These documents are held by AHAG.

⁵ These documents are held by Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, Juan José Arreola (BPEJ-JJA), McA-UCLA, and the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley (BAN-UCB).

⁶ Only Nombre de Dios and Xalisco are farther then this proposed one-hundred-mile radius.

⁷ Kelly S. McDonough uses “Indigenous Intellectuals” to challenge commonly held assumptions by many laymen who do not associate Indigenous peoples with literacy and scholarly behavior. McDonough, Kelly. *The Learned Ones: Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico*. (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 3.

⁸ Colmenero appears to have been appointed in 1646, but he did not arrive in Mexico until 1648, and he toured the area of his jurisdiction between 1648 and 1649. Several of his letters have been digitized by the Archivo General de Indias, (AGI) including the ship manifest, which was created dated June 6, 1646. AGI, Contratación, 5427, N.3, R.1.

⁹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

first of his letters to “señor obispo (lord bishop)” without naming him.¹⁰ The year of 1649 is significant because, in 1648-49 Bishop Ruiz Colmenero began his time at the Diocese of Guadalajara with a *visita*, an inspection visit, of the many parishes under his jurisdiction. Magnus Lundberg asserts that in the archdiocese of Mexico City and the diocese of Puebla, *visitas* by bishops or their subordinates led to a large number of petitions during the seventeenth century.¹¹ It is doubtful that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero went to Tzacamota because in 1649 this town was in an independent region known as El Gran Nayar. He most likely wrote from the neighboring province of Izatlan, which bordered El Gran Nayar on the south, or from the province of Acaponeta, which bordered it on the west. Then, Franciscans living in convents in one of these provinces most likely would have taken the bishop’s letters into the highland plateau that made up most of El Gran Nayar. Still later, Nayari’s responses were returned to their convent from where they made their way to Guadalajara.¹²

Nayari presents himself as a Christian Indigenous noble. He responds to the earliest letter from the bishop by explaining how he has heard that others have connected the Cora to the Tepehuanes, who had a reputation for being rebellious and poor Christians. However, he writes assurances that he does not seek the Tepehuanes, but that they come to see him and his people,

¹⁰ Peter Gerhard writes that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero’s *visita* journals have been lost. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España* translated by Patricia Escandón Bolaños and with maps by Bruce Campbell (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 71-72.

¹¹ Ruiz Colmenero began his charge by touring most of the parishes within his jurisdiction during 1648 and 1649. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*; Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara” in *Obras completas* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1986). Magnus Lundberg describes the role of *visitas* in Central Mexico in two chapters, “The Bishop’s Eye: Visitation Records” and “We Accuse: Indigenous Petitions.” Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*.

¹² Nayari wrote three distinct letters: “1649a Tzacamota,” “1649b Tzacamota,” and “1649c Tzacamota.” AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

who live in the towns of Guazamota, Ayotochpa, and Guaxicori. These towns form three points in a triangle of territory in the northern part of El Gran Nayar, and they are hemmed in between the Tepehuanes to the north, other Cora groups to the south, militarized Tlaxcalan and Huichol communities to the east, and mixed Spanish-Indigenous communities to the west.¹³

Diego Juan was a different type of person from Nayari because he served as the notary of San Martín, a town in the province of Ávalos, which was south of Guadalajara and beyond the power of the groups of El Gran Nayar, and he wrote two petitions on behalf of the cabildo (town council). He writes on behalf of petitioners who complain about how the *alcalde mayor* and the priest residing in the *cabecera* (head town) of Cocula are taking too much tribute in goods and services from San Martín. He addresses Bishop Ruiz Colmenero without naming him in two petitions with this complaint—one in 1653 and another in 1654—that he wrote on the basis of memories by the petitioners and him of the latter's 1648 or 1649 *visita*.

San Martín was located in the province of Ávalos, which may have been the most Hispanicized region in the Diocese of Guadalajara because eighteen Nahuatl petitions are from this region, which is the largest number of any province in this study. The residents of these towns were accustomed to the *cabecera* (head town) system of Spanish imperial rule in which the head-town served as the seat of both the imperial representative, in the form of an *alcalde mayor* or a *corregidor*, and a parish priest. Furthermore, most of the writers from Ávalos wrote during the second-half of the seventeenth century, when the Franciscan order had lost most of its control of the region to the parish priests who were beholden to the secular bishop. These two

¹³ These Huichol and Tlaxcalan communities were mustered and led by a captain appointed by the Viceroy of New Spain. At times, smaller contingents might be led by Tlaxcalan leaders. Bret Blosser, "By the Force of Their Lives and the Spilling of Blood": Flechero Service and Political Leverage on a Nueva Galicia Frontier" in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R Oudijk (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

hierarchies required tribute from a variety of Indigenous peoples including Coras, Cocas, Tecuejes, and Sayultecos, who could rely on their notaries to write petitions to protest tribute demands or other types of abuses by colonial officials.

In 1622, María Magdalena sent a petition to the *provisor*, a diocesan judge, to complain about her treatment at the hands of the *alcalde mayor* of Izatlan.¹⁴ In her petition, she claims to be an official known as a *tenantzin* within the *cofradía* of Mary of the Immaculate Conception in the town of La Magdalena. She proposes that she has fulfilled the duties of her office, and that she has only asserted that she was competent as a *tenantzin* when the *alcalde mayor* took her from the church and placed her in custody. Magdalena identifies herself as the servant of the *provisor*, and as a resident of the town of La Magdalena. This town was in the province of Izatlan, which was dominated by a basin and appeared to have had a Nahuatl majority, although María did not connect herself to a particular group.¹⁵ Izatlan had a strong Franciscan presence with convents at La Magdalena and the nearby towns of Ayahualulco, and Ezatlan, and it appears to have influenced the petition sponsored by María because, like many Franciscans who wrote in Nahuatl, her writer employs a Central Mexican variant (Refer to Chapters 1.3, 1.4, and 3).

Nayari, Diego Juan, and the writer of “1622 La Magdalena” thus record the different degrees of colonization in Izatlan, El Gran Nayar, and Ávalos. They and the other notaries of

¹⁴ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

¹⁵ Gerhard asserts that most of the people spoke a Nahuatl language, but there was an Otomí-speaking minority. The different variants of Otomí belong to the Otopamean family, which has about a dozen extant languages whose speakers inhabit territory to the north and west of Mexico City (Silver and Miller 1997: 344). I propose that, regarding Izatlan, Otomí referred to speakers of a non-Nahuatl Indigenous language (Refer to Chapter 3.3) and agree that most of the Indigenous residents in this province spoke Nahuatl. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* revised edition (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 156.

this corpus of sixty-two documents thus offer Indigenous perspectives from the side of the colonized in an extensive area that includes portions of the present-day states of Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, Colima, Aguascalientes, Durango, Sinaloa, and Zacatecas. However, borders and jurisdictions were different between 1563 and 1694, when Indigenous scribes wrote these documents.

1.2. Northwestern New Spain

The sixty-two Nahuatl-language documents belong to Indigenous towns within a large jurisdiction called “New Spain” that scholars have classified in a variety of ways. Robert Ricard (2005) defines New Spain as the territory that fell under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Mexico, and the dioceses of Tlaxcala-Puebla, Michoacán, Nueva Galicia, and Antequera, or all of present-day Mexico except for the southern states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatan. Oakah L. Jones (1979) posits a northern New Spain encompassed by the Spanish provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California, Alta California, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Mexico, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Texas, and Nuevo Santander, or the land encompassing what are now all of the Mexican States north of the Tropic of Cancer, Baja California Sur, the American Southwest, and Texas. Furthermore, in *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*, Peter Gerhard (1982) accepts all of the provinces posited by Jones and also adds the province of Nueva Galicia, which encompasses a territory that contains all or portions of Zacatecas, Jalisco, Nayarit, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí. David J. Weber (1992) uses New Spain interchangeably with Mexico in *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, and his Spanish frontier in North America represents a region of the United States that goes from the Atlantic to the Pacific by including Spanish controlled and influenced areas in portions of the American

Southeast, Texas, the American Southwest, and California. My study accepts most of these definitions of Spanish frontiers in North America and Northern New Spain, and it proposes a Northwestern New Spain centered on Guadalajara that consists of most of the Diocese of Guadalajara and some disputed parishes bordering the Diocese of Durango, the Diocese of Michoacán, and the military districts of Nombre de Dios and El Gran Nayar (Refer to Map 1 at the end of this chapter).¹⁶

My study of correspondence from Northwestern New Spain seeks to illuminate the context in which Nayari, Diego Juan, the writer of “1622 La Magdalena,” and other writers wrote while also exploring the content of these documents. First, Indigenous notaries wrote to address the effects of colonialism on themselves and on their communities, and their words counter a dialogue that Spaniards and other Europeans have dominated.¹⁷ Second, Indigenous notaries wrote in Nahuatl, and although scholars have analyzed Nahuatl-language documents in the basin of Mexico and nearby valleys, few such studies exist for Northwestern New Spain, or for the genre of Nahuatl petitions.¹⁸ Third, Louise Burkhart mentions that Nahuatl genre documents do not generally emphasize female actors, but the mention by María Magdalena of a female official known as a *tenantzin* suggests that these works from Northwestern New Spain

¹⁶ The Diocese of Guadalajara was also known as the Diocese of Nueva Galicia and El Gran Nayar was independent until 1722. Thomas Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo* I ed. (Mexico City: Universidad de Guadalajara and Centre D’Études Mexicaines e Centraméricaines, 1990).

¹⁷ Many different groups spoke Spanish in colonial Mexico even though it might not have been their primary language. For example, Pedro de Gante was from Ghent, and Francisco de Ibarra was of Basque descent. I will employ “Spaniard” to refer to them and other fluent Spanish speakers from Europe whether or not they were native speakers.

¹⁸ During the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, Nahuatl was spoken from the Tropic of Cancer to Nicaragua by various groups. From north to south, they include the Caxcanes of western and northwestern Mexico, the Mexica and Acolhua who dominated the Aztec Empire, the Tlaxcalans who helped the Spaniards defeat the Aztec Empire, the Pipil of El Salvador, and the Nicoya of Nicaragua.

may reveal new information about gender. Fourth, some authors of this corpus claimed to be Coras while others may be Huichol, Tepecano, or Coca, which are non-Nahua groups, and they provide some information about non-Nahua socio-political structures from an Indigenous perspective that is non-Nahua. Fifth, Indigenous scribes provide examples of Nahuatl from western Mexico, a different variant from that of the Basin of Mexico and surrounding valleys.

1.3. Alphabetic Nahuatl Writing

No dissertation-length study has focused on petitions written in Nahuatl, or for that matter, on Nahuatl-language writings from Northwestern New Spain. However, previous scholars have identified a correspondence genre that constitutes part of a larger colonial corpus of documents written in Nahuatl with the Roman alphabet.¹⁹ Because the corpus of Nahuatl alphabetic documents comes from Nahua and Hispanic communicative traditions, it is necessary to examine how past scholars have divided and organized these works.²⁰

Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart were the first scholars to examine Nahuatl-language correspondence in *Beyond the Codices: The Nahua View of Colonial Mexico*. They translated, edited, and analyzed a large number of Nahuatl documents that they

¹⁹ By “colonial period,” I refer to the time span from 1521, when Europeans arrived in western Mexico, to 1821, the date of the start of the Mexican independence movement. Microbes preceded Europeans in many areas, and a good case can be made that the arrival of microbes signaled the beginning of the colonial period for this region (Crosby 1972). However, Daniel T. Reff argues that the 1518-25 small pox pandemic that struck the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America did not strike western Mexico. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1991), 99-103.

²⁰ James Lockhart describes one portion of this corpus as being, “not only more individual in their language, conventions, and content than the Spanish counterparts, but more complex in belonging to two traditions rather than one... They are both more difficult and potentially richer... than Spanish records. A realization of their nature has called for a New Philology to render them understandable and available and put them in their true context.” Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 7.

divided into four genres: wills and related documents; land documentation; municipal documentation; and petitions, correspondence, and other formal statements. The corpus of my study has petitions, letters, and receipts so they best fit under the fourth category, which these scholars argue have a less formulaic appearance and are more varied and wide-ranging than the other genres. Anderson et al. also divide Nahuatl documents into two sub-types, Classical and Peripheral variants, with the former containing the polished Classical Nahuatl of the high nobility of large towns within or close to the Basin of Mexico, and the latter encompassing petitions by the nobility of small towns whose Nahuatl is less formal.²¹ They supported this proposal with nine petitions that could also be divided by century and region because with one exception from Guatemala, those that fit their first sub-type were from the sixteenth century and those that fit the second were from the seventeenth century. Also, the ones that contain more colloquial varieties of Nahuatl were from two regions: Guatemala (one petition), and western Mexico (three petitions). More recent scholars have judged the past reliance on the term “Classical Nahuatl” as problematic, but Una Canger proposed a solution in her paper “Nahuatl Dialectology.” She consulted colonial and present-day Nahuatl variants and suggested a division of Nahuatl into Central and Peripheral variants that encompassed present and past varieties of this language. Now, this two-fold division has been widely accepted (Refer to Chapter 3.2).

Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano present six petitions in “Chapter 4: Political Life” of *Mesoamerica Voices*, which fit into the Central Nahuatl sub-type because they were created by the high nobility of Tenochtitlan, Tlaxcala, and Xochimilco. These scholars

²¹ Kevin Terraciano (p.c., 2013) told me that Lockhart had disagreed with the use of Classical and Peripheral in this work, and that he favored a different division. Later, Lockhart relied on the Central and Peripheral division developed by Una Canger for the colonial language situation in Mexico and Central America. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

judge that petitions demonstrate how the cabildo functioned as an intermediary between the Spanish bureaucracy and the indigenous commoners who outnumbered both groups. They also propose that Indigenous peoples had to face issues such as Spanish encroachment, the allocation of labor by residents, and even the disappearance of the corporate body through *congregación*.

Magnus Lundberg also examines petitions from Central Mexico in *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico Church Life*. Lundberg employs a variety of documents from Central Mexico, including Nahuatl alphabetic petitions, and Spanish documentary genres such as provincial council decrees, archbishop/bishop visitation records, and sacramental manuals to examine the archdiocese of Mexico City and the diocese of Puebla, and their relationships with their respective parishes. He dedicates chapter seven “We Accuse: Indigenous Petitions” to documenting the petition genre within the archdiocese of Mexico City and the diocese of Puebla, concluding that most of these petitions were responses to *visitas* of bishops to the parishes. He proposes that during a *visita* bishops interviewed Indigenous elites, who made claims against parish priests, and that cabildo members such as the *gobernador*, *alcalde*, and *regidor* were prominent among the signatories of petitions. He presents differences between the Spanish-language and Nahuatl-language petitions, and he summarizes a number of petitions in a manner influenced by Stuart B. Schwartz’s “serial microhistory,” which is a “series of what are essentially case studies in which each presents peculiar individual characteristics.”²² He then uses them to create portraits of an ideal parish priest and parishioner.

²² Stuart B. Schwartz, *All can be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 9. Quoted in Lundberg, 180.

On the other hand, scholars who have employed Nahuatl documents from Guatemala have different views about accepting the Central/Peripheral division. In “Algunos documentos Nahuas del sur de Mesoamerica,” Karen Dakin examines different documents, hypothesizing the existence of four types of Nahuatl: central Nahuatl as described by the colonial grammarians; the Nahuatl lingua franca that appears to have been used in areas where other Indigenous languages were dominant; regional variants; and a peripheral eastern dialect.²³ However, in “Nahuatl and Pipil in Colonial Guatemala: A Central American Counterpoint,” Laura E. Matthew and Sergio F. Romero (2012: 779) disagree with Dakin and counter that their study of forty-six documents only supports two Nahuatl variants: Classical Nahuatl and Pipil.²⁴

Scholars who have examined petitions and other correspondence from Northwestern New Spain have reached a stronger consensus in favor of the central-peripheral dichotomy. Jim Braun, Barry Sell, and Terraciano examine four Nahuatl petitions from two Cora towns in “The Northwest of New Spain: Nahuatl in Nayarit, 1652” and propose that Nahuatl was being affected by Spanish in ways that mirrored changes in central Mexico; that non-Nahua authors created three of the four petitions; and that the elegant handwriting of the fourth petition suggests a central Mexican author.²⁵ They also reason that these petitions were political acts because their elite creators took advantage of rivalries between Spanish-speaking colonial elites, since these

²³ Dakin, “Algunos documentos Nahuas del sur de Mesoamérica,” in *Visiones del encuentro de dos mundos en América: lengua, cultura, traducción y transculturación* ed. by Karen Dakin, Mercedes Montes de Oca, and Claudia Parodi (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de California en Los Angeles-Centro de Estudios Coloniales Iberoamericanos, 2009), 247.

²⁴ Laura E. Matthew and Sergio F. Romero, “Nahuatl and Pipil in Colonial Guatemala: A Central Mexican Counterpoint” *Ethnohistory* Vol. 54, No. 4 (Fall 2012), 779.

²⁵ The towns are San Sebastian Huajicori (Guaxicori) and San Antonio Quiuiquinta, which are in my study.

complaints against a Franciscan are not addressed to religious authorities, but to civil authorities.²⁶

Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales examines Nahuatl petitions and other correspondence in the province of Tlajomulco in *Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de padua tlaxomulco 'En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco': Textos en lengua náhuat, siglos XVII y XVIII*. She translates and analyzes a number of Nahuatl documents from the regional archive of Tlajomulco, a town a few miles south of Guadalajara, whose author examines the province of Tlajomulco as a place influenced by the struggle that resulted in the gradual colonization of this region. Yáñez Rosales places great importance on how the Franciscans relied on their knowledge of Nahuatl and on Indigenous translators who spoke Nahuatl and other Indigenous languages to proselytize within this multi-lingual region. She also notes that the Nahuatl of this province employed a *-t* absolute ending, classifying this as a peripheral feature that contrasts with the *-tl* ending used in Central Mexico.

John Sullivan examined a corpus of Nahuatl documents from Los Altos, another province of Northwestern New Spain, proposing that the Nahuatl from this region differed from both the central and peripheral varieties. In *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618*, Sullivan transcribes and translates the documents from Los Altos explaining that they represent petitions against a priest in a case that was tried in the inquisitorial court of Mexico City. Sullivan suggests that the Nahuatl of these petitions contains some grammatical paradigms that connect them to Peripheral Nahuatl, along with others that differentiate them from any known colonial variants, and he also

²⁶ Jim Braun, Barry Sell, and Terraciano, "The Northwest of New Spain: Nahuatl in Nayarit, 1652," *UCLA History Journal* Vol. 9 (1989), 86.

posits that Nahuatl may not have been the dominant language of Los Altos.²⁷ In his second study, Sullivan continues his linguistic analysis of these petitions, observing that the well-attested four classes of Classical Nahuatl verbs have been reduced to two types in this corpus.²⁸

An important work that does not access the New Philology or the Central/Peripheral dichotomy is *Xalisco, la voz de un pueblo en el siglo XVI*, which examines Nahuatl petitions and other documents from the community of Xalisco in Nueva Galicia. It is a collaborative effort transcribed by Eustaquio Celestino and Magdalena Gomez, translated by Ricardo Xochitemol, and introduced and analyzed by Thomas Calvo and Jean Meyer. These investigators divide their work into three chapters that present transcriptions, translations, and analyses of Nahuatl alphabetic petitions from Xalisco (Map 3, #12), and a fourth chapter that transcribes and analyzes Spanish documents from this polity. The authors have made these Nahuatl documents available to other scholars, with a limited analysis of the Nahuatl found in the petitions.

The letters of western Mexico in my study appear to be petitions, letters, and receipts, but what do they represent? They are outnumbered by Spanish documents in the archives of Northwestern New Spain, but they can raise new questions? After all, if “always language was

²⁷ These documents were created in 1618, several years after a petition from Jalostotitlan written in 1611. Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhua yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618*, 9. *Beyond the Codices: The Nahua View of Colonial Mexico* trans. and ed. by Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart with a linguistic essay by Ronald W. Langacker (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press Ltd., 1976), 166.

²⁸ J. Richard Andrews and Lockhart both proposed the existence of four types of Nahuatl verbs based on the preterit paradigm. Andrews, *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* revised edition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 62-63. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 31-32.

the companion of empire, and followed it in such a way that jointly they began,” what does the use of Nahuatl in Northwestern New Spain represent?²⁹

1.4. Language and Literacy

The petitions in my collection are mediated documents created in Nahuatl for a Spanish audience, which gives rise to several questions. First, to what degree were these petitions influenced by Spanish literary genres? Second, Northwestern New Spain was a multi-lingual area where Nahuatl and Spanish were not the only spoken languages, but did their perseverance suggest that they were lingua francas? If so, what determined the language chosen by a particular group? Third, notaries had to, in a sense, negotiate the content with other Indigenous elites. Do the petitions, letters, and receipts of Northwestern New Spain reveal the mediated content, and if so, what do they say about orality and literacy within a given Indigenous community? These complex issues require the consultation of a corpus of works that examines literary and linguistic methodologies in multi-lingual contexts.

Letters and People of the Spanish Indies and *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies* both offer examples of Spanish letter-writing. In the first, James Lockhart and Enrique Otte compile, translate, and edit a large number of letters from the *Casa de Contratación* and other archives, and they remark that letter-writing was common among Spaniards, and that many of their examples conform to a genre that relied on a well-used set of greetings, endings, and

²⁹ Antonio Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana* in Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), 331.

vocabulary.³⁰ They begin their study by presenting letters that conquistadors wrote to people in Spain. Two letters—“Pedrarias de Avila, governor of Tierra Firme, in Panamá, to the emperor, 1525” and “Doña Isabel de Guevara, in Asunción, Paraguay, to Princess doña Juan, regent in Spain, 1556”—are addressed to royalty, and each one creates an argument for reward by recounting how each author supported the royal house. These belong to the same sub-genre as the letter in *The Indian Militia*, edited by Kris Lane and translated by Timothy F. Johnson, which examines a book-length letter to the king by Captain Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, a conquistador from the late sixteenth century. Since Bernardo de Vargas Machuca writes his work to list his accomplishments with the aim of obtaining a reward or concession from the person who is addressed, Lane identifies it as a *relación* (account) or *probança de méritos*.

One petition in *Beyond the Codices* and another in *Mesoamerican Voices* resemble these Spanish-language *relaciones* because they also present records of service, but these are different because they refer to the accomplishments of the *altepetl*, a corporate body, and not to those of a single person.³¹ First, “Letter of the Council of Huejotzinco to the king, 1560” from *Beyond the Codices* recounts how the Huejotzinca accepted Christianity and gave support to Hernando Cortés, and it asks for a reduction of tribute. “Letter from the Nahua Nobles of Xochimilco to the King of Spain, 1563” explains the aid given by the Xochimilca to Cortés, Pedro de Alvarado, and Nuño de Guzmán, and it makes two requests: that the king lessen the tribute required of the

³⁰ *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century* edited and translated by James Lockhart and Enrique Otte (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), ix-x.

³¹ One letter that does not resemble Spanish *relaciones* is “Letter from the Nahua Cabildo of Tenochtitlan to the King of Spain, 1554,” which states that the king’s subjects are not following his orders to the detriment of this *altepetl*.” *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writing from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* ed. by Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 64-66.

nobles; and that he bring back the tributary obligations of Xochimilca commoners to Xochimilca nobles.

In another region of Mesoamerica, the most comprehensive study of Indigenous petitions concerns Maya petitions and offers guidelines for investigating Indigenous petitions as a genre.³² In “Secrets Behind the Screen: *Solicitantes* in the Colonial Diocese of Yucatan and the Yucatec Maya, 1570-1785,” John Chuchiak uses a large number of Yucatec Mayan petitions accusing priests of soliciting sexual favors at the confessional. Chuchiak explains that historians are ambivalent about how much to rely on the words of the petitioners, hypothesizing that his corpus demonstrates the struggle between three competing sexual worlds: one of Spanish-Catholic morality, another of Spanish lasciviousness, and a third based on pre-Columbian Mayan mores. He posits that many Maya were propositioned as they took their “sins” to a Christian space only to be entreated, cajoled, threatened, and raped by lascivious confessors. He accepts that many of these events happened, but he proposes that elites of Yucatec Maya communities also filed petitions for political aims.

My study also requires that I consult linguistic works that explore the intersection of language and society, such as Ronald Wardaugh’s *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* and Donald N. Tuten and Fernando Tejedo-Herrero’s “The Relationship between Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.” Wardaugh succinctly and authoritatively examines different twentieth-century sociolinguistic issues such as how one person judges another’s use of

³² The Maya petitions and the petitions in my study also contain systems of reference that petitioners relied on to organize their place in the physical world. William F. Hanks examines *deixis* (pronouns and perceptual and spatial adverbs corresponding roughly to I, you, this, that, here, and there) as a social construction for the Maya of twentieth century Oxkutzcab, Yucatan, and he posits that because *deixis* is a linguistic subsystem and an act, it is central to the organization of communicative practice and intelligible only in relation to the socio-cultural system of Oxkutzcab. Hanks, *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

language, imposes his or her language on others, and changes his or her ways of speaking before perceived social inferiors and superiors. Another sociolinguistic issue is the presence of a lingua franca, which the author explains is not a unitary entity because it “can be spoken in a variety of ways.”³³ Tuten and Tejedo-Herrero examine how the nascent field of historical sociolinguistics affects studies of the history of Spanish. These authors explain that the lack of living consultants results in less reliable data for these studies, but they judge that these investigations can bring back human participants to historical linguistic studies. They suggest that among the most promising sources are digital databases of accurately transcribed historical texts arranged in chronological order. I do not propose to create such a database for my project, but I will include some transcriptions and translations in Appendix B.

Other studies that can be classified as examples of historical sociolinguistics or histories of language are also relevant such as “Cambio social y cambio lingüístico: El ‘náhuatl cotidiano’, el de ‘doctrina’ y el de ‘escribanía’ en Cuauhnáhuac entre 1540 y 1671,” by Brígida von Mentz, and *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, by Peter Burke. Von Mentz posits that Nahuatl served as two types of registers: “*náhuatl de doctrina*” and “*náhuatl de escribanía*.” She reasons that the first was influenced by the Franciscans and Dominicans who proselytized and taught Nahuas how to write their language with the Roman alphabet, and the second, by the structures and legal formulas required by the Spanish colonial bureaucracy. Meanwhile, Burke investigates the historicity of language through an examination of how literate Europeans viewed language, and how the development of a regional dialect influenced the

³³ Wardaugh, 59.

development of the nation-state from the fifteenth until the eighteenth centuries.³⁴ He acknowledges that some dialects triumph over others and come to dominate the documents of a historical era, but his assertions are strongest for Europe. He posits that, in the Americas, the spread of printed books influenced the writing and speaking habits of native speakers, and he adds that a convincing example comes from how missionaries, such as the Jesuits, wrote grammars that “fixed” or froze usages within Indigenous languages like Nahuatl.³⁵

In Northwestern New Spain, Juan Guerra began his *Arte de la lengua mexicana* by claiming that the Nahuatl that he heard in western Mexico was different from what he had been taught in central Mexico.³⁶ This variation within Nahuatl was natural because of the long distance and time involved. Nahuatl had spread over a wide area before these petitions were written, and by the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, Nahuatl was present throughout most of Northwestern New Spain, Central Mexico, and Central America.

The colonial period was thus a clash of societies and imperial languages. Nicholas Ostler examines the latter in his ambitious *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*, in

³⁴ Burke, 1.

³⁵ Burke, 93. Two investigations present good counterpoints: *Guerra espiritual y resistencia Indígena: El discurso de la evangelización en el obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765* by Yáñez Rosales, and *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico* by Burkhart. Yáñez Rosales analyzes texts used by the clergy to proselytize to Indigenous groups of western Mexico. Her study includes Juan Guerra’s *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, which was published in 1692, but it begins with a *Requerimiento* from 1541 and ends with the publication in 1768 of the *Arte, vocabulario y confesionario en el idioma mexicano, como se usa en el obispado de Guadalaxara*. Yáñez Rosales asserts that these texts were intended for clergymen from the bishopric of Guadalajara, and not for Nahuas, thereby undermining Burke’s assertion that printed grammars fixed Nahuatl among its native speakers. Burkhart examines how the friars employed Nahuatl to proselytize to Nahuas in central Mexico. She posits that several factors led to the Nahuatlization of Catholicism in central Mexico. She proposes that the Nahuas and the friars conceptualized the universe in different ways and that in the end, the friars unknowingly perpetuated the Nahuatl worldview, a hypothesis that also challenges Burke’s assertion.

³⁶ Juan Guerra, *Arte de la lengua mexicana Según la acostumbra hablar los Indios de todo el obispado de Guadalajara de Guadiana y del de Mechoacan (1692)* ed. by Carlos Eduardo Gutiérrez Arce with prologues by Miguel León-Portilla and Agustín de Betancourt. Guadalajara, Mexico: Patrimonio Cultural del Occidente A.C., 1992), Al lector.

which he investigates relationships between imperial languages like Aramaic and Spanish and their respective empires. He proposes that large segments of history can be examined through the lingua francas that developed alongside empires and offers plausible conclusions that can be checked against the petitions in my study. For example, Ostler observes that although “nothing matched the symbolic power of the Spanish language to signify empire... it was easier, quicker and more reliable to spread understanding, and hence faith, in one of the native languages.”³⁷

1.5. Peoples of Northwestern New Spain

The authors I discussed in the first section of this chapter have examined different genres of alphabetic Nahuatl documents. The second section investigated language dominance in multi-lingual environments. Now, I will examine works centered on Nahua and non-Nahua Indigenous groups from Northwestern New Spain.

The oldest works to examine Northwestern New Spain treated Spanish colonization as inevitable because they were not critical of the principal sources. José López Portillo y Weber consulted the chronicles of Fray Antonio Tello, the testimonies of the participants of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada*, and other Spanish sources in *La conquista de la Nueva Galicia* in which he examines the wars that led to this region’s incorporation into the Spanish Empire. He devotes one chapter to the Indigenous people who lived here, in a chapter titled “Los conquistados (the conquered).” *La conquête spirituelle* by Robert Ricard continues to remain relevant because of the wealth of detail about Franciscan proselytization, but Ricard neglects Indigenous motives for accepting Catholicism and takes many of his sources produced by friars at face value. Despite

³⁷ Ostler, 334.

the passage of time, the actions and lives of Nahua and non-Nahua Indigenous groups from this region have been addressed in only a small number of works.

The most comprehensive works on Northwestern New Spain are Peter Gerhard's *A guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* and *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*, and Rosa Yáñez Rosales's *Rostro, palabra y memoria indígenas: El occidente de México: 1524-1816*. In both of his studies, Gerhard used the Spanish intendency system in 1786, for the most part, to divide New Spain into regions for which he provided historical and geographic information. For each intendency, he begins with the advent of Spanish colonization and includes geographic, political, ecclesiastical, and socio-economic essays based on Spanish-language sources. Both of his studies are invaluable because, in many cases, they are the most detailed secondary sources about the many different Indigenous groups that lived in Northwestern New Spain during the colonial period. In *Rostro, palabra y memoria*, Yáñez Rosales examines the presence of Indigenous groups in what are now Jalisco and Nayarit during the colonial period. She relies on a variety of Spanish-language sources, and on some Nahuatl sources, such as election documents from Tlajomulco, San Sebastian, and Santa Cruz (Map 4, #12). She also reasons that the *altepetl* was the dominant unit in western Mexico.

Other works emphasize colonial institutions and Indigenous peoples. Agueda Jiménez Pelayo and Eric Van Young examine the relationship between Indigenous communities and *haciendas* in Los Llanos in separate works.³⁸ In *Haciendas y Comunidades Indígenas en el Sur de Zacatecas*, Jiménez Pelayo investigates the struggle between *haciendas* and Indigenous

³⁸ *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers* by Terry G. Jordan and *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* by François Chevalier are two works that focus more on the *hacienda* as a colonial institution.

communities in the south of Zacatecas (Map 4, #11) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. She does an admirable job of presenting Indigenous towns and their competition with *haciendas*, but she does not use Nahuatl-language documents. She proposes that the Indigenous people of the region, mostly Cazcanes, were able to portray themselves as frontier people to gain access to large quantities of land, and that they used this same argument when defending their holdings in court.³⁹ On the other hand, Van Young posits in *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* that the demographic and commercial growth of Guadalajara led to the commercialization of the countryside, which was characterized by the growth of *haciendas* and the decline of Indigenous towns. The region of his study “extended from the edge of Los Altos in the east to the Ameca-Cocula Valley in the west, and from Lake Chapala in the south to the great gorge of the Río Grande de Santiago in the north.”⁴⁰ Van Young postulates that the principal period of *hacienda* growth occurred during the late seventeenth century, and that litigation was more prominent during the eighteenth century, when *hacendados* led an enclosure-type movement to take control of lands previously shared with Indigenous towns. He also examines how agricultural labor was almost always performed by Indigenous people through *repartimiento* drafts and wage labor.

The petitions in my study suggest that Guadalajara was the dominant city in the region because over half of the notaries addressed this city’s bishop, but few studies have focused on this city. Thomas Calvo’s *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: Población y economía* is probably the first comprehensive urban study. Calvo posits that Guadalajara began as a

³⁹ The Cazcanes were native Nahuatl speakers or Nahuas who lived in Northwestern New Spain during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and perhaps the eighteenth centuries (Refer to Chapter 2.3c).

⁴⁰ Van Young, 7.

consumer settlement, but that the diligence of its people (Africans, Indigenous people, Europeans, and people of mixed-race) and its favorable location between Zacatecas and Mexico City enabled it to grow and become a center of commerce.

Carolyn Baus Reed Czitrom in *Tecuejes y Cocas: Dos grupos de la region de Jalisco en el siglo XVI* examines the Tecuejes and Cocas, two Indigenous groups that lived in Guadalajara and surrounding regions. She proposes that the Cocas controlled towns to the south of Guadalajara, and that the Tecuejes dominated those to the north. She also posits that the Cocas and the Tecuejes had customs and beliefs similar to those of the Mexicas, and that these three groups along with the Caxcanes influenced each other before the Mexicas began their pre-Columbian trek south to Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco.

Another region northwest of Guadalajara was a military district identified in colonial records as Fronteras de Colotlán.⁴¹ Brett Blosser convincingly proposes in “‘By the Force of Their Lives and the Spilling of Blood’: Flechero Service and Political Leverage on a Nueva Galicia Frontier” that its *flecheros* (Indigenous militiamen) protected Spanish suzerainty and their own privileges during the colonial period. Citing Spanish-language documents held in the AGN, BPEJ-JJA, and other regional archives, he reasons that most of the *flecheros* were either Huichol or Tlaxcalan, and that they were a powerful force that performed well during military operations against Indigenous groups such as the Cora. He also posits that they employed the agreement that their ancestors had made with Viceroy Luis de Velasco “the younger” to defend their lands against Spanish encroachment in Spanish courts. On the few occasions when that

⁴¹ To date, I do not have petitions from the province of Fronteras de Colotlán, but this region is important to my research because it stood in the middle, between Northwestern New Spain, Southwestern Nueva Galicia, and El Gran Nayar. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*.

agreement failed, he suggests that the *flecheros* gathered a military force to intimidate Spanish squatters. His conclusions are supported by the historiography of this region, which includes Robert Shadow's *La frontera norteña de la Nueva Galicia: Las parroquias de Colotlán, 1725-1820*, a study that uses parish records to show that Colotlán contained an Indigenous majority and few *mestizos* until the nineteenth-century.

A few studies examine Indigenous people who lived close to Nombre de Dios, the northernmost town in this study. In "The Indigenous Factor in Nueva Vizcaya: The North of Mexico, 1550-1790," Irene Elizabeth Vasquez proposes that Indigenous peoples from the mountains and highlands that form the present-day borders between the states of Nayarit, Sinaloa, and Durango lived in a fringe region and used different proactive strategies, such as the creation of petitions by Indigenous officials, to slow down the advancement of Spanish hegemony. She suggests that during the eighteenth century two of these groups—the Tlaxcalans and Tepehuanes—created petitions against Spanish priests when they felt that the priests had gone beyond an acceptable level of mistreatment. Vasquez also claims that the strategies of Indigenous women have been ignored, but that Inquisition records contain examples of women's leadership in cases when they were accused of witchcraft.⁴² To some extent, the area in Susan Deed's *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* overlaps with Vasquez's study, but it focuses on the histories of five Indigenous groups: the Acaxee, the Xixime, the Conchos, the Tarahumara, and the Tepehuan. Deeds anchors her study on the Jesuit missions and the accounts of Jesuit priests, and she posits that the ephemeral borders of Nueva Vizcayan missions allowed Indigenous people to rely on them for a

⁴² Vasquez mentions two 1745 cases from Humace. Vasquez, "The Indigenous Factor in Nueva Vizcaya: The North of Mexico, 1550-1790" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2003), 200.

variety of transactions among themselves and with Europeans.⁴³ Her work is valuable for understanding these missions and how they were connected to the correspondence communities in my study. Deeds also notes that the frontier has often been seen as a crucible where civilization and savagery have collided, and although she concedes that this may be true, she also suggests that it fails in specific historical and cultural contexts because it does not explain the disappearance of the Xixime, Acaxee, and Concho as distinct peoples, and the perseverance of the Tarahumaras and the Tepehuanes. To the south, similar processes may have happened because whereas the Cocas and Tecuejes are no longer recognized as unique peoples, the Coras, Huicholes, Tepehuanes, and Mexicaneros (a Nahuatl group) have survived.

1.6. Sources and Methodology

The sixty-four petitions, letters, and receipts in this dissertation are housed in several archives. One Spanish and forty-four Nahuatl documents come from the Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de Guadalajara (AHAG).⁴⁴ Seven Nahuatl documents are part of box 20 of the Byron McAfee Collection, which is in the Young Research Library at the University of California, Los Angeles (McA-UCLA). Nine Nahuatl documents are from BPEJ-JJA, two documents are held by the Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos del Estado de Jalisco (AIPEJ) and the last petition is held by the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley (BANC-

⁴³ Deeds, 10.

⁴⁴ Both Spanish-language petitions are at AHAG. One is from Analco-Tetlan, a community in Guadalajara, which apart from these petitions in Spanish also has *memorias* in Nahuatl. The other is from Analco-Tepic, a community adjacent to Tepic, Nayarit.

UCB).⁴⁵ These petitions span a period of 114 years (1580-1694) and from Northwestern New Spain, Southwestern Nueva Galicia, and El Gran Nayar.

Many of the petitions have an author who identifies himself or herself by writing either *amatlacuilo* (writer) or *escribano* (notary), but many of the writers do not use these titles.⁴⁶ For this reason, I refer to each petition with a two-part name beginning with the year and ending with the name of the community where it was written, such as “1626 San Francisco Chapalac.” When several petitions from the same community are from the same year, I write the year followed by a letter such as “1591a Oconahuac” and “1591b Oconahuac.” For petitions that lack a year-date, I use “N.Y.” together before the name of the community, such as “N.Y. Çayolan.”⁴⁷ I am also referring to any accompanying words or documents in Spanish as *addenda*.

I thought about organizing these sixty-four documents in a variety of ways. The simplest would be to group them by centuries (Table 1-1): eleven belong to the sixteenth century, twenty to the first half of the seventeenth century, twenty-six to the second half of the seventeenth century, and seven lack a year. They could also be grouped according to whether the town in which the writer wrote was within the jurisdictional borders of Nueva España or Nueva Galicia; thirty-eight documents belong to the former, twenty-five to the latter, and one does not name a

⁴⁵ BAN-UCB, Bancroft MSS M-M 474.

⁴⁶ Alonzo de la Mota y Escobar implies that the *mayordomo* of a *cofradía* was also its scribe when he writes, “Lo que generalmente hay en los pueblos de indios es una casa que llaman de comunidad, donde se congregan a tratar lo que conviene a su república, y en esta casa tienen una caja con llaves en que meten el dinero que llaman bienes de comunidad o sobras de tributos, estas llaves suelen guardar una un alcalde y otra el mayordomo y escribano.” For this reason, I propose that in some cases where the titles of *escribano* or *amatlacuilo* are absent, the *mayordomo* is the scribe. Mota y Escobar, *Descripción geográfica de los reynos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo Leon* second edition with an introduction by Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940 [1605]).

⁴⁷ I use “N.Y.” instead of the more conventional “n.d.” because a few of the documents have dates that include the month and the day without the year.

town (Table 1-2). A third way would be to organize them by diocesan jurisdictional boundaries, but since these frequently overlap the borders of the regular orders—Franciscans or Augustinians—classifying the petitions requires a more thorough understanding of these documents.

Table 1-1: Petitions by Year

Sixteenth Century	1600-1649	1652-1694	No Year
1580a Nochistlan	1600 Tala	1652 S. Francisco Juchipila	N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585 ⁴⁸
1580b Nochistlan	1611 Jalostotitlan	1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	N.Y. Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, ca. 1637
1593a Xalisco	1622 La Magdalena	1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta	N.Y. San Francisco Cayolan
1593b Xalisco	1622 S. Andres Coahuatlan	1652a S. Sebastian Guaxicori	N.Y. Aquautitan
1594 Xalisco	1626 S. Francisco Chapalac	1652b S. Sebastian Guaxicori	N.Y. Tlajomulco
1595a Xalisco	1629 Zacoalco	1653 S. Martín	N.Y. San Cacer Tlaximulco
1595b Xalisco	1630 Tlajomulco	1653 Amatitlan	N.Y. About Diego Alfonso & Fray Nicolas Contreras
1593a Oconahuac	1637a Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	1654 S. Martín	
1593b Oconahuac		1656 Tonalá	
1593c Oconahuac	1642 Contla	1657 Tonalá	
	1644 Cajititlan	1658 S. Francisco Tizapan	
N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593	1646 Tequepechpan	1661 Etzatlan	
	1649a Tzacamota ⁴⁹	1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	
	1649b Tzacamota	1668 S. Francisco Zacoalco	
	1649c Tzacamota	1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan	
	1649 Tachichilco	1673 S. Francisco Tizapan	
	1649 S. Antonio Tuzcacuezco	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	
	1649 S. Juan Ocotitic	1679 Analco	
	1649a La Magdalena	1679 Sayula	

⁴⁸ “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” does not have a date, but R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor (1943) suggest 1563, whereas I propose 1585 (Refer to Chapter 5.2a). *Nombre de Dios, Durango, Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning its Foundation: Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, c. 1563; Agreement of the Mexicans and the Michoacanos, 1585* edited and translated by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor (Sacramento, CA: The House of Tlaloc, 1943).

⁴⁹ Arias de Saavedra identifies Tzacaymota as the home of the leaders of El Gran Nayar and places it in this region. Tzacaymota and Tzacamota appear to be variant spellings that refer to the same community. Arias de Saavedra in Calvo, *Collección de documentos para la historia de México*, 290.

	1649b La Magdalena	1682 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	
	1649 S. Francisco Ayahualulco	1683 S. Gaspar	
		1686 S. Pedrotepec	
		1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	
		1692 S. Andres Atotonilco	
		1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	
		1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	

Table 1-2: Petitions from Nueva España and Nueva Galicia⁵⁰

Nueva España	Nueva Galicia	Uncertain
N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585	1580a Nochistlan	N.Y. About Diego Alfonso & Fray Nicolas Contreras
1593a Xalisco	1580b Nochistlan	
1593b Xalisco	1600 Tala	
N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593	1611 Jalostotitlan	
1594 Xalisco	1630 Tlajomulco	
1595a Xalisco	1642 Contla	
1595b Xalisco	1644 Cajititlan	
1593a Oconahuac	1646 Tequepechpan	
1593b Oconahuac	1649a Tzacamota	
1593c Oconahuac	1649b Tzacamota	
1622 La Magdalena	1649c Tzacamota	
1622 San Andres Cohuatlan	1649 San Juan Ocotitic	
1626 San Francisco Chapalac	1652 San Francisco Juchipila	
1629 Zacoalco	1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	
1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta	
1637b Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	1652a San Sebastian Guaxicori	
1649 Tachichilco	1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori	
1649 San Antonio Tzacacuezco	1656 Tonalá	
1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco	1657 Tonalá	
1649a La Magdalena	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	
1649b La Magdalena	1679 Analco-Guadalajara	
1653 Amatitlan	1683 San Gaspar	
1653 San Martin	N.Y. Santiago Aquautitan	
1654 San Martin	N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco	

⁵⁰ This table was created after consulting the works of Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, Antonio de Ciudad Real, Gerhard, and Mota y Escobar. Arregui, *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia* ed. by François Chevalier (Seville, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1946). Ciudad Real, *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España: Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo comisario general de aquellas partes* 2 Volumes edited with a preliminary study, appendices, glossaries, maps and indices by Josefina García and Víctor M. Castillo Ferreras, with a prologue by Jorge Gurría Lacroix (Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1976).

1658 San Francisco Tizapan	N.Y. Tlajomulco	
1661 Etzatlan		
1664 Santa Ana Acatlan		
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco		
1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan		
1673 San Francisco Tizapan		
1679 Sayula		
1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac		
1686 San Pedrotepec		
1687 Santa Ana Acatlan		
1692 San Andres Atotonilco		
1693 Santa Ana Acatlan		
1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac		
N.Y. Sayula		

Amula, Ávalos, Autlan, and Izatlan were provinces of Nueva España that had Indigenous communities in which Indigenous notaries wrote a large number of documents, but these communities also had ties to Guadalajara, the diocesan seat and the main administrative center in the region. These ties manifest themselves through their correspondence in two ways. First, most of the correspondence from these provinces is stored in the Archive of the Archbishopric of Guadalajara.⁵¹ Second, some of these documents are addressed to the bishop of Guadalajara or to a *provisor* based in Guadalajara.

Nueva Galicia came into being through the Beltrán de Guzmán *entrada*, which was composed of thousands of Nahuas and hundreds of Spaniards who left Mexico City in 1529 and went on to explore most of what is now western Mexico, and a portion of northwestern Mexico

⁵¹ The Diocese of Guadalajara became an Archdiocese in the nineteenth century.

between 1530 and 1531.⁵² The crown decreed that this region be named Nueva Galicia.⁵³

However, its borders continued to grow after silver strikes that began in 1546 in and around Zacatecas, which was also incorporated into Nueva Galicia.⁵⁴

Spanish chroniclers only began to describe a powerful Cora polity within El Gran Nayar (Map 3, #17) during the seventeenth century. Several chroniclers provide details. Antonio de Ciudad Real, who was a secretary to a Franciscan inspector who toured Franciscan convents throughout New Spain from 1584 to 1589, wrote a journal of his experiences. He describes how the Franciscans had tried to build convents in El Gran Nayar, but had failed because its inhabitants had attacked and killed many of them. Also, two Franciscans provide other details: Fray Antonio Tello mentioned that the Coras occupied most of the Gran Nayar, were led by a military leader known as the Tonati, and had a circular pyramid dedicated to the sun as their holiest site; and Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra listed a dynastic line of Don Francisco Nayarit,

⁵² According to López Portillo y Weber this territory included most of the modern Mexican states of Aguascalientes, Jalisco, Nayarit, Sinaloa, and smaller portions of Zacatecas, Durango, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí. Portillo y Weber, *La conquista de la Nueva Galicia* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, Colección Historica de Obras Facsimilares, 1976), 14. Nuño de Guzmán, *Crónicas de la conquista del reino de Nueva Galicia en territorio de la Nueva España*, edited, annotated, and with a prologue by José Luis Razo Zaragoza, and with drawings by José Parres Arias (Guadalajara, Mexico: H. Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Guadalajara, Instituto Jalisciense de antropología e historia, INAH, 1963). Nuño de Guzmán also suggests a total of 10,000 to 15,000 Indigenous people. Ida Altman (2007: 150) Nuño de Guzmán in Ida Altman, “Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration: Indian Allies and the Campaigns in Nueva Galicia” in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 150.

⁵³ The crown also sent a representative who, after an investigation, brought charges and collected testimonies against Beltrán de Guzmán. Many investigators have dealt harshly with Beltrán de Guzmán because of these testimonies, but few investigators have examined how this *entrada's* actions may have been affected by its complex ethnic composition that included Africans, Cocas, Nahuas, Purepechas, and Spaniards. *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2 published by Joaquin García Icazbalceta. (Mexico City: Antigua Librería, 1866).

⁵⁴ Refer to P.J. Bakewell's *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico-Zacatecas* and Dana Velasco Murillo's “Urban Indians in a Silver City, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1806” for more information about Zacatecas.

Don Pedro Huaynoly, Don Alonso Yoquari, and Don Luys Urusty.⁵⁵ This Cora polity remained independent during the period of my study, and it was only conquered after a series of campaigns by *flecheros* and Spaniards in 1721 and 1722.⁵⁶

Northwestern New Spain thus includes portions of Nueva España, Nueva Galicia, and all of El Gran Nayar and Nombre de Dios, and its boundaries stretch from Zacatecas to the Pacific Ocean and from Nombre de Dios to Amula. Northwestern New Spain remains a large and incredibly complex space, but this study examines only Guadalajara and those communities from which notaries wrote the documents in this study. Lockhart wrote that alphabetic documents in Nahuatl were:

not only more individual in their language, conventions, and content than the Spanish counterparts, but more complex in belonging to two traditions rather than one... They are both more difficult and potentially richer... than Spanish records. A realization of their nature has called for a New Philology to render them understandable and available and put them in their true context. In the wake of the philological activity, often inextricably bound up with it or indistinguishable from it, have come dissertations, articles, and monographs using the new sources for substantive analysis of aspects of Nahuatl social or cultural history.⁵⁷

This statement is perhaps the central tenet of the New Philology, and it can serve as a starting point for examining the petitions, letters, and receipts of Northwestern New Spain.

Notaries appear to belong to at least five different ethnic groups, and as such, they accessed at least three different traditions. A European wrote, “1626 San Francisco Chapalac,” as a sermon to address his congregation, but he used a Central Mexican variety of Nahuatl that may not have translated to San Francisco Chapalac, a Coca community, and after writing he may

⁵⁵ Tello, Vol. II, 53; Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 290.

⁵⁶ Blosser, 292; Magriña, 147.

⁵⁷ Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 7.

have had to adapt it when he performed it for his congregation. Furthermore, apart from Don Francisco Nayari's letters, the petitions of "1652a Guaxicori" "1652b Guaxicori," and "1652a Quihuiquinta" also appear to be from Cora communities. This means that their writers accessed three cultural contexts: their own Cora culture and language, European alphabetic script, and knowledge of a variant of Nahuatl. Something similar happened with the Coca scribes who wrote "1622 Coatlan" and "1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos Abajo" because they inhabited a Coca context, they learned European alphabetic writing, and they relied on a Nahuatl variant. Meanwhile, Central Mexican Nahuas probably wrote "1652b Quihuiquinta," "N.Y. Nombre de Dios," and "N.Y. Xalisco," but many questions arise about how their migration into Northwestern New Spain affected their conceptualization of the region. Did they come in contact with Nahuas from Northwestern New Spain who spoke a variant that was different from their own? Was this contact enough to posit that these Central Mexican notaries also employed three traditions? Finally, Cazcan notaries probably wrote "1652 San Francisco Juchipila" and they also had an understanding of a certain Cazcan context that included their language, but in their writing, they learned the imported European alphabet and possibly also an imported variety of Nahuatl from Central Mexico.

Generally, notaries from Northwestern New Spain wrote either *nochan*, *tochan*, or *altepetl* to refer to the community for which they wrote a given petition, and scholars of the New Philology have relied on *altepetl* to describe the Nahua community in which a particular document was created. However, my study will use "correspondence community" as a more neutral term because it accounts for the possibility that either "*altepetl*" represented the actual polity, or was the translation of a non-Nahua term.

The correspondence of Northwestern New Spain provides Indigenous perspectives that are missing from Spanish-language sources, which nonetheless remain important to this investigation because they contain information that is not present in the Nahuatl works. Nayari identified his ethnic affiliation, but he was exceptional because most Indigenous writers identified themselves by their community and not by an ethnic affiliation. However, European chroniclers like Ciudad Real, Mota y Escobar, Mota Padilla, Tello, and the scribes of the *Relaciones Geográficas* often classify Indigenous groups. Also, the Indigenous authors of the correspondence generally write in a synchronic manner because they focus on a particular event that happened within a period in time close to the correspondence event. However, European chroniclers often mention time spans of decades when speaking of Indigenous communities. Thus, this study will rely on European chroniclers to introduce the different correspondence communities, and the perspective will then shift to the words of the Indigenous scribes.

All of the petitions from my study are more local in nature than the letters of Huexotzinco and Xochimilco because they are not addressed to the king, but to officials within Northwestern New Spain. These petitions consist of four basic parts. First, the notaries address colonial officials with metaphorical phrases of respect, and they sometimes mention God or a saint such as the Virgin Mary. Second, they mention the petitioners and their *altepetl*.⁵⁸ In some of the documents, the notaries include references to past service. This narrative, which usually follows the second part, sometimes consists of several folios of text, and I am especially interested in the content of these historical narratives, which resemble the narratives found in the Huexotzinco and Xochimilco petitions, but not those of the *Titulos Primordiales*. Third, the notaries write a

⁵⁸ “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” is a narrative of service to the crown.

direct account of the issue or issues in question, and they portray the addressee as a just and considerate judge. Finally, most notaries conclude their petitions with the date that it was written and the names of the petitioners, most of which appear to be written by the notary.

1.7. Chapters

My dissertation is organized into five chapters, a conclusion, and three appendices. The first of five chapters posits that these documents were produced within Northwestern New Spain. It also proposes the theoretical construct of the correspondence community, a unit based on thirty-eight different Indigenous towns that belonged to at least sixteen different Spanish provinces and one independent region (Table 1-3). I place my study within the context of previous studies of documents in alphabetic Nahuatl, and I proposed that the documents in this study represent examples of Indigenous responses to Spanish colonialism.

Table 1-3: Provinces and Towns

Province	Correspondence	Independent or Unknown	Correspondence
Acaponeta	1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota
(2 towns)	1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta	(1 town)	1649b Tzacamota
	1652a San Sebastian Guaxicori		1649c Tzacamota
	1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori	Unnamed town or province (???)	N.Y. Diego Alfonso & Fray Nicolas Contreras
Amula	1649 Tachichilco		
(2 towns)	1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezo		
Ávalos	1626 San Francisco Chapalac		
(10 towns)	1629 Zacoalco		
	1653 Amatitlan		
	1653 San Martin		
	1654 San Martin		
	1658 San Francisco Tizapan		
	1664 Santa Ana Acatlan		
	1668 San Francisco Zacoalco		
	1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan		
	1673 San Francisco Tizapan		
	1679 Sayula		
	1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac		
	1686 San Pedrotepec		

	1687 Santa Ana Acatlan		
	1692 San Andres Atotonilco		
	1693 Santa Ana Acatlan		
	1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac		
	N.Y. Sayula		
Colima	1622 San Andres Cohuatlan		
(2 towns)	1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo		
	1637b Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo		
Compostela	1593a Xalisco		
(1 town)	1593b Xalisco		
	N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593		
	1594 Xalisco		
	1595a Xalisco		
	1595b Xalisco		
Guadalajara	1656 Tonalá		
(2 towns)	1657 Tonalá		
	1679 Analco-Guadalajara		
Izatlán	1593a Oconahuac		
(4 towns)	1593b Oconahuac		
	1593c Oconahuac		
	1622 La Magdalena		
	1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco		
	1649a La Magdalena		
	1649b La Magdalena		
	1661 Etzatlan		
Juchipila (1 town)	1652 San Francisco Juchipila		
Lagos (2 towns)	1611 Jalostotitlan		
	1683 San Gaspar		
Minas de Chimaltitan	1646 Tequepechpan		
(2 towns)	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan		
Minas de Tepeque	1580a Nochistlan		
(1 town)	1580b Nochistlan		
Nombre de Dios	N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1563		
(1 town)			
Tacotlan	1642 Contla		
(2 towns)	1649 San Juan Ocotitlic		
Tala (1 town)	1600 Tala		
Tequila (1 town)	N.Y. Santiago Aquautitan		
Tlajomulco	1630 Tlajomulco		
(3 towns)	1644 Cajititlan		
	N.Y. San Caceres Tlaximulco		

Chapter 2 examines the natural and human geography of Northwestern New Spain during the period in which these petitions, letters, and receipts were written, 1580 – 1694. This chapter utilizes details offered by Antonio de Ciudad Real, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Domingo Lazaro de Arregui, the *Relaciones geográficas*, visitation journals, and the chronicles by Antonio

Tello and Matias de la Mota Padilla.⁵⁹ Their accounts describe the correspondence communities of Northwestern New Spain and its micro-climates for this region, in which the rugged Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range receives abundant rains into numerous basins, plateaus, and valleys that either trap water in place or channel it toward the Pacific Ocean. The chapter also follows the roads that connect these polities and explain how the Nahuatl correspondence reveals strong economic and social networks that connected the towns with Guadalajara through its institutions of the diocese and the *royal audiencia*. Finally, Chapter 2 chronicles how both Spaniards and Indigenous people described the inhabitants of correspondence communities of the region through two categorical systems. One relied on group names taken mostly from Nahuatl, whereas another divided Indigenous groups into Christians or Chichimecs, non-Christian barbarians.

Chapter 3 explains how the Franciscans formed a dyad with *nahuatlato*s, multi-lingual individuals who spoke Nahuatl, to proselytize in Northwestern New Spain and how this collaboration guided the spread of literacy. The chapter begins by analyzing how literacy in this region was scarce, whereas the use Nahuatl was widespread, and it examines how high-ranking

⁵⁹ Most of these sources have been published. Antonio Tello relied on many sixteenth-century Spanish and Indigenous sources to write the *Crónica miscelanea de la santa provincia de Xalisco*, which documents the Franciscan presence in the region from 1524 until the mid-seventeenth century. Tello, *Crónica miscelánea en que se trata de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el nuevo reino de la Galicia y nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo México* Book 2 with notes by Juan López (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1997). An example of a Franciscan *visita* account is Antonio de Ciudad Real's journal. Ciudad Real was the secretary of Fray Alonso Ponce, and both toured Spanish Nueva Galicia during 1585, 1586, and 1587. Ciudad Real, *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España: Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo comisario general de aquellas partes* 2 Volumes. Nevertheless, the most valuable sources are the *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, which have been edited and transcribed by René Acuña. A few of these had little Indigenous input, but most of them resulted from the collaboration Indigenous peoples and Spanish officials, who sought to answer the crown's fifty part questionnaire for geographic, linguistic, and social information about a given region. *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Nueva Galicia* edición de René Acuña (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988).

clergy in Mexico directed their subordinates to teach *nahuatl* to read and write with the Roman alphabet. Chapter 3 then examines the hagiographies of Fray Antonio Cuéllar, a Franciscan friar, and Juan Calero, his *nahuatlato*, by Fray Geronimo de Mendieta to ascertain why they were killed during the Mixtón War. Then, the chapter examines how subsequent dyads taught peoples of Northwestern New Spain to write Nahuatl with the Roman alphabet at first, but that later, this knowledge spread beyond Franciscan control. It concludes with an examination of literacy terms to present connections between convents and correspondence communities.

Chapter 4 presents ways to differentiate the petitions, letters, and receipts of the Nahuatl-language corpus used in this study. It begins with the premise that documents that are named as petitions by their writers or by Spanish-language writers in an addenda can serve as models to identify those that are not identified as such. This examination of named petitions leads to a tripartite organization: the introduction, the grievance section, and the conclusion. The second portion of this chapter examines loan words, which can offer some guidance as to the spread of literacy from specific Franciscan convents like that of Etzatlan to correspondence communities like La Magdalena. The final section proposes that Franciscans promoted Roman alphabetic literacy with Central Mexico Nahuatl, but after the second half of the seventeenth century, Indigenous notaries were more influenced by the two local variants: Cazcan Nahuatl and Sayula Nahuatl.

Chapter 5 examines the content of the correspondence from 1580 to 1694 to posit that diocesan *visitas* and other types of *visitas* created most of the dialogue present in the petitions, letters, and receipts of Northwestern New Spain. The key to this dialogue was the *visita* interview that occurred between bishops and other European officials and the Indigenous elites of *cabildos* and *cofradías*. These interviews were unique because they required the colonial

apparatus to be multi-lingual and multi-ethnic. In one instance, a bishop such as Ruiz Colmenero could have a *nahuatlato* who was Cazcan, a native Nahuatl speaker, who had learned Spanish within a Franciscan convent. These two individuals could speak to a *nahuatlato* from Tachichilco, a Pame town who had learned the Nahuatl of Sayula.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 summarize the content of those petitions, letters, and receipts in order to examine life behind the veil of colonialism. The corpus suggests that 1622 was a watershed moment because, up to that time, most notaries dedicated a large percentage of their works to claims that clerics were incompetent. Notaries described the different ways in which clerics were failing to perform the sacraments in the manner that bishops and *provisores* had described during *visita* interviews. However, in 1622, the precepts of the Third Mexican Council were published and available to clerics, and Indigenous notaries change the tenor of their writing to emphasize the requirement of too much tribute for too many festivals. This shift suggests that clerics had learned that they had to devote some effort to perform the sacraments or be penalized. As a result, Chapter 5 begins in 1580 with two petitions from Nochistlan and ends in 1622. Subsequent petitions are analyzed in Chapter 6 as notaries shift the content from accusations that included how local clerics failed to performed the sacraments to complaints about the requirement of excessive tribute in money and goods for Catholic festivals and more unique grievances that include land use and the growing power of Guadalajara.

The *visita* served as a space for checks and balances in which Indigenous elites could check the power of their clerics, these clerics could likewise check the power of Indigenous elites, and the mostly European-born bishops could adjudicate disputes between these colonial subjects of the church and the king. Through this process, the main colonial center of

Guadalajara began to secure the allegiance of correspondence communities to itself. Guadalajara had found its hinterlands.

Map 1-1: Guadalajara and Selected Correspondence Communities in Northwestern New Spain⁶⁰



⁶⁰ The distance from Guadalajara to Mexico on the present-day 15D highway is 537.8 km (334.2 miles) and that from Guadalajara to Zacatecas on the present-day 54 highway is 339.2 km (210.8 miles). Google (Consulted on June 27, 2016). <https://www.google.com/#q=What+is+the+distance+from+Guadalajara+to+Mexico+City>

<https://www.google.com/#q=What+is+the+distance+from+Guadalajara+to+Zacatecas>

Chapter 2. Northwestern Mexico and Northwestern New Spain

*Ma huel mani [i]n tlalli; ma huel ica tepetl.*⁶¹

Let the earth be; let it be with the mountains.

Ayocuan Cuetzpaltzin, singer/poet

2.1. The Present

During the period of the petitions (ca 1580-1694), Northwestern New Spain's population consisted of Indigenous peoples, Europeans, Africans, and people of mixed race descent. They contended with a physical space divided by numerous mountain ranges and waterways. Each year precipitation from the Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean meets the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range in predictable cycles spreading out, over what is now northwestern and western Mexico. The rainy season begins in either late May or early June and lasts until late September or early October. Rains fall on the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range and regularly replenish the Grande de Santiago River and Lake Chapala, two of the natural features that divide and shape this region. These combination of factors have created a rugged landscape.

A good beginning for examining the region is a bird's eye view of where the waters of the Gulf of California wash over the the boundary between the modern-day states of Sinaloa and Nayarit. On the coast, the fertile lowlands of coastal Nayarit are hemmed in by the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range to the east. These mountains form a wall that channels moisture between the Mexican states that control territory in this study: Colima, Durango, Jalisco, Nayarit,

⁶¹ Miguel León-Portilla, *Fifteen Poets of the Aztec World* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 216.

and Zacatecas.⁶² The coastal lands of western Nayarit and the interior are very fertile because they are watered by the many rivers that begin in the mountains and empty into the Pacific Ocean (Map 2-1).⁶³ However, Durango, eastern Nayarit, northeastern Jalisco, and northwestern Zacatecas are drier and more rugged because they are highlands where some Indigenous groups like the Cora, Huicholes, Mexicaneros, and Tepehuanes continue to preserve traditional ways of life. To the west, the mountains diverge into different ranges offering avenues for precipitation to reach Jalisco's interior, which partly explains a water table that includes Lake Chapala, which is more of an inland sea, and the long-winding Ameca, Grande de Santiago, and Lerma Rivers.⁶⁴

These bodies of water are very important to Guadalajara and nearby towns and cities. Guadalajara is one of the largest cities in Mexico, and the capital of the state of Jalisco. Northeast of this city is a plateau known as Los Altos that is very green during the rainy season. Los Altos has been an important agricultural region for hundreds of years because of its predictable rains and its position between Guadalajara and Zacatecas, the capital of the modern-day state of Zacatecas.⁶⁵

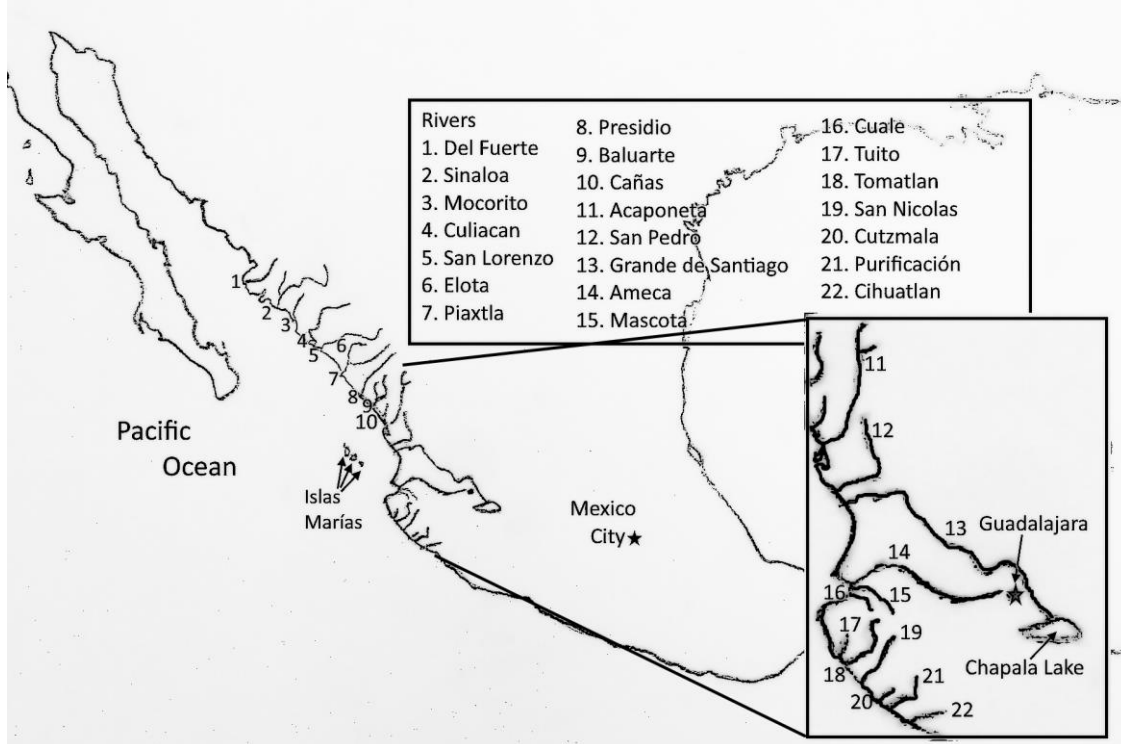
⁶² In Spanish, Durango is the "tierra de alacranes." This association between Durango and scorpions may date back to the early colonial period because in 1591, Tlaxcalans from central Mexico built a colony named Colotlan, "place of scorpions," which is now within Jalisco, but surrounded by Durango.

⁶³ I modeled this map after a figure by Jaime Olveda. Olveda, *La costa de la Nueva Galicia: Conquista y Colonización* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), 49.

⁶⁴ The water table has been affected by recent human activity. Lázaro Cárdenas ordered the draining of Lake Magdalena, and also that the Grande de Santiago River used to flow from the Pacific Ocean through the states of Nayarit and Jalisco to Lake Chapala, but that its path is now obstructed in several places. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*.

⁶⁵ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 136.

Map 2-1: Rivers



Guadalajara continues to possess strong colonial character dominated by European symbols, like its imposing cathedral and its government palace, but other influences become apparent in its streets and alleys. Entering the city from the south one goes through Tlaquepaque to the historic downtown of Guadalajara, which is dominated by the twin-tiered cathedral on 16 de Septiembre Street. From this church, one can walk south to reach the Mexicaltzingo neighborhood whose Nahuatl name can be translated as the “place of the Mexica people.”⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Mexicaltzingo can be parsed as *Mexic(a)-tzin-go*. The Mexica were the dominant group of the Aztec empire. Later, Mexica became a root word that referred to Nahuas from Central Mexico. For example, Mexicano was used to refer to the predominant Nahuatl variety which was assumed to come from Central Mexico. *Tzin* is an honorific suffix that has been translated as a diminutive, and *go* (or *co*) is a postposition that means “on” or “place of.”

Turning east, one enters the neighborhood of Analco, which means “the place across the waters/river” in Nahuatl. In Analco, one encounters the square of San Sebastian where the statues of two Indigenous leaders—Tenamaztle and Cuauhtemoc—stand before the entrance to the church of San Sebastian. Then, by continuing east, one encounters a second square which houses the church of San José. One can then walk a few more blocks south and east to exit Analco but one can only leave Guadalajara by passing through one of five towns with Nahuatl toponyms: Zapopan, Tlajomulco, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, or Tetlan. Why are so many places in Guadalajara named in the Indigenous language of Nahuatl? The many sources examined in this dissertation can provide an answer, but first let us consider the natural and human contexts of these sources.

2.2. The Past: Climate, Sub-Regions, and Transportation Networks.

Guadalajara, Analco, Tlajomulco, and Tonalá represent the heart of the Mexican state of Jalisco, and their importance dates back to the sixteenth century. By 1580, Guadalajara was the seat of both the *audiencia* court and the diocese, it had a *caja real*, and Augustinian and Franciscan monasteries. Analco, Tlajomulco, and Tonalá were all large Indigenous towns that were in the process of becoming correspondence communities because literate Indigenous elites would address colonial bureaucrats during the seventeenth century. Although only a few other correspondence communities were as large as Analco, Tlajomulco, and Tonalá, most of them were also connected to Guadalajara because their elites addressed documents to Europeans in Guadalajara. Therefore, one of the questions posed by this study is, “How did these Indigenous elites form these literate networks with the Diocese of Guadalajara, the Real Audiencia of

Guadalajara, and other colonial institutions in Guadalajara?” Possible answers lie in the cultural context of the colonial geography.⁶⁷

2.2a. The Rainy Season

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Northwestern New Spain received abundant rains during a three to four month rainy season. The notaries who wrote the sixteenth-century *Relaciones Geográficas* recorded that the rainy season began in May or June and ended in late August, September, or early October. Close to Guadalajara, the rains lasted from June until August because one observer from the nearby community of Ameca wrote, “The waters that run within...are greatest from the months of June until August,” to explain when the rivers and lakes of the region were at their fullest.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the rains began in June and lasted until the end of September to the north of Guadalajara in the region between Nombre de Dios and Zacatecas.⁶⁹ Compostela was close to the Pacific Coast and west of Guadalajara, and it had rains

⁶⁷ The road networks of Northwestern New Spain also influenced how chroniclers described the human and natural landscape of this region. Two of the best geographic descriptions of Northwestern New Spain, Nombre de Dios, and El Gran Nayar come from the traveler accounts of D. Alonso de la Mota y Escobar and Antonio de Ciudad Real. Mota y Escobar was the acting bishop of Guadalajara from 1599 to 1606, and during this time, he traveled to inspect many of the Indigenous communities within his jurisdiction. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas in Mota y Escobar, 13-14. Meanwhile, Alonso Ponce was a Franciscan friar who inspected Franciscan convents from what is now the Tropic of Cancer to Nicaragua, and he had a secretary named Antonio de Ciudad Real who wrote about these visits. Josefina García Quintana and Víctor M. Castillo Farreras in Ciudad Real, Vol. II, ix-x. The *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia* by Arregui could also be considered a travel account because, although its author lived in Guadalajara, he traveled and explored many surrounding Indigenous towns. Several other published sources are also important for the region. They include the *Relaciones geográficas* of Ameca, Compostela, Villa de Jerez de la Frontera y Taltenango, Nuchiztlan, Poncitlan y Cuiseo del Río, Villa de la Purificación, Tenamaztlan, Teucaltiche, and Xocotlan. *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Nueva Galicia* edición de René Acuña, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988).

⁶⁸ Acuña, *Relaciones Geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 30.

⁶⁹ The notary of the *Relaciones Geográficas* (hereafter RG) of the Villa de Jerez wrote about the East claiming that the common waters began in June and lasted until the end of September and the one from Fresnillo claimed that it the rains started around the feast of Saint John in June (June 24) and ended towards the end of September. Acuña, 105, 138.

from June to October, and Purificación, which was southwest of Guadalajara and south of Compostela, had rains from May until the end of October.⁷⁰ Amula was south of Guadalajara and it experienced rains from May until September.⁷¹ Furthermore, seventeenth-century writers record similar rain patterns. Mota y Escobar wrote that the rainy season began in Guadalajara in late June and added that, in Zacatecas, it was from May until September.⁷² Meanwhile, Arregui asserted that the rainy season was known as *jopantla* in Nahuatl, and he added that it lasted from the end of May until the beginning of October.⁷³

Northwestern New Spain's three to five month rainy season has significantly shaped the topography. In fact, Arregui proposed that the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range and the Grande de Santiago River cut Nueva Galicia in half: the first divided this region from the southeast to the northwest at a point seventeen leagues east of Guadalajara, near the mines of Santo Domingo and the pass of Mochitiltic; and the latter divided it close to Lake Chapala at a place known as Chinautengo.⁷⁴ He asserted that regions to the north and east of this divide represented "tierras frias" and those to the south and west were "calientes."⁷⁵ This division of hot

⁷⁰ In the West the notary of the RG of Compostela recorded the presence of "many springs with greater abundance [of water] from the month of June until October;" in the South the RG of Ameca reported that the rains, "were of their greatest quantity from the months of June until August;" and in the Southwest the notary of the RG of Purificación noted, "the watery season, [is] from May until the end of October. Acuña, 30, 88, 211.

⁷¹ Juan Bautista was the notary of the RG *Amula* and the RG of *Tuscacuesco*, and he wrote that the region experienced rains from May until September. Bautista in Acuña, 60, 70.

⁷² Mota y Escobar, 52, 147.

⁷³ Arregui, 23.

⁷⁴ Arregui begins his *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia* with the sub-division of the territory into hot lands and cold lands. Arregui, 10-11. Today, Chihuatanengo is known as La Barca, the raft, probably because of the importance of this crossing to people traveling between eastern Nueva Galicia and northern Nueva España. Chevalier *apud* Arregui 58; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de Nueva España*, 69.

⁷⁵ Arregui asserts that the Pass of Mochitiltic was 17 leagues east of Guadalajara. Arregui, 10-11. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (consulted on September 9, 2016) defines *legua* as a variable measurement that varied depending on the region and which was defined by how far a traveler could walk on a road in an hour, and

lands and cold lands applies to Nueva Galicia, and it might also be extended to all of Northwestern New Spain after a careful analysis of the correspondence communities, and their place within a Spanish colonial system that relied on *encomiendas*, *corregimientos*, and *doctrinas*.

2.2b. The Hot Lands

Chroniclers and travelers generally described Arregui's hot lands as being at lower elevations than communities in the cold lands (Map 2-2).⁷⁶ The Guadalajara that became the heart of Northwestern New Spain was the last of several sites with this name, and it was in the valley of Atemajac, east of Tonalá and Analco, and north of Tlajomulco.⁷⁷ This last Guadalajara was on a natural foundation of pumice stone, a porous rock that prevented mud even when it rained heavily.⁷⁸ The San Juan de Dios River formed its eastern boundary, separating it from Analco-Guadalajara, and two bridges connected these communities beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ Opinions about its climate varied. Ciudad Real exclaimed that

which the ancient Spanish system measured as equivalent to 5572.7 meters. <http://dle.rae.es/?id=N5PoXDE> . As a result, 17 leagues is approximately 94.7 kilometers, or 58.8 miles.

⁷⁶ I modeled this map after Josefina García Quintana and Víctor M. Castillo Ferreras in Ciudad Real *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España: Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo comisario general de aquellas partes* Vol. I.

⁷⁷ I write "the Guadalajara" because several other sites hosted a settlement known as Guadalajara before this final one in the Valley of Atemajac. It was first founded in the plateau of Nochistlán by Juan de Oñate following the orders of Nuño de Guzmán, then translated to Tonalá in 1533, then Tlacotal in 1535, and finally placed at its present site in the Valley of Atemajac in 1541. François Chevalier in Arregui, 61.

⁷⁸ Mota y Escobar, 44; Arregui, 63.

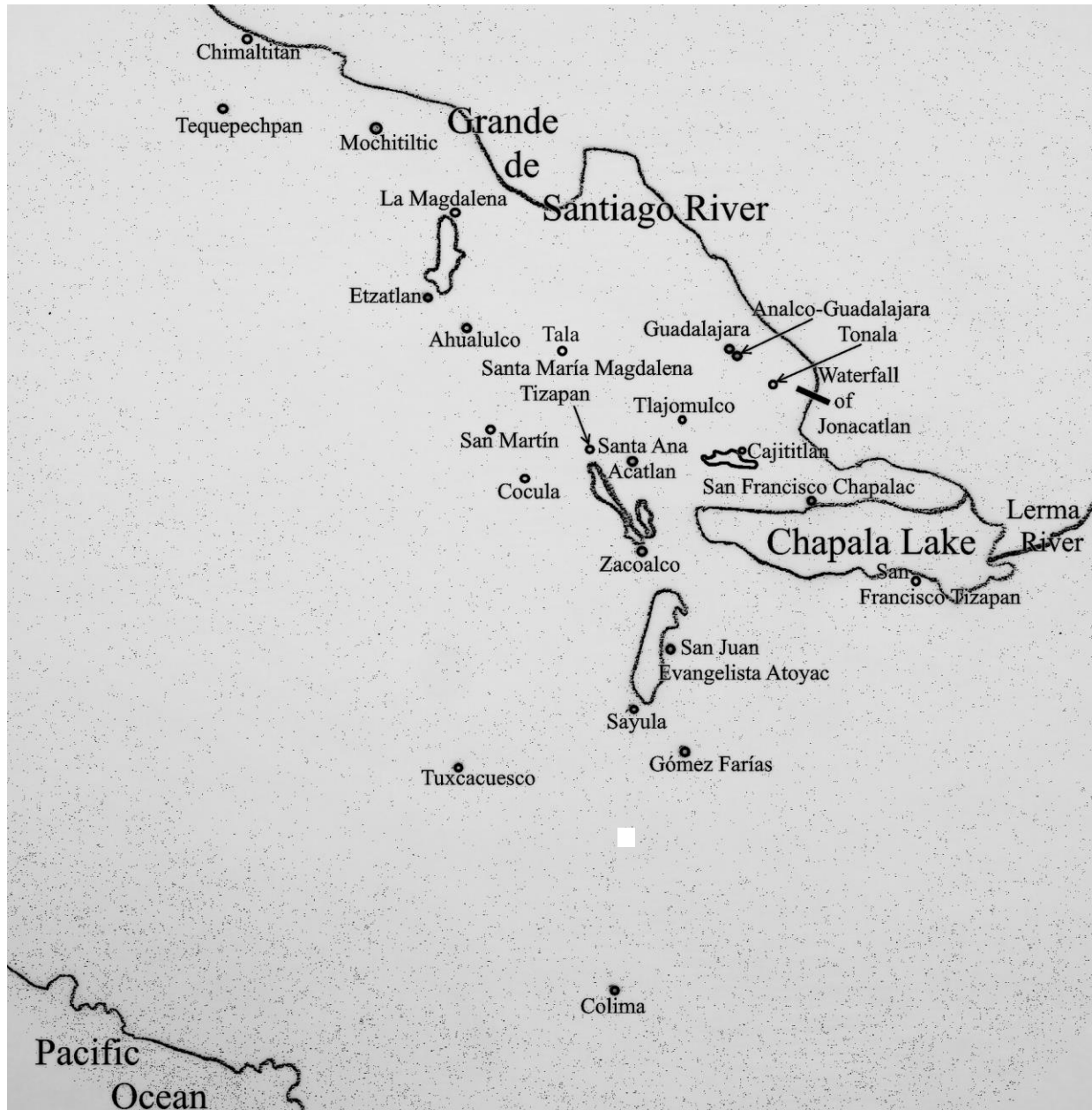
⁷⁹ Alonso Pérez Marchán built this bridge when he was president of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia (1613-1619). Arregui, 63. This bridge might have been built over an existing bridge because Hernán Martínez de la Marcha had two bridges built over the San Juan de Dios River during his 1549-1550 *visita*. José Francisco Román

Guadalajara's location in this valley exposed it to the four winds making "it cold, but not excessively so," but Mota y Escobar wrote that Guadalajara was "more hot than cold" and added that the heat was excessive and unhealthy from April to September, whereas Mota Padilla regarded its climate as the best in Northwestern New Spain since the hot month of July was bearable because it occurred during the rainy season.⁸⁰

Gutiérrez, "Situación de la orden franciscana en Nueva Galicia a principios del siglo XVII" in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (Siglo XVII)* (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991), 74. Then, in the eighteenth century, Mota y Padilla mentions two well-made bridges crossing the San Juan de Dios River. Mota Padilla, 500.

⁸⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. I, 93; Mota y Escobar, 50; Mota Padilla, 499.

Map 2-2: The Hotlands without the Nayarit Lowlands



Guadalajara was governed by a cabildo appointed by the Real Audiencia of Nueva Galicia. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the cabildo consisted of eight *regidores* and one *alcalde mayor*.⁸¹ An applicant could become a *regidor* by paying the Real Audiencia

⁸¹ Mota y Escobar, 45.

five hundred pesos, an *alcalde mayor* for two thousand pesos, or a notary for somewhat less than two thousand pesos.⁸²

Guadalajara had many Indigenous towns in its jurisdiction, but the largest were San Pedro, Toluquilla, Analco-Guadalajara, and Tonalá.⁸³ The last two were correspondence communities because some of their inhabitants commissioned notaries to write three of the documents examined in this study: “1656 Tonalá,” “1657 Tonalá,” and “1679 Analco-Guadalajara.” Analco-Guadalajara was separated from Guadalajara by the San Juan River so that inhabitants of both communities had the same weather. Beginning in 1549, Guadalajara was the seat of an *alcalde mayor* who also controlled several villages outside of this city, but by 1667 one of its *alcaldes ordinarios* began to hold its magistracy in absentia.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Tonalá was on higher ground, and it was cooler.⁸⁵ In 1549, the *audiencia* of Nueva Galicia appointed a *corregidor* to Tonalá, and by the mid-1570s, Santiago Tonalá was an Augustinian *doctrina* with a convent that housed two Augustinian monks.⁸⁶

The Grande de Santiago River and Lake Chapala were the two largest bodies of water in Northwestern New Spain, and they met south of Tonalá. The Grande de Santiago River left Lake Chapala by a town known as Chinaguatenco, the place of the nine rivers.⁸⁷ Here, travelers

⁸² Mota y Escobar, 45.

⁸³ Arregui, 68-69. Nahuas build many communities that they named Analco so I use Analco-Guadalajara when referring to the one that was once next to, but is now a part of Guadalajara.

⁸⁴ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 90, 155.

⁸⁵ Ciudad Real II: 116; Mota y Escobar, 116.

⁸⁶ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 155; Mota y Escobar, 116-117; AHAG, *Visitas Pastorales: 1678-1679*, 6. Santiago may represent the name of a neighborhood of Tonalá.

⁸⁷ Acuña explains that Chinaguatenco comes from *chicnahui* (nine) and *atentli* (river), and the last piece is *-co* (place of), or “the place of the nine rivers.” Acuña, 184. However, fray Alonzo de Molina defines *atentli* as “ribera de río o de mar (shore of a river or the ocean).” Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana/Mexicana*,

took a raft to cross the Grande de Santiago, which was too wide to be bridged during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.⁸⁸ Under different circumstances, the Grande de Santiago River might have served as a highway because it emptied into the Pacific Ocean and was wide enough for large sailing vessels such as Naos, but its many rocks and breakwaters hampered navigation by large vessels, although Indigenous people used canoes and flat-bottom boats to navigate some of its length.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Lake Chapala was a fresh water lake that resembled an inland sea, measuring more than thirty leagues in length and at least sixty leagues in circumference.⁹⁰

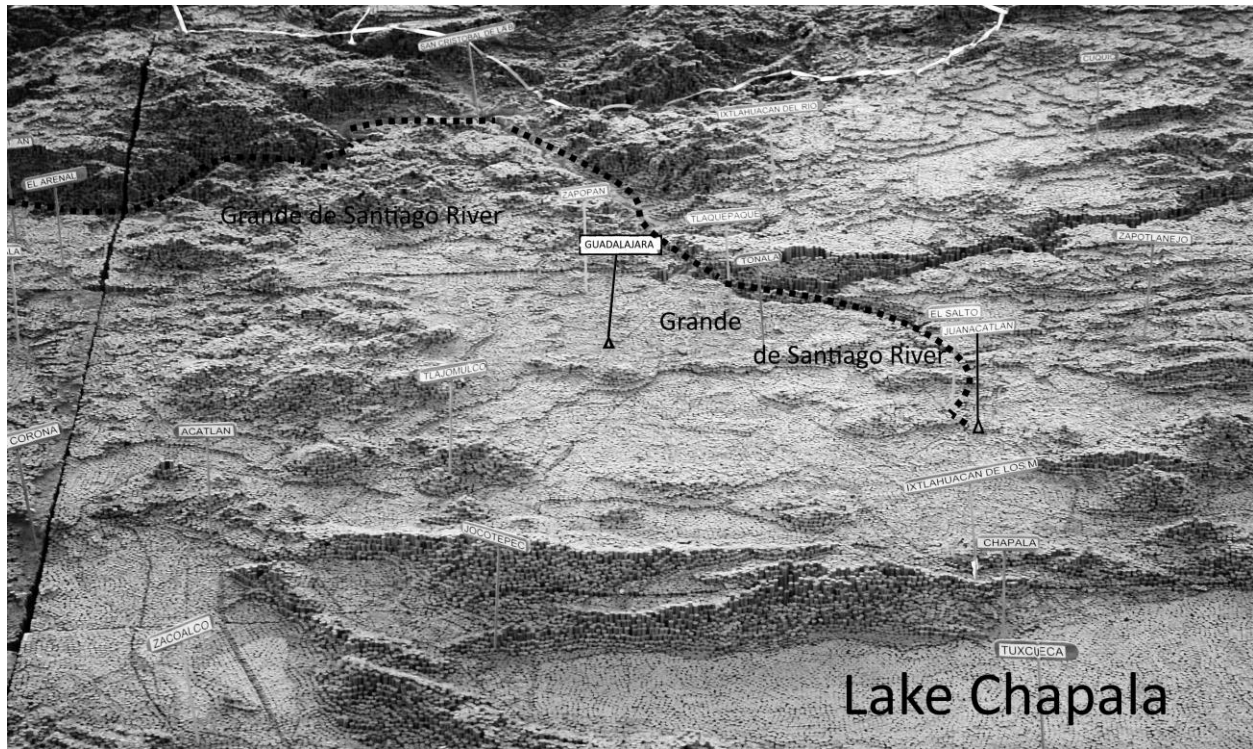
Mexicana/Castellana with a preliminary study by Miguel León Portilla (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2001), 7. Bachiller Gerónimo Thomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño defines *rivera de río* (shore of a river) as “*Tatenco atenco.*” He also defines river as either “*atoiac*” or “*atenco*,” small river as “*atoiac*” or “*atenco tepichi*,” and large river as Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte, Vocabulario y Confessionario en el Idioma Mexicano Como Se usa en el Obispado de Guadalajara* (Puebla de Los Angeles: Colegio Real de San Ignacio de la Puebla de los Angeles, 1765), 66-70, 114. “*atenco*” or “*atoiac huei*,” but it is difficult to find nine rivers intersecting here during colonial times. Gerhard asserts that only the Atotonilco River (now named the Zula River), which began in highlands northeast of Chicnagatenco, emptied into the Grande de Santiago River at this point. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 66-70. As a result, “the places of the nine shores” is a better translation.

⁸⁸ Mota y Escobar asserts that the Grande de Santiago River was not bridged along its entire length because it was too wide, and he added that Indigenous peoples crossed it on either canoes, rafts, or flat-bottomed boats known as *chalupas*. Mota y Escobar, 57. However, the notary of the RG of Poncitlan writes that this river could only be crossed on a boat or a raft during the rainy season. Acuña, 189.

⁸⁹ Mota y Escobar, 29.

⁹⁰ Today, CEA Jalisco (accessed on May 19, 2014) measures Chapala Lake as being 79 km long by 28 km wide with a capacity of 7.897 million cubic meters. www.ceajalisco.gob.mx/chapala.html#nivel-diario During the sixteenth century, Ciudad Real (Book II 1976: 88) describes it as being more than thirty leagues long, and ten leagues wide at its thinnest place. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 88. Antonio Tello agrees that it is more than thirty leagues long and adds that it is more than seventy leagues to walk around it. Tello, Book II, 6. Mota Padilla writes that it is a little shorter than thirty leagues in longitude with a circumference of more than sixty leagues. Mota Padilla, 31.

Map 2-3: The Grande de Santiago River and Lake Chapala



The Grande de Santiago River placidly traveled from Lake Chapala to the town of Jonacatlan where it formed a waterfall that fell between twenty and forty *estados*.⁹¹ This waterfall marked the beginning of La Barranca Canyon,⁹² which the Grande de Santiago had carved out over the course of eons as it gained strength from the enormous quantities of water deposited by many highland rivers such as the Verde, the Calderón, the Acatic, the San Juan, the San Gaspar, the Cañada Honda, and the Juchipila.⁹³ Then, La Barranca and the Grande de

⁹¹ Arregui mentions a waterfall of twenty *estados*, and Mota y Escobar (1940: 55) writes that it was forty *estados*. Arregui, 58. The dictionary of the Real Academia defines *estado* (stadia) as a measurement for heights or depths that was taken from the presumed height of a man. <http://dle.rae.es/?id=GjqhahH> (Consulted on July 14, 2016).

⁹² In the eighteenth century, Mota Padilla was one of the first writers to refer to the large canyon made by the Grande de Santiago River as La Barranca de Huentitlan. Mota Padilla, 500. Previous writers such as D. Alonzo de la Mota y Escobar and Arregui simple referred to it as La Barranca (the canyon). Mota y Escobar, 71; Arregui, 115.

⁹³ Mota Padilla names these as the Green River, the Calderon River, the Acatic River, the San Juan River, the San Gaspar River, the Cañada Honda River, and the Xuchipila River. Mota Padilla, 500.

Santiago went west and turned northwest to pass above Guadalajara and the correspondence community of Tala, the site of “1600 Tala.”

Tala sat within the very fertile Valley of Tala, and it had a complex history.⁹⁴ It was an *encomienda* that became a crown possession in 1570, but Diego de Colio held it in *encomienda* from 1585-1608, and by 1621, it was a *corregimiento*.⁹⁵ Gerhard writes that Tala had a *beneficiado* (secular priest) beginning in 1605, and Gonzalo Martín de Colmona, the assistant of Bishop Juan de Santiago y Leon Garabito (1677-1694), identifies it as a secular parish in 1678 and 1679.⁹⁶

After Tala, the Barranca and the Grande de Santiago continued northwest and west, but the former ended close to the town of Tequila, whereas the latter continued through the highlands of Chimaltitan and into the Nayarit warm zone before emptying into the Pacific Ocean (Map 2-3).⁹⁷ Acaponeta stood north of the Grande de Santiago River, and between 1563 and 1570 it became a *corregimiento* and then an *alcaldía mayor*.⁹⁸ The *alcaldía mayor* of Acaponeta included Guaxicori and San Antonio Quihuiquinta from which notaries wrote four petitions: “1652a Guaxicori,” “1652b Guaxicori,” “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” and “1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta.” Furthermore, its *alcalde mayor* was also the captain of a nearby *presidio*

⁹⁴ Mota y Escobar, 71.

⁹⁵ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 169; Mota Y Escobar, 71; Arregui, 70-71.

⁹⁶ AHAG, *Visitas Pastorales: 1678-79*; Gonzalo Martín de Colmona, 6.

⁹⁷ I modeled this map after Carl Sauer's *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 1934. Ibero-Americana 5.

⁹⁸ Gerhard describes an ambiguous situation in which the *audiencia* of Nueva Galicia named a *corregidor* between 1563 and 1570, but he adds that a Tomás Gil was its *encomendero*. Arregui names it as an *alcaldía mayor* in his work from 1621. Arregui, 100. *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 78.

whose purpose was the protection of the coastal road from Compostela to Culiacan.⁹⁹ Guaxicori and San Antonio Quihuiquinta were both on the Acaponeta River to the north of Acaponeta in a hot and swampy region teeming with natural resources.¹⁰⁰ Nearby land yielded large quantities of cotton, maize, fruits, and vegetables while the Acaponeta River had several types of edible fish and turtles, and the nearby Pacific Ocean had large fisheries, oyster beds, and salt beds.¹⁰¹ Finally, by 1604, Quihuiquinta had a recent convent, according to Fray Francisco del Barrio.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 78; Arregui, 100.

¹⁰⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 116; Mota y Escobar, 84; Arregui, 100-101.

¹⁰¹ Ciudad Real, Vol II, 116-117, Mota y Escobar, 84-85.

¹⁰² *Los albores de un nuevo mundo, siglos xvi y xvii* ed. by Thomas Calvo, 268.

Map 2-3: The Grande de Santiago River and the Nayarit Lowlands



The province of Compostela included the correspondence community of Xalisco, where at least two notaries wrote “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593,” “1594 Xalisco,” “1595a Xalisco,” and “1595b Xalisco.” This community had a Franciscan convent dedicated to San Juan Bautista, founded in 1540.¹⁰³ Xalisco was close to Compostela, a town whose importance had waned during the second half of the sixteenth century. Compostela had been founded by Beltrán de Guzmán, and it had housed the diocese and the *audiencia* court, but

¹⁰³ Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*, 141.

it lost the first in 1548 and the latter in 1560. It remained the seat of the *alcaldía mayor* of Compostela, but only twenty Spaniards resided there in 1587.¹⁰⁴ The notary of the RG of Compostela recorded that Compostela had a temperate climate that was more humid than dry and added that the land surrounding this community held large quantities of cattle and produced corn, wheat, oranges, and limes.¹⁰⁵ By 1621, the *alcaldía mayor* of Compostela had a large jurisdiction that encompassed a coastal area along the Pacific coast with limits that went north to the province of Chiametla along the twenty-second parallel, east to Minas de Chimaltitan, northeast to El Gran Nayar, and south to Banderas Bay and the Valley of Banderas.¹⁰⁶ South of this valley stood the canyons, hills, and mountains of Purificación, the southernmost province of Nueva Galicia.

Purificación bordered Autlan, which bordered Amula, but only the latter produced documents: “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” and “1649 Tachichilco.” The notary of the first document identified San Antonio Tuzcacuezco as being in Amula, and although the other notary did not mention where Tachichilco was, other sources suggest it was also in this province.¹⁰⁷ In 1579, the notary of the *Relación of Amula* wrote that Amula was an *alcaldía mayor* with three *cabeceras*—Zapotitlan, Tuzcacuesco, and Cusalapa—and he added that the latter had

¹⁰⁴ The notary of the RG of Compostela names Compostela as the seat of the *alcaldía mayor*. Acuña, 87. Ciudad Real mentions the population in 1587. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 122.

¹⁰⁵ Acuña, 88.

¹⁰⁶ Acuña provides a map in his edition of the *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*. Acuña, 3. Arregui, 134; Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier of New Spain*, 138;

¹⁰⁷ Gerhard wrote that a *corregimiento* named Amula and Tuzcacuezco was created in the 1530s, and during the 1570s, it became an *alcaldía mayor* with its office at Tuzcacuezco. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 46.

Tachichilco and Chacala as subject towns.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, the Spanish translator of Tachichilco's petition mentioned that this town belonged to the parish of Chacala.¹⁰⁹ Ciudad Real wrote of visiting Tuzcacuezco on February 16, 1587, and he described it as belonging to the parish of Zapotitlan and was located five leagues from Zacapala.¹¹⁰ San Antonio Tuzcacuezco would remain subordinate to Zapotitlan for more than a hundred years because Mota Padilla wrote in the eighteenth century that it remained a *visita* of this town.¹¹¹

The climate of Amula varied between hot and temperate. Cusalapa was situated between two rivers, and it was neither too hot nor too cold. Its nearby hills were filled with oaks, pine trees, and trees known as *encinales*; its lowlands supported maize, native plants, native vegetables, and wheat, but it was not hospitable to other plants from Castile.¹¹² San Antonio Tuzcacuezco was on the Tuzcacuezco River, and its climate was either hot and dry or hot and humid depending on the season.¹¹³

The documents of "1622 Cohuatlan," "1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo," and "1637b Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo" appear to belong to a community in the province of Colima. Pedro Puy is the notary of "1622 Coatlan," and he refers to Cohuatlan as being close to

¹⁰⁸ This notary also wrote that Tachichila was given this name because it had a lot of reddish earth known as Tlalchichiltique. Acuña, 79.

¹⁰⁹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, "1649 Tachichilco."

¹¹⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 136.

¹¹¹ Mota y Padilla, 101.

¹¹² *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 77. Mota y Escobar commented that Amula along with nearby Tenamastlan and Zapotitlan had been very hot during pre-Christian times. Mota y Escobar, 64.

¹¹³ Ciudad Real recorded excessive heat in February of 1587 between these two valleys. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 130. The notary of the RG of Villa de la Purificación wrote that the climate varied from hot and humid to hot and dry depending on the season. Acuña, 211.

Atlcoçavic and Teculapa, two towns held by *encomenderos* living in the villa of Colima.¹¹⁴ During the mid-sixteenth century, Juan Bautista de Rápalo held Teculapa, which had 123 tributaries, and Juan Fernández held Coatlan and its 275 tributaries.¹¹⁵ Juan Cruz is the notary of “1637a Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo” and “1637b Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo,” and although he does not name the province, a notary named Juan Días places this community as being in the jurisdiction of Colima.¹¹⁶ The province of Colima had been an *alcaldía mayor* created by Hernán Cortés with a jurisdiction extending as far north as Tepic and as far east as Lake Chapala, but the creation of Nueva Galicia and new *corregimientos* like Amula and Ávalos severely shortened its boundaries.¹¹⁷ Colima had a hot and tropical climate which allowed the harvesting of bananas, coconuts, cotton, and peanuts.¹¹⁸

Ávalos was a large province north of Colima. In 1523, it was assigned as an *encomienda* to three brothers: Fernando de Saavedra, Alonso de Ávalos Saavedra, and Juan de Ávalos.¹¹⁹ However, Juan de Ávalos died a few years later and his portion was given to Jorge Carrillo, a

¹¹⁴ “1622 Coahuatlan” has a title page in which a Spanish notary introduces it as a “peticion de los yndios de Colima.” Atlcoçavic was held by Martín Jiménez from the 1520s until around 1550, and by his son until the 1560s, and that Teculapa was held by Juan Bautista de Rapalo during the 1520s and 1530s, and by his son until around 1550. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 80. Rosa Margarita Nettel Ross concurs that Jiménez was *encomendero* of Atlcoçavic and adds that it had 78 married tributaries during his tenure. *Los testigos hablan: La conquista de Colima y sus informantes* ed. by Nettel Ross (Colima, Mexico: Universidad de Colima, 2007), 258. However, the writer of one addendum places Coahuatlan close to Contla, a town east of Guadalajara and the Grande de Santiago River. More information about Contla is present in the section titled “The Cold Lands.”

¹¹⁵ Nettel Ross, 237.

¹¹⁶ McA-UCLA, Box 20-42, “1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.”

¹¹⁷ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 79.

¹¹⁸ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 143.

¹¹⁹ Gerhard allows that Cortés may have given Ávalos in *encomienda* to the brothers, but he posits it as more likely that a governor Estrada may have given it in *encomienda* to the brothers because one of his daughters was married to Alonso de Ávalos. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 1972: 239. Hillerkuss writes that Cortés gave this *encomienda* to the three brothers in 1523. Hillerkuss, 15.

resident of Colima.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, by 1528, the two surviving brothers were its only holders, and when Fernando de Saavedra died, the crown took over his portion and appointed a *corregidor* on August 20, 1535.¹²¹ Meanwhile, Alonso de Ávalos kept his half for over forty years and passed it on to his heirs, who died out in the 1620s, but a tenth of its tribute remained in private hands as late as 1801.¹²² The province of Ávalos in its entirety included the land around the western third of Lake Chapala, the lake basins of Sayula and Atotonilco, and the headwaters of the Ameca and Armeria Rivers.¹²³

The abundance of water made Ávalos especially fertile and populated, and its eighteen documents from ten different communities (Table 2-1) suggest that literacy in Nahuatl was more widespread here than in other regions of Northwestern New Spain. Eight of these correspondence communities are easy to locate because three were fairly important, and five others were identified as being in the province of Ávalos. During the 1570s and 1580s, the *alcalde mayor* of the towns of Ávalos and *corregidor* of the crown had resided at San Francisco Zacoalco, but by 1615 this officer was based in Sayula.¹²⁴ Furthermore, San Francisco Chapala had a convent and was on the northern shore of Lake Chapala.¹²⁵ Also, Indigenous notaries

¹²⁰ Hillerkuss, 15.

¹²¹ According to Gerhard the towns of Atoyac, Cocula, Chulitla, Tusitatan, Zacoalco, and Sayula appeared in a tribute assesment from May 1528. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 239. Hillerkuss notes that the first *audiencia* under Nuño de Guzmán took away this *encomienda* from the two brothers in 1529, and that the second *audiencia* restored it to them the following year along with the neighboring province of Chapala, which had belonged to the conquistador Diego de San Martín. Hillerkuss, 15.

¹²² Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 240.

¹²³ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 239.

¹²⁴ Gerhard *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 240. Also, the notary of “1679 Sayula,” wrote that Sayula was in Ávalos. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1679 Sayula.”

¹²⁵ Refer to Ciudad Real, Vol II, 91; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 241.

identified Amatitlan, San Andrés Atotonilco, San Juan Evangelista Atoyac, and Santa Ana Acatlan as being in Ávalos, and the Spanish translator of “1692 San Andrés Atotonilco” added that San Andrés Atotonilco was in the parish of Zacoalco.¹²⁶ Finally, an unidentified author writes “San Martín de Cocula” in an addenda to “1653 San Martín,” which means that San Martín was subject to the Franciscan convent at Cocula, a town in Ávalos.¹²⁷

Table 2-1: Documents of Ávalos

Name of the document	Province or region	Writer	Title
1626 Francisco Chapalac	Not named	Francisco de Torres	Franciscan Friar
1629 San Francisco Zacoalco	Not named	Juan Fabian	Notary
1653 Amatitlan	Ávalos	Not named	Not named
1653 San Martín	Ávalos	Diego Juan	Notary
1654 San Martín	Ávalos	Diego Juan	
1658 San Francisco Tizapan	Not named	Juan Sebastian	Notary
1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	Not named	Diego Felipe	Notary
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco¹²⁸	Not named	Pedro Juan ¹²⁹	Mayordomo
1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan	Not named	Not named	Not named
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	Not named	Not named	Not named
1679 Sayula	Ávalos	Not named	Not named
1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Ávalos	Not named	Not named
1686 San Pedrotepec	Not named	Not named	Not named

¹²⁶ Atotonilco means the place of the warmed waters, and this toponym demonstrates the importance of having another regional identifier because many Nahuatl names repeat in Northwestern New Spain and elsewhere. For example, there are at least five towns named Atotonilco: Atotonilco and Atotonilquillo (or Atotonilco El Alto) in Poncitlan; Atotonilco El Bajo and San Andrés de Atotonilco in Ávalos; and Atotonilco in Juchipila. Arregui, 59, 61, 103, 106, 118; Baus de Czitrom, 57, 59; Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 90; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 67-70, 103; Mota y Escobar, 130; Mota Padilla, 33, 35; and Santoscoy, 1050.

¹²⁷ Ciudad Real places Cocula in Ávalos. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 104. Gerhard places Cocula in Sayula, but adds that Ávalos was another name for the province of Sayula. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 239, 241.

¹²⁸ San Francisco Zacualco is the same town as that of 1629 Tzacoalco San Fran[cis]co in McA-UCLA, Box 20 Folder 17, which is transcribed and translated by Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart. *Beyond the Codices*, 196-197.

¹²⁹ Most *cofradías* of Northwestern New Spain had a *mayordomo* and a *prioste* as its officials, but in other documents, translators appear to have used the term *mayordomo* to also refer to the *prioste*. Pedro Juan writes at the beginning of “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco,” “I am the *mayordomo* of the *cofradía* of the Holy Sacrament,” and at the end he writes only two names: Alonzo Felipe *prioste* of the Holy Sacrament and Pedro Juan *mayordomo* of the Sacrament. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	Ávalos	Antonio de la Cruz ¹³⁰	Not named
1692 San Andrés Atotonilco	Ávalos, Feligrecia of Zacoalco	Don Miguel	Notary
1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	Ávalos	Antonio de la Cruz	Not named
1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Ávalos	Not named	Not named
n.y. Sayula	Not named	Not named	Not named

The identification of the four other correspondence communities is somewhat more difficult. Three different chroniclers mention a Tizapan that was part of the parish of Cocula, but they did not write whether this town corresponded to San Francisco Tizapan or Santa María Magdalena Tizapan.¹³¹ The notary of “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” named the community from which he wrote as Tizapan of the lake, but this is not as helpful as it could be because both towns were close to lakes. Gerhard presents Tizapan el Bajo as being a short distance north of Lake Atotonilco and Cocula in the northwest part of Ávalos, and Tizapan el Alto as being a short distance south of Lake Chapala and in the eastern edge of Ávalos.¹³² Meanwhile, during the eighteenth century, Maríano de Torres (1965: 148) and Mota Padilla (1973: 100, 101) mention a Tizapan that was a *sujeto* of Cocula, and Mota Padilla (1973: 101) refers to another Tizapan that was a *sujeto* of the parish of Tecuitatlan, a town in eastern Ávalos and close to Chapala Lake.¹³³

¹³⁰ Antonio de la Cruz’s handwriting is similar to that of “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan.” AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

¹³¹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 103; Fray Francisco Maríano de Torres, *Crónica de la Sancta Provincia de Xalisco* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, 1965), 148. Matías de la Mota Padilla, *Historia del Reino de la Nueva Galicia en la América Septentrional* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and Universidad de Guadalajara, 1973), 100-101. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 240-242.

¹³² Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 240.

¹³³ Maríano de Torres, 148; Mota Padilla, 100, 101. Spaniards reclassified Indigenous settlements in New Spain into *cabeceras* (head towns) and *sujetos* (subject towns) based on a criteria that included population size, historical importance, and proximity to a Spanish settlement, an important resource, or a prominent topographical feature. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964).

However, the answer lies in the present. San Francisco Tizapan El Alto is a town on the southern shore of Lake Chapala, close to where Gerhard places Tizapan El Alto. Furthermore, Czitrom equates Santa María Magdalena Tizapan with a town that is now known as Villa Corona, which is on the northern shore of Lake Atotonilco.¹³⁴ The last correspondence community of San Pedro Tepec appears to be the same as San Pedro y San Pablo de Tepec, a town east of Lake Sayula in Ávalos.¹³⁵

Ávalos had a hot climate, but its communities were fertile and never lacked water. Mota y Escobar places Atoyac as next to Atoyac Lake, and Ciudad Real writes that Sayula had a climate suitable for Mediterranean fruits like figs, grapes, and pomegranates.¹³⁶ Meanwhile, Mota y Escobar mentions that Chapala was warmer than Guadalajara and that it had orchards of figs, lemons, oranges, and pomegranates.¹³⁷

The province of Izatlan¹³⁸ was northwest of Ávalos, and it encompassed a highland basin that had several fresh water lakes and four correspondence communities: San Francisco Ahualulco, Etzatlan, La Magdalena, and Oconahuac.¹³⁹ Eight documents refer to these towns

¹³⁴ Baus de Czitrom, Carolyn, *Tecuexes y Cocas: Dos grupos de la región Jalisco en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Historicas, 1982), 60.

¹³⁵ The Indigenous notary of “1686 San Pedrotepec” uses the phrase *tomachio tofirma*, which is only used by one other notary, the one who wrote “1669 Santa Ana Acatlan” in which it is *tomacheofremas*. Santa Ana Acatlan is a short distance from San Pedro y San Pablo Tepec. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

¹³⁶ Mota y Escobar identifies this body of water as Lake Atoyac, but it is currently dry lake bed known as Lake Sayula. Mota y Escobar, 61. Ciudad Real almost always describes which edible plants grew in a town. Ciudad Real, Vol II, 149.

¹³⁷ Mota y Escobar, 60-61.

¹³⁸ Etzatlan is the present-day name of the town, but colonial writers wrote either Etzatlan or Izatlan. I use Izatlan to refer to the province and Etzatlan to refer to the town in deference to Gerhard, who follows this convention. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 156-158.

¹³⁹ Mota y Escobar, 74. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 156; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 185.

(Table 2-2). This region was inhabited prior to the conquest, and then Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura encountered its people and gave them in *encomienda* to Juan de Escarcena and Pedro de Villofrío around 1525.¹⁴⁰ By 1535, Izatlan had escheated to the crown and had become a *corregimiento* of Nueva España, and by the 1540s it was an *alcaldía mayor*.¹⁴¹ Etzatlan was its *cabecera* and San Francisco Ahualulco, Oconahuac, and La Magdalena were subject towns.¹⁴²

Etzatlan also became a Franciscan base soon after the arrival of Spaniards. The Franciscan lay brother Juan Francisco traveled with the Cortés de Buenaventura *entrada*, and he began to proselytize in Etzatlan around 1525.¹⁴³ Then, the Franciscan friars Francisco Lorenzo and Andrés de Cordova arrived in 1530; the former proselytized in surrounding communities, and the latter focused on building what would become the convent of the Immaculate Conception at Etzatlan.¹⁴⁴ By 1605, La Magdalena and San Francisco Ahualulco had *doctrinas*, but these were subordinate to the aforementioned convent of the Immaculate Conception at Etzatlan.¹⁴⁵

Table 2-2: Documents from the Province of Izatlan

Name of the petition	Province or region	Writer	Title
1593a Oconahuac	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
1593b Oconahuac	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
1593c Oconahuac	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
1622 La Magdalena	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

¹⁴⁰ Francisco Cortés de Buenaventura claims to have given Etzatlan in *encomienda*. Cortés de Buenaventura in Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, 556. However, Maríano de Torres only mentions Escarcena in 1530. Maríano de Torres, 48.

¹⁴¹ Gerhard describes the time frame for when Etzatlan became a *corregimiento* and an *alcaldía mayor*. Izatlan was one of the northernmost provinces of Nueva España, and its *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayor* were appointed from Mexico City. Gerhards, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 152.

¹⁴² Mota y Escobar, 75.

¹⁴³ Maríano de Torres, 48.

¹⁴⁴ Maríano de Torres, 51. Ciudad Real visited Etzatlan in 1587, claiming that it had a well-built Franciscan convent dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 105.

¹⁴⁵ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 152.

1649a La Magdalena	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
1649b La Magdalena	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
1649 San Francisco Ahualulco	Not mentioned	Juan Pedro	Notary
1661 Etzatlan	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

Izatlan had favorable weather and many natural resources. Its lakes ran north-south and divided the basin in two with Magdalena and San Francisco Ahualulco on the eastern side, and Etzatlan and Oconahuac on the western side. Ciudad Real claimed that these lakes had a good variety of fish before 1566, when an earthquake caused the larger fish to disappear, whereas Mota y Escobar mentioned an abundance of small fish and birds at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Mota y Escobar describes the temperature of La Magdalena as being cold, and he also notes that San Francisco Ahualulco had pomegranates, a fruit that cannot withstand freezing temperatures.¹⁴⁷ The highlands to the south were also rich in valuable minerals because several mines in the highlands south of San Francisco Ahualulco yielded silver during the 1580s, and mines south of Etzatlan yielded lead and silver during the early 1600s.¹⁴⁸

The notary of “Oconahuac 1592a” writes of a grievance held by the inhabitants of Oconahuac and four communities on the Ameca River: Amatlan, Tepetlatlaucan, Tzichtig, and Xatlatzinco.¹⁴⁹ Nuño de Guzmán first gave Amatlan, Xatlatzinco, and a few other communities in *encomienda* to Alvaro de Bracamonte, and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado acquired one half of this territory in 1540, which reverted to the crown in 1544 after his death, whereas the other

¹⁴⁶ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 106; Mota y Escobar, 74.

¹⁴⁷ Mota y Escobar, 74.

¹⁴⁸ Ciudad Real describes mining communities in 1587. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 105. Mota y Escobar mentions the mines of Etzatlan. Mota y Escobar, 75.

¹⁴⁹ In a map, Gerhard shows that Tzichtig was the southernmost community followed by Tepetlatlaucan, Xatlatzinco, and Amatlan. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 115.

half passed to Alonso de Bracamonte around 1570.¹⁵⁰ Cristóbal de Oñate shared Tepetlatlauca and Tzichitic with Diego de Villegas, but by the 1570s, both halves had escheated to the crown, which created the *corregimiento* of Mascota, whose *corregidor* was responsible for Mascota, Tepetlatlauca, and Tzichitic.¹⁵¹ Few Spanish-language documents mention these towns, but perhaps Mota y Escobar refers to them when writing that some smaller communities were subjects of Etzatlan, but that their Indigenous inhabitants listened to mass with the Franciscans in the *doctrina* of Oconahuac.¹⁵²

The last documents from the hot lands of Northwestern New Spain are “1644 Cajititlan,” “1630 Tlajomulco,” and “N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco,” from Cajititlan and Tlajomulco, respectively. These correspondene communities were east of Izatlan and south of Guadalajara, and they played important roles during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nuño de Guzmán gave himself Tlajomulco and Cuyutlan in *encomienda*, but both escheated to the crown in 1545, joining Nueva España for a short time before becoming a part of Nueva Galicia.¹⁵³ By 1549, the *corregimiento* of Tlajomulco and that of Cuyutlan appeared in colonial documents with the town of Zalatlitan being incorporated to the latter entity, which became known as Cuyutlan and Cajititlan, or simply Cajititlan.¹⁵⁴ In 1621, Arregui continued to identify Tlajomulco as the

¹⁵⁰ Vasquez de Coronado died in 1544. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 115.

¹⁵¹ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 116.

¹⁵² Mota y Escobar, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 75.

¹⁵³ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 191.

¹⁵⁴ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 191.

seat of a *corregimiento*, and he also asserted that it bordered Cajititlan and Cuyutlan to the southeast, and Ávalos to the west.¹⁵⁵

Tlajomulco and Cajititlan were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Franciscans. Ciudad Real mentions a Franciscan convent dedicated to San Antonio in Tlajomulco and Mota y Escobar and Arregui confirm its continued existence into the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Mota y Escobar writes that Cajititlan was a Franciscan *doctrina*.¹⁵⁷

The *corregimientos* of Tlajomulco and Cajititlan had favorable climate and topography. Tlajomulco was between two high hills, but it never got too hot because its temperatures were similar to Guadalajara's.¹⁵⁸ It had an abundant water supply that made its lowlands hospitable for native plants and animals from Castille while its hills held many deer.¹⁵⁹ Cajititlan stood on the northern shores of Lake Cajititlan, which had many small fish, and its climate was similar to that of Tlajomulco and Guadalajara.¹⁶⁰

2.2c. The Cold Lands

Canyons, plateaus, and highland valleys characterize the coldlands because of the way that the many rivers of Northwestern New Spain flowed through the Sierra Madre Occidental

¹⁵⁵ Arregui names Tlajomulco as the largest town in Nueva Galicia, but he does not include the large towns of Ávalos which were outside of this region. Arregui also names Santa Ana Acatlan as one of Tlaxomulco's *sujetos*, but Antonio de la Cruz, the notary of "1687 Santa Ana Acatlan" and "1693 Santa Ana Acatlan" writes that it was in Ávalos. Arregui, 69; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

¹⁵⁶ Mota y Escobar, 62; Arregui, 69.

¹⁵⁷ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 98; Mota y Escobar, 59, 62.

¹⁵⁸ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 99.

¹⁵⁹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 100; Mota y Escobar, 64; Arregui, 69-70.

¹⁶⁰ Mota y Escobar, 59.

and several smaller mountain ranges. Different natural processes gave birth to the Sierra Madre Occidental, which begins close to the U.S.—Mexico border and ends above Mexico City.¹⁶¹ It has a general altitude of 8000 feet above sea level, but it has exceedingly rough terrain because the many rivers that begin in its peaks have created box canyons, 800 to 1000 feet deep, in their march to the Pacific Ocean (Refer to map 2-1). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these cold highlands were rich in minerals, and they also accommodated independent and semi-independent Indigenous *rancherías* and towns whose inhabitants used the rugged landscape to impede the advance of Spanish colonization (Map 2-4).¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Robert C. West and James J. Parsons, “The Topia Road: a trans-Sierran trail of colonial Mexico” in *Geography Review* 31-3 (1941), 406.

¹⁶² Robert C. West and James J. Parsons, 406.

Map 2-4: The Coldlands



El Gran Nayar was the only independent region of Northwestern New Spain, and it served as the home of Francisco Nayari, who wrote “1649a Tzacamota,” “1649b Tzacamota,” and “1649c Tzacamota.” These three documents are letters in which Nayari appears to respond

to Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, who had written to ask him to turn over some apostates.¹⁶³

Nayari writes in the first *carta* that the Coras, from Huazamota, Ayotochpa, and Guaxicori were innocent of any wrongdoing, and he blames the Tepehuanes for being rebellious and for enticing him to join them. This *carta* and other sources suggest that Huazamota, Ayotochpa, and Guaxicori were, “transactional and transitional crossroads where ethnic identities, subsistence patterns, cultural beliefs, and gender relations were forged and changed over time in a frontier only slowly conquered by non-Indians.”¹⁶⁴

Spaniards began to make inroads into Huazamota and Ayotochpa, and another community known as Huaynamota during the early sixteenth century. Tello claims that Pedro Almíndez Chirinos, one of Nuño de Guzmán’s captains, led an expedition north from Huaynamota to Huazamota and back again to Huaynamota.¹⁶⁵ The probable result of this expedition was that Huaynamota was given in *encomienda* to Juan de Arce, but its inhabitants never paid tribute, and it was rumored that they killed him.¹⁶⁶ By 1621, Huaynamota belonged to the *alcaldía mayor* of Minas de Chimaltitan.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ My study will discuss the difference between a *petición* (petition) and a *carta* (letter) in Chapter 4. Ruiz Colmenero wrote a letter to the Coras regarding the return of some apostates, and Nayari mentioned that the troublemakers were not Coras, but Tepehuanes in the communities of Guazamota, Ayotochpa, and Guaxicori. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 144.

¹⁶⁴ Susan Deeds writes this statement about Nueva Vizcaya, but it might also apply to the multi-ethnic space of El Gran Nayar. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico’s Colonial North: Indians Under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 8.

¹⁶⁵ Tello, Book II, 252.

¹⁶⁶ The Coras were given in *encomienda* to Francisco Rojo, and the *encomiendas* of the Coras and Huaynamota remained active in 1548. Gerhard *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 145.

¹⁶⁷ Arregui, 81.

The Franciscans had many difficulties when proselytizing in Huaynamota, Huazamota, and Ayotuchpa. Several Franciscan friars began to visit Huaynamota in the 1570s, establishing a convent whose two resident friars were Francisco Gil and Andrés de Ayala, but both were killed by its inhabitants in 1585.¹⁶⁸ The Franciscans established another convent in Huaynamota in 1601, but they abandoned it in 1635.¹⁶⁹ In Huazamota, the Franciscan friar Francisco Martínez began to proselytize in 1582, and he was still there in 1587.¹⁷⁰ At the end of the sixteenth century, some Franciscan friars had convinced a number of Indigenous people to come down from the “Cora Mountains” to live in a new settlement known as Ayotuchpa, and this convent survived for more than a hundred years.¹⁷¹

Ayotuchpa, Huaynamota, and Huazamota are thus visible in Spanish records, but Nayari may be the first person to write of Tzacamota. In “1649a Tzacamota,” he names the “alitepet Tzacamota noaltepeuh” (the community of Tzacamota, my community). Twenty-four years later, a Franciscan friar named Antonio Arias y Saavedra describes Tzacamota as one of four provinces in “La Sierra,” the home of the Nayari, and a *ranchería*.¹⁷² Arias y Saavedra also uses Nayari as more of an ethnic affiliation than a name, and he goes on to classify Tzacamota as the main religious site and adds that it held the home of the Nayari, which had a room with a table in the middle surrounded by the seated cadavers of Don Francisco Nayari, Don Pedro Huaynoli,

¹⁶⁸ Francisco Gil and Andrés de Ayala spoke Nahuatl. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 108-109.

¹⁶⁹ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 145.

¹⁷⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 109.

¹⁷¹ Mota y Escobar writes that these Indigenous people were newly brought down. Mota y Escobar, 83-84. The Franciscans moved their convent from Ayotuchpa to San Marcos Cuyutlan sometime between 1696 and 1722. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 79.

¹⁷² Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayari: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 287-288.

Don Alonso Yoquary, and Don Luis Uristi.¹⁷³ Is this the Francisco Nayari of “1649a Tzacamota,” “1649b Tzacamota,” “1649c Tzacamota?”

The province of Minas de Chimaltitan bordered El Gran Nayar to the south, and Francisco Rafael wrote “1646 Tequepechpan” and Francisco Martín wrote “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan.” Francisco Rafael did not identify his community, but the Spanish notary Juan Ruiz de Agudelo wrote in an addendum that this document was a petition that concerned Tequepechpan, a town in the province of Minas de Chimaltitan.¹⁷⁴ Tequepechpan was south of El Gran Nayar and the Grande de Santiago River, and a short distance northwest of the Pass of Mochitiltic. Tequepechpan was at a high altitude and cold, but it was hospitable enough for farmers to grow maize and fruits from Castille.¹⁷⁵ During the mid-sixteenth century, Tequepechpan belonged to the *encomienda* of Juan de Samaniego, along with two nearby communities: Tetitlan and Camotlan.¹⁷⁶ Juan de Valvo was its *encomendero* during the 1570s, but by the 1580s, it had escheated to the crown.¹⁷⁷ By 1621, it was in the *alcaldía mayor* of the

¹⁷³ Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 294. Further research may reveal whether Arias y Saavedra’s Francisco Nayari represents the writer of “1649a Tzacamota” and “1649b Tzacamota.”

¹⁷⁴ I have kept Tequepechpan because it is more common in the sources. A Tepequechpan in that province was also known as Tequepespan. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 145. Another town currently known as Tlaquepaque, which is in the greater Guadalajara region, was also known as Tequepechpan during the colonial period.

¹⁷⁵ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 112; Mota y Escobar, 80.

¹⁷⁶ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 182.

¹⁷⁷ Gerhard *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 182. It encompassed Tequepechpan, Zapotlan, Santa María, San Luis, Pochotitlan, Tetitlan, and San Pedro de la Lagunilla which were south of the Grande de Santiago, and Guajimiqui, Huaynamota, the mines of Cuitapilco, and an unnamed silver processing site. Arregui, 81.

province of Minas de Chimaltitan which encompassed communities on both sides of the Grande de Santiago River.¹⁷⁸

Three communities were named Pochotitlan in Northwestern New Spain—one in Minas de Chimaltitan, one in Fronteras de Colotlan, and the last in Purificación—but Santiago Pochotitlan appears to represent the town in Minas de Chimaltitan.¹⁷⁹ Francisco Martín, its Indigenous author, dated “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” to December 13, 1678.¹⁸⁰ Meanwhile, the writer of the *visita* journal of Bishop Juan de Santiago de León Garabito dated the arrival of a diocesan party to Santiago Pochotitlan in the jurisdiction of Xalisco on December 23, 1678.¹⁸¹ The dates closely correlate, and Santiago Pochotitlan was a subject town of Tequepechpan under the Spanish imperial system, and a subject town of the Franciscan convent of Saint John the Baptist in Xalisco.¹⁸²

Nombre de Dios was a correspondence community north of Huazamota and El Gran Nayar, and it has “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585.”¹⁸³ According to Barlow and Smisor, this town was founded in 1564 or 1565 by Nahuas, Tarascans, and Zacatecos of a nearby Franciscan

¹⁷⁸ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 182.

¹⁷⁹ Gerhard relied on archival sources to document the *encomienda* that included Pochotitlan. No chroniclers refer to a “Santiago Pochotitlan” and only a few of them mention “Pochotitlan.” Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 153. Arregui writes “Ochotitlan” and “Pochotitlan,” when referring to the town in the jurisdiction of Chimaltitan. Arregui, 81. Mota y Escobar writes “Ponchotitlan” in a list, but he does not clarify which one he is referring to. Mota y Escobar, 214.

¹⁸⁰ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

¹⁸¹ AHAG, Visitas Pastorales, 1678.

¹⁸² In 1772, Pochotitlan and the nearby town of San Luis belonged to Tequepespan, but were visited by clerics from the parish of Xalisco. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 183.

¹⁸³ “N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585” and the several other petitions, which are not in my study, are copies made by the nineteenth-century intellectual Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca of a now lost work. Barlow and Smisor judge it to be a genuine but imperfect reproduction that is “vulgar” in comparison to the colonial Nahuatl of Central Mexico. Barlow and Smisor, xxiii.

mission.¹⁸⁴ Nombre de Dios was between Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya and both of their *audiencias* sought to incorporate it within their borders, but in 1579, the viceroy began to appoint its *alcalde mayor*, thus making it one of the northernmost enclaves of Nueva España.¹⁸⁵ Nombre de Dios sat above the basins of Poana and Xuchi, where it experienced extremes in temperature.¹⁸⁶ Mota y Escobar writes that Nombre de Dios was hot and sick because it was in a hole where the heat and humidity harbored many poisonous creatures, but the notary of the *Relación de San Martín and Llerena* describes the nearby town of San Martín as cold and dry with ice from October through March.¹⁸⁷

The province of Fronteras de Colotlan had boundaries with El Gran Nayar to the east and Nombre de Dios to the northeast. Fronteras de Colotlan should have some documents in Nahuatl because some of its inhabitants were Tlaxcalans from Central Mexico, but to date, no documents have been found in the archives of Guadalajara. Fronteras de Colotlan was a response that grew from Spanish attempts to contain attacks by semi-nomadic and sedentary Indigenous groups from El Gran Nayar and northern Mexico.¹⁸⁸ In 1590-1591, Viceroy Luis de Velasco “the younger” negotiated with the nobles of Tlaxcala to send settlers into northern and western Mexico, and they agreed after the colonists were offered concessions normally reserved for

¹⁸⁴ Barlow and Smisor, xvii.

¹⁸⁵ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 204.

¹⁸⁶ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 203.

¹⁸⁷ Mota y Escobar, 179; *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 247.

¹⁸⁸ Philip Wayne Powell asserts that Spaniards had tried different strategies against hostile Indigenous groups, but that the most effective one was the foundation of Indigenous military districts. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: North America's First Frontier War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

Spanish nobles.¹⁸⁹ In 1591, 401 family units (bachelors and heads of families) founded six settlements in western and northern Mexico.¹⁹⁰ Colotlan was the westernmost community, and it formed the linchpin of what would become Fronteras de Colotlan, a region of mostly Huichol towns that provided *flecheros* (militiamen) during expeditions led by a Spanish military governor who only answered to the viceroy of New Spain.¹⁹¹ This special relationship placed it under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of New Spain at Mexico City, and during the 1620s, it was also taken from the Diocese of Guadalajara and incorporated into the Diocese of Durango, when the latter was created.¹⁹²

Southeast of Colotlan, the correspondence community of Nochistlan and Juchipila shared a common history. Nochistlan, the site of “1580a Nochistlan” and “1580b Nochistlan” was a *corregimiento* in the *alcaldía mayor* of the Minas de Tepeque and the Valley of Juchipila in 1584.¹⁹³ Nochistlan stood on a flat-topped hill, between two streams that enabled its inhabitants to survive in this dry and cold climate.¹⁹⁴ For a time, Nochistlan was held in *encomienda* within the jurisdiction of an earlier incarnation of Guadalajara, known as the *villa* de Espíritu Santo de

¹⁸⁹ Blosser, Gibson, and Powell (1975: 195-196) write that these rights included the right to carry swords and ride horses, and the freedom from the labor draft and any other type of tribute. Blosser, 291. Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967). Powell, *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: North America's First Frontier War*, (Tempe, AZ: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1975), 195-196.

¹⁹⁰ Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967), 185.

¹⁹¹ Blosser, 290, 291, 294.

¹⁹² These relationships with the Real Audiencia of New Spain and the Diocese of Durango explain why any extant Nahuatl documents from Fronteras de Colotlan are most likely to be found in archives of Mexico City and Durango rather than those of Guadalajara.

¹⁹³ *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 165.

¹⁹⁴ *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 167-168; Mota y Escobar, 129.

Guadalajara, which was moved to Tonalá in 1533 but continued to claim Nochistlan.¹⁹⁵ Diego Vásquez was Nochistlan's first *encomendero*, and he held it along with the town of Jalpa until shortly before 1541, when Miguel de Ibarra received and held it until it escheated to the crown.¹⁹⁶

Juchipila was west of Nochistlan, and it was where "1652 San Francisco Juchipila" was written. Like Nochistlan, it fell under the jurisdiction of the *alcaldía mayor* of Minas de Tepeque and the Valley of Juchipila in 1584, but by 1621 it was the *cabecera* of the *alcaldía mayor* of Juchipila.¹⁹⁷ It was on the southern end of the Valley of Juchipila through which the Juchipila River flowed, and it had a hot climate and fertile lands.¹⁹⁸

The Franciscans apparently went to Nochistlan and Juchipila during the early 1530s. Two friars named Juan de Badilla and Andrés de Córdoba proselytized to the Indigenous inhabitants of Nochistlan, Juchipila, and nearby towns.¹⁹⁹ In 1586, two friars lived in the small convent of San Francisco in Juchipila, and Nochistlan became a Franciscan doctrine by the beginning of the seventeenth century.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 132. Tello describes the process in which Guadalajara was founded close to Nochistlan and close to Tonalá. Several conquistadors judged that Tonalá and its environs offered favorable conditions for a *villa*, but Nuño de Guzmán wanted to keep Tonalá's sizeable Indigenous population for himself. Tello, *Crónica miscelánea en que se trata de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el nuevo reino de la Galicia y nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo México* Book 2, 225-237.

¹⁹⁶ Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 132.

¹⁹⁷ *Relaciones geográficas del siglo 16*; Arregui, 118.

¹⁹⁸ Ciudad Real II, 98; Mota y Escobar, 130; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 131, 187.

¹⁹⁹ Tello, Vol. II, 190.

²⁰⁰ Mota y Escobar, 129.

A province alternately known as Lagos or Teocaltiche after its two dominant communities was east of Nochistlan, and it included the correspondence community of Jalostotitlan, which was the site of “1611 Jalostotitlan,” and San Gaspar, which was the setting for “1683 San Gaspar.” Teocaltiche was an *encomienda* held by Pedro Cuadrado in 1550, but its escheatment to the crown had occurred by 1563.²⁰¹ Meanwhile, during the early 1560s, Spaniards founded the nearby *villa* of Santa María de los Lagos.²⁰² Teocaltiche was the *cabecera* of this province from 1584 until at least 1621 while Lagos was the seat of the parish.²⁰³ Teocaltiche also had a Franciscan convent that was secularized in 1561, and in 1611, the Indigenous elites of Jalostotitlan with some support from those of San Gaspar sponsored a petition against the Franciscan friar Francisco Muñoz (Refer to Chapter 5.2c).²⁰⁴ Then, in 1618, residents of San Gaspar, Jalostotitlan, San Juan, Teocaltitlan, San Miguel El Alto, Mezquitic, and Mitic gave oral testimonies that were recorded as twenty petitions against this same priest in a process that eventually made its way to the inquisitorial court of Mexico City.²⁰⁵

The last petitions are “1642 Contla” and “1649 San Juan Ocotitic.” The first is from Contla, which was probably a subordinate of Cuquío, a community that belonged to the province of Mezquiticacan in 1642; and the second is probably from Ocotitlan.²⁰⁶ The conquistador Diego

²⁰¹ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 136.

²⁰² Mota Padilla writes that Santa María de los Lagos was founded in 1563. Mota Padilla, 50. Mota y Escobar writes that it was founded in 1561. Mota y Escobar, 121. The notary of the RG of *Teocaltiche* asserts in 1584 that it was founded 24 years ago, or ca. 1560. Acuña, 302.

²⁰³ Acuña, 299, 302; Mota y Escobar, 119; Arregui, 120-121.

²⁰⁴ *Beyond the Codices*, 166-173.

²⁰⁵ Refer to Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618* and “The Jalostotitlan Petitions, 1611-1618.”

²⁰⁶ The notary writes in the first person singular and identifies himself as *neguatl noto Ju^o Miguel nialcalde nochan contlan* (I am named Juan Miguel. I am the *alcalde* in my home of Contla. A second notary wrote in an

Vázquez held the Indigenous communities of Teponaguasco, Cuacuala, and Cuquío in *encomienda* until 1570, and this grant continued in private hands until at least 1645.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, Mota y Escobar lists towns that were in *encomienda* and includes Contla with forty-nine tributaries at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Arregui includes Contla in a list of Indigenous towns that did not have any Spanish inhabitants around 1621.²⁰⁸ For Ocotic, Mota y Escobar mentions that it held forty-five tributaries, and Arregui writes that the *alcaldía mayor* of Tacotlan included this town and Teponaguasco.²⁰⁹ Clergy from Guadalajara and Teocaltiche proselytized in the province of Tacotlan until 1570, when the benefice of Los Tecuejes was created in San Francisco Tlacotlan, and by 1696, the beneficiary priest was at San Felipe Cuquío.²¹⁰

2.2d. Guadalajara and Its Indigenous Correspondence

Indigenous notaries address forty-five of the sixty-four documents to colonial officials in Guadalajara, suggesting the centrality of Guadalajara in Northwestern New Spain. The region surrounding Guadalajara had been important since at least the beginning of the sixteenth century.

addendum that this petition was from Coquío in the province of Meztiticacan, but the more common name is Cuquío. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1642 Contla.” The Mezquiticacan in the petition is probably the same as the town that Gerhard refers to as Mesticacan. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 105-106.

²⁰⁷ Cuquío was then known as Cuaquioque. Gerhard *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 105. Mota y Escobar identifies Cuquío as Guaquioque. Mota y Escobar, 216.

²⁰⁸ Mota y Escobar, 216; Arregui, 114.

²⁰⁹ Mota y Escobar, 216; Arregui writes that the province of Tacotlan was very depopulated, and that Indigenous elites were careful for inhabitants to remain in towns in order to keep town lands. Arregui, 115.

²¹⁰ Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 79. The Genealogical Society of Utah has microfilm for the parish of San Felipe Cuquío from 1663-1962. Cottler, Susan M., Roger M. Haigh, and Shirley A. Weathers, *Preliminary survey of the Mexican collection* (Salt Lake City, 1978), 42.

The notary of the RG of Teucaltiche records that Cazcan elders from Teucaltiche regarded the peoples of the canyons of Guadalajara as their enemies before the arrival of Spaniards.²¹¹ Then, the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada* passed through Tonalá, and its members testified a short time later that it was a large town with a population in the thousands, and that a portion of it attacked them from a nearby hill.²¹² Tonaltecos were indeed people of the canyons, and they knew how to use the defensive positions offered by La Barranca, but the Spaniards would learn to control this important region by moving Guadalajara nearby.

Compostela was the capital of Northwestern New Spain because it housed both the Real Audiencia of Nueva Galicia and the Diocese of Nueva Galicia, but it had achieved this position against the wishes of most of the members of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada*, who recognized a more favorable location by Tonalá. Nuño de Guzmán had favored Compostela because he had wanted to keep the Tonaltecos in *encomienda*, but his arrest removed him as an obstacle, and the Mixton War showed Spaniards that the region around Tonalá was indeed a better site.²¹³ For these and other reasons, the *villa* of Guadalajara was placed in the valley of Atemajac in 1542 taking it away from the hostile Cazcan region and within the protective embrace of La Barranca Canyon and the Grande de Santiago River. The new site forced Indigenous people intent on attacking the city to cross a formidable bulwark. Any raiders from La Cazcana who wished to attack Guadalajara would have to cross La Barranca Canyon and the Grande de Santiago River

²¹¹ The author of the RG of *Teucaltiche* mentions the hostility between the Cazcanes and the Indigenous people who lived in Juchipila, Jalpa, Yahualica, and towns in the canyons close to Guadalajara.” Acuña, 306.

²¹² Many members of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada* testified during a trial against Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, and many of the the transcriptions of these testimonies have been published separately by Joaquin García Icazbalceta and José Luis Razo Zaragoza.

²¹³ During the Mixton War, the *villa* of Espiritu Santo de Guadalajara was continually threatened by nearby Indigenous people because its location by Nochistlan placed it within La Cazcana, the land of the Cazcanes who formed the heart of the anti-Spanish forces.

twice—once when arriving and once when departing—while also facing the threat of a mounted Spanish response. On the negative side, both of these obstacles hindered travel and required the use of rafts to go north and east from Guadalajara. Nevertheless, the Mixtón War and the subsequent period described by Powell as the Chichimec War showed that safety was more important than ease of travel in this frontier area of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century.²¹⁴

In this frontier period, Indigenous leaders addressed several petitions to officials in Guadalajara, including six of these to members of its royal *audiencia*. The notary of “1593a Oconahuac” addressed the Real Audiencia itself, while that of “1580b Nochistlan” addressed the *presidente* (chief judge), and that of “1644 Contla” addressed a *justicia*. The remaining notaries direct their petitions to local officials. The notaries of “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593,” and “1594 Xalisco” addressed the *provincial* and *definidores* of Xalisco, that of “1652a Guaxicori” addressed the *alcalde mayor* of Acaponeta, and that of “1593c Oconahuac” addressed a *teniente* (lieutenant). Finally, “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” addressed an *alcalde mayor*, but this petition is missing some folios, and it is not clear whether the *alcalde mayor* belonged to Nueva España, Nueva Galicia, or Nueva Vizcaya.

The seventeenth century appears to have brought new responsibilities to the Diocese of Guadalajara, as Northwestern New Spain’s frontier shrunk to the area around El Gran Nayar, and Indigenous leaders sought its assistance. The borders of the Diocese of Guadalajara had been unwieldy during the sixteenth century because its jurisdiction extended beyond Northwestern

²¹⁴ José Francisco Román Gutiérrez focuses more on the centrality of Guadalajara within Nueva Galicia in *Sociedad y Evangelización en Nueva Galicia durante el Siglo XVI*.

New Spain, but they grew more compact with the creation of the Diocese of Durango in 1621.²¹⁵ Was it also more responsive? The documents in this study suggest an affirmative answer because Indigenous writers addressed thirty-nine documents to its officials. They also wrote thirteen documents to the *provisor*, a type of judge appointed by the bishop.²¹⁶ Finally, they wrote two other documents to secular priests in the Catholic clergy—*titlaçomahuiztatzin titopastor* and *titomahuiztopixcauh*.

Most of the diocesan documents in this study are from the post-1621 period, and they illustrate the new borders of the Diocese of Guadalajara. The westernmost correspondence community was Xalisco in the province of Compostela; the northernmost was Santiago Pochotitlan in Fronteras de Colotlan; the easternmost were Cuquio and Ocotitic in the province of Tacotlan; and the southernmost ones were Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo and San Andrés Cohuatlan in the province of Colima, Tachichilco and San Antonio Tzacuize in the province of Amula, and Sayula and Atoyac in the province of Ávalos. This smaller diocese of Guadalajara is better documented than its larger iteration because while the pre-1621 diocese only has Bishop Mota y Escobar's *Descripción Geográfica de Los Reinos* from 1602-1605, AHAG preserves

²¹⁵ Chevalier explains that a *cedula real* from June 14, 1621 directed at the president of the *audiencia* of Nueva Galicia ordered the description of Nueva Galicia in order to divide its diocese in two, but Arregui wrote in the introduction that he had written his work at the behest of the Councilor of the Indies. Chevalier, in Arregui 1946: xxxiv. I spoke to a Franciscan friar in 2013, who assured me that the Franciscans continued to administer the sacraments in Etzatlan.

²¹⁶ The petitions are “1593b Oconahuac,” “1622 Coatlan,” “1622 Santa María Magdalena Xochitepec,” “1644 Cajititlan,” “1657 Tonalá,” “1664 Santa Ana Acatlan,” “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco,” “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan,” “1670 Analco,” “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan,” “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan,” “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac.” BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Expediente 9, Progresivo 9; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

several post-1621 visitation records including that of Bishop Francisco Verdín y Molina (1666) and that of Bishop Juan de Santiago de León Garabito (1678-79).²¹⁷

The notaries of two other petitions address other people, and the remaining ones do not address anyone in particular. In “1626 San Francisco Chapalac,” the notary was a Franciscan Friar who wrote to the Indigenous elites of San Francisco Chapalac to ask them to be better Christians. In “1656 Tonalá,” Indigenous elites ask their former priest, the Augustinian friar Nicolás de Zuñiga, to return to Tonalá to resume his former duties.

2.2e. Roads and Correspondence Communities

Indigenous elites wrote to officials of the Diocese of Guadalajara and the *Audiencia* of Nueva Galicia because they came into contact with them in a variety of ways. Bishops went to Indigenous communities during *visitas*, inspection visits, decreed by the Council of Trent to fulfill their pastoral duties.²¹⁸ One of the interpretations of this decree was that bishops or their surrogates had to visit parishes in their dioceses to make sure that the inhabitants of each community practiced the proper maintenance of the instruments of the faith, and they also checked to see that each *cofradía* had livestock or other property to properly fund festivals and festival masses.²¹⁹ These bishops, other diocesan officials, and *audiencia* officials could visit correspondence communities because Northwestern New Spain had an extensive road network between these towns and Guadalajara, but their travels were not always easy.

²¹⁷ The complete name of Mota y Escobar’s work is *Descripción geográfica de los reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo León*. The AHAG had the extensive visitation records of Bishop Ruiz Comenero’s 1648-49 visit, but these have been lost. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 48-49.

²¹⁸ Lundberg, 80.

²¹⁹ AHAG, *Visitas Pastorales*, 1666; AHAG, *Visitas Pastorales*, 1678-1679.

Indigenous peoples in the region had created a road network built and maintained exclusively for foot traffic.²²⁰ However, Europeans had other needs, and they expanded the most important Pre-Columbian roads to accommodate horses, mule teams, carts, and wagons. They also built new roads especially after the discovery of silver in Zacatecas in 1546 and the need to connect this region to Mexico City and Guadalajara.²²¹ Over time, labor drafts constructed a road network that was somewhat precarious because even principal roads between Guadalajara and Zacatecas represented little more than a chain of links between individual villages and towns that could be threatened by inclement weather or Indigenous raids.²²² Nonetheless, by the seventeenth century, the extensive network of roads facilitated the flow of trade, tribute, and knowledge between Guadalajara, convents, *reales de minas* (mining communities), and correspondence communities.

Guadalajara had three roads to Zacatecas: a northeastern one, a northwestern one, and a northern one (Map 2-5).²²³ The northeastern road went from Guadalajara east to Teocaltiche and

²²⁰ Carl Sauer, *The Road to Cibola Ibero-Americana* (1932), 3. Ross Hassig, *Trade, Tribute, and Transportation in the Aztec Empire: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

²²¹ Ross Hassig mentions that Indigenous depopulation had a strong impact on road construction and improvement after epidemic episodes in Central Mexico in *Trade, Tribute and Transportation*. African slaves were probably also used in this manner.

²²² Daniel T. Reff's *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* explains the changes faced by Indigenous peoples in the face of epidemics in a Northwestern New Spain that includes the American Southwest and the Mexican states of Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, and Chihuahua.

²²³ Map 2-5 was adapted from a photograph of a model of the state of Jalisco made of sticks and held at BPEJ-JJA. The topographic technique utilized to construct the model is known as *Pixeleo Individual Manual Autónomo en Tercera Dimensión*; it was developed by Margarita Eulogia Sánchez Alejándrez (1926-2005) from information provided by Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI). Different people participated in its creation. They are Ernesto Sánchez Parbul, José Luis Sánchez Miranda, Aurora Sánchez Miranda, Victorio Sánchez Madrigal, Emilio Sánchez Arévalo, and students from the communities of Tamazula, Ciudad Guzmán, and Casimiro Castillo.

north to Zacatecas, and it was the most popular route because its gradual inclines made it suitable for carts and mule trains.²²⁴ It first went east to San Pedro and Tonalá before arriving at Tololotlán, where travelers faced La Barranca Canyon and the Grande de Santiago River, but they could follow this road to traverse the former, and they could cross the river by either relying on the large canoes of the friars of Tonalá or those of the Indigenous inhabitants of Tololotlán.²²⁵ On the other side, the road began again and crossed Zapotlán, Tecpatitlán, and Jalostotitlán before reaching Teocaltiche, which was twenty-one leagues from Guadalajara and twenty-six leagues from Zacatecas.²²⁶ San Gaspar was on or close to the road between Jalostotitlán and Teocaltiche.²²⁷ After Teocaltiche, this road went for ten leagues before reaching the *presidio* of Aguascalientes and continued for eighteen more leagues before reaching Zacatecas.²²⁸

²²⁴ The writer of the RG of *Teocaltiche* writes that his informants told him it was more *llano* (level) rather than mountainous. Acuña, 302-303. Mota y Escobar asserts that it was the most level and first among the three roads to Zacatecas. Mota y Escobar, 125.

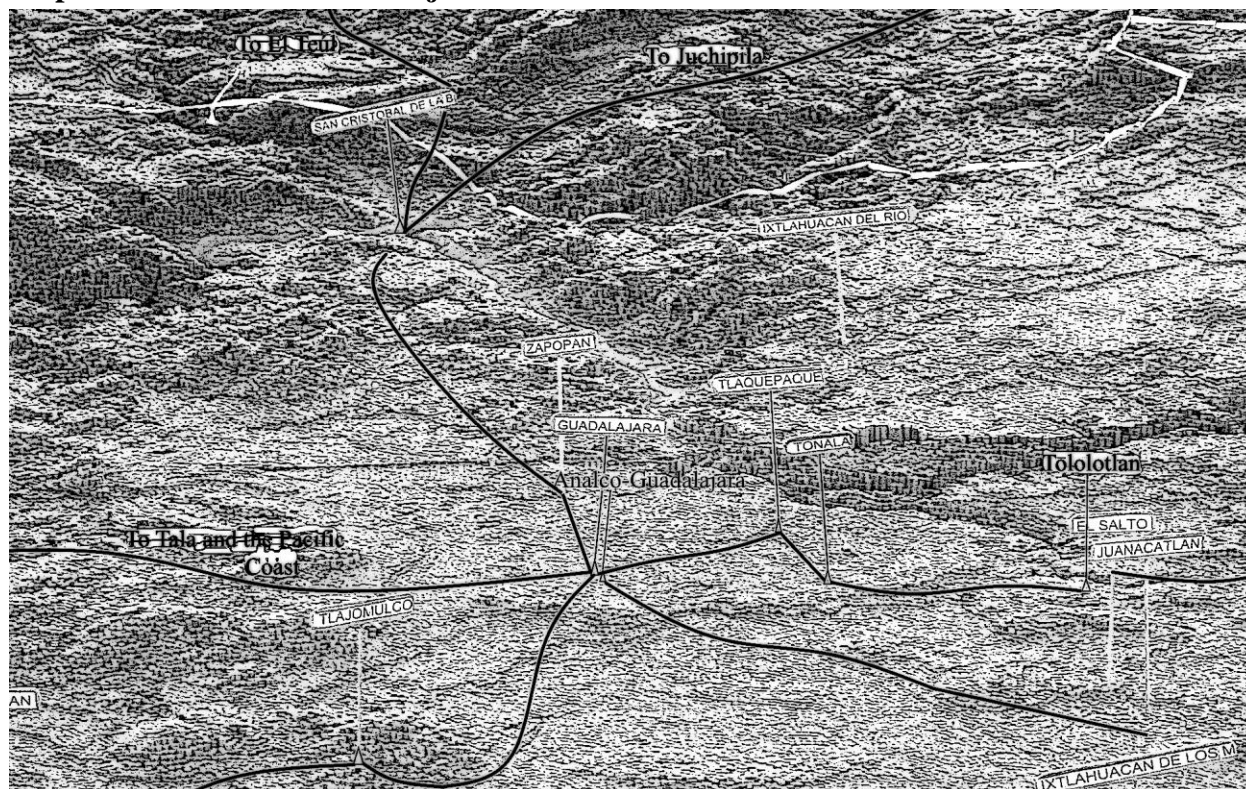
²²⁵ Arregui does not identify which inhabitants of Tololotlán owned these canoes made of hollowed pine trees. Juanacatlán was south of Tololotlán, but it does not appear to have been on the royal road perhaps because it was next to a very turbulent waterfall. Arregui, 113. Neither Alonzo de la Mota y Escobar nor Ciudad Real mention Juanacatlán (or Jonacatlán), but Arregui asserts that it was a *doctrina* of Ocotlán. Arregui, 62.

²²⁶ Leagues are used in this study for comparisons and not as an exact measurement. The notary of the RG of *Teocaltiche* estimates this distance and asserts that it was considered the halfway point between Guadalajara and Zacatecas. Acuña, 302. Mota y Escobar asserts that the distance from Teocaltiche to Zacatecas was twenty-eight leagues. Mota y Escobar, 125.

²²⁷ Mota y Escobar writes that San Gaspar was three leagues ahead on a river that passed by Jalostotitlán, but he does not mention the royal road so that it is not clear about whether San Gaspar was connected to it. Mota y Escobar, 117-119.

²²⁸ Mota y Escobar, 125.

Map 2-5: Roads from Guadalajara



The northwestern road was rougher, but it remained in use throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It went north and west from Guadalajara for some seven leagues until La Barranca and the village of San Juan, where rafts took travelers across the Grande de Santiago River.²²⁹ Afterwards, it started again at San Cristobal de la Barranca and continued northwest climbing and descending to enter the basin of Tlaltenango, which was bound by the Tepeque Mountains to the west and the Mixtón Mountains to the east.²³⁰ Then, it reached El Teul after eleven leagues and turned northwest to skirt the Tlaltenango River reaching Tlaltenango

²²⁹ Mota y Escobar, 132.

²³⁰ Mota y Escobar writes that La Barranca was two leagues long at this point. Mota y Escobar, 132. Arregui explains that the full name of this town was San Cristóbal de la Barranca because of this town's position within La Barranca. Arregui, 115.

after seventeen leagues, Jerez after twenty-one leagues, and Zacatecas after six or seven leagues.²³¹

The northern road to Zacatecas changed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1604, it went half a league from Guadalajara to Ixcatlan, which was in La Barranca Canyon and next to the Grande de Santiago River.²³² After this natural break, the road went east of the Mixtón Mountains passing several Indigenous towns including Juchipila before continuing on to Zacatecas.²³³ However, the first leg of this road changed by 1621, as travelers stopped going to Ixcatlan in favor of the San Cristobal de la Barranca route, which then split into the northwestern and northern roads to Zacatecas.²³⁴ The northern and northeastern roads to Zacatecas were also connected by an east-west road that started at Teocaltiche and went east for about four leagues before arriving at Nochistlan.²³⁵ Then, it went for five leagues around several gorges before arriving at Juchipila.²³⁶

²³¹ Mota y Escobar documents the road from Jerez to Zacatecas as being seven leagues. Mota y Escobar, 138. The writer of the RG of *Jerez* writes that it was six leagues. Acuña, 139. The writer of the RG of Tlaltenango writes that the distance between Tlaltenango and Jerez was about fifteen leagues. Acuña, 145. Mota y Escobar writes that it was seven leagues from Tlaltenango to Colotlan, five leagues from Colotlan to Guajucar, and six leagues between Guajucar and Jerez for a total of eighteen leagues. Mota y Escobar, 133, 135, 136.

²³² Mota y Escobar, 126.

²³³ Mota y Escobar writes that Ixtlahuacan was two leagues away from this crossing and that the next towns were Tlacotlan, Mezquituta, and Moyagua. Mota y Escobar, 127-128. The writer of the RG of Nochistlan writes that the road from Guadalajara to Nochistlan was rough. Acuña, 172. Mota y Escobar writes that after Juchipila, Aposol was one league, Atotonilco was half a league, Jalpa was five leagues, Mecatabaso was three leagues, and Zacatecas was eighteen leagues for a total of twenty-seven and a half leagues. Mota y Escobar, 129.

²³⁴ The northwestern one was the El Teul-Tlaltenango-Jerez route and the northern one was the Juchipila-Zacatecas route. Arregui, 116.

²³⁵ *Relaciones geográficas del siglo xvi: Nueva Galicia*, 305.

²³⁶ Mota y Escobar, 129.

Zacatecas forms only a peripheral part of this study despite its importance as a mining and trading center, but it had a road to Nombre de Dios.²³⁷ This road was hazardous because it ascended and descended several mountains in the Western Sierra Madre Range. It first went nine leagues north to the mining town of Fresnillo, twelve leagues to Saín, seven leagues to Sombrerete, three leagues to the Xuchil Valley, and seven leagues before arriving at Nombre de Dios.²³⁸

Guadalajara also had a northwestern road that went to communities on or close to the Pacific Coast. This road skirted many mountains and descended into many valleys as it went south of La Barranca Canyon and south of El Gran Nayar before connecting with the road that ran along the Pacific Coast from Compostela to San Miguel de Culiacan and beyond. It left Guadalajara to arrive at Ocotlan after three leagues and continued for four leagues to Tala.²³⁹ Then, its trajectory began to get rougher as it neared the Indigenous town of Tequila, which was one league south of La Barranca Canyon and less than a league northwest of the hill of Tequila.²⁴⁰ Afterwards, it climbed and descended to enter the highland Basin of Izatlan where it went to La Magdalena from which travelers could reach three other correspondence communities: Ahualulco, Etzatlan, and Oconahuac.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Mota y Escobar judges that Zacatecas was eighty leagues from Mexico City. Mota y Escobar, 148. Also, P.J. Bakewell's *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico-Zacatecas* and Dana Velasco Murillo's "Urban Indians in a Silver City, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1806" focus on Zacatecas.

²³⁸ Mota y Escobar, 173-176.

²³⁹ Mota y Escobar estimates seven leagues from Guadalajara to Tala, three leagues from Guadalajara to Ocotlan and four leagues from Ocotlan to Tala. Mota y Escobar, 71. Arregui writes that it was about nine leagues. Arregui, 71.

²⁴⁰ Arregui, 73.

²⁴¹ Mota y Escobar, 74; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 156; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España* 185.

The stretch after La Magdalena became the principal route from the interior of Northwestern New Spain to the Pacific coastal lowlands.²⁴² This road went from La Magdalena to the Indigenous town of Mochitiltic and then continued over the Tepeque Mountains, which had several canyons, including one known as El Puerto (the Mountain Pass), before arriving at the Indigenous town of Ixtlan, which was on a branch of the Ameca River and within the fertile highland Valley of Aguacatlan.”²⁴³ Ixtlan had two roads to Analco, a correspondence community only a league from Tepic. The northern route went from Ixtlan to Xala, over the northern edge of the active Ceboruco Volcano, southwest to Tetitlan, and northeast to Tequepechpan and Zapotlanejo before arriving at Analco.²⁴⁴ The first portion of the southern route was a good road because it was mostly flat, and it connected the towns of Ixtlan, Mezpan, and Ahuacatlan before going around the Xala Volcano to arrive at Tetitlan.²⁴⁵ At this point, travel became tougher for the remaining five leagues as the road passed five or six streams and several ravines before Analco, a hub where the Guadalajara-Magdalena-Analco road met the Pacific road that went

²⁴² Sauer suggests that this road dates to pre-Columbian times, and that Indigenous guides showed it to the Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventure expedition, and that it became a royal road. He also asserts that the Southern Pacific Railroad followed this same road. Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*, 4. Robert C. West and James J. Parsons posit that Europeans have regularly used this road since at least 1530. West and Parsons, “The Topia Road: a trans-Sierran trail of colonial Mexico,” 497.

²⁴³ Arregui, Ciudad Real, and Mota y Escobar all describe the portion between Mochitiltic and Ixtlan as an especially difficult journey. Arregui, 78; Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 107; Mota y Escobar, 75. Sauer posited that despite its ruggedness, the route from La Magdalena to Ixtlan was the least complicated way to reach the Pacific Coast. Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*, 4-5. Gerhard also describes the Magdalena road. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 60.

²⁴⁴ This portion of road was bad because it was littered by many volcanic rocks. Arregui, 80. Ciudad Real explains that this road traversed several small cliffs and streams. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 112. Gerhard writes that the Aguacatlan Valley straddles the volcanic divide between the Rio Grande de Santiago and the Ameca River. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 60. Mota y Escobar mentions a Yora which may refer to the Xora of Arregui. Mota y Escobar, 77.

²⁴⁵ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 123-124.

from Xalisco and Compostela to Acaponeta, Guaxicori, Quihuiquinta, and San Miguel de Culiacan.²⁴⁶

Guadalajara had three roads that went south. A southeastern road left Guadalajara by first going east on a stone bridge across the San Juan de Dios River to nearby Analco-Guadalajara, and then southeast to Atotonilco where it split into two branches: one to Poncitlan and the other to Chapala.²⁴⁷ The Poncitlan route passed at least one stone bridge before arriving at this town and continuing to Mexico City, and this route from Guadalajara to Mexico became known as “el camino de las barcas (road of the rafts)” because it required two portages: once across the Grande de Santiago River close to Poncitlan and another one across the Lerma River farther south.²⁴⁸ The camino de las barcas was on the boundary between Nueva Galicia and Nueva España, and it was dangerous because it climbed, and its width narrowed going around the northeastern portion of Lake Chapala, where travelers walked with cliff walls on one side and a steep drop-off on the other.²⁴⁹ The other branch was more forgiving; it turned west at Santa Cruz and entered the province of Ávalos at San Francisco Chapalac, continued around Lake

²⁴⁶ I propose that the road went to Analco. Sauer proposes that the road went from Magdalena to Tetitlan to Compostela. However, he relied on Tello and Mota Padilla who were secondary sources for his description of the sixteenth century road from Guadalajara to Cibola because he did not have the better account of Ciudad Real. Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*, 4, 5, 59. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 123.

²⁴⁷ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 90.

²⁴⁸ Ciudad Real wrote, “Por aquel pueblo [Poncitlan] es el camino derecho para ir desde México a Guadalajara y llámanle el camino de las barcas, porque en barcas se pasa el Río Grande sobredicho, la una vez antes que entre en la laguna de Chapala y la otra después que ha salido, que no es lejos de Poncitlán...” Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 91. Ciudad Real treated the Grande de Santiago and the Lerma as one river, but I have not. I use Lerma River to denote a long-running river that begins in Toluca and empties into Chapala Lake and the Grande de Santiago as the river that begins at Chapala Lake and empties into the Pacific Ocean from Nayarit.

²⁴⁹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 91.

Chapala until Jocotepec where it went south to Teocuitatlan. Then, it went southeast to Mazamitla and Jiquilpan, two towns in the Diocese of Michoacan.²⁵⁰

Guadalajara had a second road to Chapala. It went from Guadalajara to Toluquilla before arriving at Cajititlan, north of Lake Cajititlan.²⁵¹ Then, it turned east to skirt Lake Cajititlan for three leagues before turning south to enter Chapala.²⁵²

Guadalajara's third southern road was known as the upper road, and it connected Guadalajara to Tlajomulco and passed through the province of Ávalos before arriving at Mazamitla, an Indigenous town in the Diocese of Michoacan. This road went south from Guadalajara for a distance and turned southwest to pass over several wooden bridges that enabled it to traverse a swampy region, and then, it made a reasonable climb and descent before arriving at Tlajomulco.²⁵³ The distance between Guadalajara and Tlajomulco was four regular leagues or three long leagues.²⁵⁴ Afterwards, it went southwest through two steep *cuestas* before arriving at Zacoalco in Ávalos.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Ciudad Real writes that the road from Jiquilpan to Mazamitla climbed and went around many cliffs before arriving at Mazamitla. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 86-87, 153-154.

²⁵¹ Mota y Escobar writes that it was three leagues long. Mota y Escobar, 59.

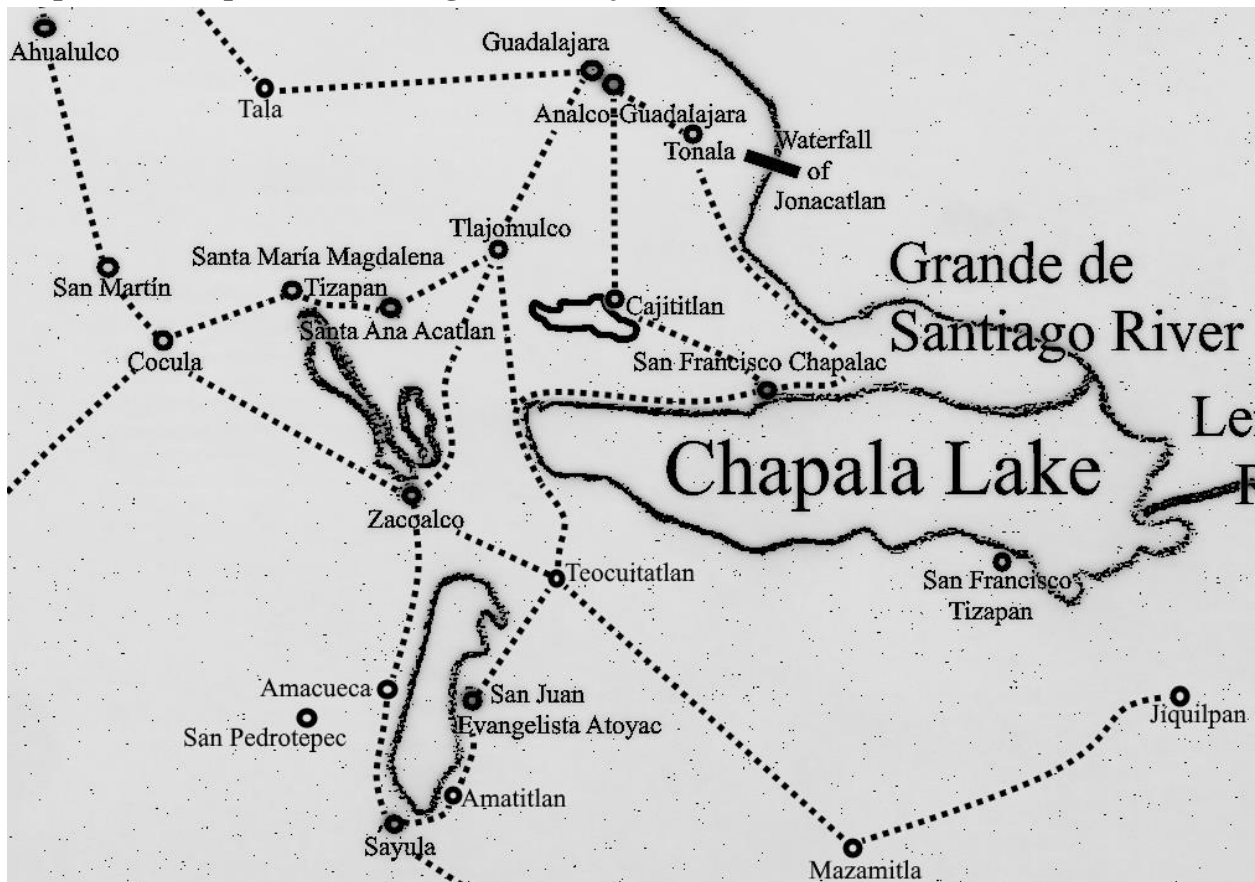
²⁵² Mota y Escobar, 59.

²⁵³ Ciudad Real mentions going from Tlajomulco to Guadalajara twice with Fray Alonzo Ponce. First, on the afternoon of January 13, 1585, they went from Tlajomulco to Guadalajara climbing and descending a reasonable incline and passing over many small bridges that facilitated travel over a swampy area before Guadalajara. Ciudad Real, Vol. I, 30. Ciudad Real and Ponce also went from Guadalajara to Tlajomulco on December 31, 1586 and January 1, 1587, and Ciudad Real again mentioned taking a road that relied on some wooden bridges to go over some springs and swamps and passed a good-sized hill before arriving in Tlajomulco. Ciudad Real, Vol. II 99.

²⁵⁴ Ciudad Real judged the distance as between Guadalajara and Tlajomulco as four regular leagues, and Arregui estimated it as three long leagues. Ciudad Real, Vol. I, 30; Arregui, 69.

²⁵⁵ Ciudad Real affirmed that it was five leagues and mentioned the *cuestas*. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 153-154. Mota y Escobar asserted six leagues, and he did not mention the *cuestas*, but he commented that both Tlajomulco and Zacoalco had many nearby hills with wild game. Mota y Escobar, 61-62.

Map 2-6: Principal Roads through Tala, Tlajomulco, and Ávalos



Tlajomulco was not as central to Northwestern New Spain as Guadalajara, but it did serve as an important road hub because it had three roads in addition to the upper road (Map 2-6). Ciudad Real noted a lower road that was a route that went from Tlajomulco south to several towns including Tuxcueca, a town on the southern edge of Ávalos, before arriving at Jiquilpan. It was a dangerous and difficult road because it traversed many slopes, and its surface was narrow and often covered with loose rocks.²⁵⁶ The second road went to Zacoalco for five or six leagues, and it crossed two slopes.²⁵⁷ The third road connected Tlajomulco to Cocula, a hub in

²⁵⁶ Ciudad Real preferred the upper road. Ciudad Real, Vol. I, 28.

²⁵⁷ Ciudad Real II, 153.

Ávalos, and it passed by a hot spring, a lake, Santa María Magdalena Tizapan, and a windmill before arriving at Cocula.²⁵⁸

Ávalos had many road hubs, but the most prominent ones were Cocula, Zacualco, Sayula, and Santa Ana Acatlan. Cocula had the Tlajomulco-Guadalajara road and three others: a northwestern road to La Magdalena, a southwestern one that went to Zacualco, and another one to Autlan that eventually reached Colima. Zacualco had five roads: the Cocula road, the Tlajomulco road, a road to Teocuitatlan, a road to Sayula, and a road to Santa Ana Acatlan, which had roads to Tlajomulco, and Cocula.²⁵⁹ Sayula had three roads: the road to Teocuitatlan, a southern one that went to Zapotlan, and a northern one that went to Zacualco. The southern road went to Axomaxac and San Sebastian before crossing several bridges that allowed it to reach the large town of Zapotlan, which was disputed between the Dioceses of Guadalajara and Michoacán.²⁶⁰

These roads channeled traffic, tribute, and information from the Indigenous hinterlands through some hubs and to Guadalajara, where Europeans held the highest positions of power. The viceregal administrators relied on these roads to visit the king's subjects and relied on interpreters to communicate with them. Some of these translators were European clerics, others were Nahuas, and others belonged to a variety of indigenous groups and cultures.

²⁵⁸ Ciudad Real II, 103.

²⁵⁹ The road to Teocuitatlan continued past Mazamitla and Jiquilpan. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 154. Both Ciudad Real and Mota y Escobar mention the importance of Zayula, but only the former writes about the road between them. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 149-150; Mota y Escobar, 61.

²⁶⁰ Ciudad Real wrote that the people of Zapotlan, “caen en el obispado de Michoacán y en la jurisdicción de [audiencia de] México, pero son de la parte de Xalisco [Diocese of Jalisco, aka Diocese of Guadalajara].” Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 148. Zapotlan is now known as Ciudad Guzmán.

2.3. The Colonial Past of Western New Spain: Indigenous Peoples

Peoples of African descent, Europeans, and *castas* dominated portions of Northwestern New Spain during the period of this study. They lived in the larger European-controlled settlements like Guadalajara and in smaller settlements such as Aguascalientes, Compostela, Lagos, and Sayula, but Indigenous people represented the majority of the population. Some of these Indigenous people lived in semi-permanent *rancherías*, but most of them lived in towns that appear in the historical record. I use the historical record, rather than “upstreaming,” to summarize what is known about Indigenous towns at different points in time.²⁶¹ This survey begins with the *Relaciones Geográficas* of the late sixteenth century (1579, 1584, and 1585) and the chronicle of Ciudad Real (1587) continues with the early seventeenth-century reports of Mota y Escobar (1602-1605); and ends with the works of either Arregui (1621), Tello (1650), Arias y Saavedra (1674), or Mota y Padilla (1742) depending on the group and its correspondence communitie(s).²⁶²

²⁶¹ Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Richard White, and Pekka Hämäläinen have employed upstreaming in slightly different ways. Evelyn Hu-DeHart notes that even William N. Fenton who proposed “upstreaming” cautioned its use, and she defines this term as the reading into the past what is known about the present to reconstruct Indigenous societies. Hu-DeHart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians: Spanish Contact with the Yaqui Nation of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1981), xii-xiii. White describes upstreaming as a technique of using ethnologies of present-day or nineteenth-century Indigenous groups to interpret Indigenous societies of the past. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 12. Hämäläinen has expanded it somewhat and refers to the way that a scholar, “works back from more recent and more complete ethnological observations to decipher practices and behaviors of earlier periods.” Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 13.

²⁶² My study focuses more on what the Nahuatl documents reveal about the historic actions of Indigenous groups, but other writers have relied on some of these same sources to analyze these peoples from an anthropological perspective. Ralph L. Beals wrote “The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1750,” and he relied on some of these sources to present the practices shared by Indigenous groups north of what is now Nayarit. Meanwhile, Edward Spicer wrote *Cycles of Conquest* to show the martial interactions between Europeans and Indigenous groups, and he classified the latter on a continuum from the “eastern Pueblo villages” to the “food-gathering bands,” of the Seri, and concludes that most of the others like the Mayo, Yaqui, Lower Pimas, and Opatas were “*rancheria*-dwelling peoples” who were somewhere in between.

2.3a. Chichimecs

The *Relaciones Geograficas* present a picture of loss in Northwestern New Spain, especially in responses to the fifth question that asks if there were many or few Indigenous people, whether the region had more or less people than in previous times, and whether the cause of the population loss was known (Table 2-3).²⁶³ The Indigenous elites of Teucaltiche answer, “this town and the others of this province had many more Indigenous people than in the present [1585] because this town had more than a thousand men of war, and in the present, there aren’t two hundred.” In other words, Teucaltiche and nearby towns had less than twenty percent of the warriors in 1585 than what they had had before the arrival of Europeans and Africans. The *Relación of Ameca* tells a similar story. In 1579, the Indigenous elites of Ameca respond that, in this town “and its *sujetos* (subject towns) there aren’t more than one hundred and ninety three *tributarios de cuenta* (householders) and...some three hundred souls... [but] when the Spaniards arrived, there were more than two thousand fighting Indians...” Here the notary and/or the Indigenous informants use—souls, tributaries, and fighting Indians—to describe the Indigenous population in Ameca, which makes it harder to estimate. Nevertheless, one could judge *tributarios de cuenta* and fighting Indigenous people to be comparable because both tended to be heads of households. By doing that, one arrives at the conclusion that Ameca retained around ten percent (ca. 9.65%) of its heads of household from a pre-Conquest level.

Table 2-3: Populations in Northwestern New Spain

Name of Region (late 1500s)	Name of Town	Population (1579-1585)	Remembered Population
--------------------------------	--------------	------------------------	--------------------------

²⁶³ Acuña, 18. This table relies on the RG of Ameca, the RG of Amula-Tuscacuesco, the RG of Compostela, the RG of Villa de Jerez y Valle de Tlaltenango, the RG of Nochistlan, the RG of Villa de la Purificación, the RG of Tenamaztlan, and the RG of Teocaltiche. Acuña, 30-31, 34, 72, 88-89, 144-145, 167, 211, 278-279, 301.

Ameca	Ameca	193 tributaries, 300 souls	2,000 fighting Indigenous people
Amula	Tuscacuesco	10 or 12 <i>vecinos</i>	Many more
Compostela	Compostela	600 <i>vecinos</i>	Many more
Villa de Jerez y Valle de Taltenango	Different unnamed towns	3,000 people	Many more
Mines of Tepeque and the Town of Nochistlan	Nochistlan and its subject towns	252 tributaries	4,000 Indigenous people
Villa de la Purificación	Most populated town	Less than 40 Indigenous people	Many more
Tenamaztlan	Towns in the region	860 tributaries; 2500 total	Twice more
Teocaltiche	Teucaltiche	Less than 200 warriors	More than 1,000 warriors

Despite this depopulation, Spanish and Indigenous writers mention a large variety of Indigenous groups in Northwestern New Spain.²⁶⁴ In their most basic classification, they refer to Indigenous people as *chichimecs*, a Hispanicized Nahuatl term that was roughly analogous to barbarian, but which they used for non-Christian Indigenous people. The clearest example is from the writer of “1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo” who records how a priest accused the residents of Coahuatlan of being Chichimecs and not Christians. Also, Ciudad Real notes that the Indigenous people who lived west of Huaynamota, “did not give themselves over to idolatries as did those in other regions [of Northwestern New Spain], but they are secret highwaymen and they favor the Guachichil *chichimecs*, with whom they are sent by the nobles, and [with whom] they make their assaults.” Another European writes that Nochistlan was “a land of war where *chichimecs*, Indigenous robbers who have rebelled, travel.”²⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Indigenous notaries in Northwestern New Spain also employed *chichimec* to refer to a non-Christian Indigenous people. The notary of “1593a Oconahua” claims “*acmo tichichimeca ticristiyanotin*” (we are no longer

²⁶⁴ Indigenous groups were survivors of many plague episodes including two major ones—1545-1548 and 1578-1579—that drastically reduced Indigenous populations throughout Northwestern New Spain, a region that includes the region in my study. Reff, 97-179.

²⁶⁵ Acuña, 171.

Chichimecs, we are Christians), and that of “1572 Xalisco” writes that this town’s elites regarded the Chichimecs as enemies and hung them due to the instructions of Domingo Arteaga.²⁶⁶

Nonetheless, these and other sources also refer to more distinct Indigenous groups with Nahuatl or Spanish names.

2.3b. Bapames

Ruiz Colmenero classifies Tachichilco as Bapame, and he translates this term as the “*floridos*,” but very little information exists about this group.²⁶⁷ Alberto Santoscoy classifies the Bapame as speakers of Otomí, because of the *Descripción de Zapotitlán, Tuscacuezco y Cusalapa* (1579) by the Alcalde Mayor Francisco de Agüero.²⁶⁸ However, Yáñez Rosales relies on a document known as “*Visitación que se hizo en la conquista, donde fue por capitán Francisco Cortés (1525)*” to counter that “Otomí” generally meant non-Nahua and did not necessarily refer to the ethnic group.²⁶⁹

2.3c. Cazcanes or Tochos

The Cazcanes appear to be one of the few Nahua groups native to western Mexico because their language of Cazcan is often recorded as either being a rough variant of the *lengua*

²⁶⁶ Thomas Calvo, Eustaquio Celestino, Magdalena Gómez, Jean Meyer, and Ricardo Xochitemol, *Xalisco, la voz de un pueblo en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Ciesas, 1993), 81.

²⁶⁷ Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” *Obras completas* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1986), 1049-1050.

²⁶⁸ Santoscoy, “Observaciones Acerca de la Nómima de las Lenguas Indígenas que se Hablan en el Obispado de Guadalajara,” in *Obras completas* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1986), 1069.

²⁶⁹ Yáñez Rosales, “*Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de Padua tlaxomulco ‘En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco’ Textos en lengua náhuatl, siglos XVII y XVIII*,” 35.

Mexicana (Nahuatl), or its speakers are described as speaking the *lengua Mexicana* along with their own.²⁷⁰ Ciudad Real identifies the Cazcanes with the town of Juchipila and writes that they spoke a language similar to the *lengua mexicana*.²⁷¹ The notary of the RG of Nochistlan notes, “and it is one tongue in all of this province and valley [of Nochistlan], which is called *cazcana*, and the common one in which they all speak, is *mexicana*,” and the notary of the RG of Tlaltenango explains, “in their understandings and interactions, they speak the *lengua mexicana*, and their natural one is the *lengua cazcana*.”²⁷² Furthermore, Tello identifies the Cazcanes as *mexicanos rústicos* (rustic Mexicas) when comparing them to the Mexica-Nahua. Tello writes, “the devil told the *principales mexicanos* (Mexica elites), that their service was necessary to conquer the valleys of Tlaltenango, Teul, Juchipila, and Teocaltiche, and that they should populate them with the *mexicanos rústicos* ...who did not speak the *lengua mexicana* in as polished and cultured a way [as the Mexicas].”²⁷³ Therefore, the Cazcanes were a Nahua group whose Nahuatl was judged to be more rough and rustic than that of the Nahuas from central Mexico, and although these sources suggest that they mainly inhabited the valleys of Tlaltenango, Juchipila, Nochistlan, and Teocaltiche; they were also present in the *corregimientos* of Xala, Ahuacatlan, Ameca, and Izatlan.

²⁷⁰ Harvey proposed that Cazcan was closely associated with Nahuatl, and now, scholars like Sullivan and Yáñez Rosales agree. Harvey, “The Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-1586: Native Languages” in *Handbook of Middle American Indians* Vol 12 (1972), 300.

²⁷¹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 98.

²⁷² Acuña, 145, 167-168.

²⁷³ Phil Weigand and Acelia G. de Weigand first rely on this passage to propose that Tello combines a narrative of the southern expansion of the Cazcanes with a narrative of the Aztec march toward Mesoamerica, and they then propose that the sources suggest that Tuitlan was La Quemada. Weigand and Weigand, *Los orígenes de los cazcanes y su relación con la guerra de los nayaritas. Una hipótesis* (Zapopan, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995), 41, 44-45. I agree with their first proposition, but I can not yet agree to his identification of Tuitlan with La Quemada.

During the 1570s and 1580s, the Cazcanes directly ruled towns in the valleys of Ameca, Juchipila, Nochistlan, and Tlaltenango.²⁷⁴ However, by the mid-seventeenth century, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero only characterized Ajijic as a Cazcan town and classified Nochistlan, San Juan del Teul, Ahualulco (aka Ayahualulco) and La Magdalena as Tocho towns.²⁷⁵ What happened? The Mexican scholars Manuel Orozco y Berra, Santoscoy, and José Dávila Garibi suggest that Cazcan and Tocho referred to the same group of people, and an examination of these terms supports their assertion.²⁷⁶

The Indigenous town of El Teul (or San Juan del Teul) is the key because it was a short distance north of their holiest place which was known as *Tuychi*, a large hill that contained a natural spring and masonry structures that included a ball court.²⁷⁷ *Tuychi* is composed of *tu-*, which is a variant of *to-* (our), and *ychi* which is probably related to *ichtli*, which he defines as “cerro o copo de maguey,” which means “a bunch or mound of maguey thread” so that *Tuychi* literally means “our mound of maguey thread” and metaphorically means “our hill that shelters us.”²⁷⁸ This supposition is supported by the Cazcanes from Ameca who claim through an

²⁷⁴ The RGs of Ameca, Nuchiztlan, Taltenango, and Teocaltiche (*apud* Acuña 10) identify these areas as being under Cazcan control in the late sixteenth century.

²⁷⁵ Santoscoy refers to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero’s *visita* journal. Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1049. Santoscoy mentioned Ocho communities, but I propose that he meant to write Tocho, and he uses Ahualulco as an alternate spelling of Ayahualulco. Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051. Also, the notary of the Relación geográfica of Ameca wrote that this town was populated by Cazcanes and Totonacs. Acuña, 32.

²⁷⁶ Santoscoy, “Observaciones Acerca de la Nómina de las Lenguas Indígenas que se Hablan en el Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1070; Orozco y Berra, quoted in “Observaciones Acerca de la Nómina de las Lenguas Indígenas que se Hablan en el Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1069.

²⁷⁷ Acuña, 146-147. Tello writes Tuix ó Teul when naming towns belonging to Tochos or Cazcanes. Tello, Book II, 354.

²⁷⁸ The words *ichcatl* (cotton, sheep), *ichcahuipilli* (cotton armor),” and *ixcle* (maguey or pita thread) appear to be derivations of plants that Nahuas relied on to weave. Molina writes that *ichtli* means “cerro o topo.” Alonso de Molina, 32. Forrest Brewer and Jean G. Brewer learned that in the Nahuatl of Tetelcingo *ixcle* refers to a thread of pita or maguey. Brewer and Brewer in Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman, OK:

interpreter that *Cazcan* meant, “those from atop the hill of the *mogote*”.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, *Tocho* was probably a hispanization of *Tuychi* through the process of *Tuychi* → *Toychi* → *Toyche* for the place, and *Toyche* → *Toycho* → *Tocho* for the people.²⁸⁰ Finally, in 1650, Salcedo y Herrera wrote that, in the parish of Tlaltenango, the Indigenous people spoke *tocho*, which was also their given name and adds that it was a *mexicano tosco* (rustic Nahuatl) that they mixed with some Spanish words.”²⁸¹

Cazcanes from Nochistlan, San Francisco Juchipila, San Francisco Ahualulco, La Magdalena, and perhaps San Gaspar were petitioners in a total of seven or eight documents

University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 93. Also, Ida Altman brings attention to the importance of maguey fields to Indigenous people from Northwestern New Spain when she cites the testimony of some witnesses who testified that, during the Mixtón War, rebels ensconced in the hill-top of Nochistlan offered to negotiate a truce to keep their *tunales* (maguey fields) from being destroyed. Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 169.

²⁷⁹ Acuña, 32. The dictionary of the Real Academia (accessed December 19, 2013 and July 15, 2016) gives five meanings for *mogote*:

cualquier elevación del terreno que recuerde la forma de un monte (any elevation in terrain that resembles a hill)

montón de piedras (bunch of stacked rocks)

montículo aislado y rematado en punta roma (isolated hill that is cone-shaped and has a blunt top)

hacina de forma piramidal (linen organized in pyramidal fashion)

cada una de las dos cuernas de los gamos y venados, desde que les comienzan a nacer hasta que tienen aproximadamente un palmo de largo (each deer antler from the time they begin to grow until reaching a palm in length)

However, *montón de piedras* appears to be the most relevant given the context, “atop the hill of the *mogote*, which the dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy (accessed December 19, 2013 and July 15, 2016) defines as “a bunch of stacked rocks,” Accessed on at lema.rae.es/drae/?val=mogote.

²⁸⁰ I have found four different spellings in published sources. Mota y Escobar writes *Tuich*; the notary of the RG of *Tlaltenango* writes *Tuychi*; Arregui writes “*Toyche*,” and Tello writes “*Tuix*.” Mota y Escobar, 132-133; Acuña, 146-147; Arregui, 117.

²⁸¹ Salcedo y Herrera, Don Francisco Manuel, *Descripción del partido y jurisdicción de Tlaltenango hecha en 1650* (Mexico City: Jose Porrua e Hijos, Sucs., 1958), 49.

(Table 2-4). These were shrunken communities because of the many episodes of disease and war prior to the adoption of Roman alphabetic literacy, but Spanish sources show that the inhabitants of these four towns had persevered, adapted, and developed a diverse material culture by the late

Table 2-4: Cazcan Petitions

Town	Petition(s)	Ethnic identification
Nochistlan	1580a Nochistlan and 1580b Nochistlan	Cazcan (RG of Nochistlan) Tocho (Colmenero)
San Francisco Juchipila	1652 San Francisco Juchipila	Cazcan (RG of Nochistlan and Ciudad Real), Tocho (Colmenero)
San Francisco Ahualulco	1649 San Francisco Ahualulco	Tocho (Colmenero)
La Magdalena (or Santa María Magdalena Xochitepec)	1622 La Magdalena, 1649a La Magdalena, and 1649b La Magdalena	Tocho (Colmenero)

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Cazcanes from Nochistlan grew cotton for clothing, and maguey plants for their medicinal properties and to make syrup, vinegar, and a fermented beverage.²⁸² They grew corn and vegetables and sold their surpluses to Spaniards either within or outside the *tianguiz* (Indigenous market).²⁸³ Meanwhile, those from Juchipila raised chickens and made syrup from the maguey plant and sold it throughout Nueva Galicia.²⁸⁴ They also relied on the Juchipila River to catch catfish and *mojarra* (two-banded sea bream), and they cultivated a very fertile land where they grew corn, wheat, pomegranates, grapes, figs, quince, and nuts.²⁸⁵

Ahualulco and La Magdalena were in Izatlan. Ciudad Real relied on Nahuatl-speaking guides on his travels through Northwestern New Spain, and he wrote that all of the towns of the *guardiania* of Etzatlan, “speak their own language, but all of them understand and speak the

²⁸² The notary of this RG wrote that they made many drinks from *maguey* including syrup, vinegar, and wine. Acuña, 171.

²⁸³ Acuña, 172.

²⁸⁴ Mota y Escobar, 129.

²⁸⁵ Mota y Escobar, 129.

Mexican [language].”²⁸⁶ Was Ciudad Real writing that the language of the *guardiania* of Etzatlan was a variant of Nahuatl used as a native-language or as a *lingua franca*, or were the Franciscans and Nahuatl translators of the convent of Etzatlan very successful in importing Nahuatl of the Basin of Mexico? The documents from Northwestern New Spain may provide an answer.

Ayahualulco had a prosperous economy during the sixteenth century. Ciudad Real gives information that they relied on slash and burn agriculture because he describes how the inhabitants burned their fields for new grass to grow for their herd animals.²⁸⁷ This was a cyclical practice because crows and other animals already knew to wait for the small animals to flee into the open. Mota y Escobar also describes Ayahualulco as a prosperous town inhabited by eighty married Indigenous men who had a variety of subsistence as well as luxury practices.²⁸⁸ They fished and farmed corn, chile, and beans by relying on oxen and on ingenuity, and they also had teams of horses and mules that they used to plow, and other teams as pack animals. They made wine and vinegar from pomegranates, and they also hired themselves out as sugar cane workers and used sugar cane to make syrup and wine.

La Magdalena stood at the important junction between the road from Guadalajara to the Pacific Coast and a southern road to Cocula. Mota y Escobar described it as a *congregación* of the inhabitants of the depopulated town of San Juan and a *doctrina* of Franciscans.²⁸⁹ This makes a certain amount of sense because San Juan had been on an island, and it could not offer travelers

²⁸⁶ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 105.

²⁸⁷ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 105, 128.

²⁸⁸ Mota y Escobar, 74-75.

²⁸⁹ Mota y Escobar, 74-76.

a place to rest before approaching the rugged and dangerous Pass of Mochitiltic on their journey toward the provinces of Acaponeta and Compostela.²⁹⁰ La Magdalena had a diverse economy according to Mota y Escobar.²⁹¹ It had seventy Indigenous *vecinos* who fished and dried their catch to sell throughout Northwestern New Spain. They also hunted ducks, geese, and stork when these were in season. The women relied on reeds and other plants from the lake to make baskets.

The Valley of Teocaltiche differed from most other Cazcan-dominated valleys in several ways. First, its Indigenous inhabitants had a dispensation from the Audiencia of Guadalajara to own horses that they could buy as colts to break and ride, and some Indigenous people also relied on oxen to plow their lands.²⁹² Second, Teocaltiche was the dominant Indigenous settlement in the region, but it faced the growing power of a nearby Spanish settlement, Lagos. Teocaltiche housed some Spaniards because it was the administrative center of the region due, in part, to its location halfway between Guadalajara and Zacatecas and its centralized location in Los Llanos.²⁹³ Its inhabitants harvested corn, beans, cotton, squash, and maguey in enough quantities that Spaniards regularly tried to buy their surpluses to sell to Zacatecas and to surrounding

²⁹⁰ Mota y Escobar, 74. Ciudad Real describes San Juan as a town on an island in one of the lakes of Izatlan populated by more than two hundred Indigenous people who cultivated corn. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 107.

²⁹¹ Mota y Escobar, 74-76.

²⁹² Acuña, 302. Nevertheless, Ahuacatlan was one of the westernmost Cazcan communities, and even though it was not a correspondence community, it had significant horse wealth because Ciudad Real reported being met by some forty Indigenous horsemen and thirty Coano footsoldiers attired with many feathers and carrying bows and arrows. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 125.

²⁹³ Acuña, 302, 304.

mining communities.²⁹⁴ Spaniards wanted this trade because they could sell it for high prices in Zacatecas by relying on the Guadalajara-Teocaltiche-Zacatecas road.²⁹⁵

2.3d. Tecuejes

The Cazcanes shared the region of Teocaltiche with the Tecuejes, who inhabited a large number of communities northeast from the vicinity of Teocaltiche, west to the outskirts of Etzatlan, and south to Guadalajara (Map 2-3). Tello proposes that the Valley of Teocaltiche was inhabited by a number of warlike Indigenous people known as the Tecuejes, and Carolyn Baus de Czitrom accepts his assertion, and posits that the Cazcanes and Tecuejes were disputing the area upon the arrival of Spaniards.²⁹⁶ The name Tecueje itself reveals another piece of information about this group and the region they inhabited.

The notary of the RG of Teocaltiche, Ciudad Real, and fray Tello mention variants of Tecueje. The notary of the RG of Teocaltiche writes that the Cazcanes lived in the Teocaltiche region alongside another Indigenous group that had an unknown tongue and lived in a plateau known as “La Taquëxa,” and he goes on to name many towns without clarifying which towns were on this plateau, and which ones were outside of it.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, Ciudad Real identifies a group with the somewhat similar appellation of “Tecuexas” and claims that they lived alongside

²⁹⁴ Acuña, 301.

²⁹⁵ Acuña, 303.

²⁹⁶ Tello, Vol. II, 206-207; Baus de Czitrom, 24.

²⁹⁷ This notary explains, “dijeron que este pueblo y los demás desta provincia que son este pueblo [de Teocaltiche] y Mechuacanejo, Huexotitlan, Ostatlan, San Gaspar Tlacintla, Mitique, San Juan, Mezcatique, Teucaltitlan, San Miguel Jalostotitlan, Temacapuli, Tecpatitlan, Acatique, Zapotlan, Santa Fe, Zoyatitlan, and Azcatlan...y mucha parte de los dichos pueblos son en una cordillera de tierra llana que llaman la Taquëxa...” Acuña, 304. However, he does not identify which ones were in La Taquëxa Ridge and which were outside of it, but within the province of Teocaltiche.

two other Indigenous groups, Mexican and Coca, in the parish of Guadalajara.²⁹⁸ Tello clarifies the name when writing a seventeenth-century statement about two Franciscan friars who had been based in Tonalá and had entered to proselytize through, “La Tequexa of Mitic, Jalostotitlán, and Tecpatitlán,” and the “Cazcana of Juchipila, Tlaltenango, Teul, Mecatabasco, Nochistlán, and Teocaltiche.”²⁹⁹ Therefore, Tello uses La Cazcana to refer to the land of the Cazcanes and La Tequexa to refer to the land of the Tecuejes (formerly spelled as Tecuexe), and either the Tecuejes gave this ridge its name or the Tecuejes were named after this ridge which formed a crucial part of their homeland.³⁰⁰ San Gaspar was in this region, but it was not as prominent, and sources are unclear as to whether its inhabitants were Cazcanes, Tecuejes, or another group. However, they had a high degree of literacy between 1672 and 1683 because seven different notaries had a hand in crafting its *cofradía* records during this time period, and one of these was Nicolás Alonso, the notary of “1683 San Gaspar.”

Carolyn Baus de Czitrom has written the best study about these people, and she relies on Beaumont, Ciudad Real, Colmenero, and Mota Padilla to propose that the Tecuejes controlled a territory with borders that went east to Mitic and Jalostotitlán, west to the outskirts of the province of Izatlán, and whose heart was between Guadalajara and the junction of the Green and Grande de Santiago Rivers. In Guadalajara, the Tecuejes interacted with various ethnic groups

²⁹⁸ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 94.

²⁹⁹ Tello writes, “fray Antonio de Segovia, que había / poco había venido de España en la segunda barcada que fue de religiosos, y era hijo de la Ilustrísima Provincia de la Concepción, y fray Juan Padilla [mistake: it should be Juan de Badiano], baptizaban y administraban las Provincias de Tonalán, Tlaxomulco, Ocotlán, Atemajac, y entraron por la Tequexa de Mitic, Jalostotitlán, Tecpatitlán y toda la Cazcana, que son los pueblos y cabezeras de Zuchipila, Taltenango, Teul, Mecatabasco, Nochistlán y Theocaltich. Tello, Vol. II, 206-207.

³⁰⁰ I believe that Acuña made an error when he transcribed Taquexa instead of Tequexa.

including Central Mexican Nahuas, and another Indigenous people known as the Cocas.³⁰¹ The Tecuejes also lived alongside the Cocas in correspondence communities like Tlajomulco and Tonalá.³⁰² In Tala, Gerhard posits a Cazcan presence, but Bishop Ruiz Colmenero refers to it as a Tecueje town.³⁰³

Table 2-5: Tecueje Petitions

Town	Petition(s)	Ethnic identification
Cuquío	1642 Cuquío	Tecueje (Ruiz Colmenero <i>apud</i> Santoscoy)
Jalostotitlan	1611 Jalostotitlan, 1618 Jalostotitlan ³⁰⁴	Tecueje (Tello)
Mitic	1618a Mitic, 1618b Mitic, and 1618c Mitic	Tecueje (Tello)
Tala	1600 Tala	Tecueje (Ruiz Colmenero <i>apud</i> Santoscoy)
Tonalá	1656 Tonalá and 1657 Tonalá	Tecueje and Coca (Beaumont)
Tlajomulco	n.y. San Lacel Tlajomulco	Tecueje and Coca (Ciudad Real)

The Tecueje from these towns possessed varying degrees of resources and wealth. During the sixteenth century, the notary of the RG of Teocaltiche writes that the Tecuejes did not communicate with the Cazcanes of Teocaltiche and describes them as a barbarous people.³⁰⁵ A generation later, Mota y Escobar notes that Mitic was a small town and that Tala only had some fifty *vecinos*.³⁰⁶ By 1618, the inhabitants of Jalostotitlan also had horses because, in one petition, their *alcalde* complained that the local priest Francisco Muñoz borrowed them without payment,

³⁰¹ Bauz de Czitrom, 16. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 94.

³⁰² Tello wrote during the seventeenth century, but here he refers to the Cocas that lived during the time of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada*. Fray Pablo Beaumont wrote that Cocas and Tecuejes lived in Tonalá. Tello, Vol. II, 120; Beaumont in Baus de Czitrom, 21.

³⁰³ Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 174.

³⁰⁴ John Sullivan analyzes petitions from Mitic and Jalostotitlan, which are not included in this study. Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhua yn tobiario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618* and “The Jalostotitlan Petitions, 1611-1618.” Baus de Czitrom presents fifty-three Tecueje towns by relying on Beaumont, Ciudad Real, and Tello. She also cites Santoscoy in places where this author cites Ruiz Colmenero, but this is merely a different emphasis on the same sources because the information provided by the former is based on the latter’s visitation accounts. Baus de Czitrom, 19-22.

³⁰⁵ Acuña, 304.

³⁰⁶ Mota y Escobar, 71, 73, 124, 128.

and this town as well as Mitic and Jalostotitlan also had many types of domestic animals because, in another petition, their *alcaldes* accuse Muñoz of appropriating the property of their *cofradías*, which included mules, milk cows, young bulls, and pigs.³⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Arregui writes in 1621 that Tala and its subject towns had eighty-five tributaries who mainly labored cutting wood from nearby hills to sell to Guadalajara, and he notes that the Valley of Tala was the best in the region, and that it had several *haciendas*, the largest of which was Los Çuisillos.³⁰⁸

Tlajomulco and Tonalá were wealthier than Mitic and Jalostotitlan during the seventeenth century, but writers do not mention whether this wealth was owned by Tecuejes or Cocas. Mota y Escobar describes Tonalá as a formerly famous town that only had two hundred Indigenous people in 1602, but he mentions that the inhabitants had nearby springs, raised birds of Castile, owned horses, and harvested corn, chili peppers, beans, and a wide variety of fruits and vegetables that they sold in Guadalajara; Arregui provides less information because he only describes Tonalá as one of the largest towns within the province of Guadalajara and refers to a nearby hot water spring that was famous.³⁰⁹ Meanwhile, Mota y Escobar relates that the inhabitants of Tlajomulco had access to fresh water, fertile lands, and large quantities of *ganado mayor* and *menor* and that they supplied Guadalajara with wheat and meat; and Arregui names it as the largest town with close to two-hundred *vecinos* who were traders and muleteers, and that

³⁰⁷ Sullivan translates both of these petitions. The wording of the second is as follows, “Y con respeto a otro asunto: a usted le pedimos su justicia en relación a nuestro sacerdote Francisco Muñoz para que le embargue su propiedad, su hacienda. Hay mulas y vacas lecheras y novillos y puercos y otras cosas de su propiedad, y sus productos frutales. Es necesario que todo aparezca ante usted, todo lo que es su propiedad. Usted enviará a alguien a indagarlo, porque Francisco Muñoz le debe mucho a la gente por todas partes: en el pueblo y en los hospitales.” Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618*, 18, 34.

³⁰⁸ Arregui, 71.

³⁰⁹ Arregui, 62, 68. Mota y Escobar does not distinguish these Indigenous people as either Tecueje or Coca. Mota y Escobar, 116-117.

two or three Indigenous people were rich because they had three to four thousand pesos.³¹⁰

Arregui also implies that the women made fine woolen goods.³¹¹ Tecuejes and Cocas both lived in these towns, but it is unclear whether the members of each group specialized in certain occupations.

2.3e. Cocas

Apart from Tlajomulco and Tonalá, the Coca inhabited six correspondence communities to the south: Cajititlán, San Andrés Atotonilco, San Juan Evangelista Atoyac, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Francisco Zacoalco, and Santa Ana Acatlán (Table 2-6). These towns were in a region that extended from the parish of Guadalajara south to Lake Chapala, and from Chicnaguatenco west to San Martín.³¹² To date, Baus de Czitrom's *Tecuejes y Cocas: Dos grupos de la región Jalisco en el siglo xvi* is the most comprehensive work about this group.

Table 2-6 : Coca Documents

Towns	Petition(s)	Ethnic Identification
Cajititlán	“1644 Cajititlán”	Coca
San Andrés Atotonilco	“1692 San Andrés Atotonilco,”	Coca
San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	“1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” and “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac”	Coca
San Pedro y San Pablo	“1686 San Pedrotepec,”	Coca
San Francisco Zacoalco	“1629 Zacoalco” and “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco”	Coca
Santa Ana Acatlán	“1664 Santa Ana Acatlán” “1687 Santa Ana Catlán,” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlán”	Coca
Tlajomulco	“n.y. San Cael Tlaximulco.”	Coca/Tecueje
Tonalá	“1656 Tonalá” and “1657 Tonalá,”	Coca/Tecueje

³¹⁰ Mota y Escobar, 62; Arregui, 70.

³¹¹ Arregui, 70.

³¹² Baus de Czitrom, 56. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 94.

More information is known about Coca towns in the province of Poncitlan than in other regions although no Nahuatl documents to date are from this region. Poncitlan had a small convent with an orchard, and fell on the Grande de Santiago River and on the road from Guadalajara to Mexico; Cuitzeo had been known as Coatlan; and Xocotitlan had been a pre-Columbian pilgrimage site and a major market town.³¹³ During the late sixteenth century, the inhabitants of these towns spoke Coca, but some of them also knew Nahuatl.³¹⁴ During the mid-seventeenth century, Atotonilco El Bajo and Poncitlan were Coca towns.³¹⁵

Cocas in Atotonilco El Bajo, Cuitzeo-Coatlan, and Poncitlan met their needs through a variety of strategies during the 1580s.³¹⁶ Cocas fished, harvested beans, raised chickens, and hunted game with bows and arrows, and they harvested corn as a staple that they turned into tamales, tortillas, toasted corn, and made a corn drink mixed with chia. They relied on mesquite and guava trees even as they cultivated and gathered numerous vegetables such as aji and chia and used *maguey* plants to make *pulque*. They also had some old world fruits and vegetables such as cabbage, lettuce, quince, peaches, radishes, and pomegranates. They had markets in which they bought salt from both Izatlan and Ávalos, and although some of them farmed cotton close to Lake Chapala, they also relied on cotton from Colima or Compostela to weave. They

³¹³ Acuña, 183. Ciudad Real mentioned passing by Xocotitlan on May 4, 1587, but he did not describe it in any meaningful way. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 171.

³¹⁴ The notary of the RG Cuiseo and Poncitlan writes that the language of the inhabitants was Coca, but many of the inhabitants also spoke Nahuatl, and in that same year, Ciudad Real notes that the Indigenous inhabitants of Atotonilco, Poncitlan, and other towns in the parish of Poncitlan spoke Coca. Acuña, 182, 196; Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 91.

³¹⁵ Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

³¹⁶ Acuña, 182, 190-194.

paid tribute with money, pottery bowls and cups, cotton cloaks, corn, chickens, and other products of the land.

The notary of the *Relación geográfica of Poncitlan and Cuiseo* also wrote that the Coca from a town named Xamain had, “come from a town named Xocotitlan” and “were the best traders,” implying that other Cocas were traders as well.³¹⁷ Several other sources suggest how the Cocas of Xamain, Poncitlan, Cuitzeo, and adjacent communities had relied on trade since the arrival of Europeans. Francisco de Arceo testifies that, at one point, the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada* (1530-31) divided itself to march on both sides of a large river (the Grande de Santiago) and as they neared a large town in the province of Cuitzeo, Indigenous warriors attacked them from canoes.³¹⁸ Coca inhabitants lived in towns on the Grande de Santiago River from which they could use their canoes to reach communities upriver until the waterfalls of Jonacatlan, or downriver to Lake Chapala and even unto the Lerma River.³¹⁹ Also, the Grande de Santiago was very wide in the Corregimiento of Poncitlan, and it tended to be calm until the waterfalls of

³¹⁷ Acuña, 183.

³¹⁸ Razo Zaragoza transcribed the testimony of Francisco de Arceo and he writes that the name of the province was Cuysco, but I think it reads Cuiseo. Also, Arceo never named the hostile Indigenous people as Cocas, but Baus de Czitrom posits that they were Cocas based on the region and other sources which name the people of this region as Cocas. *Crónicas de la conquista del reino de Nueva Galicia en territorio de la Nueva España*, edited, annotated, and with a prologue by José Luis Razo Zaragoza, and with drawings by José Parres Arias, (Guadalajara, Mexico: H. Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Guadalajara, Instituto Jalisciense de antropología e historia, INAH, 1963), 247.

³¹⁹ Acuña connects the inhabitants of Xocotitlan with the *pochtecas*, the long distance traders that figure so prominently in sources about the Aztec Empire, and Baus de Czitrom (1982: 76) also compares their traders of luxury goods to the *pochteca*. Acuña, 183. Baus de Czitrom emphasizes the wording of the *Relación of Cuiseo*, “no tenían mas de los dichos mercaderes [of Xamain] licencia para entrar y salir donde querian (no one but the said merchants of Xamain had permission to enter and leave where they wanted),” to support her comparison between the Coca merchants and the *pochteca* of Central Mexico. Baus de Czitrom, 76.

Jonacatlan.³²⁰ As a result, the Coca from these towns appear to have accustomed themselves to exploit the advantages of their waterbourne location for trade.

In the seventeenth century, Arregui notes how the Cocas of this region remained traders even as their towns declined in population and importance. Arregui writes that the Indigenous population of Poncitlan had decreased greatly, but that, together with Indigenous people from Ávalos, they gathered the salt that was used in Guadalajara, and they no longer harvested because almost all the Indigenous people from the jurisdiction of Poncitlan fished and sold their catch to the city of Guadalajara on Fridays.³²¹ He also criticizes the Cocas of the *alcaldía mayor* of Poncitlan for not planting and harvesting for themselves, but perhaps there was a dearth of fertile land because, during the dry season, large quantities of *ganado menor* from Querétaro and Michoacan grazed in *estancias* in this province, and at other times, the ground was kept fallow.³²²

Cocas in other regions are less well documented especially during the sixteenth century. Ciudad Real writes that Cocas inhabited communities in the parish of Guadalajara alongside Tecuejes and Mexican Indigenous groups who had accompanied the Spaniards during the conquest, but he did not connect these groups to specific communities.³²³ Tello emphasizes that the Tecuejes referred to the Cocas who lived in the province of Tonalá as Tlajomultecas, and he

³²⁰ The Grande de Santiago River was not always tame because the notary of the *Relación de Cuiseo y Poncitlan* writes that, during the rainy season, this river could and did reach houses in Cuiseo, Poncitlan, and other towns. Acuña, 189; Arregui asserts that it tended to be calm until the waterfalls of Jonacatlan. Arregui, 58.

³²¹ Arregui, 59-60.

³²² Arregui writes that ranchers from Queretaro and Michoacan owned these *estancias*. Arregui, 60. Some Europeans owned *estancias* of *ganado mayor* in 1585, but the notary of the RG of *Cuitzeo y Poncitlan* gives them far less importance. Acuña, 189.

³²³ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 94.

notes that both Cocas and Tecuejes lived in this region.³²⁴ Tello suggests that Coca towns in the province of Tonalá included Tetlan, Tlaquepaque, and Cajititlan while Bishop Ruiz Colmenero identifies Cajititlan, Tlajomulco, and Santa Ana as Coca towns.³²⁵

In the province of Ávalos, Coca towns are harder to classify. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero names Atoyac, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tepec, and Zacoalco as Coca towns during the mid-seventeenth century. However, during the sixteenth century, Ciudad Real had asserted that the Indigenous people of Atoyac and Zacoalco spoke Pinome in 1587, and he did not mention San Pedro y San Pablo de Tepec (refer to section 2.3f).³²⁶

2.3f. Cora, Coanos, and Huainamotas

Evidence suggests that “1649a Tzacamota,” “1649b Tzacamota,” “1652a Guaxicori,” and “1652b Guaxicori” are from Cora towns. During the mid-seventeenth century, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero wrote that “Guajicori” was Cora and Don Antonio Nayari claimed to be a Cora from Tzacamota who ruled the Cora of “Guaxcore,” “Ayotochipa,” and “Quasamota.”³²⁷ Then, in 1673, Arias y Saavedra mentioned that Tzacamota was the name of a town and a province in El Gran Nayar.³²⁸

³²⁴ Tello wrote during the seventeenth century, but here he refers to the Cocas that lived during the time of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada*. Tello, Vol. II, 119.

³²⁵ Tello, Vol. II, 119; Colmenero *apud* Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051.

³²⁶ Ciudad Real used *pinome*, *pínutl*, or *pinonuquia* to refer to the language spoken by the inhabitants of Atoyac and Zacoalco. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 116, 118.

³²⁷ Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

³²⁸ Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 287-288

The Cora appear to have controlled a sizeable portion of El Gran Nayar by 1587. Ciudad Real first identifies the Cora people when entering the town of Xala, south of El Gran Nayar.³²⁹ He relates how a town named Huaynamota was twenty-three leagues north of Xala and adds that the Cora were a people who lived south and west of this town. He also described the Cora as Chichimecs, as a fierce and idolatrous people that spoke a language similar to that of Senticpac. Later, he writes that the inhabitants of Senticpac, and those of other towns in the northern part of the parish of Senticpac spoke Pínutl or Pinonuquia, and he relates how people described this as the language of the Cora, the Coanos, and the Huaynamotecas. He also explains that Pínutl and Pinonuquia referred to a language that was also known as Pinome.³³⁰ Thus, the Cora, Coanos, and Huaynamotecas apparently spoke variants of the same language during the 1580s, if Ciudad Real is correct.

Some twenty years later, Mota y Escobar referred to the Huaynamotecos and Cora as Chichimecs.³³¹ He wrote that a captain and four soldiers protected several Franciscans who had begun to proselytize in the highland community of Huaynamota, which had fifteen hundred Chichimecs. He also classified the Huaynamotecos and the Cora as barbarian Chichimecs who

³²⁹ Ciudad Real II, 108-110, 116, 118, 120. Carl Sauer also relies on Ciudad Real when analyzing the presence of the Cora in Nayarit, and to date, he has written the most accurate analysis of the presence of the Cora in Nayarit during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 5-14.

³³⁰ Ciudad Real mainly uses “Pinome,” but he also relied on “Pínutl” or “Pinonuquia” to refer to the the language spoken by the inhabitants of Atoyac and Zacoalco. He also identifies the inhabitants of Amacueca and Teocuitlatlan in Ávalos as speakers of Pinome, and these inhabitants were far from the main centers of Pinome speakers in the western Pacific coastal region. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 87, 150. *Pínutl*, *Pinonuquia*, and *Pinome* are Nahuatl words. Molina defines *pinotlatoa* as “speaking in a foreign language,” so Pínutl and Pinome appear to represent the singular and plural forms of the first segment of *pinotlatoa*. Molina, 82.

³³¹ Mota y Escobar, 51, 81.

lived on the San Pedro Analco and Huaynamota Mountain Range and the Cora Mountain Range, where they hunted, fished, and gathered roots.

In 1673, Arias de Saavedra writes a very detailed account about El Gran Nayar and the Cora.³³² He explained that the Cora divided El Gran Nayar into four provinces that they referred to as Tlahuilanalis: Huahuanica, that of the Chimaltitecos and Ixcattecos, Tzacamota, and Mimbres. Tzacamota was a province, and it had a town that was also known as Tzacamota, which was the seat of the ruler known as Nayari, and it also had Aynarit, a community with a thousand sheep and the same number of cattle.³³³ The inhabitants of all four provinces sowed and harvested, but Arias y Saavedra singled out the inhabitants of Tzacamota and Mimbres as having fields of potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, and corn; and as harvesting peaches, quince, bananas, cactus, cactus fruit, and sugar cane. Furthermore, the Cora of Tzacamota and the other provinces also gathered honey and fished to some extent, and they raised century plants with which to make mezcal. Many Cora were also teamsters with a great number of pack animals; those who accompanied Arias y Saavedra had between five and ten mules each, and one was known to have one-hundred mules. Some Cora were also blacksmiths, carpenters, and tailors, and they were so numerous that they even sold their wares to Spaniards.

The presence of these skilled workers can be partially explained because El Gran Nayar served as a sanctuary to Hispanicized Indigenous people and others who wanted to escape Spanish-dominated spaces. In a journal entry from 1587, Ciudad Real explains that some non-

³³² I have regularized the spelling from Tzacaimuta and Tzacaymuta to Tzacamota. Arias de Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 287-289.

³³³ The other communities are Upata, Taucamota, Yauca, Moxahuica, Quacta, Xaraute, Theuyca, Tzontla, Quaxmoxitla, Uratta, Xoquipa, Saiolí, Nauita. Arias de Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 288.

Christian Indigenous people, and even those who had been baptized, left their towns and went to the ridges beyond Acaponeta where they lived with more freedom and without mass and Christian doctrine.³³⁴ Were these highlands in El Gran Nayar? The answer depends on the definition of El Gran Nayar. If El Gran Nayar is defined as the highlands of Western Mexico controlled by *pinome*-speaking peoples like the Coanos, Coras, and Huaynamotecas, then Guaxicori falls well within El Gran Nayar during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Cora also had spiritual leaders who challenged the ritual power of the Catholic clergy because Arias y Saavedra notes how each Cora *tlahuilanal* had festivals that drew hundreds and even thousands of people.³³⁵ He heard from witnesses that fifteen hundred men gathered in Tzacamota during its main festival, more than a thousand men went to Huahuanica, between four and five hundred men went to Chimaltitecos, and between three and four hundred men went to Mymbres. Some of these may not have been Cora because Arias y Saavedra grudgingly notes, “many foreigners from all the kingdom incorporated themselves to these [Cora] peoples because vicious people who have committed homicides and kidnappings understand each other, and there are some *mestizos* and *mulatos*, and some of them are slaves.”³³⁶

³³⁴ The main reason that Indigenous people fled into the highlands was bad treatment from Spanish soldiers. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 117.

³³⁵ Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo, siglos xvi y xvii*, 289.

³³⁶ Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo, siglos xvi y xvii*, 289.

2.3g. Totorames

Two petitions are from San Antonio Quihuiquinta, a town that was two leagues upriver from Guaxicori in the province of Acaponeta, “1659a San Antonio Quihuiquinta” and “1659b San Antonio Quihuiquinta.”³³⁷ In the former, the notary names the inhabitants of this town as Totorame, which corresponds with how Bishop Ruiz Colmenero identifies the people of a town named San Antonio, and how Arias y Saavedra identifies a people who lived along the coast and on some islands in the province of Acaponeta.³³⁸ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero names the Totorame as “Tamurete” and Arias y Saavedra writes that they were also known as “Themuretes.” Both of these writers translate this term as “toad.”

However, this identification clashes with the way Mota y Escobar and Arregui described an early seventeenth-century town known as Quihuiquinta, presumably the same San Antonio. Mota y Escobar notes that more than two-hundred Tepehuan tributaries lived in Quihuiquinta, adding that only a few of them were Christians.³³⁹ Then, Arregui mentions that it was depopulated after a Tepehuan uprising that lasted from 1616 to 1618.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Ciudad Real relates the presence of “siete lenguas o diferencias de lengua” in the province of Acaponeta, which were Pínutl or Pinome, Cuachicanuquia, Guacnuquia, Cuarinuquia, Iruzanuquia, Naarinuquia, and Neuxinuquia. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 116. Sauer translates “siete lenguas o diferencias de lengua” as “seven languages or differences of language” emphasizing that some of these represented different languages and others were simply variants.” Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 7.

³³⁸ Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051; Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo, siglos xvi y xvii*, 303.

³³⁹ Mota y Escobar stated that “Quihuiquintla” was twelve leagues from “here,” referring to either Acaponeta or the mines of Maloya y San Marcial. Mota y Escobar, 85. I believe that he was referring to Acaponeta, but in that case the distance of twelve leagues is wrong. Quihuiquinta was less than six leagues north of Acaponeta. Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 1982: 56.

³⁴⁰ Arregui writes that the Tepehuan uprising occurred in 1617, but Françios Chevalier clarifies that it lasted from 1616 to 1618. Arregui, 101.

Were the Tepehuanes and Totorames two different peoples? Molina defines Tepehuani as the Nahuatl word for conquistador, and a morpheme by morpheme translation yields “conqueror.”³⁴¹ Meanwhile, Totorame is connected to the Tepehuan, Lower Pima, and Papago (now universally known as Tohono O’odham) languages, which have been classified as belonging to the Tepiman language family.³⁴² The Jesuit, Benito Rinaldini, notes in his 1743 Tepehuan dictionary that *odame* stood for “gente o nación,” and in a more recent dictionary of Papago/Lower Pima, Dean and Lucille Saxton present o’othham as “a person; a human; a tribesman,” O’othham as “a Papago or Pima Indian; the Papago/Pima language,” Akimel O’othham as “Pima,” Tohono O’othham as “the desert people, Papago people,” and Totogwani as a dialect of “Papago.”³⁴³ Totorame, *odame*, O’othham, and Totogwani show close relationships because, in a comparison between Totorame and Totogwani, the *r* in the former is a *gw* in the latter. A comparison of Totorame and *odame* also suggests two related words because the *r* in the former is a *d* in the latter. Furthermore, since *o’othham* (person) and *odame* (people) have similar meanings and forms, it is probable that *Toto* specifies a group of *orame* (people) that spoke either Papago (Tohono O’odham), Lower Pima, Tepehuan, or a forgotten variant. In other words, the notary of San Antonio Quihuiquinta used Totorame to refer to inhabitants of this town, who spoke a Tepiman language because Totorame is how they identified themselves.

³⁴¹ Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 229. Molina, 102. Linguists use morpheme to refer to the smallest unit of meaning: a prefix, a suffix, or a root word.

³⁴² During the early sixteenth century, Lower Pima and Tepehuan may have represented variants rather than separate languages. Sauer mentions that the Jesuit anuas of 1616 and 1628 classify the Nebome (or Lower Pima) as having a Tepehuan speech. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 38.

³⁴³ Dean Saxton, Lucille Saxton, and Susie Enos, *Papago/Pima—English English—Papago Pima Milgahn—O’othham* Second Ed. (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 48, 59, 96, 117. Benito Rinaldini, *Arte de la lengua tepeguana con vocabulario, confesionario y catechismo* with a prologue by Javier Guerrero Romero (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura and the Government of the state of Durango, 1994), 65.

2.3h. Huicholes, Tecuales, Tescoquines, and Guachichiles

Tecual inhabitants appear to have lived in the correspondence community of Xalisco, Tequepespa, and Pochotitlan at the time that notaries wrote “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593,” “1594 Xalisco,” “1595a Xalisco,” “1595b Xalisco,” “1646 Tequepechpan,” and “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan.” The evidence is clearest for Xalisco because, in 1587, Ciudad Real identifies the correspondence communities of Tequepechpan and Xalisco as towns where the inhabitants spoke Tecual.³⁴⁴ However, the petition “1646 Tequepechpan” requires more information because it is some sixty years removed from Ciudad Real’s journal. Also, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero provides less than conclusive support that Tequepechpan remained Tecual because he mentions that it belonged to the Tequepechpos even while adding that it was close to Tecual towns.³⁴⁵

Xalisco was a prosperous town during the 1580s, but by the 1620s, it had become less important because of the drastic decline in its Indigenous population. Ciudad Real describes it as a middle-sized town with the Franciscan convent of San Juan Bautista whose inhabitants spoke Tecual.³⁴⁶ He also mentions that its warm climate allowed for orchards of different kinds of native and even foreign fruits like bananas, oranges, and pomegranates, and that it produced a white honey that was so delicious that it was even sent to Mexico City. However, Arregui writes

³⁴⁴ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 112.

³⁴⁵ Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051.

³⁴⁶ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 112.

some twenty years later that the delicious white honey of Xalisco was well-known, but rare in his time because many Indigenous people had left Xalisco.³⁴⁷

Tecual could be a Nahuatl name that means “the eaten ones,” and as such it stands in opposition to the concept of *tecuaní*, which literally means beast or literally, “eater of humans.”³⁴⁸ These appellations make a certain amount of sense for Tequepechpan during the sixteenth century because its Tecual inhabitants lived a short distance south from a group that Ciudad Real (109-110) names as Zayabecos and describes as indomitable Christian Indigenous people who ate human flesh.³⁴⁹ The Compostela Map of 1550 depicts “Tecuales” as figures holding bows, and Ciudad Real mentions that, on January 16, 1587, he was escorted to Tequepechpan by eight Indigenous people mounted on horseback, seven of whom carried feather-adorned shields.³⁵⁰ Unlike Xalisco, Tequepechpan appears to have remained prosperous from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Ciudad Real writes that one of the eight mounted Tequepechpos who met him held a flag, and the other seven carried shields made of reeds and decorated with red and yellow parrot feathers implying a certain level of material wealth, which was further reinforced as he entered this town and was greeted by a procession in

³⁴⁷ Arregui, 93.

³⁴⁸ *Tecuaní* was the Nahuatl term for a wild beast or a jaguar. The root word of both *tecualli* and *tecuaní* is *cua* (to eat), and both of these words also include *te-*, an object prefix that denotes unspecified humans, which stands in contrast to *tla-* an object prefix that denotes unspecified non-humans. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 232. However, *tecualli* contains *-li*, a passive nominalizing suffix, while *tecuaní* has *-ni*, an active nominalizing suffix. Horacio Carochi, S. J. *Grammar of the Mexican Language with an Explanation of its Adverbs (1645)* translated and edited with commentary by James Lockhart (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

³⁴⁹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 112. Sauer interprets Ciudad Real’s description to mean that the Zayabecos were, “perhaps above the junction of the Rio Grande [de Santiago] and the Huaynamota [River],” and this would place them some ten leagues north of Tequepechpan. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 8.

³⁵⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 111.

which the inhabitants carried a cross, images, and altars.³⁵¹ He also remarks that they offered him and his party many bananas, Castilian bread, trout, and a wineskin bottle. More than ten years later, Mota y Escobar writes that Tequepechpan had sixty married tributaries who gathered honey and raised fruits from Castile.³⁵² Neither Ciudad Real nor Mota y Escobar had referred to the Tequepechpos as farmers, but Arregui writes that they planted and harvested maize.³⁵³

Bishop Ruiz Colmenero mentioned Pochotitlan twice, suggesting that there were at least two towns with that name, and he classified one as being inhabited by Tecual and the other by Tepecanos. However, it is unclear when he is referring to the Pochotitlan in the province of Minas de Chimaltitan or to the one in Fronteras de Colotlan. Sauer identifies the Indigenous people living in the drainage of the Bolaños River as Tepecano, which would represent the Pochotitlan in Fronteras de Colotlan.³⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Arregui describes that Tecuales of Pochotitlan in Minas de Chimaltitan as being recent migrants to the region and less hard-working than others, perhaps because they did not pay tribute.³⁵⁵ He adds that they hunted deer, gathered honey, and farmed squash and watermelon in a nearby canyon. However, another possibility is that the Pochotitlan in Minas de Chimaltitan is Tepecano because Bishop Ruiz Colmenero uses this term to identify this town next to Acaponeta, a town in an adjacent province.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 111-112.

³⁵² Mota y Escobar, 80. Tello remarked that Bishop Mota y Escobar had gone to Tequepespan and Xala on a *visita* and to learn about the miraculous steps of the holy Friar Pedro de Almonte whose footprints were believed to remain on a portion of wilderness between Tequepespan and Xala. Tello Vol. II, 303.

³⁵³ Arregui, 81.

³⁵⁴ Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 55.

³⁵⁵ Arregui, 81.

³⁵⁶ Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051.

Meanwhile, Lázaro Blanco, the notary of the RG of Compostela, described the martial qualities of a people that he named as Tecosquines, which might refer to the Tecual from Tequepechpan or the Zayabecos.³⁵⁷ Blanco placed the Tecosquines in the vicinity of Tequepechpan by writing that they lived toward the south in the mountain range that began in Compostela. He also wrote that Tecosquin mean “head cutter,” which implied a martial past, but in his time, the Tecosquines only numbered six hundred men with women and children because they had been decimated by epidemics.³⁵⁸ He also denigrated them by describing them as being so lazy that they did not even work for their sustenance, and that they traded with, and hired themselves out to Spaniards and others. This statement suggests that neither Blanco nor his informants saw the Tecosquines farm or herd animals for food.

Ciudad Real did not mention the Tecosquines, but he did note that the inhabitants of the province of Tepeque hired themselves out to the Guachichil.³⁵⁹ He wrote that the people of Tepeque were ruled by two leaders who ordered them to join raids led by Guachichil captains. In return, the captains offered these rulers the clothes taken as spoils. Could the Tecosquines and the inhabitants of Tepeque have been the same people?

The evidence is not conclusive. Sauer quotes a person who testified before the priest of Tlaltenango that, in most of the towns, there were Indigenous people who spoke Nahuatl and

³⁵⁷ The *Relación Geográfica de Compostela*, like all of the others, was a group endeavor. It was compiled by Lázaro Blanco, the *alcalde mayor*, Antonio Muñoz, the notary, and the elders of Compostela, some of whom were Nahuas. Muñoz describes the customs, character, and language of the Tecosquines. Acuña, 88-89.

³⁵⁸ Tecosquin[i] is a Nahuatl term derived from *tecomatl*, *tzontecomatl*, and *-qui*. *Tecomatl* refers to a “jar or cup” whose base is round, and *tzontecomatl* is a compound made up of *tzontli* and *tecomatl* referring to the “skull,” or the “head.” The last term is *-ni*, which is an agentive and is similar in function to the “-er” suffix, which means “one who does” in English, i.e. run/runner or speak/speaker. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 231, 232, 240.

³⁵⁹ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 110.

Spanish, but also spoke Huichol, Tepehuan, Nayari, or Cora.³⁶⁰ In the end, Sauer posits that the Tecuales, the Guachichiles, and the Huichol spoke the same language. Gerhard accepts that Tecual is equivalent to Huichol, but he disagrees about the language of the Guachichiles.³⁶¹

2.4. Indigenous Colonists and Northwestern New Spain

In addition to the many native groups discussed in this chapter, Indigenous colonists from other regions of Mexico also settled in Northwestern New Spain. They inhabited the correspondence communities of Nombre de Dios, San Martín de Coahuatlan, Analco-Guadalajara, San Antonio Quihuiquinta, and possibly Sayula, which were the sites for six petitions: “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” “1622 Coahuatlan,” “1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” “1670 Analco-Guadalajara,” “1679 Sayula,” and “N.Y. Sayula.” In fact, the notary of “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” describes inhabitants of Nombre de Dios as Mexica, and another notary wrote a document about this town in 1585 in which he identifies its people as “Mexicatlatli” (Mexican people) and “Michoacatlaca” (Michoacan people).³⁶² In this latter document, Mexica refers to emigrants or the descendants of emigrants from towns in and around the Basin of Mexico, and Michoacan can refer to Tarascans, Nahuas, or other inhabitants of a region that lies south of Northwestern New Spain.

Other notaries are not as forthcoming. The notary of “1622 Coahuatlan” writes that its inhabitants had helped strengthen Michoacan, and he uses a Nahuatl that shares some similarities

³⁶⁰ Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 9.

³⁶¹ Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 14; Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 43, 57.

³⁶² Barlow and Smisor, 3, 47.

with the Nahuatl of Central Mexico. San Antonio Quihuiquinta was home to Tepehuanes and Totorames, but Braun, Sell and Terraciano propose that the notary of the third petition, “1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” was a person trained as a central Mexican Nahua notary.³⁶³ Furthermore, Mota y Escobar mentions that Analco-Guadalajara had Indigenous people from many ethnic groups, especially the *Mexicana* (Central Mexican Nahuas), and that they practiced European trades.³⁶⁴ The notary of “1679 Sayula” uses a very refined Nahuatl, and Ciudad Real writes that the inhabitants of Sayula spoke Tzaulteco and Central Mexican Nahuatl, and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero names its inhabitants as Sayultecos.³⁶⁵ These petitions are only a fraction of the total, but they exist because Franciscan settlers taught the peoples of Northwestern New Spain to record Nahuatl speech with the Roman alphabet, the subject of the next chapter.

³⁶³ Braun, Sell, and Terraciano, 89.

³⁶⁴ Mota y Escobar, 48.

³⁶⁵ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, *Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara*, 1051. Ciudad Real writes, “los de Tzayula y los de los otros pueblos de aquella guardanía tienen lengua particular llamada Tzaulteca, pero casi todos hablan y entienden la mexicana.” Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 149.

Chapter 3: From the Sword to the Pen: Indigenous Groups, Northwestern New Spain, and Alphabetic Writing

“Our feet made fresh tracks as we weaved through mountains and made unreliable allies of the moon and the night and the stars.”³⁶⁶

3.1. Nahuatl and Writing

Northwestern New Spain’s many valleys and ridges probably prevented the development of large states such as the Triple Alliance (also known as the Aztec Empire). However, Nahuatl appears to have been a unifying force because some people from the region spoke it as a native language, and others relied on it as a lingua franca. But was its use a pre-Columbian or Colonial development? This chapter addresses this question in five parts: it argues that Nahuatl was present in Northwestern New Spain before the arrival of Europeans; it proposes that clerics at the highest levels relied on Nahuatl to promote an alliance between clerics and Nahuatl translators to challenge native leaders; it suggests that the struggle between clerics and native leaders was most visible in the killings of Fray Antonio Cuéllar and Juan Calero during the Mixtón War; it posits that the defeat of these native leaders and their groups in this war opened the way for Franciscans and Nahuatl translators to develop the mission as a center of Roman Nahuatl literacy; and it proposes that Nahuatl literacy together with the increased powers of the office of the Diocese of Guadalajara allowed the development of the Nahuatl petition genre.

³⁶⁶ Krys Lee, “Negotiating Korean Identities” by Victoria Kim *Los Angeles Times* (August 28, 2016), F6.

3.2. Pre-Columbian Nahuatl

Reconstructing the use of Nahuatl before contact requires a multi-disciplinary approach because evidence of its use is scattered in the spoken languages of different Indigenous groups, and in sources written in two different writing systems. Nahuatl is a member of the Uto-Aztecan family (UA), which was widely used during the colonial period (1521-1821).³⁶⁷ Its speakers had communities from what is now northern California to Nicaragua, from what is now California to Texas, and from what is now Jalisco to Veracruz.³⁶⁸ However, the Nahuas ranged farther south than the speakers of other UA languages. The southernmost non-Nahuatl UA speakers were the Coras and Huicholes who have had communities in western Mexico hundreds and even thousands of miles north of Nahua communities in what are now central Mexico, southern Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ I am using Mexico's colonial period instead of those from Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, or the U.S. for several reasons. First, my investigation focuses on documents from a portion of Mexico. Second, beginning in 1521 allows the inclusion of early Nahua communities built by the Spaniards' Nahua allies in Guatemala, western Mexico, southwestern Mexico, and northern Mexico. Third, ending in 1821, allows the inclusion of Apache and Comanche migrations and settlements that reconfigured the American Southwest and the Mexican north during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The Apache do not speak a UA language, but they did force some UA peoples to move their communities.

³⁶⁸ Although speakers of UA languages were not always the dominant people in these regions, they did inhabit portions of these territories. Most scholars divide UA languages into a northern (N-UA) and a southern branch (S-UA). Some N-UA languages include Comanche, Hopi, and Shoshone and S-UA languages include Cora, Huichol, Mayo, O'dham (formerly Pima/Papago), Tepehuan, and Yaqui. Marianne Mithun (1999), Shirley Silver and Wick R. Miller, and Lyle Campbell (1997) give good descriptions of the scholarship behind the most common classifications of UA languages. Mithun, *Languages of native North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Silver, Shirley and Wick R. Miller. *American Indian Languages: Cultural and Social Contexts* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997); *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³⁶⁹ Different sixteenth and seventeenth-century chroniclers have written about the early colonial presence of Nahua communities throughout Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Bernardino de Sahagún, Alonso de Molina, Diego Durán, and others mention them in Central Mexico, and Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón and Diego de Landa refer to them in southern Mexico. The oral reciters of the Itza-Maya *Popol Vuh* and the Kaqchikel-Maya *Annals of the Xahil* refer to Nahuatl speakers in Guatemala. Finally, Juan de Torquemada mentions two separate Nahua communities in El Salvador, and Bartolome de las Casas mentions some communities in Nicaragua.

The spread of Nahua peoples and their isolation from UA speakers to the north have led many scholars to accept the idea that Nahuas migrated from north to south into central Mexico, southern Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Catherine S. Fowler has written one of the most accepted theories which is that the proto-language, the ancestor of UA languages, was spoken in an area that included portions of the American Southwest, northern Mexico, and perhaps California.³⁷⁰ Jane Hill accepts some of Fowler's data, but argues that the proto-language developed among maize cultivators living in the northwest of Mesoamerica migrated north, spreading maize agriculture and displacing speakers of other language families, who were hunter-gatherers.³⁷¹

Una Canger posits that the features of Nahuatl dialects found in colonial records and spoken by twentieth-century speakers suggest two separate waves of migration across what are now Mexico and Central America: Toltec migrations occurring before 1175 that she associates to an Eastern Peripheral chain of dialects and Aztlan migrations into the Basin of Mexico occurring between 1160 and 1230 that she connects to a Central chain.³⁷² Furthermore, she proposes that the different features shared between the Central chain and a Western Peripheral Chain were due

³⁷⁰ Catherine S. Fowler presents many UA cognates of plants and animals living in the Great Basin. Fowler, "Some Lexical Clues to Uto-Aztecan Prehistory" *International Journal of American Linguistics* 49 (1983), 234.

³⁷¹ Hill, "Proto-Uto-Aztecan: A Community of Cultivators in Central Mexico?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (December 2001), 913-934.

³⁷² Canger writes, "the ancestors of today's speakers of the dialects of La Huasteca, Sierra de Puebla, Isthmus, and Pipil represented the first group of Nahuatl speakers—including the Toltecs—in Central Mexico and further south...The dialect areas representing the Aztlan migrants are North Puebla, the whole undivided central area (encompassing Tlaxcala, central Puebla, and Morelos), and to a certain degree Central Guerrero. They share with the dialects of the Western Periphery most of the mentioned characteristic features—(1) *tesi*, (2) *toto:nki*, *šošo:wki*, (3) presence of *o*: 'past', and (5) *moči* 'all'. This indicates that they have been in close contact with these western dialects or formed a group with them at some times in the past; and it may also mean that they entered the Valley of Mexico from the west. Canger, "Nahuatl Dialectology: A Survey and Some Suggestions" *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 54: 1 (January 1988), 64-65.

to long-standing contact, or to sharing those features in a distant past, and that either of those situations may imply that the the Aztlan migrants may have entered the Basin of Mexico from the west.³⁷³ Other scholars agree that Nahuatl was present in Central Mexico and Central America by the late post-Classic Period (ca. CE 1200-1521) based on examinations of phonetic elements in pre-Columbian stelae and codices, colonial documents, and modern dialects, but they disagree over whether any migrations occurred before CE 1000.

Oriana Baddeley, Janet Catherine Berlo, Karen Dakin, John Justeson, Terrence Kaufman, and Søren Wichman are among the investigators who have consulted Pre-Columbian sources written with either the Maya syllabic-pictographic system or the Mixteca-Puebla Style. Kaufman and Justeson state, “Nahua loans in Mesoamerican languages reflect Nahua phonology as we know it from the sixteenth century, and can, therefore, not be earlier than about A.D. 1000,” but Dakin, Whichman, Baddeley, and Berlo posit earlier contact.³⁷⁴ Kaufman posits that **kakawa* was the proto-Mixe-Zoquean word for “cacao.”³⁷⁵ However, Karen Dakin counters that *kakawa* (cacao) could be a UA form, the reduplicated version of **kapa*.³⁷⁶ If the latter is the case,

³⁷³ Canger uses three sources for Western Peripheral Nahuatl: Nahuas who speak Mexicanero in San Pedro Jícara, Durango, a present-day variant; Guerra’s *Arte de la lengua mexicana* published in 1692; and D. Gerónimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño’s *Arte de la lengua mexicana* published in 1765 (Refer to Chapter 4.5c and 4.6). Canger, “Nahuatl Dialectology: A Survey and Some Suggestions,” 46, 66.

³⁷⁴ Kaufman and Justeson, 126. These articles are in *Astronomers, Notaries, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández (Washington D.C.: Dumberton Oaks, 2010).

³⁷⁵ Terrence Kaufman, “Mixe-Zoque Diachronic Studies” (Manuscript in possession of the author); quoted in Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson, “The History of the Word for ‘Cacao’ and Related Terms in Ancient Meso-America” in *Chocolate in Mesoamerica: A Cultural History of Cacao* ed. by Cameron L. McNeil (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), 118.

³⁷⁶ Karen Dakin, “Cacao and chocolate: a Uto-Aztec Perspective (Unpublished manuscript);” quoted in Søren Wichmann, “A conservative look at diffusion involving Mixe-Zoquean languages” in *Archaeology and Language II: Correlating archaeological and linguistic hypotheses* ed. by Roger Blench and Matthew Spriggs (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 300. While Wichmann (p. 302) at first believed that *kakawa* was Mixe-Zoquean, he has now come to agree with Dakin. Kaufman and Justeson disagree and theorize that Mixe-Zoquean

speakers of a UA language may have been in Central America at a very early time because the earliest instance of *kakawa* was transliterated by David Stuart in a Maya vessel that is dated to the fifth century A.D., and Stephen D. Houston, Stuart, and Karl Taube encountered another sample in a vase belonging to Smoking Squirrel, an individual who lived between CE 688 and 719.³⁷⁷ Later in time, Oriana Baddeley hypothesizes that the teeth and gums in the iconography of Cacaxtla (ca. CE 700-900) is a phonetic representations of the Nahuatl locative *-tlan* (place of) through the use of the near-homonym *tlantli* (tooth/teeth), and Janet Catherine Berlo posits the same for the carvings of teeth and gums in the Pyramid of the Plumed Serpent at Xochicalco (ca. CE 750-900).³⁷⁸

In what are now the Yucatan Peninsula and Guatemala, Maya records written in the Roman alphabet also show Pre-Columbian interactions between this group and one or more Nahuatl-speaking peoples. Frances Karttunen has found that, in the Yucatan Peninsula, “lexical borrowing has operated in only one direction only; Maya has Nahuatl loan words, but Nahuatl does not have Maya loans.”³⁷⁹ Judith M. Maxwell and Robert M. Hill examine several Maya

*kakaw/*kakawa became Zoquean *kakawa and Mixe *kakaw, and that speakers of other languages including Nahuatl borrowed one of these forms. Kaufman and Justeson, 119-134.

³⁷⁷ These and the subsequent dates are Christian dates derived from Maya long count dates that paleographers have correlated with the Gregorian Christian calendar. David Stuart, “The Río Azul Cacao Pot: Epigraphic Observations on the function of a Maya Ceramic Vessel, *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 153-157; Stephen D. Houston, David Stuart, and Karl Taube, “Image and Text on the ‘Jauncy Vase’” in *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases* Vol. 3 ed. by Justin Kerr (New York: Kerr Associates, 1992), 505.

³⁷⁸ Oriana Baddeley, “Conceptual categories for the study of texts and images in Mesoamerica,” in *Text and Image in Pre-Columbian Art* ed. by Janet Catherine Berlo (Oxford: BAR International Series 180, 1983); quoted in Wichman, 302; Janet Catherine Berlo, “*In Tlilli, In Tlapalli* before A.D. 1000,” in *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan A.D. 700-900* ed. by Richard A. Diehl and Janet Catherine Berlo (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 28.

³⁷⁹ Frances Karttunen proposes that the *-tl* absolutive form was retained as *-t* in Nahuatl loans to Yucatec Maya, whereas *-tli*, *-li*, and *in* were dropped (refer to Chapter 4.5c and 4.6). For example, Karttunen writes that the Nahuatl words *Cinteōtl*, *Xōchihuēhuētl*, *miztli*, and *mācēhualli* became the Maya words *Sinteyut*, *Xuchueuet*, *miz*, and *mazeual*. Karttunen, *Nahuatl and Maya in Contact with Spanish*. Texas Linguistic Forum 26. (Austin: Department of Linguistics, University of Texas, 1985), 7-8. The contact between Maya and Nahua was extensive

Kaqchikel works with the Roman alphabet, such as the Xajil Chronicle, and they note that the Kaqchikel mentioned a delegation in 1509 by *Yaki' aj Kuluwakan*, and they explain that *Yaki'* was the Kaqchikel word for Nahua, and *Kuluwakan* stood for Culhuacan.³⁸⁰ Although this last record represents a remembered event recorded during the colonial period, the classification of *Yaki'*, *Kuluwakan*, and other Nahuatl loan words into Kaqchikel reinforce Pre-Columbian interactions between Mayas and Nahuas.

Meanwhile, Kevin Terraciano and John Pohl have consulted Ñudzahui sources to present evidence of the Pre-Columbian presence of Nahuas in La Mixteca, a region that encompasses portions of what are now the states of Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Puebla. Pohl examines the Codex Zouche-Nuttall, noting that its most famous foreigner was a priest-warlord named 4 Jaguar who was drawn with a black mask. He argues that the Mixtec identified the Nahua as *sami ñuu*, “the people with burned faces,” and drew them with lone ranger-like black masks in their codices. Terraciano writes that the *Arte de la lengua mixteca* “Grammar of the Mixtec Language” had several terms for Nahuas including *tay saminuu* “person with burnt face or eyes,” *tay ñuu coyo* “person from the place of reeds,” and *tay ñuudzuma* and *tay yecoo*, which lack other attested definitions.³⁸¹ He agrees with Pohl about the definition of *tay saminuu* adding that this term was not as common in colonial Ñudzahui records as *tay ñuu coyo*, “people of the place of reeds,”

during colonial period. Dakin asserts that published and unpublished documents in Nahuatl are found in what are now Chiapas and Guatemala in which the mutually unintelligible Maya languages of Kaqchikel, Mam, Q'andjob'al, Tzeltal, and/or Tzotzil were spoken. Dakin, “Linguistic Evidence for Historical Contacts between Nahuas and Northern Lowland Mayan Speakers” in *Astronomers, Scribes, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 220.

³⁸⁰ *Kaqchikel Chronicles: The Definitive Edition* with Translation and exegesis by Judith M. Maxwell and Robert M. Hill II (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 62.

³⁸¹ Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 331-332.

which most likely represented Tenochtitlan, but he notes that it was also a reference to Tollan, a legendary city-state.³⁸²

3.3. Nahuas in Northwestern New Spain

Scholars have found only a few examples of non-European writing iconography from the area that this study defines as Northwestern New Spain. These and the earliest alphabetic documents in Spanish suggest the pre-Columbian presence of Nahuas in this region. Hasso Von Winning first connected the pre-Columbian Aztatlan tradition and its iconography to what has come to be known as the Mixteca-Puebla Style. Furthermore, Pohl examines two vases from Nayarit, and he notes that in one, a man's "face is decorated with horizontal black bands," and in another several personages wear the nose ornaments that characterized the *tecuhtli*, or lord of a Nahua lineage.³⁸³ These horizontal black bands and nose ornaments suggest that Nahuas were present in pre-Columbian Western Mexico.

After the arrival of Europeans, Tlaxcallans who accompanied Spanish *entradas* to Northwestern New Spain described their actions to *tlacuilos*, painter-writers, who painted scenes in the Mixteca-Puebla Style showing battles. In these scenes, the Tlaxcallans stand on the left with mounted Spaniards facing Indigenous opponents on the right, and some of the latter have horizontal bands across their eyes. One image shows the Tlaxcallans facing Indigenous people

³⁸² Terraciano, 332.

³⁸³ Pohl, "The Odyssey of the Plumed Serpent" in *Children of the Plumed Serpent: The Legacy of Quetzalcoatl in Ancient Mexico* ed. by Virginia M. Fields, Pohl, and Victoria I. Lyall (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with Scala Publishers Limited, 2012), 95, 106.

with painted eyes who fight back from a hill labeled as Tototlan, a town close to Colima.³⁸⁴ Another one depicts ten Indigenous warriors within a two-dimensional hill labeled as Xochipillan, a Cazcan town that became known as Juchipila in most Spanish documents. Four of the warriors wear a horizontal band across their eyes: one stands at the bottom of the hill holding a shield with an obsidian-studded club, two hold clubs and stand behind a shield, and the fourth stands behind a shield while holding a bow and arrow.³⁸⁵ In another scene, two Tlaxcallans and a Spaniard face five figures—three with the band and two without—in a space identified as Tlaltenanpan, which probably corresponds to Tlaltenanco.³⁸⁶

The earliest Roman alphabetic records also mention the presence of Nahuas and Nahuatl in Northwestern New Spain. The earliest one is by Diego de Coria, a notary who accompanied the visitation of Francisco de Vargas and Gonzalo Cerezo in 1525. The document is preserved within the 1531 lawsuit of Nuño de Guzman against Hernán Cortés. Diego de Coria classifies the native inhabitants as either *naguatato* (more commonly *nahuatlato*) or *otomí* in a region that included what would become the provinces of Amula, Ávalos, Etzatlan, Minas de Chimaltitan, Nochistlan, and Xalisco (Refer to Chapter 2.3b and 2.3e). For example, in writing about Atitlan, which is close to Etzatlan, he mentions that most of its residents were “naguatatos,” and that the *cabecera* of the province of Aguacatlan had two lords, “one is naguatato and the other otomí,”

³⁸⁴ <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/nativeamericans/25.html> viewed on 2/03/2015.

³⁸⁵ http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Se%C3%B1or%C3%ADo_de_Juchipila#mediaviewer/File:Xochipilla.jpg viewed on 02/03/2015.

³⁸⁶ I propose that the original settlement was Tlaltenanpan, but that the Spaniards resettled the survivors in a different location, which necessitated the change of the name to Tlaltenanco. Many other scenes contain the warriors with the painted band over their eyes such as Colotlan, which has two with the band and three without, Tonanycapan, which has four with the band and one without, Xonacatlan, which has three with the band and two without, Colhuacan, which has two with the band and four without, etc.

and for Xalisco, he writes that the people “are all otomíes.”³⁸⁷ Yáñez Rosales proposes that Otomí represents non-Nahua without the connotation of belligerence and nomadism conveyed by *chichimec* and *nayar/nayarita*.³⁸⁸ The two morphemes of *nahuatlato* support this interpretation because the first is *nahuati* “clear speaker,” which modifies *tlatoa* “speak” to give it a meaning analogous to “intelligible speaker.”³⁸⁹ Diego de Coria thus refers to a Nahuatl epistemology in which *naguatatos* were the known referent, peoples whose language was intelligible to Nahuas, and *otomíes* represented the other, a people who spoke an unintelligible language.

Some of the many members of the Nuño de Guzmán *entrada* (1529-1531) who testified in a court case against their leader employed *nahuatlato* in their testimonies.³⁹⁰ For example, Juan de Samano, one of the lieutenants, used *nahuatlato* to refer to the presence of Nahuas in what would become Northwestern New Spain. Samano testified that, in Tonalá, “one district of *nahuatlatos* remained in their homes and gave the friends [Indigenous allies] fruit and water” while differentiating them from another group that resisted “in a tall rocky hill.”³⁹¹ He also stated

³⁸⁷ Nuño de Guzmán and Cortés, 559; Yáñez Rosales 2001: 42. Yáñez Rosales 2013: 34-35.

³⁸⁸ Yáñez Rosales, *Rostro, palabra y memoria indígenas el occidente de México: 1524-1816*, 42.

³⁸⁹ Terraciano writes that the etymological meaning of *nahuatlato* is “clear speaker,” which is how Molina defines *nahuati* and its antonym *anahuati*. Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, 45. Molina, 63. Molina writes that *nahuati* meant, “hablar alto, o tener buen sonido la campana, o cosa asi (to speak loudly or for the bell to have a good sound).” On the other hand, *anahuati* was, “callar o hablar muy bajo (to be quiet or to speak very softly).”

³⁹⁰ The trial occurred several years after the actual expedition.

³⁹¹ Samano testified, “Se acogian a un cerro algo alto y el gobernador mandó al maestre de campo y á Hernando Sarmiento y á otros tres fuesen á requerir viniesen á dar obediencia á S. M. y á él en su real nombre; é idos estos mensajeros, los indios estovieron tirando flechas y dando grita y haciendo muchos ademanes, aunque un barrio de *naguatatos* se estaban en sus casas y daban á los [indios] amigos alguna fruta é agua.” Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2, 269.

that during an attack on Tepic, “certain *nahuatlato*s screamed to us to stay still and not kill them,” implying that these Indigenous people had yelled in Nahuatl.³⁹²

Two other witnesses of the Nuño de Guzmán trial also relied on *nahuatlato*, but they used it to mean Nahuatl translator. An unnamed witness testifies that, outside of Tonalá, “certain *nahuatlato*s of peace said that the lady of that town had received news of how we traveled...”³⁹³ He also mentioned that in the province of Cuina, the *veedor* and a *nahuatlato* were sent to accept peace and the suzerainty of the king.³⁹⁴ In another part of the trial, an interrogator used *nahuatlato* to mean Nahuatl translator in his questioning of García del Pilar, leading this Spaniard to use it in the same manner.³⁹⁵ The questioner asked that García del Pilar address, “the aforementioned *alguaciles* and *nahuatlato*s [of Michoacan], and D. Pedro and D. Alonso,” and García del Pilar responded, “we left there [Michoacan] having taken the aforementioned D. Alonso, D. Pedro, and the *nahuatlato*s and having tortured them to such an extent that they had to be carried in hammocks.”³⁹⁶ García del Pilar should have been familiar with how Nahuas used

³⁹² Samano in Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2, 274.

³⁹³ The anonymous witness states, “Después de apaciguado esto se partió para Tonalá, y detúvose en el camino dos días, y llegados á ella salieron ciertos nahuatlato de paz, diciendo que la señora de aquel pueblo habia tenido noticias de cómo íbamos...” Anonymous in Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2, 441.

³⁹⁴ Samano says when speaking about a town in the province of Michoaca that a hostile Indigenous person that was a *lengua* was able to communicate with a *lengua* from the expedition.

³⁹⁵ García del Pilar knew Nahuatl and was one of the translators of this expedition. García del Pilar in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, 267.

³⁹⁶ The questioner asks, “podráse saber de los sobredichos alguaciles é nabatatos, é Pedro é D. Alonso;” and García del Pilar (*apud* Icazbalceta) responds, “partimos de allí llevando al dicho D. Alonso é D. Pedro é nahuatlato presos é atormentados, que no podían ir sino en hamacas.” García del Pilar in Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2, 250.

nahuatlato to refer to intelligible speakers, but the interrogator made him shift the meaning from “speaker of an intelligible language” to “Nahuatl translator.”³⁹⁷

The interrogator of García del Pilar suggests that at least some Spanish officials had adopted *nahuatlato* to refer to a translator by the 1530s, which is also confirmed by the notary Martino de Ibarra who recorded a meeting of several important church officials in Mexico City in 1539.³⁹⁸ The bishops of Mexico City, Michoacan, and Antequera met together with representatives of the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan orders to compose an official policy for the evangelization of Indigenous people. They decided that, in convents and parishes, some *mestizos* and the most skilled Indigenous persons that could be found in the schools and convents, those that could read and write Latin, should be *nahuatlato*s who helped priests and friars to administer the sacraments.³⁹⁹ This decree represented the recognition and unification of three ongoing communicative processes in New Spain: the acceptance by literate Spaniards that a *nahuatlato* was a person who could mediate a conversation between a Spanish speaker and a speaker of an Indigenous language; the recognition that Spanish religious institutions needed

³⁹⁷ Terraciano finds that, in La Mixteca, which was predominantly inhabited by speakers of Mixtec, notaries define *nahuatlato* as Nahuatl translator, or as a translator even when Nahuatl was not involved. He notes that in the Codex Sierra, an alphabetic-pictographic codex, there are three adjoining figures and each has a label: “alcalde mayor,” “notary,” and “nauatlato.” Since the alphabetic text is in Nahuatl, *nahuatlato* refers to a Nahuatl translator. However, he notes that La Mixteca writers also used *nahuatlato* to refer to interpreters who did not use Nahuatl because, in a 1541 case from Tlaxiaco, a Laçaro de Aunxal is a “naguatato de lengua española y misteca.” Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, 45.

³⁹⁸ They included the bishops of Mexico, Antequera, and Michoacan together with representatives of the Augustinia, Dominican, and Franciscan orders. AGI, Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.3.

³⁹⁹ The notary Martino de Ibarra wrote, ““algunos mestizos e Indios de los mas habiles que para ello se hallasen en sus escuelas, colegios e monasterios, que sepan leer y escribir, latin, si posible fuere, y que sean de lenguas, nahuatatos.” AGI, Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.3.

*nahuatlato*s; and the desire to teach Indigenous *nahuatlato*s the Roman alphabet so that they could become literate in Nahuatl.⁴⁰⁰

3.4. Nahuatlato, Franciscans, and the Mixtón War

Establishing a friar-*nahuatlato* dyad was the first step toward facilitating religious communication and instruction. The dyad was in place at Etzatlan in 1539, when Fray Cuéllar became the *guardian* of this town, and Calero assisted him as his *nahuatlato*, translator.⁴⁰¹ Cuéllar was thus in charge of developing a Franciscan convent and attaching nearby Indigenous towns to its authority, but he required a *nahuatlato* like Calero to communicate with the Nahuatl speakers of Nahua towns and the *nahuatlato*s of non-Nahua towns. In fact, the Franciscan chronicler Gerónimo de Mendieta noted that Calero was a lay Franciscan who knew the language of the Indigenous people and had worked with them in the company of Cuéllar while fray Antonio Tello also wrote that Cuéllar had baptized, taught, and promoted the faith with Calero in his company.⁴⁰² Nonetheless, Calero's background is unknown because, although both Mendieta and Tello wrote of him as a lay brother, neither mentioned Calero's life before arriving at

⁴⁰⁰ Rolena Adorno posits the evolution and transposition of *ladino* from the Iberian Peninsula to New Spain. Adorno, "The indigenous ethnographer: The 'indio ladino' as historian and cultural mediation" in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 378-379. Ricardo García contrasts the usage of *ladino* and *nahuatlato* and proposes that *ladino* meant educated. García, "Where Bilingualism Mattered: Nahuatl on the Western and Northern Frontiers of New Spain" *Voices* 2(1) (2014), 13-23.

⁴⁰¹ By 1539, Etzatlan was one of the northernmost outposts of Franciscan influence because only El Teul was farther north, and Xalisco was not established until the following year. Calero most likely spoke Nahuatl because it was the predominant *lingua franca* of Northwestern New Spain and Ciudad Real and several *Relaciones Geograficas* mention the prevalence of this language in communities close to Etzatlan.

⁴⁰² Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiastica Indiana II* (Mexico City: Cien de México, 1971), 736; Tello Vol. II, 358.

Etzatlán so he could have been *mestizo*, *peninsular*, or an Indigenous person. One study proposes that he was a mason from the town of Bollulos de la Mitación in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁰³ If this were the case, Calero could have also supervised the construction of convent facilities by using Nahuatl to communicate with Indigenous laborers.⁴⁰⁴ What is known is that Cuéllar and Calero worked together for a year and a half in which they began to establish the convent of Etzatlán. However, their work would be stopped by the Mixtón War, when they became two of its casualties.⁴⁰⁵

Spaniards and their Indigenous allies fought a confederation of native groups in what has come to be known as the Mixtón War, which lasted from 1540 to 1542.⁴⁰⁶ Scholars have attributed different causes to the war. Robert Ricard regarded it as anti-Christian in nature, but Lopez Portillo y Weber and J. H. Parry analyzed it as a response against the exploitative nature of the *encomienda* and slavery, and Pérez Bustamante emphasized slave-raiding by members of the Nuño de Guzman *entrada*.⁴⁰⁷ Altman has posited that, “the anti-Christian tenor of the uprising suggests that the rebels associated the Spaniards’ attempts to impose their religion with

⁴⁰³ Mendieta Vol. II, 628, 735-739, 748.

⁴⁰⁴ Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta identifies him as, “Fr. Juan Calero, lego que sabía la lengua de los indios y había trabajado mucho con ellos ayudando a su guardián.” Mendieta, 464. Furthermore, Tello remarks that the former had preached, baptized, and taught the faith to many Indigenous people in company of Juan Calero. Tello Vol. II, 358.

⁴⁰⁵ I am using Mixtón Confederation to refer to those Indigenous groups who formed an alliance to expel Spaniards and other Europeans from this region.

⁴⁰⁶ The name comes from a hill-top that the natives of the Mixtón Confederation used as a fort.

⁴⁰⁷ Yáñez Rosales, *Rostro, palabra y memoria indígena: El Occidente de México: 1524-1816*, 72; Pérez Bustamante, 73-74; Ricard, *La conquista espiritual de México: Ensayo sobre el apostolado y los métodos misioneros de las órdenes mendicantes en la Nueva España de 1523 a 1572* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 388-389.

their excessive and unbearable demands for labor and tribute.”⁴⁰⁸ She also proposes that the Indigenous groups who opposed the Spaniards gathered others to their cause through *tlatols* (words/speeches/messages) circulated prior to its outbreak.⁴⁰⁹ My study accepts these proposals, and it consults Gerónimo de Mendieta’s martyr accounts of Calero and Cuéllar and a *tlahtol* from Tlaltenango to argue for the consideration of Indigenous leadership by positing that the Indigenous leaders of the Mixtón Confederation struck at Calero and Cuéllar because they regarded them and their communicative actions as direct threats to their military efforts.⁴¹⁰

The Nahua Cazcanes (Refer to Chapter 2.3c) were one of the most prominent groups of the Mixtón Confederation, and they were led by leaders who had political and religious duties. In the town of Tlaltenango, the Cazcan elders remembered that, during their pre-Christian times, they did not have a kingdom because they only recognized some *capitanejos* (chiefs) for their bravery.⁴¹¹ The term *capitanejo* means the “subordinate of an Indigenous chief,” but the notary who recorded the voices of the Cazcan elders used it to refer to leaders who exercised their powers during war.⁴¹² Furthermore, the elders added that these *capitanejos* “worshipped the

⁴⁰⁸ Altman, 218.

⁴⁰⁹ Altman writes that Cazcan or Zacateca messengers with a *tlatol* (or message) and arrows wrapped with deerskin served as symbols of liberation and death to Christians. Altman, *The War for Mexico’s West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 142. *Tlatol* comes from *tlatolli* (word/words, message/messages), and it is the noun form of the Nahuatl verb *ihtoa*, speak. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 239. *Tlatol* without the *-li* usually represents a possessed form so that the actual word may have been *totlatol* (our word), or *notlatol* (my word).

⁴¹⁰ Altman proposes, “The main vehicle by which the message of liberation (and death for the Christians) spread was a *tlatol* (from Nahuatl *tlatolli*, meaning a statement, although in Nueva Galicia the Spaniards seem to suggest that it was a song or a chant). Altman, *The War for Mexico’s West: Indians and Spaniards in Nueva Galicia*, 142. Mendieta first mentions the death of Calero and then that of Cuéllar. Mendieta, 464-469.

⁴¹¹ RG of Tlaltenango in Acuña, 145.

⁴¹² *Diccionario de la Real Academia*, <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=capitanejo> (consulted on 3/6/2015). Pekka Hämäläinen proposes that the Comanche divided political authority between *paraibos* (civil leaders) and

devil,” which reveals that these leaders had visible religious duties.⁴¹³ In Nochistlan, the Cazcan inhabitants remembered a past leader named Panen who was not obeyed, and they recalled how they selected another named Xavalotl who was given tribute and obeyed.⁴¹⁴ In other words, the Cazcan inhabitants of a town could and did replace leaders. Thus, inhabitants of Cazcan towns like Tlaltenango and Nochistlan were invested in their leaders because they selected them, but they were also owed a certain reciprocity that these leaders reinforced with successful military campaigns, speeches, and religious rituals.

The inhabitants of Tequila had Cazcan neighbors to their east and south and were surrounded to the west and north by Coanos, a people who spoke a variant of Cora and also relied on Nahuatl to speak to Spaniards (Refer to Chapter 2.3f).⁴¹⁵ Little is known about their leadership during the sixteenth century because the most detailed account is from 1673 by the Franciscan Friar Antonio Arias y Saavedra. Arias y Saavedra neglected to write of a Cora priesthood, but instead implied that, before going on a raid, war leaders consulted the Nayari shrine, which had the seated remains of four past rulers, and he adds that many weapons were

mahimiana paraibos (war leaders), and it is possible that some of the groups in Northwestern New Spain had a similar custom for dividing political power. Hämäläinen, 2008: 273.

⁴¹³ Acuña, 145.

⁴¹⁴ Acuña, 168-169.

⁴¹⁵ Fernando de Escobar who was the notary of the RG of Minas de Xocotlan wrote that the province of Minas de Xocotlan was east of two Coano provinces: Tequila the east and the ridge of the Xora (or Cora) to the north. Escobar in Acuña, 320. This coincides with Mendieta who wrote that the Indigenous people who had rebelled had gone to the hills of Tequila, which was probably a reference to the hills of the Ridge of the Cora. Mendieta, 464. Escobar also wrote that, in Minas de Xocotlan, the Indigenous inhabitants had their own language, but also used Nahuatl with Spaniards. Escobar in Acuña, 317.

kept nearby.⁴¹⁶ Thus, Cora leadership may have been similar to Cazcan leadership in that military leaders were obligated to consult religious forces on behalf of the community.

Cazcan and Cora military leaders were also political and spiritual leaders whose victories in war empowered them by validating the perception that they possessed divine favor, whereas defeats diminished their influence. These leaders could not help but see Cuéllar and Calero as threats, especially because both Franciscans were based in Etzatlan, a town that divided the Cazcan territory in half and could serve as a base from which to attack the Cora in El Gran Nayar. Calero and Cuéllar had successfully worked in Etzatlan, Ameca, Tequila⁴¹⁷, and other nearby communities for a year and a half, and they had even brought some people down from Cazcan and Cora mountain *rancherías*.⁴¹⁸ Then, shortly before the Mixtón War, Cuéllar was called back to Mexico City and before going, he placed another friar in charge of the convent of Etzatlan because Calero was only a lay Franciscan.⁴¹⁹ Afterwards, the Mixtón War began in 1540, and in 1541 the inhabitants of Tequila went into the adjoining hills to join the Mixtón

⁴¹⁶ Arias y Saavedra in Calvo, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo*, 293-294.

⁴¹⁷ Mendieta writes Tecuila, but in Northwestern New Spain, some literate Spaniards and Indigenous people used *c* to represent *q* even when it was followed by a *u*. Mendieta, 464. Tello writes Tequila. Tello, Vol. II, 358-359.

⁴¹⁸ Mendieta mentions that Cuéllar had populated Ameca with some Indigenous people that he had brought from the hills. Mendieta, 464. Meanwhile, Tello writes, “También tocaron las llamas del alzamiento referido, á los indios de Tequila y los de Ameca, que eran de una lengua.” Tello, Vol. II, 358. Ameca and Tequila were probably populated by the Nahuatl-speaking Cazcanes because Pedro de Moras writes that, in 1579, Ameca was populated by two groups: Cazcanes and a people that he classified as Totonagues, and he was the notary of the *Relación Geográfica de Ameca*. Moras in Acuña, 32. Also, Fernando de Escobar writes that Indigenous people from Xocotlan spoke Nahuatl, and that they lived east of the province of Tequila, and he was the notary of the *Relacion Geográfica de Las Minas de Xocotlan*. Escobar in Acuña, 320.

⁴¹⁹ Mendieta suggests, “El sacerdote que presidia en la casa no debia de saber la lengua de los indios, por lo cual Fr. Juan [Calero] quien los habia doctrinado, viendo la gran ofensa que aquellos sus ahijados hacian á Dios en apostatar de su fe, y recelándose que si no volvieran á poblado habian de ser muertos por los españoles ó (á mejor librar) dados por perpetuos esclavos...” Mendieta, 737.

Confederation. Upon learning of this event, Calero asked permission from the Franciscan in charge of Etzatlan to go talk to the people of Tequila to see if he could bring them back through the influence that he had with them.

Mendieta's martyr account of Calero provides details of what happened in the attack, which appears to have been intended to intimidate.⁴²⁰ Calero had gained permission to travel to Tequila so he went there, arrived, and implored its inhabitants to return to Christianity, but they told him that they knew what they were doing and that he should return to his convent. Calero left and went on the road with four Indigenous aides when an Indigenous group attacked and killed him together with three of his aides while only the Indigenous person named Francisco escaped. The attackers killed Calero in a very specific way. They struck him with arrows and broke his teeth with their war clubs saying that he would no longer speak to them. Finally, Mendieta adds that, in time, people from El Gran Nayar incorporated Calero's death into their ritual calendar, parading a statue with his habit every year on the anniversary of his death.⁴²¹

Mendieta wrote about the death of Calero as a Franciscan-biased narrative based on Indigenous perceptions filtered by the testimonies of Francisco and others from Tequila who may have come forward to report this event to Spanish authorities and their notaries. The resulting records then led him to write ambiguities, such as the presence of a female leader, into his narrative suggesting that Indigenous witnesses balanced testimonies between historical truths and falsehoods of exoneration in order to avoid punishment for the killing of Calero. At first,

⁴²⁰ Mendieta appears to rely on the testimony of Francisco as well as other Indigenous persons from Tequila. Mendieta, 737-739.

⁴²¹ Mendieta, "Había algunos días que Fr. Francisco y su compañero sabían cómo los indios que mataron al siervo de Dios Fr. Juan Calero (como arriba queda dicho), llevaron su hábito y con él hicieron una estatua, y que cada año el día que lo mataron, celebraban fiesta en memoria de aquella victoria, que (á su parecer) habían alcanzado en matar un destruidor de sus ídolos." Mendieta, 756-757.

some Indigenous persons who knew Calero had heard him preach his Christian message in Tequila, but they told him to leave, and then, other Indigenous persons arrive. Here testimonies diverge because “some Indigenous people” said that a woman had instigated Indigenous people from the second group by stating that they would not be men if they did not kill that friar who would deceive and enslave them.⁴²² These Indigenous witnesses and/or the Indigenous woman that they reported thus equated manhood with military proficiency, and this claim is supported by documents about Cazcan and Cora leaders. However, Mendieta clarified that not all witnesses mentioned the woman whom he compared to Jezabel. What is the truth? The two main possibilities are that only some of the witnesses heard the woman’s words, or that some witnesses shifted leadership from a man to a woman to protect themselves or someone they knew.

Meanwhile, Mendieta records that an Indigenous leader was also responsible for the death of Cuéllar, who was in Mexico City when the Mixtón War began.⁴²³ Mendieta asserts that Cuéllar returned to Etzatlan during the middle of June (poss: 1541). Some time later, Cuéllar had received orders to travel to Zapotlan, a town southeast of Etzatlan stopping at Ameca because it was depopulated since many inhabitants had gone to join the Mixtón Confederation. However, Cuéllar stayed to talk to those who remained to see if they could persuade others to return to the town, and on August 12, he said mass and baptized many children. That same day, he left with

⁴²² The alignment of womanhood with a non-martial posture is also evident in Central Mexico where Tlatelolca writers link Tenochca warriors as being womanly, whereas Tlatelolca warriors were brave. Terraciano, *The Conquest all over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* ed. by Susan Schroeder (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 15-40. Perhaps the claim that a woman had incited the pursuing group from Tequila was an attempt to deflect blame, but the quote that, “no serían hombres si no matasen aquel fraile, que allí donde estaban los iba a vender y engañar,” sounds like a portion of a narrative to counter Calero’s message of peace and appeal to Cazcan warrior sensibilities. Mendieta, 738.

⁴²³ Mendieta, 740-741.

some Indigenous persons to continue his journey to Zapotlan, but a *capitanejo* led a group of Amecans who remained hostile. The Amecans placed themselves on a ridge adjacent to the road to Zapotlan along with Yagualuzos, an Indigenous group from the nearby town of Ayahualulco. Both groups followed Cúellar and attacked him and his party. They shot him three times in the face with one arrow entering through his mouth and exiting through the back of his neck, and after he fell, they struck him on the face and all over his body with clubs and rocks.

Witnesses from Ameca created the narrative of the killing of Cuéllar. Even though they presented less ambiguities, they also gave testimonies that resemble the aforementioned killing of Calero. First, they mention an Indigenous leader whose participation fades into the background. They also note how an Indigenous group who had not heard the Franciscan discourse carried out the attack. Finally, they detail how Cuéllar, like Calero, was also attacked in the mouth so that he could no longer proselytize.

These attacks on Calero and Cuéllar appear to have been warnings from the leaders of a Nahuatl oral culture that recognized how the former's command of Nahuatl and the latter's command of *nahuatlato*s enabled them to speak against the status quo. After all, *ihtoa* (speak) was a verb that denoted several important concepts such as *tlatoani* (pl. *tlatoque*), the ruler of an independent polity, which is attested in "1593a Oconahuac," with the recorded utterance, "we are the *tlatoque* of [the town of] Oconahuac...we are the *tlatoque* of [the town of] Çichtic...we are the *tlatoque* of [the town of] Tepetlahuacan...we are the *tlatoque* of the town of Xatlatzinco."⁴²⁴

Furthermore, the messages that members of the Mixtón Confederacy crafted to oppose the

⁴²⁴ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, "1593a Oconahuac."

Franciscans and other Spaniards came to be known as *tlatols* (sing. *tlatol*).⁴²⁵ One extant *tlatol* was directed at the people of Tlaltenango.⁴²⁶ It begins with a statement that announces the impending arrival of the devil who is named as *tecoroli*.⁴²⁷ This term appears to represent *tecololi* because *r* is a substitute for *l* in some variants of Nahuatl. Also, *tecoroli* is probably a variant of the better known *tecolotl* (owl) except that the former has an absolute *-li* suffix while the latter has a *-tl* ending, and for this reason, *tecoroli* may refer to *tlacatecolotl* (man-owl or were-owl), a sorcerer in Nahua beliefs that the Franciscans associated with the Christian devil.⁴²⁸ The first records of *tlacatecolotl* precede *tecoroli* by about a decade since the first known appearance of the former was within the *huehuetlatolli* (speeches of the elders) that fray Andrés de Olmos recorded between 1533 and 1539, whereas the latter was recorded on or after 1544.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ I have only found one *tlatol* that has survived. It was addressed to the people of Tlaltenango, a Cuzcan town.

⁴²⁶ Pérez Bustamante transcribed the 35th charge against Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, which included the *tlatol* sent to Tlaltenango. The 35th charge accused the viceroy of sending cruel people to Northwestern New Spain that abused the natives to such an extent that the natives rebelled during what later came to be known as the Mixtón War. The charges were raised by Licenciado Tello de Sandoval who had a royal decree dated to May 13, 1543 in Barcelona and June 26, 1543 in Valladolid to investigate the royal *audiencia* of New Spain and its viceroy. “Los orígenes del gobierno virreinal en las Indias españolas. Dr. C. Pérez Bustamante, Don Antonio de Mendoza: Primer Virrey de la Nueva España (1535-1550)” with a preface by Carlos Pereyra and a preliminary note by Luis Blanco Rivero (Santiago, Spain: Anales de la Universidad de Santiago, 1928), 99, 104, 154-155.

⁴²⁷ Bustamante transcribes the beginning of the *tlatol* as, “nosotros somos mensajeros del diablo el qual se llama *tecoroli* y venymos hazeros saber como el viene.” It is also possible that Pérez Bustamante transcribed *tecoroli* instead of *tecorotl*, transcribing an “li” instead of a “-tl”. Bustamante, 154.

⁴²⁸ Terraciano writes that the Codex Sierra Texupan, which is in a multilingual region, contains instances in which one or more notaries use non-traditional absolute suffixes in the Nahuatl words *ylhuitli*, *altepetli*, *cacahuatli*, *yztatli*, *teocuitlatli*, *tlacatli*, *yehuatl*, *petlatli*, *xihuitli*, *amatli*, *tomatli*, *totoltetli*, and *mecatli*, which tend to have *-tl* suffixes in Central Mexico and parts of Northwestern New Spain (Refer to Chapter 4.5c and 4.6). Terraciano, “Parallel Nahuatl and Pictorial Texts in the Mixtec Codex Sierra Texupan” *Ethnohistory* 62: 3 (July 2015), 502.

⁴²⁹ Burkhart also supports Jorge Klor de Alva’s assertion that *tlacatecolotl* is absent from the *Colloquios*, and she writes that it does not appear in two religious dramas, *Juicio Final* and *Sacrificio de Isaac*, that were allegedly written in the 1530s. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 204. Bustamante asserts that Tello de Sandoval wrote a letter to Prince Philip on September 19, 1544 in which he mentioned writing an account of the state of the vicerealty in order to attack the tenure of Viceroy Mendoza. Bustamante, 103. J.H. Parry writes that the *visita* to

The Franciscans showed a particular millennial zeal, and the authors of the Tlaltenango *tlatol* responded in kind.⁴³⁰ This *tlatol* does not mention the Franciscans by name, but it twice names its opponents as friars, and it promises that *tecoroli* is coming to resurrect Indigenous ancestors whom the friars had condemned to damnation in sermons, and also that female elders would regain their youth and be able to conceive again.⁴³¹ With this response, the *tlatol* transfers the powers of resurrection and youth that Franciscans attributed to God and gives them to *tecoroli*, the devil. Resurrection and everlasting life represent God's most important promises, but in this *tlatol* they belonged to *tecoroli*. In the Book of Job, God rejuvenates Job after his tribulations and enables him to create a family that was in all ways better than his previous one, but the author of the *tlatol* subverts this action by presenting it as a reward of *tecoroli*.

The Tlaltenango *tlatol* also attacks the sacrament of monogamous marriage and the Franciscan role in its propagation among peoples who practiced polygamy, the custom of having more than one wife at a time. The *tlatol* tells its audience that those who believe in *tecoroli* and renounce the teachings of the friars will have all the women they want, and not just one as demanded by the friars, and that those who were happy with one partner would die. Clearly, this passage implies that Franciscan efforts to promote the sacrament of monogamous matrimony disrupted families to a great extent if leaders would include it in a *tlatol*. After all, the Nahua chronicler Antón Muñón Chimalpahin mentions that the Franciscans began to enforce

Nueva Galicia occurred in the summer of 1544. Parry *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 29-30.

⁴³⁰ The classic study is John Leddy Phelan's aptly named *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, which examines the rhetoric of Gerónimo de Mendieta as indicative of Franciscan thought in New Spain during the sixteenth century. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970).

⁴³¹ The Franciscan writer of "1626 San Francisco Chapala" specifically mentions the damnation of their ancestors.

monogamous matrimones in 1529, and Quetzalmazatzin, the ruler of Tlalmanalco abandoned all his wives despite having children with them to marry his sister-in-law.⁴³²

The *tlatol* of Tlaltenango and Mendieta's martyr narratives also correspond in that they promoted gendered messages directed primarily at men. The former promised that those who abandoned the teachings of the Franciscans would receive masculine objects and status symbols such as bows and arrows that would never break, fields that would produce without labor or rain, jewels for the nose and arms, and as many wives as they wanted. Its promises to women were less well thought-out: food that would cook on its own and the ability to have children until old age. The martyr narrative of Calero conveyed a message that challenges the men's masculinity in the speech of the female leader who shamed the men from Tequila in order to encourage them to kill Calero. These accounts thus demonstrate that leaders from the Mixtón Confederation felt threatened by the oral power commanded by the Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyad, whose Franciscan message encouraged others to abandon their masculine martial practices in favor of the more peaceful Christian God.

⁴³² Domingo Francisco de San Antón Chimalpahin Cuautlehuanitzin gives a clear example of this disruption in Central Mexico from 1529 when the Franciscans implemented the sacrament of marriage. Rafael Tena translates Chimalpahin's words as, "Y cuando los doce religiosos de San Francisco los obligaron a dejar sus mujeres, al comenzar el santo sacramento del matrimonio, aunque con todas ellas tenía hijos el tlatohuani Quetzalmazatzin, a todas las dejó y [,teniendo que escoger,] su corazón se inclinó por su cuñada doña Catalina Chimalmantzin, la señora de Tlalmanalco Chalco, para desposarla en el santo sacramento; ésta había sido esposa del hermano mayor de Quetzalmazatzin...el cual no alcanzó a bautisarse pues murió en el tiempo de su gentilidad." Tena in Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan* Vol. II (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), 175. The original Nahuatl is, "Auh yn ihcuac yn ye motecihuacahualtilia matlactin omomentin teopixque S Fran[cis]co ynic yancuican peuh teoyotica sacramentotica nenamictiliz, macihui mochintin quinpilhuati tlahtohuani Quetzalmaçatzin yece çan quincauh mochintin, amo quinnec, ceme quinmonamictiz teoyotica, çan quincauh mochintin auh çan yehuatzin huel oquinec oytech huetz yn iyollo yn omoteneuh y huel yhuelpoltzin ynic teoyotica sacramentotica quimonamictiz yn itocatzin doña Catalina Chimalmantzin yn Tlalmanalco Chalco cihuapilli; y icihuah ocatca y yachcauhtzin Quetzalmaçatzin yn itoca Huehueyotzintli yn amo mocuaatequitiuh yn oc tlateotoquilizpan omomiquilli." Chimalpahin, 174.

The Mixtón Confederation had threatened Spanish settlements such as Compostela and Guadalajara until Viceroy Mendoza arrived commanding a large force recruited from other parts of New Spain. Mendoza's army included hundreds of Spaniards and thousands of Nahuas from Central Mexico and Michoacan who marched with the Viceroy to attack the forces of the leaders of the Mixtón Confederation. The latter fortified themselves in the *peñoles* (hill tops) of Northwestern New Spain, but one by one these places were conquered until mid-December 1541, when the peñol of El Mixtón fell, which signalled the end of the Mixtón War.⁴³³

3.5. Franciscan Convents and Indigenous Towns

By 1542, the Franciscans had ten convents in Northwestern New Spain, but their further expansion would be affected by three events: the Epidemic of 1545-1548, the exploitation of silver in Zacatecas, and the continued resistance of Indigenous groups who lived in the cold lands.⁴³⁴ Scholars have not reached a consensus on the type of epidemic that began in Central Mexico and struck Northwestern New Spain for three years (1545-1548).⁴³⁵ In 1546, an Indigenous person led Juan de Tolosa to a mountain that held an enormous quantity of silver in a region that became known as Zacatecas.⁴³⁶ Many Spanish residents from Northwestern New

⁴³³ Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia*, 178.

⁴³⁴ Refugio de la Torre (e-mail: February 25, 2015) posits eight convents by 1540: Ajijic (1531), Tetlán (1531), Zapotlán (1532), Poncitlán (1533-1534), Etzatlán (1534), Tuxpan (1536), El Teul (1536), and Xalisco (1540). Also, Ricard writes that Autlan and Juchipila were established in 1542. Ricard, 144.

⁴³⁵ Chimalpahin writes that, in Central Mexico, nobles and commoners died from a disease that caused bleeding from the mouth, the eyes, the nose, and the anus. He also explained that so many people died that dogs and coyotes were eating corpses in Chalco. Chimalpahin, 201-203. Reff (1991: 115) posits that this epidemic consisted of typhus, a series of diseases spread by lice, fleas, and ticks.

⁴³⁶ Peter Bakewell *Silver Mining and Colonial Society in Mexico, Zacatecas 1546-1700*; Dana Velasco-Murillo, "Urban Indians in a Silver City, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1806."

Spain began to migrate there to develop *reales de minas* and to build the city of Zacatecas, which for a time, became the second largest city in New Spain after Mexico City. Furthermore, male Indigenous persons from Northwestern New Spain also began to travel regularly to Zacatecas and beyond in search of wage labor.⁴³⁷ However, some native groups continued to hamper communication with and travel to Zacatecas until at least 1590.⁴³⁸ Therefore, these three events and their consequences led to both permanent and periodic depopulation in Northwestern New Spain as male Indigenous people and, to a lesser degree, Europeans migrated to Zacatecas and its environs.

In this depopulated Northwestern New Spain, Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyads could and did create intellectual and tributary networks among themselves, the Indigenous settlers who remained, and Europeans in settlements like Guadalajara, Compostela, and Acaponeta. One of the clearest examples was an *hospital*, hospital/hospice, network dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception.⁴³⁹ The Epidemic of 1545-1548 had killed thousands by its third year, and to counteract it in Northwestern New Spain, chroniclers suggest that the Franciscans began to build *hospitales* dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception; Ciudad Real explains in

⁴³⁷ Robert C. West notes how the bishop of Guadalajara wrote in 1572 that Spaniards and some 1500 Indigenous people traveled from his jurisdiction to the mines of Zacatecas. West, *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), 117. Powell also discusses Indigenous miners in “The Forty-Niners of Sixteenth-Century Mexico” Powell, “The Forty-Niners of Sixteenth Century Mexico” *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Aug., 1950), 235-249.

⁴³⁸ Powell refers to this conflict as the Chichimeca War. Furthermore, he also posits that this war began the long history of the *presidio*, stock ranch, and mission as basic frontier institutions, accompanied by the Spanish-Indigenous establishment of defensive towns and the organization of a settler-soldier cavalry that characterized this and all other advances into the continent. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: North America's First Frontier War*, vii-viii.

⁴³⁹ I have italicized *hospital* to make it known that I am using the Spanish version, which is spelled like the English version, but which refers to a hospital/hospice building in which Indigenous people cared for the sick, and Franciscan friars administered Catholic sacraments to convalescing or dying patients, and which may have also served as a inns for travelers.

1587 that each town with a Franciscan or Augustinian convent had a *hospital* and a *cofradía* dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception; Mota y Escobar writes that Indigenous towns generally had an *hospital* and a *casa de comunidad*.⁴⁴⁰ The *casa de comunidad* was usually the cabildo meeting place, but it may have also served as the site of the *cofradía* of Mary of the Immaculate Conception, the funding arm of the *hospital*. Thus, the most important Indigenous towns came to have at least three civic spaces: the Franciscan or Augustinian convent, the *hospital* of the Immaculate Conception, and the *cofradía* of the Immaculate Conception.

In 1548, the Franciscans had convents in twelve Indigenous towns. These were probably the first to construct accompanying *hospitales* and *cofradías*.⁴⁴¹ Franciscans made the convent their space in which they had their living quarters, the church, and an orchard that probably also served as a contemplative space.⁴⁴² The Indigenous people dominated the *cofradía* because this type of organization was always run by lay people who kept dues and other income within a lockbox situated in the *casa de comunidad*, or *cabildo-cofradía* building.⁴⁴³ Meanwhile, the *hospital* had to be a shared space where Franciscans took care of the spiritual needs of the sick through the administration of the sacraments, such as confession and the unction of the sick, while Indigenous persons looked after the physical care of patients. The Franciscans were not doctors, but by establishing the *hospital* they founded place to care for the physical and spiritual

⁴⁴⁰ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 68; Mota y Escobar, 36.

⁴⁴¹ Refugio de la Torre (e-mail: February 25) posits eight convents by 1540: Ajijic (1531), Tetlán (1531), Zapotlán (1532), Poncitlán (1533-1534), Etzatlán (1534), Tuxpan (1536), El Teul (1536), and Xalisco (1540). Also, Ricard writes that Autlan and Juchipila were established in 1542, Amacueca in 1547, and Chapala in 1548. Ricard, 144.

⁴⁴² Ciudad Real almost always mentioned the orchard when describing a given Franciscan convent. Ciudad Real, Vol. II.

⁴⁴³ Mota y Escobar, 36.

well-being of Indigenous people and some Europeans because in this institution they could care for the sick, shelter travelers, and administer the sacraments.⁴⁴⁴

However, the Franciscans needed a source of labor to help them perform the many physical duties required by tending to the sick so they relied on the flexible *cofradía*, an organization of lay people, and on extant labor practices in the Indigenous towns of Northwestern New Spain. Fray Tello explained that the Franciscans required that Indigenous men and women from each neighborhood work each week in service to the sick at the *hospital*.⁴⁴⁵ This requirement suggests that the Franciscans relied on the rotational labor mechanisms of the colonial *altepetl* and its neighborhoods which were known as *tlaxilacalli*. In Central Mexico the *altepetl* was made up of generally four or eight constituent parts known as *tlaxilacalli* that were not hierarchical but cellular in nature and each of these *tlaxilacalli* rotated supervisory and labor duties in a fixed manner.⁴⁴⁶ For example, Tlaxcala had four constituent parts (Tizatlán (1), Quiahuixtlán (2), Tepetícpac (3), and Ocotelulco (4)) and their residents rotated the two-year office of *governador* in a consistent manner from 1545-1614: 1 → 2 → 3 → 4 → 1 → 2 → 3 → 4 → etc.⁴⁴⁷ The rotational order also manifested itself in the duties that the

⁴⁴⁴ Robert Ricard, 15, 259.

⁴⁴⁵ Tello, Vol. II, 525.

⁴⁴⁶ Lockhart writes that the Nahuas created larger constructs based, “on a series of relatively equal, relatively separate and self-contained constituent parts of the whole,” and adds that these were known as *tlaxilacalli* during the colonial period. Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, 15. Pedro Carrasco describes this cellular nature by stating that *altepetl* were, “always, and at different levels of organization, aggregates of groups that were both territorial divisions and corporate bodies, whose leaders formed the ruling strata.” Carrasco, “Social Organization of Ancient Mexico” in *Handbook of Middle American Indians 10* ed. by R. Wauchope, G. F. Ekholm, and I Bernal (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971).

⁴⁴⁷ Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, 105-106.

residents of each *tlaxilacalli* performed for the *tlatoani*, the hereditary ruler of the *altepetl*.⁴⁴⁸

These residents had leaders who led them when they worked, fought, and performed religious ceremonies.⁴⁴⁹ *Altepetl* in Central Mexico were, “always, and at different levels of organization, aggregates of groups that were both territorial divisions and corporate bodies, whose leaders formed the ruling strata.”⁴⁵⁰

Less is known about the *altepetl* and *tlaxilacalli* in Northwestern New Spain, but several writers have identified one or both of these entities in this region. The notary of the *Relación geográfica de Ameca* wrote in 1579 that, before the arrival of Europeans, the residents of Ameca had an order that prisoners taken in war be divided among the *tlaxilacalli*, and while there, the prisoners were to be fed by the *tequitlatoque* (tribute overseers) for forty to fifty days to prepare them for sacrifice.⁴⁵¹ Furthermore, in 1674, Friar Antonio Arias y Saavedra described El Gran Nayar as a region of four “*tlahuilanal*,” a term related to *tlaxilacalli*, and many notaries from nearby towns—San Antonio Quihuiquinta, San Sebastian Guaxicori, and Xalisco—also used *tlahuilanal*, suggesting that this term was a regional feature concentrated in the northwest of Northwestern New Spain.⁴⁵² Finally, notaries in thirty documents from this study named the

⁴⁴⁸ Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, 18.

⁴⁴⁹ Friedrich Katz proposed that the rulers of the Aztec Empire relied on the *calpulli* (known in some regions as *tlaxilacalli* and others as *chinamitl*) as military and tributary unit. He also suggested that each *calpulli* was a social unit because it had certain physical structures within its boundaries such as a temple dedicated to a specific god and a school for teaching youths (*telpochcalli*), and its residents prepared feasts for a fellow resident that had reached an important milestones such as the capture of a prisoner for the first time. Katz, “Situación social y económica de los aztecas durante los siglos XV y XVI” (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1966), 10-11.

⁴⁵⁰ Carrasco, 360.

⁴⁵¹ Acuña, 35. Lockhart defines *tequitlatoque* as tribute overseer. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 234.

⁴⁵² The notaries of “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori,” “1593a Xalisco,” and “1593b Xalisco,” used *tlahuilanal* in their documents. BPEJ-JJA, Fondo Franciscano, Volumen 14, Numero

polity that they were representing as an *altepetl* and those in “1679 Sayula” and “1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco” also relied on *tlaxilacalli* to describe the petitioning town.

The *altepetl* was thus very present in Northwestern New Spain, and its mechanisms coincided with how Fray Tello described the functioning of the *hospital*.⁴⁵³ First, Indigenous people gave alms. Second, the women whose turn it was to aid the sick were asked to make those things specific to their community (i.e. cotton cloaks) during their free time. Third, Indigenous people harvested crops a day or two specifically for the *hospital*; some plants were kept for the infirmary, and others were sold. Here, the Nahuas were experts, and they would have been guided by their *tequitlatoque* because this was one of the types of labor that they had performed before the arrival of Europeans. Fourth, the Franciscans encouraged the Nahuas to raise *ganado mayor* (cattle and horses) and *ganado menor* (sheep, goats, pigs) whose products would be sold for funds. There was a specific division of labor among the Nahuas in which men performed work outside the home, whereas women worked within and around the home, so although Tello did not always comment on the gender of the Indigenous people, men probably worked outside of the *hospital* harvesting crops and raising *ganado* while women took care of the sick and wove garments of cotton and agave to sell.⁴⁵⁴

1074; Thomas Calvo, 287. Lockhart defines *tlahuilānalli* as, “something dragged along, often in possessed form, meaning the dependency of something, especially of an indigenous municipality; a patientive noun from *huilāna*, to drag. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 236.

⁴⁵³ Tello, Vol. II, 525-526.

⁴⁵⁴ Stephanie Wood describe this gendered division of labor in Central Mexico in “Matters of Life and Death: Nahuatl Testaments of Rural Women, 1589-1801” and Susan Kellogg proposes parallel feminine and masculine spheres of responsibilities that included labor in “From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate and Unequal: Tenochca Women 1500-1700.”

Men and women also performed religious duties for the *hospital* according to fray Tello.⁴⁵⁵ They sang in a choir at dawn and at dusk, and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, they sang for the dead accompanied by tolling bells. Also, since the *hospital* was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, each Saturday, Indigenous people placed her statue on a litter and adorned it with flowers. Then, four Indigenous people carried the litter around the community while others followed in procession.

These different work parties required supervision that was largely indigenous because the few Franciscans that lived in a given convent had to administer many duties within the *cabecera* and in nearby towns that were often a ridge or two away. They might also have to rely on a *nahuatlato* if they did not speak the local language, so that neither one of these officials could supervise the working parties required by the *hospital* and local Indigenous people had to take on these leadership duties. The *cofradías* and *hospitales* of the Immaculate Conception apparently had at least three types of officials: a *mayordomo*, a *prioste*, and several *tenantzitzihuan* (sing. *tenantzin*). The male *mayordomo* kept one of the keys to the lock box in which the money that the *cofradía* containing the dues that members paid and from agriculture and herding activities performed by the people of the town.⁴⁵⁶ The male *prioste* appears to have helped the *mayordomo* administer the money because his name regularly appears alongside the *mayordomo*'s at the end of many of the petitions in this study, and it always appears alongside the *mayordomo*'s in

⁴⁵⁵ Tello, Vol. II, 525-526.

⁴⁵⁶ Ciudad Real mentioned that, apart from alms, the *hospitales* kept goats and sheep and relied on the income from selling cheese and wool from these animals. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 68. The amount of money could be substantial because Mota y Escobar noted that *hospitales* relied on sheep herds and alms and added that some were so rich that they spent these income from this property on people that were not sick. Mota y Escobar, 36.

Memorias de limosnas and *Memorias de gastos*, record books of how *cofradía* alms and property were managed.⁴⁵⁷

Jonathan Truitt examined the 1552 constitution of the *cofradía* of San Josef de los Naturales in Mexico City, and he writes that four *cihuateopixqui* (women in charge of people) were appointed along with four male deputies in this *cofradía*.⁴⁵⁸ *Cofradías* in Northwestern New Spain also had supervisory roles for women. San Josef de los Naturales was a very large *cofradía* in Mexico City that required four deputies, but in the towns of Northwestern New Spain, the *prioste* and the *mayordomo* may have supervised male labor details sent from the *tlaxilacalli*, which was had to provide labor for a given week. Meanwhile, two petitions and one addenda name female supervisors as either *tenantzin* (singular, Nahuatl), *tenantzitzihuan* (plural, Nahuatl), or *capitanas* (plural, Spanish). *Tenantzin* literally means mother to everyone because it has the *te-* indefinite possessive pronoun together with *nan* (mother) and *-tzin* (reverential); in one modern variant of Nahuatl, it means “grandmother.”⁴⁵⁹ Also, in “1622 La Magdalena,” the notary named the petitioner as a *tenantzin* and remarked that the *tenantzitzihuan* worked in the *hospital* and were afraid of the *alguacil mayor* of this town.⁴⁶⁰ The notary also mentioned that the *prioste* had helped the petitioner with her complaint most likely by writing it for her.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁷ A large number of these are in the Historic Archive of the Archbishopric of Guadalajara from the 1670s and 1680s.

⁴⁵⁸ Jonathan Truitt, “Courting Catholicism: Nahua Women and the Catholic Church in Colonial Mexico City” *Ethnohistory* 57:3 (Summer 2010), 416.

⁴⁵⁹ Lockhart writes that it is an indefinite personal possessive prefix and adds that *te-* is added to kinship terms, which must always be possessed. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 27, 232. Ofelia Morales is a native speaker of Huasteca Nahuatl and she defines *tenantzin* as abuela (Skype conversation in 2013).

⁴⁶⁰ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

⁴⁶¹ I argue that the *prioste* recorded her petition.

Furthermore, the translator of this petition described that María Magdalena was a *tenantzin*, one of the *mayordomos* elected by the people of La Magdalena. In “1653 Amatitlan,” the notary included *tenantzitzihuan-capitanas* alongside a *mayordomo*, a *prioste*, and a *fiscal* as the parties involved in this petition. Once again, the notary mentioned several *tenantzitzihuan* so that it was an office with several officials. The words *mayordomo*, *capitana*, and *abuela* thus suggest that the *tenantzitzihuan* in La Magdalena and Amatitlan held supervisory positions in these towns, where they probably oversaw the women from the *tlaxilacalli* that performed labor for a given week. As a result, they were probably very similar to the four *cihuateopixque*, women in charge of people, that Truitt found in the *cofradía* of San Josef de los Naturales in Mexico City.⁴⁶²

In Northwestern New Spain, the *cofradía-hospital* of the Immaculate Conception thus represented a Franciscan addition to the Indigenous *altepetl*, which continued to survive despite the continuing depopulation after the Mixtón War. However, the Franciscans added another layer when they began to teach the male children of the Indigenous nobility to speak, read, and write in Nahuatl with the Roman alphabet to prepare Christian leaders who could serve as *nahuatlantos*, *mayordomos*, *priostes*, and also as *alcaldes* and *regidores* of Indigenous communities. Women were excluded from this education. This fact is reflected in the production of the Indigenous documents in this study: of the sixty-three documents that Indigenous writers wrote, only one focuses on a woman, the aforementioned *tenantzin* María Magdalena, and it was likely written by a male *prioste*.

Literary training must have occurred concurrently with the building of *cofradía-hospitales*. In 1550, the friar Rodrigo de la Cruz who was stationed in the convent of

⁴⁶² In the lay sodality of San Josef de los Naturales in Mexico City, four *cihuateopixqui* were appointed along with four male deputies in this *cofradía*. Truitt, 416.

Ahuacatlan, wrote to Carlos V that the Franciscans had already founded schools to teach children how to read, write, count, and recite the prayer of the Virgin Mary that was known as the *horas de Nuestra Señora*.⁴⁶³ In other words, by the time Rodrigo de la Cruz wrote, Indigenous students were already learning how to read and write with the Roman alphabet. Then, on November 8, 1569, the Franciscan friars Alonso de Peraleja, Antonio de Cortegana, Juan de Villa Robredo, Cristobal Villoldo, and Francisco de Lorança signed a letter in which they described more intensive Franciscan efforts to educate the Indigenous people of Northwestern New Spain.⁴⁶⁴ Fray Alonso de Peraleja was the author of this letter, and he mentioned fourteen convents (Table 3-1) which served as centers of Catholic life in a region close to Guadalajara.⁴⁶⁵ He also explained that the Franciscans faced a daunting task because people in the region spoke a variety of languages (Refer to Chapter 2.3b to 2.3e and 2.4).

⁴⁶³ Ricard, 183.

⁴⁶⁴ Fray Alonso de Peraleja addressed this letter to two people, the *provisor* and the treasurer, of the diocese of Guadalajara because the bishop had recently died. This letter was in response to a royal edict ordering that the bishop be provided information about the secular and regular clergy of Northwestern New Spain. Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano* ed. by Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), 151.

⁴⁶⁵ Table 3-1 was created by information provided by Peraleja in his letter to the king. The first column has the name of the town; the second has the number of religious officials, which are friars and lay brothers, assistants who have not take a religious vow. The third column presents the availability of Christian individuals who knew at least some Nahuatl. For a friar, I have written whether he could take confessions and/or preach since the ability to do the former suggests low competency, whereas the ability to do both suggests high competency, or even fluency. I also present whether a *nahuatlato*, who was possibly a lay broter, lived there to show that Nahuatl communication occurred through an intermediary. The last column shows population being noted by individuals, *Indios* (Indigenous people), or by heads of household, *tributarios*. Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano*, 152-153. Yañéz Rosales uses this letter for Chapter 1 of *Guerra Espiritual y Resistencia Indígena: El Discurso de Evangelización en el Obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765*." In Chapter 1, she posits that the regular clergy focused on Indigenous evangelization and the secular clergy focused on Spaniards in the diocese of Guadalajara, whose boundaries represent those of Northwestern New Spain. Yañéz Rosales, *Guerra Espiritual y Resistencia Indígena: El Discurso de Evangelización en el Obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765*.

Table 3-1: Franciscan Convents, Nahuatl-Speaking Clergy, and Indigenous Subordinates in 1569⁴⁶⁶

Convent location	Religious officials	Proficiency with Nahuatl	Indigenous population
Ahuacatlan	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1200 Indigenous people
Ajijic	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1000 Indigenous people
Atoyac	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1600 Indigenous people
Autlan	1 friar	1 nahuatlato	1000 Indigenous people
Coculan	1 friar and 1 lay brother	1 friar learns the language.	700 Indigenous people
Etzatlán	1 friar and 1 lay brother	1 friar preaches and takes confessions.	1000 Indigenous people
Guadalajara	5 friars	2 friars preach and take confessions	700 Tributaries [Indigenous people]
Izaculco [Zacoalco] ⁴⁶⁷	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1000 [Indigenous people]
Izaulan [Zayula]	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1500 Indigenous people
Juchipila	1 friar	1 friar preaches and takes confessions	1000 Indigenous people
Nombre de Dios	1 friars; 1 nahuatlato	1 friar takes confessions	300 Indigenous people
Xalisco	3 friars	1 preaches and takes confessions 2 others are in the interior	No figure
Tlaxomulco	1 friar; 1 lay brother	1 friar learns the language (Coca/Tecuexe/Nahuatl?)	1300 Indigenous people
Zacatecas	2 friars; 1 lay brother	1 friar preaches and takes confessions.	500 Indigenous people

Fray Alonso de Peraleja also gave some basic information with which to reconstruct how Franciscans and *nahuatlatos* divided the teaching of Nahuatl and Roman alphabetic literacy.

Every convent had at least one ordained Franciscan, and those of Coculan, Etzatlán, Tlaxomulco,

⁴⁶⁶ The most accurate information concerned the convents of Guadalajara, Etzatlán, Ahuacatlan, Izaculco, and Izaulan because the friars who co-signed this letter were in charge of these convents. Peraleja was *guardián* of the convent of San Francisco in Guadalajara, Fray Antonio Cortegana was *guardián* of the convent of Etzatlán, Fray Juan de Villa Robredo was *guardián* of the convent of Ahuacatlan, Fray Cristobal Villoldo was *guardián* of the convent of Izaculco, and Fray Francisco de Lorança was *guardián* of the convent of Izaulan. Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano*, 152-153.

⁴⁶⁷ I agree with Yáñez Rosales who proposes that Izaculco refers to Zacoalco and Izaulan refers to Sayula. Izaulan appears to be harder to reconstruct, but in “n.y. Sayula,” the notary identifies this town as Çayolan, which is probably Izaulan. Yáñez Rosales, *Guerra espiritual y resistencia Indígena: El discurso de evangelización en el obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765*, 39.

and Zacatecas also had lay brothers to assist them who, like Calero, may have been chosen for their language skills. Some of the friars in many of these convents also had impressive language skills because eleven could teach and hear confession, which meant that they could not only understand spoken Nahuatl in the confessional but could also create sermons in this language.⁴⁶⁸ Their competence is difficult to measure, but it was probably not at the level of Fray Alonso de Molina, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, or native speakers of Nahuatl. Some probably wrote their sermons beforehand. The friars of Coculan and Tlaxomulco were probably learning an Indigenous language, which is why they could only take confessions (Table 3-3). In other words, they were probably studying with *nahuatlato*s and were also learning in the confessional space, where they listened to the Nahuatl of penitents while possibly also consulting one of the early *Artes de lenguas y confesionarios* of Nahuatl.

The situations in Autlan and Xalisco represented extremes. In Autlan, the friar who ministered to the Spaniards relied on a *nahuatlato* to translate his sermons for the one thousand Indigenous people in his jurisdiction.⁴⁶⁹ In Xalisco all three friars probably spoke Nahuatl because, although the native language was Huichol (Refer to Chapter 2.3h), the town had more than a few *nahuatlato*s. As a result, one friar preached and took confessions in Nahuatl and relied on a *nahuatlato* to translate his words into Huichol. Furthermore, there were two other friars in a region that Alonso de Peraleja classified as the interior, which most likely corresponded to El Gran Nayar, a Cora-speaking region (Refer to Chapter 2.3f, 2).⁴⁷⁰ As a result,

⁴⁶⁸ I do not know of any sermons that have survived in Central Mexico, but Friar Francisco de Torres authored a sermon-like work, “1626 San Francisco Chapalac by Francisco de Torres,” as an admonishment of the behavior of the nobles of Chapalac in an imperfect Nahuatl (Refer to Chapter 4.2d).

⁴⁶⁹ Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano*, 152.

⁴⁷⁰ Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano*, 152.

the two friars most likely had to use Nahuatl to proselytize while relying on *nahuatlantos* who spoke Cora and Nahuatl to translate their words.⁴⁷¹

Nevertheless, Fray Alonso de Peraleja also wrote that the friars within these convents had very little to do because “few of these Indigenous people were *nauales* to confess themselves or receive the sacraments.”⁴⁷² By this, he probably meant that only native Nahuatl speakers and *nahuatlantos* confessed themselves, but he then qualified this statement by explaining what the Franciscans and *nahuatlantos* had done to expand knowledge of Nahuatl.⁴⁷³ He explained that on Sundays, he and other Franciscans taught Indigenous people the prayers, recitations, and laws of Catholic doctrine in Latin and Nahuatl and followed this with a sermon (ostensibly in Nahuatl). He also mentioned that they relied on Indigenous teachers to teach teenage boys how to read, write, count, and play instruments. He did not specify the language in which the boys were taught, but judging by his previous statement, the Indigenous teachers clearly taught in Nahuatl.

As a result, the Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyad expanded the knowledge of *policía cristiana* and Nahuatl in Northwestern New Spain among people who were not necessarily native speakers of this language. According to Fray Alonso de Peraleja, few Indigenous people were “*nauales*” (Nahuatl speakers) in 1569, but ten to fifteen years later, the notaries of the *Relaciones Geográficas* and Ciudad Real frequently mentioned how Nahuatl was common throughout Northwestern New Spain. In Ameca, the notary of its *Relacion Geográfica* noted that the

⁴⁷¹ The Franciscans did not devote the same resources to decoding Cora or Huichol. While, Franciscans wrote many *Artes de lenguas* for Nahuatl, the only known *arte de lengua* for Cora was written by the Jesuit José de Ortega in 1732, and none are known for Huichol, but AHAG has a Huichol word list that appears to be from the nineteenth century. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁴⁷² *Codice Franciscano*, 153; Yáñez Rosales, *Guerra espiritual y resistencia Indígena*, 39.

⁴⁷³ Peraleja mentioned that Nahuatl was the most “general” language in the region and that Tarascan was the general region in the adjacent area of Michoacan. Peraleja in *Codice Franciscano*, 153.

Cazcanes and Totonacs who inhabited this town spoke their own languages, and that many of them were *ladino* in Nahuatl.⁴⁷⁴ In Amula, the notary likewise remarked that the people in this region knew a language that he referred to as *Otomita*, but that many of them also spoke Nahuatl.⁴⁷⁵ In Compostela, the notary identified one native language as Tecoxquin and also remarked that Nahuatl was also widely used.⁴⁷⁶ Also, some of the Franciscan-educated *nahuatlatos* may have gone over to the hostile to Spaniard cold lands west of Zacatecas because the notary of the Mines of Fresnillo remarked that by 1585, almost all of the Indigenous inhabitants spoke Nahuatl even though they also spoke a variety of languages.⁴⁷⁷

Some of these *nahuatlatos* became notaries whose works from the second half of the sixteenth century have survived. In 1557, a notary wrote a document in Tuxpan.⁴⁷⁸ From 1571-1573, several notaries from Xalisco wrote notarial records in which they listed the amount of alms collected in the predominantly Huichol town of Xalisco, and these or other notaries wrote a number of documents in 1593, 1594, and 1595.⁴⁷⁹ Around 1585, one or more notaries in Nombre

⁴⁷⁴ The notary writes, “Y los cazcanes y totonaques, aunque hablan entre ellos estas lenguas, todos ellos generalmte habla la lengua mexicana, y son muy ladinos en ella.” Acuña, 132. In this context, *ladino* appears to mean that they spoke it as a second language (hereafter L2). García examined the *Relación of Antonio Ruiz* and proposes that this European writer used *ladino en mexicano* to mean educated in Nahuatl. García, “Where Bilingualism Mattered: Nahuatl on the Western and Northern Frontiers of New Spain,” 20-21.

⁴⁷⁵ Acuña, 60.

⁴⁷⁶ Acuña, 89.

⁴⁷⁷ Juan Huidobro wrote in 1585, “Entre estos indios *chichimecos* hay muchas diferencias de lengua, pero, en general el día de hoy casi todos estos salteadores hablan la *mexicana* la cual es la mas general. Huidobro in Acuña, 122.

⁴⁷⁸ Yáñez Rosales, *Ypan altepetl monotza San Antonio de Padua Tlaxomulco/En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua Tlajomulco*, 204.

⁴⁷⁹ In *Xalisco, la voz de un pueblo en el siglo XVI*, Eustaquio Celestino, Magdalena Gomez, Ricardo Xochitemol, Thomas Calvo, and Jean Meyer transcribe, translate, and analyze a series of documents from Xalisco that are housed in the Franciscan Collection of BPEJ-JJA, but this collection also has three *memorias*, records of

de Dios wrote several documents in which they identified the inhabitants of this town as Mexica.⁴⁸⁰ In 1580, two different notaries wrote documents for Nochistlan, and at least three different notaries wrote documents for Oconahuac in 1593 (Chapter 1.6).⁴⁸¹ These and other notaries created documents that record an Indigenous perspective of how literacy spread in Northwestern New Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3.6. Reading, Writing, Signing, and Marking

The examination of how the Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyad spread Nahuatl and Roman alphabetic literacy in Northwestern New Spain can benefit from the use of sociolinguistic and historical methodologies since the topic represents the relationship between a society, “a group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes,” and a language, “what the members of a particular society speak.”⁴⁸² However, such an examination has the added complication that the writers cannot be consulted because they died and their colonial society no longer exists. The lack of living consultants and the reliance on the written word will result in an investigation that is somewhat less reliable than a sociolinguistic investigation, which is focused

tribute payments, that were not included. The earliest *memoria* has a date of March 2, 1572, and two others were dated March 20, 1572.

⁴⁸⁰ Barlow and George T. Smisor propose that a batch of these documents were written in 1563, but I propose 1585 instead (Refer to Chapter 5.2a). Barlow and Smisor, xvii.

⁴⁸¹ Yáñez Rosales also mentions notarial documents between 1593-1598 in Tesisitan. Yáñez Rosales, *Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de padua tlaxomulco 'En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco': Textos en lengua náhuatl, siglos XVII y XVIII*, 205, 207, 210.

⁴⁸² Ronald Wardaugh. *Introduction to Sociolinguistics* 4th Edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), 1.

on the present, but it will fit within the nascent field of historical sociolinguistics, which seeks to analyze the words of past writers to answer questions about literacy, dialect usage, and dialect imposition.⁴⁸³ These are very relevant topics for understanding how correspondence communities adopted writing technologies.

Literacy exists on two levels—reading and writing—so that a person could be very competent on the first level while having only some practice on the second. Writing competence is easiest to measure. In Northwestern New Spain, writing required the use of a feathered ink quill and liquid ink, and writers who lacked practice would be expected to have made numerous blotches on a given document. However, a practiced writer was not necessarily a highly literate Nahuatl practitioner because his command of the language might not have matched his caligraphic competence with the Roman alphabet. For example, Francisco de Torres was a Franciscan who wrote “1626 San Francisco Chapalac” with very legible caligraphy but nonstandard Nahuatl. He demonstrated his ability to write by inscribing vowels and smaller letters like n, r, and c, which have consistently thin lines, and larger letters letters like h, l, p, and q, which have thicker lines and more flourish. For example, he wrote “*Xicmatican ca huel no ixpan ohualneci...*” on line six using a heavy hand to write the capital X, the high and low points of the two hs, the high points of the two ls, and the lower-case x while using a lighter hand for the vowels and smaller consonants.

However, Francisco de Torres addressed the “*teteutli*” (lords) of San Francisco Chapalac without following the conventions of Central Mexican Nahuatl. The elites of Tetzco, Tenochtitlan, Chalco, and other *altepetl* in Central Mexico spoke and wrote to each other with

⁴⁸³ Tuten and Tejedo-Herrero explain these fields in “The Relationship between Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.”

very polite forms that included the use of reverential forms for nouns and verbs and the use of metaphorical couplets. However, Francisco de Torres seldom employed these forms. For example, he utilized thirty-seven verbs, but only *anmoyezticate* was in the reverential form in *cequintin principales anmoyezticate to altepeuh San Francisco Chapalac* (you elites are in our town of San Francisco Chapalac). Throughout his document, he was addressing the nobles of this town so the use of the reverential in *cequintin principales anmoyezticate to altepeuh San Francisco Chapalac* was expected, but why not elsewhere? Also, with nouns, he only added the reverential *-tzin* to *ilhuitzin*, or feast-day.⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, he only used one metaphorical couplet *xicanacan machiol temachtiliztli* (grasp the signs, the teachings). Was Francisco de Torres a competent writer who could only use Nahuatl with great difficulty, or was Nahuatl prose in Northwestern New Spain rougher than what was practiced in Central Mexico?

Francisco de Torres is a good example because he learned to write through a process that had existed in Christian Europe for more than a thousand years, but which the Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyad had only introduced into Northwestern New Spain during the mid-1500s. The first generation of literate Indigenous people began to write some of the examples of correspondence in this study and continued to write in Nahuatl until 130 years after the introduction of the Roman alphabet. Furthermore, literate Indigenous people were not concentrated in one town. The writers used many different types of paper and only “1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco” was written on paper bearing a royal mark suggesting that most of the documents were recorded on locally produced paper.

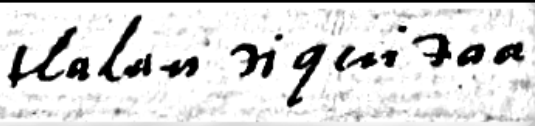

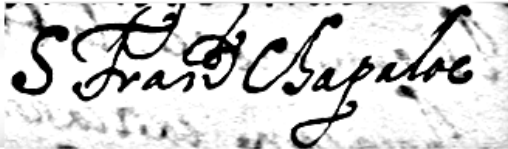
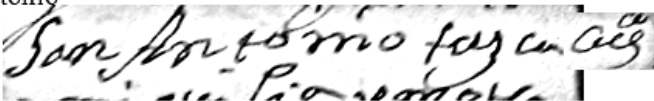
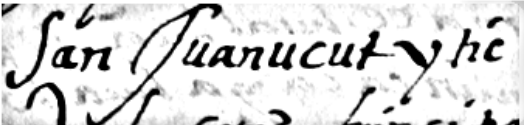
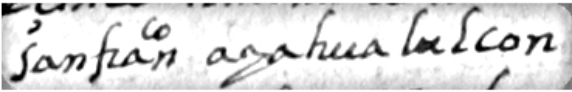
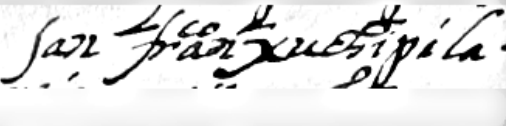
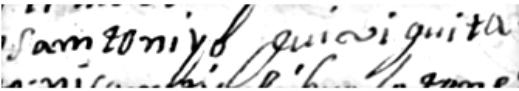
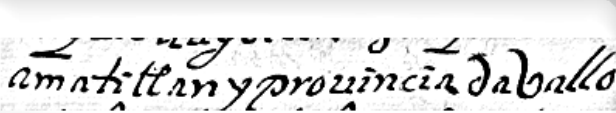
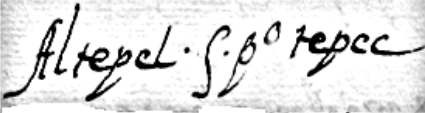
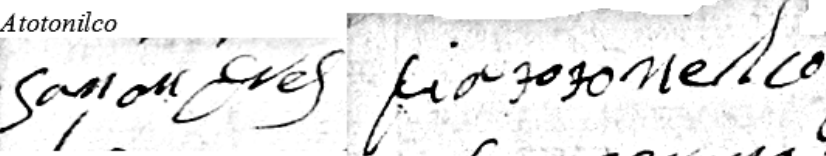
⁴⁸⁴ An alternate interpretation of the lack of honorifics is that Francisco de Torres thought that the nobles were not worthy of such language.

Indigenous notaries exhibited varying degrees of caligraphic competence between 1579 and 1694.⁴⁸⁵ Some commanded this skill to such an extent that their penmanship rivals that of Francisco de Torres (Table 3-2).⁴⁸⁶ For example, Juan Pedro wrote an eighty-three line petition in 1649 that has consistently thin and even letters. He created only one word with too much ink, “çe (one)” in line fifty-five. Other Indigenous notaries that were equally proficient include the writers of “1649 San Juan Ocotitic,” “1652 Juchipila,” “1653 Amatitlan,” and “1688 San Pedrotepec.” Other notaries utilized a rougher caligraphy with irregularly drawn letters that had too much ink, too little, and/or several blotches (Table 3-2). For example, Francisco Felipe wrote “1600 Tala” with uneven letters throughout its twenty-seven lines. Likewise, Pedro Puy inscribed “1622 Cohuatlan” with well-written words during the first twenty-three lines, but subsequent lines contain larger, rougher, and more rounded letters. Other examples include the unnamed notary of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” who wrote letters such as *a*, *e*, and *t* in an irregular manner; the unnamed notary of “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta” who made some strokes that were very thin and others that had an inordinate amount of ink; and the notary of “1692 San Andres Atotonilco” who wrote in a more uneven manner than the notary of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco.” Nevertheless, caligraphy has to be examined with content because a reliance on the former presents a scenario in which a given notary who wrote with an irregular script may have lacked practice, have had a poor teacher, or have been in a hurry to complete his work.

⁴⁸⁵ I have excluded “N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585” because the original has been lost and it is only available as a nineteenth-century copy.

⁴⁸⁶ “1600 Tala,” “1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan,” “1626 San Francisco Chapalac,” “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” “1649 San Juan Ocotitic,” “1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco,” “1652 Juchipila,” “1653 Amatitlan,” “1688 San Pedro Tepec,” and “1692 San Andrés Atotonilco,” are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl. “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta” is from McA-UCLA, Box 20.

Table 3-2: Writing Samples

Name of Writer	Document	Writing Sample
Francisco Felipe	1600 Tala	
Pedro Puy	1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan	
Francisco de Torres	1626 San Francisco Chapalac	
Unnamed	1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezcó	
Unnamed	1649 San Juan Ocotitic	
Juan Pedro	1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco	
Unnamed	1652 Juchipila	
Unnamed	1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	
Unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	
Unnamed	1688 San Pedrotepec	
Unnamed	1692 San Andrés Atotonilco	

Indigenous writers were using the Roman alphabet as introduced by the Franciscan-Nahuatlato dyad and for this reason, they employed certain Spanish and Nahuatl words and phrases that refer to the culture of writing. These high-frequency terms appear often because the genres of writing in New Spain required their usage. Spanish terms include *firma* (signature) and *escribano* (notary) while Nahuatl terms consist of *ihcuiloa* (write) and *tlacuilo* (writer). An examination of these terms reveals certain patterns between 1580 and 1622.

Notaries who wrote during the sixteenth century in Oconahuac and Xalisco show different tendencies (Table 3-3).⁴⁸⁷ For example, the writers of “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco,” and “1594a Xalisco” use *otitlacuiloque* (we wrote) without using *firma*, whereas that of “1595b Xalisco” employs *otictlali* (we set down) with *tomacehualtlatol* (our humble words). Meanwhile, the notary of “1593a Oconahua,” that of “1593b Oconahua,” and that of “1593c Oconahua” employ *firma*. The writer of “1593a Oconahua” uses *filma*, instead of *firma*, as a noun in a phrase *nictlalliya nofilma* (I set down my signature), which resembles the words of the notary of “1595 Xalisco” because it has the verb *tlalia* (set down) and a possessed noun. He also writes *titobilmatique* (we, ourselves, signed), in which he employs non-standard *bilma* (signature) instead of *firma* (signature), transforming it into a verb with Nahuatl affixes. Meanwhile, the notary of “1593c Oconahua” offers a variety of literacy terms when he relies on both *firma* as a verb in present and preterit forms, while also employing *icuilia* (write, transitive) in *oticui[li]que* and *hoquicuilli*, which he uses to refer to the

⁴⁸⁷ The documents from Xalisco are from BPEJ-JJA, Fondo Franciscano, Volumen 14, Numero 1074; those from Oconahuac are in BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 9, Progresivo 9; and those from Tala, San Andrés Cohuatlan, and La Magdalena are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

writing of his document, *tlacuilovani espanyor* to refer to a Spanish notary, and *amatlacuilo* to refer to himself.

Table 3-3: Terms of literacy between 1580 and 1622

Author	Petition & province	Reading	Signing/Writing	Notary
not identified	1593a Xalisco, Compostela	none	<i>otitlacuiloque yn nican tochan...</i> we wrote here in our home	none
not identified	1593b Xalisco, Compostela	none	<i>otitl[a]cuiloq⁴⁸⁸ yn nican tochan...</i> we wrote here in our home	none
not identified	N.Y. Xalisco, ca 1593	none	<i>otitlacuillo [tear]</i> we wrote	none
not identified	1594a Xalisco	none	<i>otitlacuiloque</i> we wrote	none
not identified	1595b Xalisco	none	<i>tomace[hual]tlatol otictlalique</i> we set down our humble words	none
not identified	1593a Oconahua, Izatlan	none	<i>titobilmaticque</i> , we signed <i>nictlalliya nofilma</i> , I set down my signature	none
not identified	1593b Oconahua, Izatlan	none	<i>quinfirmatic</i> , he caused them to sign <i>mofilmatic</i> , it will be signed <i>oquinfirmatic</i> , he caused them to sign	none
not identified	1593c Oconahua, Izatlan	none	<i>otechfirmati</i> , he caused us to sign <i>titofirmatia</i> , we cause ourselves to sign <i>otichui[tear]que, hoquicuilli</i> ,	<i>tacuilovani espanyor</i> , Spanish notary <i>amatlacuilo</i> , notary
Francisco Felipe	1600 Tala, Tala	none	<i>tictlalia toltlatol yvan tofirma</i>	<i>esgrivano</i> notary
Pedro Puy	1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan, Colima	none	none	<i>escrivamo</i> notary
Prioste	1622 La Magdalena, Izatlan	<i>quipohuiliz motlanavatiltzin</i> to read your order	none	<i>yhuan escriuano</i> and notary

⁴⁸⁸ The symbol *q'* denotes *que/qui*, which notaries wrote with an overbar over the *q*, and which I've replaced with *q'* because the *q* with an overbar is difficult to replicate on a computer keyboard.

On the other hand, Francisco Felipe of Tala writes in a manner that resembles more the notaries of Oconahua than those of Xalisco. He writes *tictlalia toltatol yvan tofirma* (we set down our words and our signatures) employing *tlalia* (set down) as a verb with two objects—*toltatol* and *tofirma*—even as he identifies himself as an *escrivano*. His use of *tictlalia* resembles that of the notary of “1593a Oconahua,” and suggests possible interactions between these writers because these petitions are eight years apart and Tala and Oconahua were connected by a road that started in Guadalajara and went to Tala and Magdalena before splitting off into several branches, one of which went to Oconahuac (Refer to Chapter 2.2b).

The *prioste* of La Magdalena and Pedro Puy also present many key terms in their petitions. The *prioste* writes about events that took place in La Magdalena, a town located in the same province as Oconahuac, but unlike the notary of “1593c Oconahuac,” he employs *escribano* instead of *amatlacuilo* or *tlacuilovani*, and he is also the only one to refer to the act of reading when he writes *quipohuiliz motlanavatiltzin* (he read your decree) to explain how the enemies of María disregarded the instructions of the *provisor*, to whom the petition was addressed. Pedro writes about Coatlan, a town close to Colima, and he names himself as an *escribano*, and that is his one reference to the aforementioned field of reading and writing terms.

After 1623, colonial officials created the Diocese of Durango from a northern portion of the Diocese of Guadalajara. One effect was to consolidate the latter with contiguous territory that a bishop or a *provisor* could more easily examine in a *visita pastoral*. Consequently, notaries wrote more correspondence. But before investigating the correlation between the consolidation of the Diocese of Guadalajara and increased petition writing in surrounding native communities (which will be done in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), it is necessary to examine what

reading, writing, and scribal terms they may have borrowed from their predecessors. The most obvious Nahuatl term is *tlalia*, which notaries favored with the noun-form of *firma*.

Francisco Rafael (“1646 Tequepechpan”) appears to follow the convention used by the aforementioned notary of “1593a Oconahuac” and Francisco Felipe of “1600 Tala” when he writes *tictlaliya tofirma* (we have set down our signatures), which resembles the earlier notary’s usage of *nictlalliya nofilma* (I have set down my signature) and Francisco Felipe’s *tictlalia tolatol yvan tofirma* (we have set down our words, our signatures) (Table 3-4).⁴⁸⁹ Francisco Rafael refers to himself as an *escribano*, like Francisco Felipe, and although the *prioste* who most likely wrote “1622 La Magdalena” does not refer to himself as an *escribano*, he does use this term to refer to a third party. These overlapping usages of *tlalia* with *firma* and *escribano* suggest some interaction between the notaries of these four towns. Indeed, Tequepechpan

Table 3-4: Usages of *tlalia* and *firma* in three provinces: Izatlan, Minas de Chimaltitlan, and Compostela

Author	Petition	Reading	Signing/Writing	Notary
not identified	1593a Oconahuac, Izatlan	none	<i>titobilmatique</i> , we signed it <i>nictlalliya nofilma</i> , I have set down my signature	none
Francisco Felipe	1600 Tala, Tala	none	<i>tictlalia tolatol yvan tofirma</i> we set down our words and our signatures	<i>esgrivano</i> notary
María Magdalena	1622 La Magdalena, Izatlan	<i>quipohuiliz motlanavatlitzin</i> he will read your decree	none	<i>yhuan escriuano</i> and notary
Francisco Rafael	1646 Tequepechpan, Mines of Chimaltitlan	none	<i>tictlaliya tofirma</i> I have set down my signature	<i>niescribano fra^{co}</i> I am Francisco, notary

⁴⁸⁹ The document from Oconahuac are in BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 9, Progresivo 9. All others are in AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

not identified	1649 Ayahualulco, Izatlan	none	none	none
not identified	1649a La Magdalena, Izatlan	none	none	none
not identified	1649b La Magdalena, Izatlan	none	none	none
not identified	1661 Etzatlan, Izatlan	none	none	none

is located northwest of La Magdalena on the aforementioned road that went from Guadalajara to Tala and forked at La Magdalena, with one branch going to Tequepechpan and beyond, and another that went south to Ayahualulco and Etzatlan and west to Oconahuac (Refer to Chapter 2.2e). However, usage diversified over of time; the notaries of other documents (“1649a La Magdalena,” “1649b La Magdalena,” “1649 Ayahualulco,” and “1661 Etzatlan”) did not employ *tlalia* together with *firma*, nor did they use *firma* as a verb, whereas those of “1593a Oconahua” and “1593c Oconahua” appear to have converted *firma* (signature) into a reflexive verb.⁴⁹⁰

In these usages, only one notary refers to the act of signing his own name and witnesses signing their names. The notary of “1593a Oconahua” writes *nictlaliya nofirma* and *titobilmatique* to signal that a variety of nobles signed this document, and the signatures indeed appear different. However, Francisco Felipe of “1600 Tala” writes a similar phrase, *tictlalia tolatol yvan tofirma* (we set down our words and our signatures) with a different meaning. He uses it to signal that he signed for himself and others because, among other things, the name

⁴⁹⁰ Generally, Nahuas from Northwestern New Spain added *-oa* when converting a loan word into a verb when it ended in “r”. Cortés y Zedeño lists *alimentar* (to feed, Spanish) and *alimentaroa* (feed, Nahuatl), *caminar* (to walk, Spanish) and *caminaroa* (walk, Nahuatl), and *cautivar* (to place in captivity, Spanish) and *cautivaroa* (place in captivity, Nahuatl), and many other examples in his dictionary. Cortés y Zedeño, 56, 66, 68.

Francisco appears as the name of three other people, and the four iterations resemble each other.⁴⁹¹ Furthermore, the notary of “1646 Tequepechpan” seems to have also written the names of the other nobles who, in five of six cases, may have made a whirlwind-like rubric next to their name.⁴⁹² In other words, *tictlalia—tofirma* or *titofirmatia* could mean that the notary and the nobles who witnessed the creation of a document signed it, it could mean that the notary signed it and wrote the names of the witnesses who wrote a mark next to their name, or it could only mean that the notary made a mark and wrote the names of people who witnessed the creation of a given document. These possibilities suggest that, although many people relied on writing, this skill was concentrated in the hands of only a few individuals even among members of the cabildo.

In the province of Tlajomulco, the notary of “1630 Tlajomulco” confirms that some Indigenous people with wealth did not know how to write. The notary writes a receipt on behalf of Simón Agustín, a resident of Tlajomulco and remarks:

nomon Don Juan Vasquez nechtlalis nofirma ypampa amo nicmati amatl
My son-in-law Don Juan Vasquez will place me, my signature, because I don't know paper.

This phrase represents the notary's summation of Simón Agustín's oral explanation that Don Juan Vasquez, the son-in-law, would sign for him because he did not know how to write.

Indeed, there are four names toward the end which appear to have been written with the same

⁴⁹¹ These include his own name of Francisco Felipe as well as Francisco Gerónimo, Francisco Brina, and Francisco Martín.

⁴⁹² The names with symbols to the right are Agustín Lázaro, Pedro Miguel, Pedro Felipe, and Francisco Daniel, whereas Juan Lorenzo does not have any of these symbols to the right or the left.

hand, but next to each one there is a mark that is unique, and that notaries from Ávalos, the most literate region in this study, appear to have defined as *machiotl*, sign.⁴⁹³

Tlajomulco was part of a province of the same name that spread out between Guadalajara and the province of Ávalos. Tlajomulcan notaries employed *firma* as both a noun and a verb, and some also added the word *machiotl* defined by Molina as a “señal, comparacion, exemplo, o dechado” in his late sixteenth-century dictionary.⁴⁹⁴ This definition compares favorably with how Friar Francisco de Torres uses *machiol* in “1626 San Francisco Chapala,” an admonishing letter to the inhabitants of Chapala, Ávalos (Refer to Table 3-5).⁴⁹⁵ He writes *xicanacan machiol temachtiliztli* (grasp the signs, the teachings) to explain to the nobles of this town how they could be better Christians, which supports the notion that *machiotl* meant sign.

Table 3-5: Usages of *tlalia* and *firma* in Tlajomulco and Ávalos

Author	Petition	Reading	Signing/Writing	Notary
Francisco de Torres	1626 S. Fr. Chapalac, Ávalos	none	<i>xicanacan machiol temachtiliztli</i> , Seize the signs, the teachings <i>oniquicuil</i> , I wrote	none
Juan Fabian	1629 Zacoalco, Ávalos	<i>auh otictocaquiltiqui amal</i> , We have read the letter <i>Amatzinli q' mopohueliz</i> , The letter is to be read by	<i>tictolalilia tomachiol tofirma</i> , we place our signs and signatures <i>titofirmatia</i> , we sign	<i>escribano</i> , notary
Not identified	1630 Tlajomulco, Tlajomulco	<i>amo nicmati amatl</i> , I do not know paper	<i>Don Ju' basquiz nichtlalis nofirma</i> , Don Juan Vázquez will write my signature	none

⁴⁹³ Ávalos appears to have had the highest index of literacy because notaries from ten of its towns created sixteen extant documents, more than those of any other province.

⁴⁹⁴ Molina, 50.

⁴⁹⁵ This statement demonstrates how closely the Franciscans relied on Roman alphabetic writing to proselytize (Refer to Chapter 3.7). “1630 Tlajomulco” is from AIPEJ, Tierras y Aguas Vol 2; “1629 Zacoalco” is found at McA-UCLA, Box 20; All others are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

Don Gerónimo	1653 Amatitlan, Ávalos	none	none	<i>escribano,</i> notary
Juan Agustín	1658 S.F. Tizapan, Ávalos	none	<i>firma Ju^o Acastin...</i> , signed by Juan Agustín <i>vtitlacueloqui,</i> we wrote	<i>escribano,</i> notary
Diego Felipe	1664 S. Ana Acatlan, Ávalos	none	<i>nican niltis</i> <i>tomachiofrma,</i> truly, here are our signs-signatures	<i>Die^{co} filipe</i> <i>escia,</i> Diego Felipe, notary
Not identified	1668 S. Fran. Zacoalco, Ávalos	none	<i>nican tlami totlatotzin,</i> here end our words	none
Not identified	1669 S. Ma. Mag. Tizapan, Ávalos	none	<i>nican tictlalia</i> <i>tomacheofremas, axcan</i> <i>otitlacuiloque</i>	none
Not identified	1673 S. F. Tizapan, Ávalos	none	<i>otitlacuiloqui domingo,</i> we wrote on Sunday	none
Not identified	1679 Sayula, Ávalos	none	<i>timofirmatilo,</i> we sign	none
Not identified	1682 S. J. Ev. Atoyac, Ávalos	none	<i>otitlacuiloque martes,</i> we wrote on Tuesday	none
Not identified	1686 S. Pedrotepec, Ávalos	none	<i>tictlalia tomachio</i> <i>tofirma,</i> we set down our signs, our signatures	none
Hernando Miguel	1692 S. Andres Atotonilco, Áv.	none	<i>ye neltes toferma,</i> they were truly our signatures	<i>es=n^o,</i> notary
Not identified	1694 S. J. Ev. Atoyac, Ávalos	none	<i>otetlacuiloqui,</i> we wrote	none

Meanwhile, Indigenous notaries from Ávalos who employed *machiol* (or *machiotl*) together with *firma* appear to have used the former word to refer to a sign (Table 3-3). For example, Juan Fabian wrote a letter on behalf of the cabildo officers of San Francisco Zacoalco

toward those of San Felipe Cuquio, and he uses *tictolalilia tomachiol tofirma* (we set down our signs and our signatures) towards the end of this document and before identifying himself as the notary. Then, he writes the names of two *alcaldes* and five *regidores* because the handwriting is similar. However, the marks next to each name seem distinct enough to suggest that they were individually made. If this is the case, *tofirma* refers to the handwritten names and *tomachiol* represents the individual marks.⁴⁹⁶ Likewise, the notary of “1686 San Pedrotepec” writes *tictlalia tomachio tofirma* (we set down our signs, our signatures) using it to denote the presence of handwritten names with marks to the side. Sixteen people are identified, but only the first four names have a mark—Gregorio Jacobo, Pedro Juan, Juan de la Cruz, and Andres Martín—the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of this town.

Two other notaries from Ávalos combined *machio* and *firma*. First, Diego Felipe, the notary of “1664 Santa Ana Acatlan,” writes *nican neltis tomachiofrma* (here are our true signs-signatures) in a document that includes his handwritten name along with thirteen others, who each have an accompanying mark. Also, the notary of “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan” includes *tomacheo fremas totoca* (our signs-signatures, our names) before five names whose letters are uniform, but which have marks to the left that seem unique.

In Ávalos, the absence of the term *machiotl* generally denotes that only the notary participated in the writing, signing, and marking process. In “1658 San Francisco Tizapan,” Juan Sebastian writes *1658 anos firma* followed by his name and the names of six individuals that lack any type of marks. That of “1679 Sayula” uses *timofirmatilo* (we ourselves signed), but he

⁴⁹⁶ Meanwhile, Juan Fabian also relies on *nican titofirmatia* to introduce a second set of names that represent two married couples—Magdalena Bárbola with Baltasar Lorenzo and Pedro Mendoza with Maríana—whose names are uniformly written but which also have signs that appear distinct, suggesting that the verb form may represent a complex composed of the notary-written name together with an individual sign made by each petitioner next to their names.

writes nineteen names that do not have any accompanying marks. Meanwhile, the notary of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” relies on *otitlacuiloque* (we wrote) before a large number of names that appear to have been written by the same person and which lack any type of distinct mark.

However, a few notaries did not use *machiotl* even when others wrote something on a document. For example, the unidentified notary of “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco,” writes *nican tlami totlatotzin* (here our words end) before the presence of two names with accompanying marks that appear to have been made by different authors. Also, in “1673 San Francisco Tizapan,” the notary writes *otitlacuiloqui* (we wrote) before including three names with similar marks that appear to have been made by different writers. Finally, in “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac,” its notary uses *otetlacuiloqui* (we wrote to people) before four names that each have a distinct sign to the right.

These variations show the different degrees with which notaries had mastered writing in Nahuatl with the Roman alphabet. Those that use *machiotl* seem to denote that other nobles placed their mark next to their names, but those notaries who use another expression such as *titofirmatia* (we sign) or *otitlacuiloqui* tended to be less precise about whether other writers had participated in the signing process by writing their names or writing a rubric next to their names. Whether this mattered to Spaniards will be examined in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, but notaries were very aware that they could speak on behalf of other nobles and their towns before Spanish officials. For example, in “1629 Zacoalco,” Juan Fabian writes two statements about literacy in which he represents other Indigenous people:

1. *auh otictocaquiltiqui amal otipaqueque ca nele melahuac*
We understood the paper; we were glad for it is true

2. *Amatzinli q[u]e mopohueliz quilaçoladoq[u]e al[ca]ldes regedor San Felipe
[Cuquio]*

The paper is to be read by the dear lords *alcaldes* and *regidores* of San Felipe Cuquio

In both statements, Juan Fabian employs *amal/amatzinli* (paper) to refer to two different letters. In the first, he explains that the nobles of Zacoalco understood and agreed with the content of a previous letter from the nobles of Cuquio; in the second, he implies that the nobles of Cuquio will understand the words that he penned on behalf of the nobles of Zacoalco.⁴⁹⁷ It would be easy to interpret that the nobles of each town read and understood both letters, but at least some of them probably had to rely on Juan Fabian and the notary of Cuquio to understand the content of both of these documents.

Despite the rarity of literacy or perhaps because of it, illiterate Indigenous people understood the importance of writing for such things as branding property. The notary of “1630 Tlajomulco” presents one example in the aforementioned statement:

notepos yn quipia AOS yhuan yhierro de venta 8A yohqui ynin yeniltis ynin çidola ynic
My iron has AOS, and the seller’s iron is 8A. The *cédula* will verify this, how

oniquimacac yhuan nictlatlahtia
I gave them [cows], and I burn[ed] them.

The notary had written that Simón Agustín, the owner of the AOS brand could not sign, but the latter understood the principles of reading to an extent necessary to identify his brand, which changed to the 8A symbol of the local *cofradía*. This is one example, but the very nature of the documents in the correspondence of Northwestern New Spain show that, during the sixteenth

⁴⁹⁷ I have relied on Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart’s translation in *Beyond the Codices*. I also added additional linguistic information such as morpheme boundaries and morpheme descriptions in my translation, which is found in Appendix B.

and seventeenth centuries, Indigenous people relied on literate Indigenous notaries to speak for them before a Spanish-speaking bureaucracy that required writing with the Roman alphabet.

3.7. Literacy as a Weapon

A collaboration of European friars and Indigenous *nahuatlato*s created pockets of literacy in Northwestern New Spain. Franciscans arrived with *nahuatlato*s from Central Mexico, and they formed a dyad that challenged the oral power of the leaders of the Mixtón Confederacy with the rhetoric of *policia cristiana*. Some native leaders responded by killing Calero and Cuéllar. Spanish-led forces won the Mixtón War, but the war of words was less conclusive. Nonetheless, the Mixtón War enabled Franciscans and *nahuatlato*s to create extensive spaces for a Nahuatl-Christian education program that incorporated the Roman alphabet to fight the rhetoric of native leaders for control of Northwestern New Spain. Nonetheless, the martial triumph of the Mixtón War enabled Franciscans and *nahuatlato*s to create a more extensive space for a Nahuatl-Christian education program that incorporated the Roman alphabet to fight the rhetoric of leaders for control of Northwestern New Spain.

However, Franciscans also worried about the relationships that the *caciques* of Northwestern New Spain had formed with Spanish *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*. Fray Alonso de Peraleja writes that these *caciques* made agreements with Spaniards to rob Indigenous commoners, and he recommended that “it was not convenient that any *cacique* have the leadership of any town in which he was a native because they were tyrants.” These words represent a political struggle. Depopulated towns, *cabeceras* and *sujetos* both, struggled to support the *cacique*, the *corregidor*, and a Franciscan convent as the Franciscans began to rely increasingly on those Indigenous people whom they educated to serve as officers in the cabildos

and *cofradías* of Northwestern New Spain. Some of these office-holding *nahuatlato*s used their literacy to promote *policia cristiana* in letters and receipts, but others also began to write petitions denouncing the actions of Franciscans and other Spaniards before the Diocese of Guadalajara and the Real Audiencia of Nueva Galicia. In order to sway a colonial audience, *nahuatlato*s followed both Nahuatl and Spanish conventions depending on the genre, and these are the subjects of the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Nahuatl and Roman Alphabetic Writing

“*Na:-bí hi:li na:-bí wowa:ci na-mu* ‘My language is my life (history)’”⁴⁹⁸
Tewa saying

4-1. Types of Documents

Scholars have examined Nahuatl documents with the Roman alphabet and classified them in specific ways. Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano proposed that notarial documents were generated by the *cabildo* in a manner that fulfilled the notarial requirements of the Spanish bureaucracy, but there were two types of writing: notarial and non-notarial.⁴⁹⁹ Arthur J.O Anderson, Frances Berdan, and Lockhart divide the many alphabetic documents that they translated and analyzed into four sub-genres; the category they call “Petitions, Correspondence, and Other Direct Statements” applies to the notarial documents discussed in this study.⁵⁰⁰ The Indigenous notaries who wrote the documents in this study call them *amal*, *ynamicoca*, *petición*, or *licet*, whereas the writers who add summaries, translations, or rulings in Spanish attached to these Nahuatl documents use several words such as *carta*, *memoria*, *petición*, or *pedimiento*. These Spanish and Nahuatl terms can be used to identify the structure of the different types of document in my study, which can then serve to classify those works that lack such an identification.

⁴⁹⁸ Paul V. Kroskrity, “Arizona Tewa Kiva Speech as a Manifestation of a Dominant Language Ideology” in *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* ed. by Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, & Paul V. Kroskrity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 104.

⁴⁹⁹ *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* ed. by Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13-14.

⁵⁰⁰ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 30.

4.2. Petitions

The petition was a very particular genre of writing within the imperial and church bureaucracy. Magnus Lundberg writes that Spanish and Indian subjects of the king addressed petitions to the crown or his local representative and that parishioners could also address the bishop and the episcopal court of law, claiming that in practice there was no difference between a *petición* and a *memoria*.⁵⁰¹ This appears to be borne out by the documents of Northwestern New Spain. For example, in “1692 San Andres Atotonilco,” Don Juan Sarmiento writes in Spanish that a preceding Nahuatl document was a *memoria*, but a subsequent writer, Bishop Juan de Santiago y León Garabito, refers to the Nahuatl document as a *petición*.⁵⁰² Similarly, in “N.Y. Aquautitan,” a notary writes in Spanish that a preceding Nahuatl document was a *petición*, adding that the Indigenous petitioners had also previously submitted another document, a *memoria*.⁵⁰³

Thirty-three of the documents in this corpus are easy to classify in that either an Indigenous notary⁵⁰⁴ or the writer of an addendum, identifies them as a *petición* or *memoria*

⁵⁰¹ In theory, *memorial* was made for a record that asked for a particular favor, and a petition was a document with which someone made a judicial claim before a judge or court of law. Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*, 174. Hereafter, I will only use the term, “petition.”

⁵⁰² AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1692 San Andrés Atotonilco.”

⁵⁰³ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “N.Y. Aquautitan.”

⁵⁰⁴ Hereafter, I will use the terms “notary” or “writer” before the name of a Nahuatl document to specifically denote an Indigenous author. I will be more specific when describing the author of addenda, documents attached to the Nahuatl documents in this study, because sometimes he was a high-official such as the bishop, and other times he might have been a notary of undeterminate origin: African, European, Indigenous or mixed parentage.

(hereafter petition).⁵⁰⁵ Nine documents are clearly petitions because they are identified as such by both notaries and Spanish writers, whereas identification in one language or the other occurs twenty-four times: seven in Nahuatl petitions and seventeen in Spanish addenda (See Appendix A).⁵⁰⁶ These thirty-three petitions thus form a starting point because their identification as identified petitions can provide structural patterns and characteristics for classifying the remaining documents from Northwestern New Spain examined here.

Notaries address twenty-six of these named petitions to officials within the diocese of Guadalajara (Table 4-1).⁵⁰⁷ Twelve notaries use the word *obispo* (bishop), and the thirteenth, the writer of “1679 Analco,” addresses Santiago de León Garabito, the bishop of Guadalajara in 1679.⁵⁰⁸ Five different notaries use orthographic variants of *provisor*, a term that referred to the judge in the ecclesiastical courts that were known as the *Provisorato de Indios*.⁵⁰⁹ Also, Juan Cruz, the notary of “1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo,” employs *tixiptlatzin tt^o Js^o* (you are the very image of our lord Jesus Christ) without including any more information, but a Spanish notary notes in a brief introduction that the addressee was the *presbitero vicario*, an ambiguous

⁵⁰⁵ In an addendum, a Spanish notary describes “1644 Cajititlan” as a *pedimyo*^o or *pedimiento* (request), but for now, I am not classifying this document as a petition.

⁵⁰⁶ A writer records in an addenda that these two documents represent one *petición*.

⁵⁰⁷ The data for this table is found in Appendix A.

⁵⁰⁸ His full name was Juan de Santiago y León Garabito, and he was bishop of Guadalajara from 1677 to 1694. <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dguad.html> (consulted on August 21, 2015). Refer to Appendix B for more information about orthographic variations in the titles of the addressees

⁵⁰⁹ Chuchiak notes that, in the Yucatan Peninsula, the Holy Office of the Inquisition had no power to enforce sexual morality among the Maya, and that this job was entrusted to the bishops, their ecclesiastical courts of the *Provisorato de Indios*, and the Indigenous officials of Maya towns who were known as *vicarios*. Chuchiak, “Secrets Behind the Screen: *Solicitantes* in the Colonial Diocese of Yucatan and the Yucatec Maya, 1570-1785” in *Religion in New Spain* ed. by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 87.

title that probably referred to the person who temporarily held the office of bishop at that time.⁵¹⁰ Francisco Rafael, the notary of “1646 Tequepechpan,” employs *titomahuizteopixcauh* (you are our revered priest) to refer to Antonio Gonzalez, who is identified in an addendum as the *cura Vi[c]a[ri]o* (priest) of the nearby town of Minas de Chimaltitlan.⁵¹¹ Also, the notary of “1661 Etzatlan” does not name an addressee, but Diego de Tapia, the translator, uses *vmd* for *vuestra merced* (your grace), which refers to Bachiller Hernando Calderón, who appears to have been an investigator for the diocese (refer to Chapter 6).⁵¹²

Table 4-1: The Titles of Addressees in Thirty-three Identified Petitions

Addressee	Diocese	Alcalde Mayor	Royal Audiencia	King
Bishop (by title or name)	13	0	0	0
Su señoría	5	0	0	0
Provisor	5	0	0	0
(Presbitero or Cura) Vicario	2	0	0	0
Vuestra merced	1	0	0	0
Royal Audiencia	0	0	1	0
Presidente	0	0	1	0
Alcalde Mayor	0	2	0	0
Gobernador	0	1	0	0

⁵¹⁰ Guadalajara lacked a bishop when this petition was written. Juan Cruz dated this petition as occurring on June 19, 1637, whereas the Spanish notary who wrote the summary dated it to July 1, 1637. Both of these dates preceded the arrival of Bishop Juan Sánchez Duque de Estrada; he was appointed as bishop in 1636, but was only installed on September 23, 1637. The previous bishop had been appointed bishop of Antequera, Oaxaca on February 18, 1636 and probably left soon after. <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dguad.html> (consulted on August 21, 2015). The Diccionario de la Real Academia defines *vicario* as a, “persona que en las órdenes regulares tiene las veces y autoridad de alguno de los superiores mayores, en caso de ausencia, falta o indisposición,” but it mentions two other terms that may be relevant: *vicario capitular* which is a, “Dignidad eclesiástica investida de toda la jurisdicción ordinaria del obispo, para el gobierno de una diócesis vacante...” and *vicario apostolico* which is a “Dignidad eclesiástica designada por la Santa Sede para regir con jurisdicción ordinaria las cristianidades en territorios donde aún no está introducida la jerarquía eclesiástica...” Refer to <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=vicario> (Consulted on August 21, 2015). Furthermore, John Chuchiak (2007: 87) reports that among the Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula a *vicario* is a local assigned priest who has the power of another or who substitutes for him. Meanwhile, *presbítero* is simply an ordained cleric: <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=presbitero> (Consulted on August 21, 2015).

⁵¹¹ José Ramirez Flores refers to “1646 Tequepechpan” when identifying Antonio González de Estopiñan as a *cura vicario* and ecclesiastic judge of Minas de Chimaltitlán. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1646 Tequepechpan”; Ramirez Flores, *Los “Tochos” de Jalisco: Semántica de un vocablo* (Nuevo León, Mexico: Universidad de Nuevo León, 1964), 422.

⁵¹² AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1661 Etzatlan.”

Tlatohuani (2 variants)	0	0	1	1
Total	26	3	3	1

Further evidence suggests that *su señoria* or *su señoria ilustrísima* was also a reference to the bishop of Guadalajara. The notary of “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori” identifies the addressee as both *opispo* (bishop) and *su señoria*, and the notary of “1686 San Pedro Tepec” names the addressee as *obispo* (bishop) and *ço çeñoria ylostrisimo*, a variant of *su señoria ilustrísima*.⁵¹³ The notary of “1679 Analco” writes in Spanish and records the phrase, *Su Sta Yll^a S^{or} D Juan de Santiago de Leon*, which refers to Bishop Juan de Santiago y León Garabito and can be understood as *su santísima ylustrisima señoria*, an orthographic variant of *su señoria ilustrísima*.⁵¹⁴ *Su señoria* probably also refers to the bishop of Guadalajara in three petitions: “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” “1652 San Francisco Juchipila,” and “1692 San Andres Atotonilco;” and *su señoria ilustrísima* likewise refers to this official in three others: “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” which has *ostrecemo Sr*, “N.Y. Santiago Aguautitan” which has *vstra yllma*, and “1679 Sayula” which has *Su Señoria ylustrisima*.⁵¹⁵ Given this information, twenty-six of these identified petitions were meant for diocesan officials: eighteen petitions for the bishop of Guadalajara, five for the *provisor*, one for a *cura vica^o* (*vicario*), one for a *presbitero vicario*, and

⁵¹³ McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori”; AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1686 San Pedro Tepec.”

⁵¹⁴ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵¹⁵ McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1652 San Francisco Juchipila”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1692 San Andres Atotonilco”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1673 San Francisco Tizapan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “N.Y. Santiago Aguautitan”; AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1679 Sayula.”

one for an investigator of the diocese who is identified as *vmd*, the abbreviation for *vuestra merced*, which was a title of courtesy roughly equivalent to, “your grace.”⁵¹⁶

Of the six remaining petitions, five are directed toward officials in the imperial Spanish administration and one is somewhat ambiguous (Table 4-1). Three documents are addressed to officials in the Royal Audiencia, and for this reason, I refer to these works as Royal Audiencia petitions. The notary of “1593a Oconahuac” addresses his petition by writing *antotlatocahuan...aubençia reyal* (you are our lords...the Royal Audiencia).⁵¹⁷ The writer of “1580b Nochistlan” addresses the “señor blexidente” (lord president), the highest official of the Royal Audiencia, and although the writer of “1580a Nochistlan” addresses the *tlacate tlatohuaniye* (lord ruler), there are good reasons to propose that this term also refers to the president of the Royal Audiencia.⁵¹⁸ The writing suggests that these petitions were written by different notaries, which explains why each one used a different term, but both documents concern the same grievances (refer to Chapter 5.2a). Notaries of Northwestern New Spain tend to use *tlacate tlatohuaniye* for the highest officials in the imperial bureaucracy and almost never for the Catholic hierarchy.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (consulted on August 31, 2016) defines *vuestra merced* as, “Tratamiento o título de cortesía que se usaba con aquellos que no tenían título o grado por donde se les debieran otros tratamientos superiores.” <http://dle.rae.es/?id=Oz4Ox7A>

⁵¹⁷ BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 9, Progresivo 9, “1593a Oconahuac.”

⁵¹⁸ BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia: Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 11, Progresivo 11, “1580a Nochistlan”; BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 11, Progresivo 11, “1580b Nochistlan.”

⁵¹⁹ The address term *tlacatl tlatohoani* or a variant form is found in several documents from Central Mexico and Northwestern New Spain. The *Nahuatl Dictionary/Diccionario* (consulted on August 31, 2016) defines *tlacatlalatoani* as, “our great ruler,” and places this citation as being from, “The Techialoyan manuscript from San Martín Ocoyacac located in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms America No. 7.” <http://whp.uoregon.edu/dictionaries/nahuatl/index.lasso> Furthermore, Stephanie Wood (personal communication, August 31, 2016) writes that this attestation refers to *Axayacatl* and adds that she has seen *tlacatlatoani* in the Techialoyan ms from Texcalucan and Chichicaspa, where it is used to refer to Viceroy Mendoza.

Two petitions are addressed to *alcaldes mayores*, who were the top officials in a given province and possessed judicial powers.⁵²⁰ The notary of “1642 Contla” addresses the *alcalde mayor* of a province that included Contla, and the writer of “1652a San Sebastian Guaxicori” addresses Don Pedro Sorit, captain and *alcalde mayor* of Acaponeta.⁵²¹ The last one, “N.Y. Nombre de Dios,” appears to be a royal petition because its writer addresses a *tohuey tlatocatzin* (great lord), suggesting this official was the king or his highest representative, the viceroy (refer to Chapter 5.2a).⁵²²

4.2a Diocesan Identified Petitions

The identified diocesan petitions demonstrate political ties between literate Indigenous elites and the Diocese of Guadalajara during the seventeenth century, ties that had their roots in the sixteenth century. Lundberg explains that the Third Mexican Council (1585) required bishops to visit the parishes in their jurisdiction, a *visita*, or inspection visit that had two purposes: *visitatio hominum* and *visitatio rerum*.⁵²³ The former required that the bishop inspect the priests and their congregants, and the latter obligated the bishop or his subordinate to

⁵²⁰ Parry writes that, before the foundation of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia in Guadalajara, the *alcalde mayor* was primarily a judge of first instance even though he held jurisdiction over the over the whole province, and that they regarded their offices as personal property from which they could extract profit. Parry adds that, in New Galicia, “the office of *alcalde mayor*...existed only in districts settled or held by Spaniards,” whereas the office of *corregidor* was the highest imperial position in all other districts. Parry, *The Audiencia of Nueva Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government*, 34, 36. Brian Philip Owensby explains that *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* were usually in charge of the labor draft of Indigenous people known as *repartimiento*. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 16.

⁵²¹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1642 Contla”; McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652a Guaxicori.”

⁵²² “Documentos historicos sobre Durango: Mexico: ms., 1560-1847” compiled by José Fernando Ramírez (Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

⁵²³ Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*, 81-82.

examine the items and structures necessary for Catholic rituals.⁵²⁴ The *visitatio hominum* is thus more important to this study because it created an opportunity for the bishop to interact with Indigenous nobles who could praise their local cleric or denounce him in a written grievance. Furthermore, if the bishop could not perform a visitation, he could appoint someone to go in his stead, and in Northwestern New Spain, petitions suggest that the substitute was usually the *provisor*.⁵²⁵ For example, a writer records an addendum to “1657 Tonalá” that the inhabitants of Tonalá gave a statement to Don Juan López Cerrato y Canas Candela, whom he identifies as *provis^{or} y V^{or} Gen^l*, *provisor* and *visitador general*, and adds that it was, “en la auto al visita” (in the statement during the visit).⁵²⁶ The two remaining petitions addressed to diocesan officials are “1637 Coahuatlán de Puertos de Abajo,” which is addressed to a *presbítero vicario*, and “1646 Tequepechpan,” which is for the priest of Minas de Chimaltitlán, who is addressed with the title of *vicario*.⁵²⁷

Introduction

Identified petitions provide a glimpse of the *visitatio hominum* from an Indigenous perspective. These documents were created through a process that included conversations between Indigenous elites and the given notary, who negotiated the content, but it is most likely that only the author decided to separate the content into three parts: an introduction, a grievance section, and a conclusion. The first step in a petition was the interview of the *visitatio hominum*,

⁵²⁴ Pilar Pueyo Colomina, “Propuesta metodológica para el estudio de la visita pastoral” in *Memoria Ecclesiae* XIV (1999), 479-480; Lundberg, 82.

⁵²⁵ The notary of “1637 Coahuatlán” does not use any Spanish terms for the addressee, but a Spanish notary uses *presbítero provisor*. McA-UCLA, Box 20-42.

⁵²⁶ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵²⁷ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1646 Tequepechpan”; McA-UCLA, Box 20-42, “1637a Coahuatlán de Puertos de Abajo.”

which happened at the request of the diocesan official. For example, the notary of “1652 San Francisco Juchipila” writes:

*mixpantzinco otihualmohuicaque titechmomaquilis mohueinahuatil yca tescomonion*⁵²⁸
we came before you; you gave us your command with our communion.

Then, during or after the meeting, notaries recorded what had happened by writing a petition.

Twenty-one notaries begin their petitions by drawing a sign that clearly represents a cross on the first line at the top-center of the page. Does this cross represents how the Indigenous petitioners crossed themselves upon entering a colonial space and time controlled by the Christian official, or was it simply a writing convention?⁵²⁹

Either way, the cross represents the first step in the introduction, which recreates the power-dynamic between the petitioners and the addressee during the *visitatio hominum* interview. In fourteen of the twenty-four petitions, notaries used a Nahuatl phrase that includes *moixpantzinco* and the verb *neci*, [MN].⁵³⁰ *Moixpantzinco* translates literally as “in your presence,” while *neci* means “appear,” which results in *moixpantzinco tinecico* (we appear before you) or *moixpantzinco ninecico* (I appear before you).⁵³¹ [MN] phrases thus signal the power-dynamic between the petitioners and the diocesan official implying that the petitioners have to appear when summoned by the official. [MN] also unites the addressee [A], the “you,” to the

⁵²⁸ In *tescomonion*, *tes* is problematic. I believe that *tes* refers to *to-* the first person plural possessive pronominal. I propose that the notary confused *tech-*, the first person plural subject pronominal, and *to-*, the first person plural possessive pronominal. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵²⁹ Kevin Terraciano (personal conversation, August 30, 2016) proposes that the cross refers to an oath that the writer takes to tell the truth.

⁵³⁰ I write [MN] because the M represents the first letter of *mixpantzinco* (in your presence) and the N represents the first letter of the verbe *neci* (appear).

⁵³¹ Most scholars generally use “in your presence.” Furthermore, most Spanish notaries generally translated *tineci* as *paresemos* as in “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori” from McA-UCLA and “1678 Pochotitlan” from AHAG.

Indigenous petitioners [P] who are the “we,” or in a smaller number of cases the “I.”⁵³² However, notaries generally do not use the Christian names of the petitioners [N] in the introduction except when they are representing themselves in an individual petition. Most notaries also usually assign the petitioner or petitioners a communal identity by associating them with a town [ID]. Additionally, many notaries also add an expression of deference [D] that refers to the act of bowing down (*pechteca*), or kissing (*tenamiqui*) the hands, feet, or dress of the addressee [A].⁵³³ Thus, notaries who represent a group could follow the cross [+] with five phrasal elements—[A], [P], [ID], [MN], [D]—whereas those who represented themselves might use up to six phrasal elements: [A], [P [N]], [ID], [MN], and [D].

Notaries used the cross and the different phrasal elements to introduce the participants and place them within a space dominated by a European Catholic audience, but they varied the content as demonstrated by “1653 Amatitlan,” “1678 Pochotitlan,” and “1622 La Magdalena” (Table 4-2).⁵³⁴ For example, the notary of “1653 Amatitlan” not only presents the petitioners [P] but also their Christian names in lines two and three [N], and he presents their communal identity by connecting them to the *altepetl* of Amatitlan in the province of Ávalos in lines three and four

⁵³² Hanks transcribes a petition from San Francisco Xecelchakan, and in line five he translates *Licix ca talel ca chacuncunte caba ta yetel capetezcion* as, “We come to show ourselves before you with our petition.” This segment suggests a resemblance to the Nahuatl petitions in my study, and explain the reason why Hanks wrote that Maya petitions have “the we” addressing “the you.” Hanks, *Converting words : Maya in the age of the cross*, 315, 332. In the documents from my study, a smaller number of petitions have an “I” when a petitioner represents himself or a single petitioner.

⁵³³ Karttunen and Lockhart write that expressions referring to kissing the hands or kissing the hands and feet were imported by Europeans even if they were expressed with the Nahuatl verb *tenamiqui*. However, they also note that bowing, expressed with the Nahuatl verb *pechteca*, seems fully Indigenous. Karttunen and Lockhart in *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*, 25.

⁵³⁴ “1622 La Magdalena” is presented in full in Appendix B. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1653 Amatitlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1678 Pochotitlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

[ID]. This can be abbreviated as [P [N] [ID]] because the petitioners are the subject of the petition while the phrases that name them and connect them to a town only serve to explain who they are within a Catholic hierarchy in which priests or monks ruled from head towns and the bishop supervised clerics and parishioners from Guadalajara:

1. +
2. *fran^{co} de Sanctiago Regedor miquilangel Juñ cruz+*
Francisco de Santiago regidor, Miguel Angel, Juan Cruz,
3. *miquil augostin Jūn pablo nican tochan altipetl*
Miguel Agustín, and Juan Pablo here in our home, the community of
- 4-5. *amatitlan yprouincia davallo mixpantzinco tiniçiquiuh*⁵³⁵
Amatitlan its province of Ávalos, before you, we appear

Next, he writes *mixpantzinco tiniçiquiuh*, an orthographic variant of *mixpantzinco tinecico* [MN], to show that the petitioners are in the presence of the bishop who has commanded the interview.

The notary fully understands the addressee’s power, praising him and connecting him to God and the Virgin Mary [A [G][Ma]]:

- 5-6. *yn titlatohuani yn timahuiztililoni yn tiopesbo*
You are the ruler, you are the revered one, you are the bishop.
6. *yn titlaço yn dios yhuan cehuapilli Sancta María*⁵³⁶
You are precious, [so] are God and the holy noblewoman, Mary.

Table 4-2: The Introduction to Three Petitions

Author	Name of the Petition	Addressee	A=Addressee; D=Act of Deference; G=God; ID=Communal identification; Ma=Mary; MN=mixpantzinco tinecico; N=Names; P=Petitioner(s)
unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	bishop	1.[+] 2-4.[P [N][ID]] 4-5.[MN] 5-6.[A [G][Ma]] 7-8. [D]
unnamed	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	bishop	1. [2] 2-3. [P [ID?]] 3. [MN] 4. [A] 4-5. [D]
unknown	1622 La Magdalena	provisor	1. [+] 2-3. [A] 3. [MN] 3-4. [D] 5-6. [P[N]] 6. [ID]

⁵³⁵ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1653 Amatitlan.”

⁵³⁶ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1653 Amatitlan.”

Next, the Amatitlan notary presents an act of deference [D] that begins with the verb *tictotinamiquilia* (we kiss) *momatzin yhuan mocxitzin* (your hands and feet). The notary could have written **tictenamiqui momatzin yhuan mocxitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet), but he chose to use the honorific form of the verb by including a reflexive prefix (-*to*) and an applicative suffix (-*lia*).⁵³⁷ The phrase, *momatzin yhuan mocxitzin* (your hands and feet) is best translated as plural because it is a borrowed Spanish phrase that Franciscan friars alternately write in their correspondence as *besando las manos de V. M* (kissing the hands of your majesty), *sus reales manos besa* (kisses your royal hands), or *después de besar sus reales manos y pies* (after having kissed your royal hands and feet).⁵³⁸

The notary of “1678 Pochotitlan” includes some of the same phrases used by the previous notary while using verbs like *tinamiqui/tenamiqui* (kiss) in their more direct, non-reverential forms:

1. 2
2. *tehuantin timochintin nican ipan ini altepetl*
We are all here in this community of
3. *Santiago pochotitlan mixpantzinco tinesico ica*
Santiago Pochotitlan. Before you, we appear with
- 4-5. *ini topetision titotlatoani Sr obispo tictenamiquilo momatzin ihuan mocxitzin...*⁵³⁹
this, our petition for you, our lord bishop. We kiss your hands and feet...

He begins with a mark that resembles the number 2 or the mark that notaries made to begin a new paragraph. He also connects the petitioners to Santiago Pochotitlan [P [ID?]], but there is

⁵³⁷ In line 7, Don Jeronimo writes, “*çenca tictotinamiquilia momatzin y huā mocxitzin.*”

⁵³⁸ *Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España* ed. by Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), 147. *Codice Franciscano*, 161, 169, 175. The notary, like other Nahuas, only pluralizes animate beings and neither hands nor feet fit this mental category. Hanks appears to present a similar construction for the Maya petition of San Francisco Xecelchakán, *Licix ca Sopixti cech yetel ca udzbenic u ni auoc*, which he translates as, “We kneel to you and we kiss your foot...” Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross*, 331-332.

⁵³⁹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1678 Pochotitlan.”

some ambiguity because of the statement *tehuantin timochintin nican ipan ini altepetl* (we are all here in this community) instead of more definitive terms like *nican tochan* (here in our home) or *tialtepehuaque* (we are inhabitants/officials).⁵⁴⁰ Is the notary implying that the petitioners were residents of this town or only that they had arrived there for the visitation interview? Then, the notary uses *mixpantzinco tinecico* [MN] to explain the reason for speaking before the addressee whom he introduces as *titlatoani Sr obispo* (lord bishop).⁵⁴¹ He concludes with a very direct act of deference in lines four and five, *tictenamiquilo momatzin ihuan mocxitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet) in which the verb *tenamiqui* lacks reverential affixes to indicate deference.

In a third petition, “1622 La Magdalena,” a notary represents a female petitioner, María Magdalena, and his verb usage resembles that of the notary of “1653 Amatitlan.” He writes:

1. +
- 2-3. *yn çena yntimahuiztilliloni ynteoyotica titlatohuani sñor provisor.*⁵⁴²
You are very much respected for [your] holiness, you are the provisor.

Then, like the notary of “1653 Amatitlan”, he uses *timahuiztililoni* (your are the revered one) and *titlatohuani* (you are lord) and adds *teoyotica* (with holiness) and *Sr* (lord) when introducing the *provisor*. Next, he presents *mixpantzinco nineçico* [MN] and the act of submission:

3. *mixpantzinco nineçico. nimopectecaco. nicnotena*
Before you, I appear. I come to bow down and kiss your
4. *miqullico teoyotica*⁵⁴³ *motlatocamatzin yhuā teoyotica motlato*⁵⁴⁴
holy lordly hands and your holy lordly feet.

⁵⁴⁰ Lockhart defines the singular form *āltepēhuah* as “inhabitant or official of an *altepetl*.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 210.

⁵⁴¹ *Titlatoani Sr obispo* appears to be a multi-lingual couplet that includes two terms that have the same or a similar meaning, ruler/lord: *tlatoani* and *Sr* for *Señor*.

⁵⁴² AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

⁵⁴³ Guerra writes “*Teiotica*: espiritual” (spiritual, holy). Guerra, 32.

⁵⁴⁴ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

He writes the act of deference [D] with two verbs—*nimopectecaco* (I come to bow down) and *nicnotenamiquillico* (I come to kiss...)—the second of which is in the reverential form with a reflexive prefix (*no-*) and an applicative suffix (*-li[a]*). Furthermore, he refers to the holiness (*teoyotica*) of the *provisor*'s hands and feet, while proclaiming these appendages as lordly (*tlatoca*) before introducing María's communal identity [ID]:

5. *ma xinechmoçelilitzino yni mocnomaçevatl notoca m^a.*
May you receive me, your humble servant. My name is María
6. *magdalena nicā nochan Sanda María magdalena*⁵⁴⁵
Magdalena. My home is here in La Magdalena.

Thus, these three writers arrange phrases in a standardized manner, which suggests that they drew from a common repertoire, which was also available to many of the other Indigenous writers of petitions in Northwestern New Spain.

It is not possible to present a full analysis of all the twenty-six diocesan petitions, but Table 4-3 presents the introduction for the identified diocesan petitions. The writer and addressee are listed in the left column, followed by the name of the petition, and the phrasal elements discussed above.

Table 4-3: The Introductions of Twenty-Six Diocesan Petitions⁵⁴⁶

Author and Addressee	Name of Petition	A=Addressee; CH=Church; D=Act of Deference; G=God; ID=Communal identification; Ma=Mary; MN=mixpantzinco tīnecico; N=Names; P=Petitioners
Pedro Puy to provisor	1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan	1. [ID][+] 2-3. [A [ID]] 3-4. [P [ID]]
unknown to provisor	1622 La Magdalena	1. [+] 2-3. [P [N]] 3-4 [ID] 4-5 [MN] 5-6 [A] 7-8. [D]
Juan Cruz to vicario	1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	1. [+] 2. [A [G]] 3. [P [ID]] 4. [D]

⁵⁴⁵ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena.”

⁵⁴⁶ “1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo,” “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” “1652b Quihuiquinta,” “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori,” and “1652 San Martín” are from McA-UCLA, box 20. All others are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

unnamed to bishop	1649 S. Antonio Tuzcacuezco	1. [+] 2-3. [A [G]] 3-4. [MN] 4-6. [P] 6-7. [ID] 7-8. [D]
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. Francisco Ayahualulco	1.[+] 2-4.[A [G]] 5.[G][CH] 6.[MN] 6-9.[P [ID]] 9-10.[D]
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. Juan Ocotitic	1.[+] 2-3.[G] 4-7.[A [G][K]] 8-11. [P [ID][N]]
unnamed to bishop	1649a La Magdalena	1. [+] 2-3. [A [G]] 3-4. [MN] 4-7. [P [ID]] 7-8. [D]
unnamed to bishop	1649b La Magdalena	1. [+] 2. [A] 3. [MN] 3-6. [P [ID]] 6-8 [D]
unnamed to bishop	1649 Tachichilco	1. [+] 2. [A] 3. [P] [ID] 4. [D]
unnamed to bishop	1652a S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	1. [+] 2-3 [Y] 4-5. [P] 5-6. [ID] [ETH] ⁵⁴⁷
Sebastián García to bishop	1652b S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	1.[+] 2.pedicion 3-13.[G [M [A]]] 13.[MN] 13-15. [D] 16-17. [P [N][ID]] D
unnamed to bishop	1652 S. Francisco Juchipila	1.[+] 2-3.[A] 3-5.[P [ID]] 5-6.[D] 6-7.[G] 8-9.[A] 9-10.[MN]
unnamed to bishop	1652b S. Sebastian Guaxicori	1.[+] [A] 3. [P] 4-5. [ID] 5-6. [MN] 6-9. [A [G]]
unnamed to bishop	1653 Amatitlan	1.[+] 2-4.[P [N][ID]] 4-5.[MN] 5-6.[A [G][Ma]] 7-8. [D]
Diego Juan to bishop	1653 San Martín	1.[+ [ID]] 2-3.[S][S] 4-5.[P] 5.[A] 6.[A [D][G]]
Domingo de Ramos to provisor	1657 Tonalá	1.[+] 2-3.[A [D]] 4-5.[P]
unnamed to unnamed	1661 Etzatlan	1.[+] 2.[MN] 3.[P]
unnamed to provisor	1668 S. F. Zacoalco	1.[+] 2-5.[P [ID] 5.[D] 6.[A] 7-8. [D]
unnamed to provisor	1669 S. María Magdalena Tizapan	1.[+] 2.[A] 2-3.[MN] 3-4. [P [ID]]
unnamed to bishop	1673 S. Francisco Tizapan	1.[+] 2-3.[A] 3-4.[ID] 4.[P] 4-7. [D [G][A]]
unnamed to bishop	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	1.2 2-3.[P [ID]] 3.[MN] 4.[A] 4-5.[D]
unnamed to bishop	1679 Analco	1.[+] 2.[A] 3-7.[P [ID]] 7.[A]
unnamed to bishop	1679 Sayula	1.[+] 2.[MN] 2.[A] 2-4. [P [ID]] 5-6.[D] 6-7.[A]
unnamed to bishop	1686 San Pedro Tepec	1.[ID] 2.[+] 3-5.[A [ID]] 5.[MN] 5-7. [P [ID]] 7-8. [G [P]]
Hernando Miguel to bishop	1692 S. Andrés Atotonilco	1.[+] 2-3. [D [G][A]]
unnamed to bishop	N.Y. Aquautitlan	1.None of the aforementioned elements are present.

Generally, the phrasal elements in the introduction suggest two variations: individual petitions that follow a format similar to “1622 La Magdalena” and collective petitions that follow a format similar to either “1653 Amatitlan” or “1678 Pochotitlan.” However, some variations occur. For example, the notaries of most of these diocesan petitions commonly associate the

⁵⁴⁷ The collective identification of this petition is unique because it includes an ethnic name, *Totoramis*, which is associated with a town, *nican tochan Samtoniyo Quiviquinta* (here in our home of San Antonio Quihuiquinta). The only other writer who includes the ethnic identity of petitioners is the writer of “N.Y. Nombre de Dios” (See Chapter 5.2a). In a different genre, Don Francisco Nayari also includes his ethnic identity in a letter to a bishop (See Chapters 1.1, 2.2c, and 6).

petitioners with a communal identity [P [ID]], but Pedro Puy and the writer of “1686 San Pedro Tepec” also connect the addressee with a communal identity [A [ID]]. Pedro Puy writes:

1. *Cuatlan* +
2. *Señr frufixotl vmpa timoyetztica: quatlacala*⁵⁴⁸
Lord *provisor*, you are there in Guadalajara

And the notary of “1686 San Pedro Tepec” writes:

1. *Altepel S po tepec*
The town of San Pedro Tepec
2. +
- 3-4. *petiçion quimocaquiltiztlacatlatovani señor obispo yntima vistililoni*
Will the ruler, the lord bishop hear the petition? You are the very revered
4. *ço çeñoria ylostrisimo ynonpa timoyetztica ypāma*
señoria ilustrísima. You are there in the splendid
5. *viztic siodad calisia gadalaxara*⁵⁴⁹
city of Galicia Guadalajara.

Both of these writers clearly associate the diocesan official who is the addressee with Guadalajara, the seat of the diocese. They also start their petitions in a similar manner by providing the name of the petitioners’ town even though they will repeat it later when associating the petitioners with their respective towns [P [ID]].

Additionally, three notaries use a variation of *tinecico moixpantzinco*. Juan Cruz writes *timitztotlatlauhtilia mixpantzinco* (we implore before you) together with an act of deference that includes bowing down and kissing in lines 3-4; the notary of “1649 Tachichilco” only has *moixpantzinco* in line 2 followed by an act of deference in line 3, and the addressee and the

⁵⁴⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan.”

⁵⁴⁹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1686 San Pedro Tepec.”

Indigenous nobles in lines 5-6. Finally, the notary of “1668 Zacoalco” introduces the Indigenous petitioners in lines 2-5, the addressee in line 6, and the act of deference in lines 7-8 while using *monahuactzinco*, which literally means “near you” in Central Mexican Nahuatl, and which Cortés y Zedeño defines as an adverb that means “with you,” so that this phrase most likely means “before you,” or “before your presence.”⁵⁵⁰

Although the notaries of the 25 diocesan petitions organized these elements in different ways, thirteen of them finish the introduction with an act of deference [D]. They include Juan Cruz, and the writers of “1653 Amatitlan,” “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” “1668 Zacoalco,” and “1678 Pochotitlan.” Thus, the act of deference [D] served as the most common transitional element to the grievance section, the heart of the petition.

Grievance Act

The core of a petition is the grievance section, normally focused on one or more grievances that varied by community (discussed more fully in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Here, too, notaries tended to rely on common phrases and formulas to begin and conclude this section. For the most part, they begin the grievance section with verbs that signify the vocalization or reception of a speech-act—*caqui* (hear/listen), *tlatlauhtilia* (implore), *tlatlania* (ask), and *mati* (know)—or the presentation of a petition before an official, using other verbs like *chihua* (make), *tlaça* (put forward), and *yz catqui* (here is).⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵⁰ Lockhart writes that *-nāhuac* is a relational word that means “close to, or near.” Cortés y Zedeño defines *monahuac* means *contigo* (with you) and writes that *inahuac* meant *con* (with) for animate nouns. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 226; Cortés y Zedeño, 72.

⁵⁵¹ Lockhart defines *catqui* as the archaic present singular of *cah*, which is most present in the set phrase *iz catqui*, here is. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 213.

The six notaries who use *caqui* vary the degree of deference while asking the addressee to listen, adding one or more layers of politeness (Table 4-4).⁵⁵² With *caqui*, this means that a direct expression like *ticcaqui nonetequipachol* (you hear my grievance) is too impolite, whereas *ma xiccaqui nonetequipachol* (may you hear my grievance) achieves politeness through its use of the optative. However, the writer of “1622 La Magdalena” took it one step beyond by keeping the optative and using the reverential form of the verb, *ma xicmocaquiltizino*. The notary who recorded the statement of this rare female petitioner is either explaining her petition in a gendered manner that reflects her status, or he is following local conventions. Both reasons probably played a role, but the combination of the optative together with the reverential is present in petitions from La Magdalena and nearby towns. It is also used by the notaries of “1649a La Magdalena,” “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” and “1679 Sayula,” who write in the towns of La Magdalena, San Antonio Tuzcacuezco, and Sayula, which are connected by an important road (Refer to Chapter 2.2e). Meanwhile, Pedro Puy, Diego Juan, and the notary of “1668 Zacualco” also use the reverential form of *caqui*, but instead of the optative, they use the -s suffix to denote a future or irrealis construction that adds an additional level of deference in that it is less direct than the indicative.

Table 4-4: Seven Grievance Acts that Require the Addressee to Hear/Listen

Author & Addressee	Petition	Transition to the Grievance
María Magdalena to provisor	1622 La Magdalena	7. <i>ma xicmocaquiltizino yni techcopa yno netequipachol</i> May you hear my affliction...
Pedro Puy to provisor	1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan	4-5. <i>ticmocaquiltis toneçentlalistlatotl totlayocoyalis tochoquis</i> Will you listen to our collective words: our sadness, our tears...
unnamed to bishop	1649a La Magdalena	9. <i>Ma xicmocaquilti yn tonetequipachol yn totlaocoyalliz</i> May you hear our affliction, our sadness...

⁵⁵² The table includes information from eight petitions: AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1622 La Magdalena”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl “1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a La Magdalena”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco”; McA-UCLA, Box 20, “1653 San Martín”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1668 Zacualco”; AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1679 Sayula.”

unnamed to bishop	1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco	8-9. <i>ma ximocaquilti tonetequipachol totlaocoyaliz</i> May you hear our affliction, our sadness...
Diego Juan to bishop	1653 San Martin	7. <i>nican ticmocaquitiz tonetequipachol tochoquiz...</i> Here, you will hear our affliction, our tears...
unnamed to provisor	1668 Zacoalco	9-10. <i>Auh yzcatqui tichualmocaquitis yn tonitequipacholitzin</i> Here, you will come to hear our affliction...
unnamed to bishop	1679 Sayula	8. <i>axca timocaquiltic tonetequipachol ypanpa...</i> Now, you have heard our affliction concerning...

Notaries who begin the grievance act with *tlatlauhtia* (implore) or *tlania* (ask for) mention the petitioners before shifting to the addressee. In “1637 Coatlan de Puertos de Abajo,” Juan Cruz writes:

6-7. *timitztotlatlauhtilia ma huel xitechmopalehuili*
We implore you. May you really help us, who are
7. *tehuantin timaçehualhuan*⁵⁵³ *Dios ynitechcopa*⁵⁵⁴
God’s servants, concerning...

In this way, Juan Cruz creates an atmosphere in which the petitioners are Christians who use the reverential form to ask or implore a diocesan official for aid. Meanwhile, Diego Juan does not use the optative form in “1654 San Martin”:

7. *cenca miyec timotlauhtia monahuac timochintin...*
We very much implore you, all of us [are] before you...⁵⁵⁵

Diego Juan uses two intensifiers, *cenca miyec*, “very much,” before *tlaughtia*, which could indicate another grammatical mechanism to show deference before the bishop, the addressee in this case.

In total, four out of five notaries who began the grievance act with a form of *tlaughtia* favored the reverential form; both of the two notaries who rely on *ihltania* (ask) favor the more

⁵⁵³ The first syllable, *timaçehualhuan*, has two morphemes: *ti* represents the first person plural subject pronominal and the third person singular possessive pronominal, which is *i*.

⁵⁵⁴ McA-UCLA, Box 20-42, “1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.”

⁵⁵⁵ “1654 San Martín” is presented in full in Appendix B. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1654 San Martín.”

direct form without these affixes (Table 4-5).⁵⁵⁶ The unnamed notaries of “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan” and “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” respectively use *tetlanilo* and *tictlanilo* with no reverential affixes perhaps in an intentional way because they are from communities that Spanish sources identify as Cazcan and Tepecano, two very independent peoples who lived in the cold lands (Refer to Chapter 2.3c and 2.3e). Therefore, either the notaries used a more rustic and less-polished Nahuatl, or they had reached the end of their patience and wished to show the bishop their indignation with their language.

Table 4-5: Seven Grievance Acts that Begin with *tlauhtia/tlania*

Author & Addressee	Petition	Transition to the Grievance
Juan Cruz to vicario	1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	6-7. <i>timitzotlatlauhtilia ma huel xitechmopalehuili...</i> We implore you. May you help us...
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. Francisco Ayahualulco	10-11. <i>yhuan sēca miec timitzotlatlautilinco ynca totlaocox</i> ⁵⁵⁷ <i>tochoquiz...</i> We come to very much implore you with our afflictions, our tears..
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. Juan Ocotitic	11. <i>tepilhuan nican oncate ypan altepetl mochtin michmotlatlautitililo..</i> The sons here in the community all implore you...
unnamed to bishop	1649b La Magdalena	9-10. <i>cenca huel miec timitzotlatlah tillia y[n] itechcopa...</i> We very much implore you concerning...
Domingo de Ramos to provisor	1657 Tonalá	5-6. <i>ca senca mitzmotatauhilia yxquichtin mopilhuan</i> so all of your children very much implore you...
unnamed to provisor	1669 Santa María Mag. Tizapan	4-5. <i>tetlanilo monahuac aço tetemacasque lemosna...</i> We ask if we should give alms before you...
unnamed to bishop	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	5-6. <i>tictlanilo motepalehuilis ticnequilo</i> We ask for your help that we want...

⁵⁵⁶ The petitions are McA-UCLA, Box 20-42, “1637a Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 San Juan Ocotitic”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649b La Magdalena”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1657 Tonalá.”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan.”

⁵⁵⁷ Cortés y Zedeño defines *taocotilizti* as “passion de Anima,” suffering of the soul. I will define it as affliction. Cortés y Zedeño, 105.

Another series of notaries employs *mati* (know) (Table 4-6).⁵⁵⁸ However, *mati* is related to many verbs: *ixmati* (recognize), *momachtia* (learn), or *tlamachtia* (teach). Notaries from Northwestern New Spain generally used *mati* in either the irrealis or reverential form. For example, the writer of “1649 Tachichilco” writes:

3. *tehuantin nican altepetl tachichilco moixpantzinco*
We here in the town of Tachichilco, in your presence,
4. *timopechtecalo ticmatiz quinami guardian Chacala ica chicahualisli*⁵⁵⁹
bow down. You will know how the *guardian* of Chacala [is acting] with animosity.
5. *techhuquilia*⁵⁶⁰ *ipanpa toylhuio San Pedro chiquacen pesos tomines*
He owes us money, six pesos, for our feast-day of San Pedro.

Here, the writer presents a scenario in which the petitioners are witnesses who are reporting the improper actions of their priest to a superior. The notary of “1652 San Francisco Juchipila,” makes a similar argument with the reverential and the irrealis form of the verb:

9. *ca mixpantzinco tinecico*
In your presence, we appear
10. *yn ica topetision ynitechcopa ca ticmomachiltis*⁵⁶¹
with our petition concerning what you will learn.

With these words, the writer has noted that this petition resulted from the bishop’s quest for information during the *visita hominum*. The writers of “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori” and “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” likewise convey a similar argument.

Table 4-6: Four Grievance Acts that Seek to Inform

Author & Addressee	Petition	Transition to the Grievance
--------------------	----------	-----------------------------

⁵⁵⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 Tachichilco”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1652 San Francisco Juchipila”; McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori”; AHAG, Tizapan, Documentos en náhuatl, “1673 San Francisco.”

⁵⁵⁹ AHAG, “1649 Tachichilco,” Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵⁶⁰ *Techhuquilia* is related to *huīquilia*, “be responsible to someone for something; to owe money to someone; with *huāl-*, to bring something to someone; *onichuīquilih*. applicative of *huīca*.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 219.

⁵⁶¹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 San Francisco Juchipila.”

unnamed to bishop	1649 Tachichilco	4-5. <i>ticmatiz quinami guardian Chacala ica chichahualisli...</i> you will know that the <i>guardian</i> of Chacala has animosity
unnamed to bishop	1652 San Francisco Juchipila	10. <i>yn ica topetision ynitechcopa ca ticmomachiltis...</i> with our petition concerning what you will learn...
unnamed to bishop	1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori	9-10. <i>timitzmachiltilo amo senca cuali...</i> we inform you because it is not very good...
unnamed to bishop	1673 San Francisco Tizapan	4-7. <i>ticmomachiltis ypanpa santa confradiya...</i> you will learn about the holy <i>cofradía</i> ...

The last group of notaries use a variety of other verbs including *chihua* (make), *tlaça* (put forward), *tenamiqui* (kiss), *decimos* (we say), and *yzcatqui* (here is), but these petitions appear to be more immediate and/or rough in nature (Table 4-7).⁵⁶² For example, Sebastian García writes, “I put forward my petition,” and the notary of “N.Y. Aquautitlan” writes, “here is our petition,” to record utterances that appear to be little removed from visitation interviews. The same is true of the writer of “1653 Amatitlan,” who explains that he and the petitioners, “kiss your hands and feet because of our grievance,” and the notary of “1686 San Pedro Tepec who proclaims, “here is our grievance, our sadness concerning...” Then, there is Hernando Miguel who writes in Spanish explaining, “we say it on account of what had occurred before the *provisor*,” perhaps to clarify a situation that this diocesan official saw during the *visitatio hominum*.

Table 4-7: Eight Other Words that Begin the Grievance Act

Author & Addressee	Petition	Transition to the Grievance
unnamed to bishop	1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	7. <i>nican ticchihualo tonedequipacholis totlaocoialis...</i> Here we make our grievance, our sadness...
Sebastian Garcia to bishop	1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta	17-18. <i>nictlaça ca yn nopedicion ytechcopa...</i> I put forward my petition concerning...
Don Jeronimo to bishop	1653 Amatitlan	7-8. <i>tictotinamiquilia...ypanpa yn tonitquipacholiztli yn tochoquiliztli</i> We kiss your hands and feet because of our grievance, our tears...
unnamed to bishop	1679 Analco	7-8. <i>decimos que por quanto e avido ocurrido ante el...provisor...</i> we say that because it occurred before the <i>provisor</i> ...

⁵⁶² The petitions in Table 4-7 are McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta”; McA-UCLA, Box 20-10, “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1653 Amatitlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1679 Analco”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1686 San Pedro Tepec.”

unnamed to bishop	1686 San Pedro Tepec	9. <i>yzcatqui tonetequipacholiz totlaocoyeliz ytechcopa...</i> Here are our grievances, our sadness, concerning...
Hernando Miguel to bishop	1692 San Andres Atotonilco	3-4. <i>temotequipagaulo ytecsicopa...</i> We are greatly concerned about...
unnamed to bishop	N.Y. Aquautitlan	1. <i>nicaca topetecion...</i> Here is our petition...
unnamed to the king	N.Y. Nombre de Dios	1-2. <i>Yniccatqui ylnamicoca ymemoria ynicopa ye ticpohualtique..</i> This is the remembrance, the <i>memoria</i> , of how we were made to recount...

After employing these verbs, notaries present the grievances behind their petitions. In most cases, they name clerics against whom they direct petitions: two against secular clerics, eight against regular clerics, and two against both friars and *alcaldes mayores*. They also present four other petitions against *alcaldes mayores*, two against Spanish landowners, one against a *creole* landowner, and one against a Don Giuseppe, whose identity is unknown. Other notaries describe situations affecting the correspondence community that focused on having too many feast-days requiring tribute, or wishing to retract a previous petition against a priest. The reasons that represent the unique parts of the petitions will be examined in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

After the grievance has been stated, notaries transition to more formulaic phrases to close the grievance act. The use of stock phrases vary by province. In the province of Ávalos, notaries tended to conclude the act of grievance with the words *yxquich* (it is all) and *totlatol* (our words). Diego Juan finishes “1653 San Martin” with *ya yxquich totlatol* (they are all our words...); the notary of “1668 Zacoalco” concludes with *yxquich nican tlami totlatotzin* (it is all, here end our words); and that of “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan” writes *ya yxquich totlatoltzin ticmocaquiltiz* (it is all our words that you will hear). The use of *yxquich* and *totlatol* extended to other provinces, as well. In the adjacent province of Amula, the author of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezo” wrote *cenca timitztotlatlauhtilia yxquich totlatol yua quinequi toyolo* (we beseech you with all of our words and wishes); in Juchipila (“1652 San Francisco Juchipila”) the notary wrote *ynin tonetequipachol yxquich totlatol* (these are our afflictions, all of our words).

In La Magdalena, Itzatlan, authors used *yxquich* with *mixpatzinco* to terminate the act of grievance. The notary of “1622 La Magdalena” writes *yxquich yc mixpātzinco nimitznotlatlautillico* (it is all that I implore before you), which is very similar in usage to the notary of “1649a La Magdalena” and “1649b La Magdalena” who writes *ca yxquich yc mixpātzinco tinecico* (that is all [the reasons] why we appear before you) in his documents.

Conclusion Act

Notaries closed a petition, a recorded speech act, with a conclusion, which generally included the Catholic names of the petitioners [N], and may also include one or more phrasal elements such as the year-date [Y], the communal identity of the petitioners [ID], and references to God [G], writing [W], and signing [S].⁵⁶³ The notary of “1653 Amatitlan” and Diego Juan represent two extremes because the former only provided the names of the petitioners [N]:

31-32. *mopelhuā Juan Cruz, Juan Pablo, Francisco de Santiago regidor,*
It is begun by Juan Cruz, Juan Pablo, Francisco de Santiago *regidor*
32. *Miguel Angel, Miguel Agustín.*⁵⁶⁴
Miguel Angel, and Miguel Agustín.

In contrast, Diego Juan recorded the names and the communal identity of the petitioners [ID], the year-date [Y], and made references to God [G], writing [W], and signing [S]:

42-43. *Nican timofirmatia timochintin huehuetque altepetl Samātin*
Here we, all the elders of the town of San Martín, sign:
43-46. Luis Vasques, *alcalde*, Juan Guerra, *regidor*, Juan Sebastián, *fiscal*.
46-48. *principales*: Juan de la Cruz, Francisco Miguel, Juan Esteban, Juan Agustín
48-49. Bernabé Leandro, Francisco Sebastián, Luis Martín, Pedro Gerónimo
49-50. *otitlacuiloque axcan 1 tonali abril yhuan xiuitl 1653 anos*
We wrote it today on April 1, 1653.

⁵⁶³ I use year-date to indicate that a date includes the year, which forms a vital part of my classification system for the documents in my study.

⁵⁶⁴ McA-UCLA, Box 20, “1653 San Martín.” Diego Juan also wrote “1654 San Martín,” which is presented in full in Appendix B, and is held by AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

51-52. *Diego Juan es[criba]no yntencopa altepehuaque Samartin huehuetque*⁵⁶⁵
 Diego Juan is the notary on behalf of the elders and residents of San Martin.

Other notaries present a conclusion act that falls somewhere in between these two extremes (Table 4-8). The most common phrasal element is N, which appears in Diego Juan’s two petitions, in “1653 Amatitlan,” and in twenty other named-diocesan petitions. The next most common elements are the references to the year-date [Y] in thirteen petitions and the references to signing [S] in fourteen petitions. Writers use other phrases less frequently. Nine refer to communal identity [ID], seven to writing [W], six to God [G], two to the Virgin Mary [Ma], and four to a month-date [M] that lacks the year.

Table 4-8: *Phrasal elements in the Act of Conclusion in 26 identified diocesan petitions*

Author & Addressee	Petition	D=Act of Deference; ID=Collective identification of petitioners; MT=Mixpantzinco tincico M=Monthly date; N=Names; G=God; S=Ref. to signing; Ma=Ref. to Mary; W=Ref. to writing; Y=Year-date.
Pedro Puy to provisor	1622 Coatlan	51.[M] 52.[ID]
María Magdalena to provisor	1622 La Magdalena	44. [G] [Ma] 45. [W] 46. [N] 47. [+]
Juan Cruz to vicario	1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	34. [S] [W] 34-35. [Y] 36. [S] 36-41. [N] 42. [+]
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. A. Tuzcacuezco	32. [Y] 32-33. [S] 33-36 [N]
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. F. Ayahualulco	Not finished. 69. [Y] 70-73. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1649 S. J. Ocotitic	82.[S] 82-85.[N] 85.[W] 86-88.[Y]
unnamed to bishop	1649a La Magdalena	22. [MN] 23-24. [D] 24-25. 27-30. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1649b La Magdalena	15-16. [D] 16-20. [ID] 21-25. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1649 Tachichilco	17-18. [M] 19. [S] 20-21. [N] 22. [ID]
unnamed to bishop	1652a S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	40.[S] 41-47.[N] 48-49.[Ma] 50-51.[A [G]] 52-53.[D]
Sebastian Garcia to bishop	1652b S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	Not finished. 79-80. [Y] 81-85. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1652 S. F. Juchipila	27-28. [ID] 28-31. [N] 32. [Y] 33. [S]
unnamed to bishop	1652b S. Seb. Guaxicori	26-27.[N]
unnamed to bishop	1653 Amatitlan	31-32. [N]
Diego Juan to bishop	1653 San Martin	40-41. [G] 41. [W] 42. [S] 42-43. [ID] 43-49. [N] 49. [W] 50. [Y] 51. [N] 51-52. [ID]
Diego Juan to bishop	1654 San Martin	46. [G] 47. [W] [Y] 48. [S] [ID] 49-50. 49-56. [N] 56. [W] 57. [ID]
Domingo de Ramos	1657 Tonalá	66-. [P [ID]] 67-68.[D] 69-78.[N]
unnamed to unknown	1661 Etzatlan	15.[MN] 15-16.[D] 16-20.[N]

⁵⁶⁵ McA-UCLA, Box 20, “1653 San Martín.”

unnamed to provisor	1668 S.F. Zacoalco	30-33. [N] [ID]
unnamed to provisor	1669 S. Ma. Mag. Tizapan	14. [W] 14-15. [Y] 15-16. [S] 17-21. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1673 S.F. Tizapan	22-23. [D] 23-25. [N] 26. [W] 26-28. [Y]
unnamed to bishop	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	56-58. [Y] 58. [S] 58-60. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1679 Analco	54. [S] 54-58. [N]
unnamed to bishop	1679 Sayula	55. [S] 55-56. [ID] 56-63. [N] 69. [G]
unnamed to bishop	1686 San Pedro Tepec	61. [B] 62-63. [Y] 64-70. [N]
Hernando Miguel to bishop	1692 S.A. Atotonilco	17-18: [S] 18-23. [N] 24. [Y] [D]
unnamed to bishop	N.Y. Aguautitan	4.[S] [M] 5-8.[N [ID]] 9.[S [G]]

The notaries who wrote these twenty-six diocesan petitions chose some or all of the elements, allowing for a generalized model that can be compared to non-diocesan named petitions and unidentified documents. First, the model has to consist of an introduction that contains a cross, and phrasal elements that represent the addressee [A], the petitioners and their collective identity [P [ID]], *moixpantzinco tynecico* [MN], and an expression of deference [D]. Next, it has to have a grievance act that begins with a reference to an oral juridical process with verbs in Nahuatl that mean: listen, ask/implore, know, or a verb that indicates a presentation. This grievance section also tends to finish with *ixquich* (it is all) along with *tlatol* (words) or *moixpantzinco* (in your presence). Finally, the conclusion has to have the Christian names of the petitioners [N] along with one or more elements that may include the year-date [Y], signing [S], or writing [W].

4.2b. Alcalde Mayor, Royal Audiencia, and Royal Petitions

The notaries of the three named-*alcalde mayor* petitions, three named-Real Audiencia petitions, and the named-royal petition include elements found in the diocesan model (Table 4-9). Juan Miguel most closely follows the model in that he uses [P [N][ID]] in the introduction of his *alcalde mayor* petition:

2-3. *neguatl noto Ju^o miguel nialcalde nochan contlan*
I am named Juan Miguel. I am the *alcalde* in my home of Contlan.

3-4. *moyspan ninesico nimomacecguay yca petition*⁵⁶⁶
 I, your Indigenous subject, appear before you with a petition.

He ends the introduction with a variant of *moixpantzinco tinecico* [MN], and he begins the grievance act with *tinechmopalleguilis* (could you help me), the future/irrealis form of *pallehuia* (help). Then, he concludes:

21-24. *ysquich nican tami tomacegualtotoltzin*⁵⁶⁷ *to^{lo}ca Fran^{co} M̄in, frioste*
 it is all, here end our common words. Our Indigenous people are named:
 Francisco Martín, *prioste*,

23-24. *Juan Miguel, alcalde, Al^oS Felipe, rregidor...*⁵⁶⁸
 Juan Miguel, *alcalde*, Alonzo Felipe, *regidor...*

He uses *ysquich nican tami* (it is all, here ends) to close the grievance act and begins the conclusion act with *tomacegualtotoltzin* (our common words) before introducing the Indigenous officers who sponsored this petition. In the introduction, “1580a Nochistlan,” “1580b Nochistlan,” “1593a Oconahuac” share most of the phrasal elements of the diocesan model, and they all include the Christian names of the petitioners.

Table 4-9: Non-diocesan Petitions⁵⁶⁹

Author	Petition	Introduction	Grievance Section	Conclusion
Various	Diocesan model	[+][A][MN][P [ID]][D]	listen, ask/implore, know, be/present	[Y][S][N] or [W][N]
Unnamed	1580a Nochistlan	1. [+] 2. [G] 3. [A] [D]	we speak...	20-25. [N]

⁵⁶⁶ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1642 Contla.”

⁵⁶⁷ Contla was inhabited by Tecuexes, a non-Nahua group (refer to Chapter 2.2c). As a result, the notary probably wrote *tomacegualtotoltzin* with **itolli*, a non-standard form of *tlatolli*, that he also made plural through reduplication. In this context, *macegual* (commoner) would be functioning as a modifier to **itolli*. A less likely possibility is that the notary combined portions two diminutives, *-tzintzintin* and *-totontin*, and that the Tecuexe language influenced the change from *l* to *n*. Michel Launey defines *-totontin* as a diminutive suffix. Launey, *An Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* trans. by Christopher Mackay (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 108.

⁵⁶⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1642 Contla.”

⁵⁶⁹ “1642 Contla” and “1661 Etzatlan” are from AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl; “1652a San Sebastian Guaxicori” is from McA-UCLA, Box 20; “1593a Oconahuac” is from BPEJ-JJA; and “N.Y. Nombre de Dios” is from BAN-UCB.

		4. [[P [ID]]]		
Unnamed	1580b Nochistlan	1. [+] 2. [G] 3-4. [A] 4. [P] 5. [D]	I implore you here concerning...	31-32. [G] 33-37. [N]
unnamed	N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585	None.	Here is the petition of how...	[N]
unnamed	1593a Oconahuac	1.[+] 2-7.[P [ID]] 8.[MN] 8-10.[A] 10-13.[D]	be	46-58.[P [ID]][N]]
Juan Miguel	1642 Contla	1.[+] 2-3.[P [N]][ID]] 3.[MN]	help	21-24.[N]
unnamed	1652a S.S. Guaxicori	1.[+] 2.[G] 2-5.[A [ID]]	be	54-55.[S] 55-57.[N]
unnamed	N.Y. Aquautitan	1. [P]	Here is our petition. We assembled because...	4-8. [S] [Y [A]] [N] 9. [S [G]]

However, “N.Y. Aquautitan,” and “Nombre de Dios” are noticeably different from the diocesan model. The notary of “N.Y. Aquautitan” writes a very short introduction in which he rapidly transitions into the grievance act:

*1-2.nica ca topetecion otimocentlalique principalis ypampa techtequipachoa teopiscauh*⁵⁷⁰

Here is our petition. We, the *principales*, assembled because the priest afflicts us...

In a sense, he embeds a portion of the introduction, *principales* [P], within the grievance act, which is *nica ca topetecion...ypampa techtequipachoa teopiscauh* (here is our petition...because the priest afflicts us). This introduction is very different from the diocesan model, but it does resemble one diocesan petition, “1661 Etzatlan:”

Moixpantzinco tinesilo timopilhuan mochintin altepehuaque [introduction]

We, your children, all of the residents, appear before you

*yca ynin topetision ytehcopa*⁵⁷¹ [beginning of the grievance section]
with our petition about...

The notary of “1661 Etzatlan” mentions the petitioners with a variant of *moixpantzin tinesico* [MN] before beginning the grievance act with *topetecion* (our petition). Meanwhile, “N.Y.

⁵⁷⁰ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “N.Y. Aquautitan.”

⁵⁷¹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1661 Etzatlan.”

Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” diverges the most from these petitions and from the diocesan model in that its notary appears to skip the introduction. He begins with the grievance act:

Auh [i]n izcatqui ylnamicoca ynic opeuh yaoyotli yn ica al la bila del no[m]bre de Dios...
Here is the account of how the war began in the town of Nombre de Dios...⁵⁷²

He uses *auh [i]n izcatqui ylnamicoca* (here is the account) to begin recording the grievance, which arose from a war, without writing about any petitioners who might have sponsored the document (Refer to Chapter 5.2a).⁵⁷³ Finally, although the conclusions vary, they are more regular than the introductions for they all include the Christian names of the petitioners [N].

4.2c. Classifying Unidentified Petitions

Notaries did not classify eighteen documents that resemble petitions: six from the sixteenth century, eight from the seventeenth century, and four that are undated. The absence of year-dates in documents suggests that they represent early examples of alphabetic writing in Northwestern New Spain when writers may have been less aware of the importance of dating writings. As a result, these documents have to be compared with sixteenth-century Indigenous works, which are likewise early examples of Indigenous literacy with the Roman alphabet. The results suggest that these twelve documents are indeed petitions because they have phrasal elements similar to those of the diocesan model in the introduction, grievance section, and conclusion (Table 4-10).⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² BAN-UCB, Documentos historicos sobre Durango: Mexico: ms., 1560-1847, compiled by José Fernando Ramírez.

⁵⁷³ Molina defines *ilnamicoca* as “mi remembrança, o la memoria que de mi se haze” (my account or the account that is made about me). Molina, 37.

⁵⁷⁴ “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco, ca. 1593,” “1594 Xalisco,” 1595a Xalisco,” and “1595b Xalisco,” are from BPEJ-JJA, Fondo Franciscano. “1593b Oconahuac,” is from BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia,

The introduction of the sixteenth-century unidentified documents generally have most elements of the diocesan model: a cross [+], a European addressee [A], *moixpantzinco tynecico* [MN], petitioners with their collective identity [P [ID]], and an expression of deference [D]. The different writers of the Xalisco documents included most of these elements, and that of “1594 Xalisco” also added a reference to Saint Francis. In another province, Izatlan, the writer of “1593b Oconahuac” wrote an introduction that resembles that of the diocesan petitions in that it refers to the addressee, the petitioners with their collective identity, and *moixpantzinco tynecico*. “N.Y. Sayula,” “N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco,” and “N.Y. Tlajomulco” have most of the elements of the diocesan model, whereas “N.Y. About Diego Alfonso” only refers to the petitioners and lacks their communal identity.

Most of these notaries also use verbs that mean ask/implore, know, or be/present to establish the supplicant-judge relationship that is found in diocesan petitions. Five use ask/implore, one uses know, and five use be/present. The only exception is the writer of “N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco” who asks, “how do you see us.”

In the conclusion, nine notaries include the names of the petitioners [N] while others use a communal expression [ID], and one restates the titles of the addressee [A]. One of the Oconahuac writers and two of the Xalisco writers include the Christian names of the petitioners. All four writers who did not include a year-date write the names of the petitioners. The notaries of “1593b Xalisco,” “1594 Xalisco,” and “1595a Xalisco” present the communal identity of the petitioners without naming them. Even the writer of “N.Y. About Diego Alfonso,” who includes

Ramo Civil, Expediente 9, Progresivo 9. “N.Y. Sayula,” “N.Y. about Diego Alfonso,” and “N.Y. San Cacel,” are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl. “N.Y. Tlajomulco” is from AIPEJ, Tierras y Aguas, Vol 2.

fewer elements than the others, records a conclusion act with a phrase representing the act of signing [S] followed by the names of the petitioners [N].

Table 4-10: The Diocesan Model and Ten Documents from the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

Author	Petition	Introduction	Transition to the Grievance Act	Conclusion Act
Various	Diocesan model	[+] [A] [MN] [P [ID]][D]]	listen, ask/implore, know, presentation phrase	[Y][S][W][N]
Unnamed	1593b Oconahuac	[+] [ID] [A] [MN] [P [ID]]	Here is this affliction...	[S] [N]
Unnamed	1593a Xalisco	[+] [A] [P [ID]]	We ask for our justice...	[P [ID]] [Y] [N]
Unnamed	1593b Xalisco	[A] [MN] [P [ID]]	We, the residents, ask...	[G][W][P [ID]][Y][P [ID]]
Unnamed	1594 Xalisco	[A][+][A [ID]][Ma][P [ID]] [SF [D]]	We all ask to...	[G] [P [ID]] [Y]
Unnamed	1595a Xalisco	[Y][+][A][P][A [ID]][D]]	Here we've presented...	[P [ID]]
Unnamed	1595b Xalisco	[+][A][P [ID]]	We implore...	[P [G]] [Y] [N]
Unnamed	N.Y. About Diego Alfonso	[+][P]	This Christian let us know how...	[S][N]
Unnamed	N.Y. Sayula	[+][P][MN][A][D]	Now, we present...	[G][P [ID]][N]]
Unnamed	N.Y. S. Cacel Tlajomulco	[+][A][MN][P[ID]][D][N]	How do you see us...	[N]
Unnamed	N.Y. Tlajomulco	[+][P [N] [ID]] [MN][A]	Here is our suffering...	[N]

The remaining notaries follow the diocesan model closely in their seventeenth-century petitions (Table 4-11).⁵⁷⁵ Diego Juan,⁵⁷⁶ Diego Felipe, and the unnamed notaries of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” and “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” present the petitioners and the addressee in the introduction; begin the grievance section with Nahuatl verbs that mean implore, know, learn, or be instructed; and write the names and titles of petitioners in the conclusion act. However, the four remaining documents vary considerably even if they do possess enough elements to classify them as petitions.

⁵⁷⁵ All of these petitions are found in AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵⁷⁶ Diego Juan wrote “1654 San Martín” as a similar document to the aforementioned named diocesan petition, “1653 San Martín,” but the former is not identified as a petition in any extant records that I know.

The documents of “1600 Tala” and “1683 San Gaspar” begin and end in a similar manner. Both contain a cross followed by the petitioners and their communal identification [P [ID]] and, in the end, the former has the year-date [Y] followed by the names of the petitioners, whereas the latter once again presents the petitioners with their communal identification [P [ID]] and includes a reference to signing with the year-date [S [Y]] and their Christian names [N]. The main difference between these two documents is in the beginning of the grievance: the former has “we say it truly” while the latter has “there are.”

Table 4-11: Seven Unidentified Documents from the 1600s

Author	Petition	Introduction	Grievance Act	Conclusion Act
Various	Diocesan model	[+] [A] [MN] [P [ID]][D]]	listen, ask/implore, know, presentation phrase	[Y][S][W][N]
Unnamed	1600 Tala	[+] [P [ID]]	We say it truly...	[Y][N]
Francisco Sebastian	1644 Cajititlan	[+] [N [ID]] [MN] [A]	We appear before you to talk about...	[G][N]
Diego Juan	1654 San Martín	[+][SS][Ma][A][D] [G][P [ID]]	We implore you...	[G [A]] [W][Y][S] [P [ID] [N]]
Juan Sebastian	1658 S.F. Tizapan	[+][A][D [G][Ma]] [D][D [G][A]]	Here are your children’s worries...	[W][Y][N]
Diego. Felipe	1664 S. A. Acatlan	[+][P [ID]] [A [ID]]	You should know...	[Y][S][N]
Unnamed	1682 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	[+] [P [ID]] [D [A [ID]]]	May you be instructed...	[D][W][Y][N]
Nicolas Gaspar	1683 San Gaspar	[+] [P [ID]]	There are...	[P [ID]] [S [Y]] [N]
Unnamed	1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	[+] [Ma][SS][G] [P [ID]] [MN] [A]	We come to learn, to hear your words...	[W][Y][N]

Finally, “1658 San Francisco Tizapan” has one of the most complex introductions found in the petitions of Northwestern New Spain. (Table 4-11). First, the notary refers to the addressee, and then he presents an act of deference that refers to God and the Virgin Mary [D [G][Ma]]:

2-4. *Señor tlaçomahuiztlatuani s’ ostrissimahuitl cenca tictotenamiquilia emahuiz*
Beloved and respected lord, illustrious lord, we very much kiss the revered hands

4-6. *emahuiz ematzin yn tt^o yūa ecxitzin yūa totlaçomahuiznantzin ciuapili Santa María*⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1658 San Francisco Tizapan.”

and revered feet of our lord [God] and our beloved and respected mother, the lady Holy Mary...

He follows these phrases with an act of deference to the addressee [D] and another act of deference to both God and the addressee [D [G][A]].

6-8. *çan tipan titlatuani tictotenamiquilia momahuiz momatzin mocxitzin huitl*
and after them, you are the ruler. We kiss your revered hands and feet.

9-11. *cenca timopichticaqui ynnauac yn tt^o dios san tipan tiuatzin titlaçomahuiztlatuani*
We greatly bow down by God, our lord, and then you, beloved and revered lord.⁵⁷⁸

Then, the notary becomes more conventional because he uses “here are your children’s afflictions” to begin the grievance act and, in the conclusion act, he refers to writing [W], the year-date [Y], and the petitioner’s names.

These unnamed petitions are addressed to different individuals within the Catholic and Imperial bureaucracies (Table 4-12). Nine are diocesan petitions that probably resulted from the *visitato hominum* because they are addressed to the bishop, the provisor, or a secular priest. Six are Franciscan petitions directed to members of this order.

Table 4-12: Types of Unnamed Petitions

Author and addressee	Petition	Type of Document
Unnamed to provisor	1593b Oconahuac	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	1593a Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	1593b Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	1594 Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	1595a Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	1595b Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to unnamed addressee	N.Y. About Diego Alfonso	Unknown petition
Unnamed to unnamed addressee	N.Y. Sayula	Unknown petition
Unnamed to unnamed addressee	N.Y. S. C. Tlajomulco	Unknown petition
Unnamed to provisor	N.Y. Tlajomulco	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to Franciscan Order	N.Y. Xalisco	Franciscan petition
Unnamed to the priest of Tala	1600 Tala	Diocesan petition
Francisco Sebastian to provisor	1644 Cajititlan	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to bishop	1654 San Martin	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to bishop	1658 S.F. Tizapan	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to provisor	1664 S. A. Acatlan	Diocesan petition

⁵⁷⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1658 San Francisco Tizapan.”

Unnamed to bishop	1682 S.J.E. Atoyac	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to bishop	1683 San Gaspar	Diocesan petition
Unnamed to provisor	1694 S.J.E. Atoyac	Diocesan petition

4.2d. A Pseudo-Petition

One last document shows how the colonial period also presented situations in which roles could be reversed; a friar named Francisco de Torres could write “1626 San Francisco Chapalac,” in which he asks the Indigenous nobles of San Francisco Chapalac to pay tribute.⁵⁷⁹ Torres writes phrases in a matter consistent with petitions; in the introduction, for example, he draws the cross and presents the Indigenous addressees together with a communal identity that includes him as a type of petitioner:

1. +
- 2-3. *Nopilhuan teteutli Alcaldes Regidores prioste*
My children, lords alcaldes, regidores, prioste
- 4-5. *mayordomo yhuan cequentin principales anmoyez ticate*
mayordomo, and some of the principales. You [who] are
6. *toaltepeuh S Fran^{co} Chapalac.*⁵⁸⁰
[in] our altepetl of San Francisco Chapalac.

The introduction can be represented as [+] [A² [ID [P²]]] in which A² stands for the addressees who are Indigenous elites and P² stands for Torres who is a European writer literate in Nahuatl, who places himself as a resident of the Indigenous town of San Francisco Chapalac.⁵⁸¹

Torres writes a grievance section and a conclusion that also contain elements of Nahuatl petitions. He begins the grievance with an all-too-common *xicmatican ca huel noixpan*

⁵⁷⁹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1626 San Francisco Chapalac.”

⁵⁸⁰ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1626 San Francisco Chapalac.”

⁵⁸¹ I used superscripts because these positions are inverted; a cleric is addressing Indigenous nobles from San Francisco Chapalac.

ohualneci (may you know that my presence has come to appear) which incorporates the verb *mati* (to know) in the optative form but without the affixes that would make it reverential. Then, he writes the conclusion act with phrases for writing [W], the year-date [Y], and his name [N²].

- 39-40. *oniquicuilo molino*⁵⁸² *teopan S. Fran^{co} tonali Juebes*
I wrote my words[in] Guadalajara in the church of San Francisco, on Thursday
41-42. *30 meztli nobiembre xihuitl 1626*
November 30, 1626,
43. *MoProvincial fr Fran^{co} de Torres*
your *provincial* Friar Francisco de Torres.

Torres is undoubtedly familiar with the Spanish petition genre and its repertoire, and he uses its components in this ambiguous document. Was it in response to a petition from the resident friar who was not getting supplied with the necessary tribute, or was it a written sermon that he planned to deliver to the Indigenous residents of San Francisco Chapala?

4.3. Cartas and other types of documents

Altogether there are fifty-one petitions in this corpus of Northwestern New Spain. Eleven other documents in the corpus represent other genres of writing.⁵⁸³ Juan Fabian names “1629 Zacoalco” as an *amal* (paper); a translator identifies “1649a Tzacamota” as a *carta...en lengua Mexicana* (letter in Nahuatl); a translator names “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” as *el papel* (the paper), and the notary of “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” names it as an *amatl* (paper), whereas, its translator describes it as *el papel* (the paper).⁵⁸⁴ Finally, “1630 Tlajomulco,” “1649b

⁵⁸² Some Indigenous people referred to Guadalajara as either El Molino (the windmill) or Tonalá. Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 93.

⁵⁸³ I do not include the pseudo-petition in this count.

⁵⁸⁴ McA-UCLA, Box 20-17, “1629 Zacoalco”; “1649a Tzacamota,” “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan,” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

Tzacamota,” “1649c Tzacamota,” “1649d Tzacamota,” and “1656 Tonalá” are not identified in any way.⁵⁸⁵ The words *amatl* and *papel* are ambiguous, but the structure of this correspondence suggests a classification into two genres: *cartas* (letters) and *recibos* (receipts).

Lockhart and Otte explain that letter-writing was a well established custom in both Spain and the Indies, but in Northwestern New Spain, the only Indigenous letter-writers belonged to the colonial hierarchy.⁵⁸⁶ For example, Don Francisco Nayari wrote a series of letters to Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero that combine the features of private letters and petitions. The notary who translates one of them into Spanish describes it as a *carta escrita en lengua mexicana* (letter written in the Nahuatl language). Furthermore, like the notaries of petitions, Nayari organized his texts into three parts, but the content of his letters is different from that of petitions, and for this reason I classify him as an author, and not a petitioner.⁵⁸⁷

Nayari writes an especially lengthy introduction in “1649a Tzacamota.” He begins with the cross [+] and then confers a blessing upon the bishop and asks that God also bless the king and other lords, which can be abbreviated as [G [A][K][L]].

1. +
2. *ma to tecuiyo*⁵⁸⁸ *Dios amitzm pieli Señor vispo*
May our lord God keep you lord bishop
3. *yhuño mahuiztazopilitzin tlatoan Rei yhuān oce*
and my revered and beloved child, ruler, king, and the other
- 4-5. *quinti tla to qui ma to tecui Dios a mitzimotlaço ca pieli miyexuiti*⁵⁸⁹
lords. May our lord God protect you with his love for many years.

⁵⁸⁵ AIPEJ, Tierras y Aguas Vol 2, “1630 Tlajomulco”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649b Tzacamota,” “1649c Tzacamota,” “1649d Tzacamota,” and “1656 Tonalá.”

⁵⁸⁶ Lockhart and Otte, ix-x.

⁵⁸⁷ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁵⁸⁸ Don Francisco has a peculiar way of writing “ui” because he dots the right-most vertical line of the “u” to represent the “i.”

⁵⁸⁹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

Then, Nayari uses the verb *pie* (guard) with the reverential combination, *amitzmotlaçopieli*, but his use of *amitz* to represent the second person object of this verb is somewhat confusing because in Central Mexican Nahuatl *mitz* represents the second person singular and *amech* the second person plural, while *amitz* appears to be a combination of both forms. Nonetheless, *amitz* represents the second person plural because the verb refers to a group of people that includes the bishop, the king, and other lords. Then, Nayari continues:

- 6-7. *yhūan neguati no toca Don Frn^{co} nayari totecuiyo Dios nehimomaquilia nochi*
and I my name is Don Francisco Nayari. Our lord God gave me all
7-9. *nopiligua ni pactica*⁵⁹⁰
my children, and I am healthy...

He names himself as Don Francisco Nayari and writes that God gave him his children, his subjects, to represent himself as a legitimate ruler to the addressee, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. Nayari is conversant with the language of Christian correspondence. He uses these phrases because he is an independent lord who does not adopt the subservient language of Indigenous notaries who place themselves and the petitioners they represent under the bishop's power through the use of words like *timopilhuan* (we are your children) or *timomacehuauh* (we are your servants).

Nayari does not create a clear separation between the introduction and the next section.

He states:

10. *yhūan aquimatizqui*⁵⁹¹ *quenami nivnica*
and you should know how I am.
11. *nichrstiano ~~nica~~ nivnca quenami vnixtlali*⁵⁹²
a Christian that

⁵⁹⁰ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, "1649a Tzacamota."

⁵⁹¹ Nayari appears to have written *aquimatizqui* for *ac* (who) *quimatizqui* (will know).

⁵⁹² Nayari appears to have written *nix* instead of *nech* (1sO).

12. *Rei yhuan quenami vnichilihui*⁵⁹³ *marques tlatoani*
the king installed, and how the Marques ruler told me
13. *ypapa amonimonelos*⁵⁹⁴ *ynahuaca*⁵⁹⁵ *tepeuani vnichiliu*
that I should not mix with the Tepehuanos. That is what the ruling marques told me.
14. *tlatoan marques axca nimatitica nivnica tevqui totlatoā*⁵⁹⁶
Now, I know how I am truly the lord ruler,

In this long explanation, he continues to introduce himself not only as an independent lord who understands Christian benedictions, but also as a Christian lord acknowledged by the king and the Marques, [Au⁵⁹⁷ [N][ID]][K][Mar]]. Nayari thus presents himself as an author who is an independent Christian ruler. Then, he writes that his community is Tzacamota, an independent town in El Gran Nayar. However, his communal identity does not matter as much as his individual identity as a Christian and a Cora (Refer to Chapter 2.3f) because he is not a subordinate individual presenting a grievance to be adjudicated, but an independent author requesting a favor. This main part of his letter is therefore not a grievance but rather a request directed at the bishop of Guadalajara (Refer to Chapter 6).

Nayari uses benedictions instead of a phrase of deference to confer respect, which preserves an aura of independence for him and his people in his letter. At the same time,

⁵⁹³ Nayari appears to have written *nich* instead of *nech* (1sO), which he repeats in line 13.

⁵⁹⁴ The sense of *nimonelos* is associate. Cortés y Zedeño defined *neloa* as, “Batir, rebolver, mesclar, juntar” (Beat, mix, or join); whereas Molina writes, “remar, mecer o batir algo” (row, rock, or beat). Cortés y Zedeño, 64; Molina, 66; Therefore, the sense is to mix or join something of a smaller quantity to something of a larger quantity, and associate makes the most sense in English when referring to people.

⁵⁹⁵ In Northwestern New Spain, *-nahuac* means “with” for animates. Cortés y Zedeño writes, “Con, preposicion de ablativo: Ica, 1. inahuac, para animados el Segūdo.” He also has “*contigo*: adverbio, *monahuac*.” Cortés y Zedeño, 71, 72.

⁵⁹⁶ Nayari writes *totlatoā* (we are the ruler) instead of *nitlatoani* (I am the ruler), which is probably a mistake. AHAG Documentos en nahuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

⁵⁹⁷ Here, I use Au to represent the author of a letter as a contrast with P, which represents the petitioner or petitioners of a petition.

Tepehuanos in this document represent the other ethnic power that Nayari uses as a counter-weight to sway the bishop:

28. no piaz⁵⁹⁸ amati yni nic qui ne qui
I will guard the paper that I desire.
29. yhuān nimitztetlanilia⁵⁹⁹ notlanavatili⁶⁰⁰
And, I send a message for you. My request will be read.

This *tlanavatili* (message) from the bishop would be a mark of support that Nayari can use to cement his rule with his people and with competing powers like the Tepehuanos. He finishes with a very simple conclusion that lacks the year and includes the phrase *mopoa metzti caztoli tonali nemi mayo umochihua amati* (the document was related May 15).⁶⁰¹

Subsequent letters continue the ongoing negotiation between Nayari and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero (Table 4-13).⁶⁰² Nayari does not bother with an extensive introduction in his next letter, “1649b Tzacamota,” apparently the second in the series. He only wishes that God bless Bishop Ruiz Colmenero [G [A]] and asks how the bishop is doing before beginning the request, assuring him that his son is also a Christian. For the conclusion, he restates his name and finishes with *ixquich totlatol* (they are all our words).

Table 4-13: Six Letters

Writer	Letter	Introduction	Beginning of Content Section	Conclusion
--------	--------	--------------	------------------------------	------------

⁵⁹⁸ The use of *nopiaz* is a mistake. The three grammatical possibilities are *nicpiaz* (I will guard it), *ninopiaz* (it will be guarded by me), or *mopiaz* (it will be guarded).

⁵⁹⁹ *nimitztetlanilia, titlani: nic*; to send (messages, people on errands); in a Florentine Codex passage, apparently “use” and even “expose something” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 235.

⁶⁰⁰ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

⁶⁰¹ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649a Tzacamota.”

⁶⁰² McA-UCLA, Box 20-17, “1629 Zacualco”; “1649a Tzacamota,” “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan,” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” are from AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl; “1656 Tonalá” is from McA-UCLA, Box 20-11; Box McA-UCLA, 20-17, “1629 Zacualco.”

Juan Fabian	1629 Zacoalco	[+][G] [A ² [G][Ma]] [A ² [ID]]	May you thus know...	[G][Ma][Y][S][N][N ²]
Don Francisco Nayari	1649a Tzacamota	[+][G [A][K]] [L [N][ID]] [Au [N] [ID] [K]]	I am a Christian...	[M] <i>amati</i>
Don Francisco Nayari	1649b Tzacamota	[G [A]] [G [A]]	How are you?	[N] <i>ixquich totlatol</i>
Don Francisco Nayari	1649c Tzacamota	[A]	You will greatly love me..	[Y]
Unnamed	1656 Tonalá	[+][A [G]]	We are going to speak...	[Au [ID] [G]] [G]

“1629 Zacoalco” is another document addressed to social equals, the Indigenous nobles of San Felipe Cuquío [A²], which makes it a letter (Table 4-13).⁶⁰³ In the introduction, the notary of “1629 Zacoalco” writes the cross [+], gives thanks to God [G], confers the blessings of God and Mary on the Indigenous addressees [A²] [G][Ma], and collectively identifies them [A² [ID]]. In the request section, he uses the verb *mati* (know) to begin this letter about whether a resident of Zacoalco, whose widower status is in question, can legitimately marry a woman from San Felipe Cuquío (Refer to Chapter 6).⁶⁰⁴ The conclusion is especially complex: the notary refers to God [G], the Virgin Mary [Ma], the year-date [Y], signing [S], the names of nobles sponsoring the letter [N], and the names of the parents of the woman and the man getting married [N²].

The notary of “1656 Tonalá” also wrote a letter representing the nobles of Tonalá, who directly ask their friar to return after being forcibly taken elsewhere (Refer to Chapter 6).⁶⁰⁵ The notary begins with the cross [+] followed by wishes that the addressee be blessed by God [A [G]] before beginning the content act with *nican...titlatosqui* (here, we will speak). In the conclusion act, he does not write the Christian names of the sponsors but presents them as:

9-10. *tequantin alcaldes regidoris mochi principales ypan altepetl tonalan*

⁶⁰³ McA-UCLA, Box 20-17, “1629 Zacoalco.”

⁶⁰⁴ This letter has been photographed, translated, and transcribed by Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 196-197.

⁶⁰⁵ McA-UCLA, Box 20-11, “1656 Tonalá.”

which initiates contact. After relating the manner of the transaction and the participants, the notary presents the year-date [Y] followed by the names of the author [N] and two witnesses with familial ties [N²].

Table 4-14: Three Receipts

Author	Petition	Introduction	Transition to the Grievance Section	Conclusion
Fray Francisco de Torres	1626 S.F. Chapalac	[+] [A ² [ID]]	You should know...	[W][Y][N ²]
Unnamed	1630 Tlajomulco	[+][N [ID]]	I say...	[Y][N][N ²]
Unnamed	1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	[+] [Y] [N]	When lord Ahumada took...	[Au [ID]]
Unnamed	1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	[+] [Y] [N]	They surrendered...	[Au [ID]]

The other two documents, “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan,” have the same pattern, which suggests that one notary wrote both of them (Refer to Chapter 6). These documents fit within the genre of receipts; once again, the authors do not appear to have a grievance and the recording notary simply and directly states a transaction (Table 4-14). In both receipts, the notary makes the cross [+] and writes the year-date followed by the name of the authors [N]. Then, he begins the content section of “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” with *yquac oquinhuica lord Ahumada* (when lord Ahumada took...), and the conclusion with *otetemacauque* (they surrendered). Finally, he identifies the communal identity of the actors of the transaction as residents of Santa Ana Acatlan.

4.4. Spanish Loan Words and Phrases

Lockhart proposed four stages of Nahuatl linguistic evolution during the colonial and national periods (ca. 1521-present) but cautioned that regions probably differed in the relative

timing of those stages (Refer to Chapter 3.4 and 3.5).⁶¹⁰ Indeed, some Nahuas may have been more conservative than others with regards to their language use, and although they may have had intensive contact with speakers of another language, they may have resisted incorporating loan words. The Nahuas and non-Nahuas who wrote these documents in Northwestern New Spain were individuals who had adapted in one important respect in that they were literate, which probably reflects a propensity to use many more Spanish loan words than non-literate Indigenous people in this region.

Notaries write male Christian first-names as the most prevalent loan words in the documents of Northwestern New Spain (Table 4-15).⁶¹¹ Juan was used to refer to 128 distinct individuals, whereas Francisco refers to 79 and Miguel to 55. Last names are less common; the most popular was Hernández followed by de la Cruz. The sample size for women is much smaller because they only name three Indigenous women: María Magdalena, Magdalena Bárbola, and Mariana.

Table 4-15: Most popular Indigenous names in Northwestern New Spain

	Most common name.	2nd most common name	3rd most common	Most common last name	2 nd most common name
Men	Juan: 128	Francisco: 79	Miguel: 55	Hernández: 15	Cruz: 11
Women	Magdalena: 2	María: 1	Mariana: 1	None mentioned	None mentioned

The writers of these petitions, letters, and receipts also employ an extensive ecclesiastical and secular lexicon for officials, which demonstrates an understanding of those respective hierarchies.⁶¹² For the church hierarchy, they often recorded *mayordomo*, *prioste*, *obispo*, and

⁶¹⁰ Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 260-261.

⁶¹¹ Refer to Appendix C for a complete listing of these names.

⁶¹² Refer to Appendix C for a listing of these different terms. Lockhart (1992: 293-294) presented complexes that revolved around the introduction of the *caballo* (horse) and *vino* (wine). Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples*, 293-294

provisor, whereas *clerigo* (cleric), *cura* (priest), *vicario* (vicar), and *guardian* are more rare in part because they generally used Nahuatl words like *totatzin* (our father) or *toteopixque* (our priest) to identify clerics. Their other words associated with the church include *hospital* (hospital), which is named in 13 different petitions, and is often paired with titles referring to Mary, including *Santa María* (holy Mary) and *Imaculada concepción* (immaculate conception). These pairings support the assertions of Ciudad Real, Mota de Escobar, and Tello who observed that many *hospitales* and *cofradías* dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception had been founded during the colonial period in the region.⁶¹³ Five notaries also recorded a second *cofradía*, the Santísimo Sacramento (Holy Sacrament). Their other loan words describe either days of the Christian calendar, times of day, practices, or implements, such as *fiernes* (Friday), *completas* (afternoon), *mantamientos* (commandments), *misa* (mass), *crismera* (chrism urn), and *campana* (bell).

Loan words associated with the colonial bureaucracy include titles of officers, practices, and administrative regions. The most common titles are *alcalde* and *regidor* followed by those that were used for officials who lived in colonial centers such as *alcalde mayor*, *autiençia*, *visitador*, and *gobernador*. Loans associated with common practices include *petición*, *pleito* (grievance), and *titofirmatia* (we sign) (Refer to Chapter 3.6). Meanwhile, the most commonly mentioned administrative region is Guadalajara, which notaries either named with its proper name or as *molino* (mill). Writers also referred to the province of Ávalos. A few Indigenous notaries also mention Nueva Galicia and/or Nueva España.

⁶¹³ Ciudad Real, Vol. II, 68; Mota y Escobar, 36; Tello, Vol. II, 525.

Notaries also included another group of loan words, which reflected how many Indigenous groups had adopted a pastoral life-style in Northwestern New Spain. Some writers refer to domesticated animals such as *bestias* (beasts), *bacas* (cows), *becerros* (sheep), *bueyes* (oxen), *caballos* (horses), *cabras* (goats), *ganado* (cattle), *lleguas* (mares), and *mulas* (mules). Others mentioned places such as *estancia* (piece of land) or *hacienda* (farm-ranch). Still others mention the people who worked with these animals such as *criadores* (sheperds), *harriero* (muleteer), *cocinerotin* (cooks), *mayordomo de carniceria* (overseer of beef), and even *tacurtirohua* (tan a hide).⁶¹⁴ A third category includes processed goods such *frijada* (woolen blanket), *ymachete* (his machete), and *tocino* (bacon/salted meat).

Many Indigenous notaries also included the Spanish act of deference of kissing the hands in the introduction of petitions. They wrote it in Nahuatl in a variety of ways, but the simplest iteration was similar to that of a Franciscan who, in 1585, wrote, *besando las manos de V.M.* (kissing the hands or your majesty).⁶¹⁵ For example, the notary of “1657 Tonalá” expresses those same sentiments with the Nahuatl reverential *tictotenamiquilia momatzi* (we kiss your hands); that of “1661 Etzatlán” writes *tictenamiquilo momatzin* twice, which is a variant in which only the noun is in the reverential form; and that of “1668 Zacualco” has *tictotinamiquilia momatzin*.⁶¹⁶ There is little chance of correspondence between the towns in which these petitions were written because Tonalá, Etzatlán, and Zacualco are in different provinces and

⁶¹⁴ Notaries incorporated Nahuatl affixes in words such as *cocinerotin* and *tacurtirohua*. *Cocinerotin* was written with *-tin*, a Nahuatl plural suffix. *Tacurtirohua* has *ta-*, a variant of *ila-*, the non-human indirect object and *-ohua*, a variant of *-oa*, which Lockhart defines as, “a derivational suffix that creates verbs from nouns meaning to put the thing named by the noun into action, and also creates loan verbs by being added to the Spanish infinitive.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 227.

⁶¹⁵ *Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España*, 147.

⁶¹⁶ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

along different roads. The use of similar phrases for the Spanish custom of kissing the hands (and feet) represent a widespread tradition associated with writing and polite discourse.

One Indigenous notary adds an adjectival prefix or word to hands in this act of deference in a somewhat more complex phrase. The writer of “N.Y. San Cacer Tlajomulco” includes *tlaso* (precious) in the phrase *tictlasotenamiquilo momatl* (we kiss your precious hands) which mirrors *sus manos reales besa* (he kisses your royal hands), a phrase that Fray Martín de Hojacastro used in a letter addressed to the Spanish king in 1544.⁶¹⁷ Although *real* (royal) and *tlaso* (precious) have very different meanings, they both function to convey respect.

Other Indigenous notaries wrote a phrase that referred to kissing hands and feet without any modifiers, such as *tictenamiquilia momatzin ihuan moccitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet) or *tictenamiquilo dios ymatzin yuan ycxitzin* (we kiss God’s hands and feet). Five Indigenous notaries from this region utilize similar phrases. All of these notaries wrote within the vicinity of the convent of Sayula, the administrative center of Ávalos, and at least four of them wrote during the second half of the seventeenth century (Refer to Chapter 2.2b).

The two notaries who wrote from Sayula itself demonstrate these two variants (Table 4-16).⁶¹⁸ The writer of “N.Y. Sayula” directed the phrase of deference, *tictotenamiquilia momatzin yhuan moccitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet), to the addressee by using the second-person-possessive prefix, whereas that of “1679 Sayula” refers to God in the third-person in *tictenamiquilo ymatzin dios yyhuanxietsin* (we kiss the hands and feet of God). Notaries from Ávalos also used these conventions. The notary of “1653 Amatitlan” has *tictotinamiquilia*

⁶¹⁷ *Codice Franciscano*, 175; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁶¹⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “N.Y. Sayula”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1653 Amatitlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1673 San Francisco Tizapan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1682 San Francisco Tizapan”; AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1679 Sayula.”

momatzin yhuan mocxitzin (we kiss your hands and feet) and that of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” has *otictenamiquilo momatzin mocxitzin* (we kissed your hands and feet). The notary of “1673 San Francisco Tizapan,” writes a similar phrase directed at God with *tictenamiquilo dios ymatzin yuan ycxitzin* (we kiss God’s hands and feet).

Table 4-16: *Kissing the hands and feet without modifiers in Ávalos*

Author	Province	Petition	Phrase and [addressee]
Unnamed	Ávalos	N.Y. Sayula	5-6. titlatohuani çenca tictotenamiquilia momatzin yhuan mocxitzin tictotenamiquilia...[titlatohuani]
Unnamed	Ávalos	1653 Amatitlan	8-9. yhuan çenca tictotinamiquilia momatzin yhuan mocxitzin [bishop]
Unnamed	Ávalos	1673 S.F. Tizapan	10-11. otuallaqui tictenamiquilo dios ymatzin yuan ycxitzin 11-12. quin satepa teuatzin ostrecimo S ^r ...[bishop]
Unnamed	Ávalos	1679 Sayula	4-5.ycan tonetequipachol, huel miyac, tictenamiquilo ymatsin 6. dios yyhuanxietsin... [Dios] [unclear: bishop or provisor]
Unnamed	Ávalos	1682 S. J. E. Atoyac	5-6. yn tiyxquichtin otictenamiquilo momatzin mocxitzin 7. 48-49. tictenamiquia momatzin mocxitzin...[bishop]

Other documents that have this greeting were written from towns that fell under the jurisdiction of other Franciscan convents, suggesting the possibility of Franciscan influence on the use of this polite phrase of kissing hands and feet. The author of “1580b Nochistlan” represented Nochistlan, a town visited by Franciscans from the convent of Juchipila. That of “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” wrote from Pochotitlan, a town under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan convent of Xalisco and that of “1649 Ayahualulco” wrote from Ayahualulco, a town that had two nearby Franciscan convents in Etzatlan and La Magdalena. Nevertheless, these three authors were uniform in their intention because all three directed their deference to the addressee by attaching 2nd-person possessive prefixes to hands and feet. The notary of “1580b Nochistlan” wrote *nictenamiquico yn momatzin mocxitzin* (I kiss your hands and feet); that of “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” wrote *tictenamiquilo momatzin ihuan mocxitzin* (we kiss your hands

and feet); and that of “1649 Ayahualulco” wrote *tictenamiquico momatzi mocxitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet).⁶¹⁹

Some Franciscans and notaries also added one or more modifiers to hands and feet (Table 4-17).⁶²⁰ Martín de Valencia, a Franciscan friar living the town of Tehuantepec in what is now southern Mexico, wrote a letter to the king in 1533 in which he includes two phrases that use the modifier *reales* (royal). In one phrase he represents himself by writing *después de besar sus reales manos y pies* (after having kissed your royal hands and feet), and in the other, he represents himself together with fellow Franciscans in *sus reales manos y pies besan* (they kiss your royal hands and feet). In Western Mexico, more than fifty years later, an unnamed notary from the province of Compostela used an expression in Nahuatl that is similar to Valencia’s use of *reales*:

timochintin tictotenamiquilia ynmot[at]ocamatzin yvan ynmotlatocayxitzin
All of us kiss your royal hands and your royal feet

Here, the writer uses *tlatoca* (ruling) to represent “royal” in *motlatocamatzin* (your royal hands) and *motlatocayxitzin* (your royal feet); *tlatoca* can be translated as ruling, royal, or lordly.⁶²¹

The same notary also uses it to address a member of the clergy, a reference which is repeated in a petition written about thirty years later in La Magdalena, the gateway to Compostela (Refer to Chapter 2.2b). The notary of “1622 La Magdalena” writes:

3-4. *nicnotenamiquillico teoyotica motlatocamatzin yhuan teoyotica motlatoca yxitzin*

⁶¹⁹ BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 11, Progresivo 11, “1580b Nochistlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 Ayahualulco.”

⁶²⁰ The table has four columns. They include the author of the petition, the province in which he or she wrote, the name of the petition, and the phrase together with the addressee respectively.

⁶²¹ *Tlahtoāni* means ruler, king, or is used in reference to various high Spanish officials while *tlahtoca* is the combining form of *tlahtoani*. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 221, 238.

I kiss your holy royal hands and your holy royal feet.

Like the previous notary, he uses *motlatocamatzin* (your royal hands) and *motlatocayxitzin* (your royal feet) while also adding a second modifier, *teoyotica*, which literally means “with holiness.”

Author and Addressee	Province	Document	Verb	Hands, feet, and modifiers
Martin de Valencia to the king	Tehuantepec	letter to the king [Tehuantepec, 1533]	besar besan	sus reales manos y pies sus reales manos y pies
unnamed to a Franciscan	Compostela	N.Y. [ca. 1593] Xalisco	tictotenamiquilia	yn motl[at]ocamatzin yvan yn motlatocayxitzin
María Magdalena to provisor	Izatlan	1622 La Magdalena	nicnotenamiquillico	teoyotica motlatocamatzin yhuan teoyotica motlatocayxitzin
Unnamed to bishop	Izatlan	1649a La Magdalena	tictotlaçotenamiquillico tictotenamiquilico	ynteoyotica ynmotlaçomatzin yhuan teoyotica ynmotlaçoyxitzin yn teoyotica yn motlaçomatzin yhuan teoyotica yn motlaçoyxitzin
Unnamed to the bishop	Izatlan	1649b La Magdalena	tictotlaçotenamiquillico	yn teoyotica yn motlaçomatzin yhuan teoyotica yn motlaçoyxitzin

The notary of “1649a La Magdalena” and “1649b La Magdalena” follows the usage of *teoyotica* (holy) and replaces *tlatoca* (royal) with *tlaço* (dear):

tictotlaçotenamiquillico ynteoyotica ynmotlaçomatzin yhuan teoyotica ynmotlaçoyxitzin...

We lovingly kiss your precious holy hands and your precious holy feet...⁶²²

This progression from Martín de Valencia to the notary of “N.Y. Xalisco” to that of “1622 La Magdalena” to that of “1649a La Magdalena” and “1649b La Magdalena” is an example of a pedagogic discourse between Franciscan friars and Indigenous notaries in which Spanish concepts were translated into Nahuatl.⁶²³

⁶²² AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

⁶²³ Lockhart asserts that in Central Mexico “Franciscans, other ecclesiastics, and possibly some literate Spanish laymen taught enough Nahuas how to write in their own language in the Roman alphabet that the art became self-perpetuating among writing specialists throughout the Nahuatl world, serving as the normal medium for

4.5. Nahuatl from Central Mexico and Northwestern New Spain⁶²⁴

Europeans had introduced Roman alphabetic writing in and around Mexico City so it was natural that those who learned it should have had some trouble when seeking to communicate with Nahuas from the different region of Northwestern New Spain. Juan Guerra, a Franciscan friar, published a work in 1692 in which he wrote, “the Nahuatl that the natives tend to speak in these [parts of Northwestern New Spain] is very different...because they add syllables to the words or take them away.”⁶²⁵ In the eighteenth century, don Gerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño concurred and judged that, “in this diocese of Guadalajara in which I write, the Nahuatl language is very corrupt and without that purity which it still conserves in some places close to Mexico City.”⁶²⁶ Cortés y Zedeño’s observation illustrates an attitude about the relationship between Central Mexican Nahuatl and Western Nahuatl that is also reflected in the choices that

record-keeping of all kinds.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 342.

⁶²⁴ This section draws on findings that I present in the article, “Entre la lengua mexicana y la *mera mexicana*: El náhuatl de Juan Guerra, D. Gerónimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño, y escribanos de la provincia de Ávalos, ca. 1600 a 1765” in *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina, Álvaro G. Torres Nila y Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales (Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming 2016).

⁶²⁵ In Spanish, Guerra writes, “Aunque ay muchos Artes de la lengua Mexicana no sirven para estas partes, porque la lengua Mexicana que acostumbran hablar los Naturales de ellas, es muy diferente, que la mera Mexicana, porque ya le añaden Silabas a los vocablos, ya se los quitan, y muchas veces son en el todo diferentes. Por cuya causa obligado de la obediencia determine al destinarme á escribir este Arte conforme lo hablan los Indios en estas partes, siguiendo en él en cuanto pudiere el Arte de Antonio de Nebrija.” Guerra, no page.

⁶²⁶ Yáñez Rosales discovered a baptismal record of Cortés y Zedeño that names him as the brother of Joaquín Cortés y Zedeño, *cacique* (Indigenous chief) of Tlajomulco. Yáñez Rosales, in Alvaro Jesús Torres Nila, “Noticias breves sobre la vida del bachiller Gerónimo Thomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño, 1724-1786” in *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina, Álvaro G. Torres Nila y Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales. Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming), 13. Cortés y Zedeño notes, “en este obispado de Guadalajara, en donde escribo, esta el idioma Mexicano my viciado, y no con aquella puridad, que conserva aun en algunos lugares vecinos á Mexico.” Cortés y Zedeño, A3.

notaries made in their petitions, letters, and receipts in the provinces of Ávalos, Amula, Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco.

4.5a. The Absolutive⁶²⁷ Suffix in Ávalos and Nearby Provinces

Ávalos is the best place for an investigation of the Nahuatl variants of Northwestern New Spain because it is the origin of the largest number of documents in the region and borders other provinces with correspondence communities.⁶²⁸ Different scholars have used the absolutive suffix to classify Nahuatl as *-tl*, *-t*, or *-l* variants, and for this reason it is necessary to compare how Guerra, Cortés y Zedeño, and Horacio Carochi, a Central Mexican grammarian, treated the *-tl/-t/-l* absolutive in colonial variants of Nahuatl.⁶²⁹ Carochi published a Central Mexican *Arte de lengua* in 1645, which is acknowledged as one of the best colonial grammars.⁶³⁰ Carochi always uses *-tl* and describes its pluralization in great detail.⁶³¹ Guerra is somewhat ambiguous. Although he favors *-tl* in his orthography, he writes:

The other pronunciation is that of *t* and *l* at the end together, and that of *l* is the one that is pronounced like a letter, not that of *t*, v.g. *zihuatl*, *tepetl*, *amatl*, but many do not write it,

⁶²⁷ Lockhart explains that, in Nahuatl, nouns have subjects, and proposes that for this reason, they require two obligatory affixes, to declare them to be nouns: possessive and absolutive. The first include pronominal prefixes, and singular and plural suffixes, whereas the latter are absolutive because they are not possessed. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 1.

⁶²⁸ Ávalos has eighteen documents—fifteen petitions, one letter, and two receipts—which are more than those of any other province. It also shares borders with the provinces of Amula (2 petitions) and Tlajomulco (3 petitions and 1 receipt), and it is close to that of Colima (2 petitions).

⁶²⁹ Some important works are “The Origin of Aztec *tl*” by Benjamin Lee Whorf; “Apuntes sobre dialectología náhuatl” por Yolanda Lastra de Suárez; “Nahuatl Dialectology: A Survey and some Suggestions” by Una Canger; and *La evolución fonológica del protonáhuatl* by Karen Dakin.

⁶³⁰ Lockhart asserts that Carochi’s *Arte de lengua* provides examples of inestimable value. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, viii, ix.

⁶³¹ Carochi, 30-33.

nor pronounce the *l*, and *t* is the letter that they pronounce, but what should be observed is to pronounce the *l* like a letter and not the *t*.⁶³²

In other words, Guerra proposes that even though *-tl* represents the orthographic representation of the absolutive morpheme, only /*l*/ was pronounced in the region of Northwestern New Spain that he knew. As a result, table 4-17 presents Nahuatl nouns as he spelled them—*amatl*, *altepetl*, *atl*, *ymachiotl*, *xihuitl*—and as he described them: **amal*, **altepel*, **al*, **ymachiol*, y **xihuil*.⁶³³ For his part, Cortés y Zedeño remarks that Nahuas in western Mexico, “Do not use *t* and *z* when speaking nor *t* and *l* at the end, v.g. *tzihuatl* must be pronounced and is pronounced as *zihuat* or *zihual*,” and he gives examples such as *altepet*, *tacat*, *machiot*, and *xihuit* while also presenting *al* and *amal*.⁶³⁴

Table 4-17 represents a summary of how Carochi, Guerra, and Cortés y Zedeño wrote and/or described the *-l*, *-t*, or *-tl* absolutive ending, together with similar evidence from eight different writers who wrote in the province of Ávalos between ca. 1600 to 1654.⁶³⁵ These grammarians suggests that the *-tl* absolutive represents a Central Mexican form while *-t* absolutive and/or *-l* absolutive are forms found in the spoken Nahuatl of Northwestern New Spain. However, only two writers from Ávalos employ the *-l* variant, whereas the others use *-tl*. Juan Fabian uses the *-l* variant in writing *altepel* three times, *xihuil* twice, and *amal* once, and Fray Francisco de Torres uses both the *-l* absolutive with *machiol* and the *-tl* absolutive with

⁶³² Guerra writes, “La otra pronunciación es de la T. y L. y de final juntas, y la L. es la que se pronuncia como letra, la T. no, U, g. *zihuatl*, *tepetl*, *amatl*, pero muchísimos ni la escriben, ni la pronuncian. la L. y la T. es la que pronuncian como letra, pero lo que se debe observar, es pronunciar la L. como letra, no la T. Guerra, 2.

⁶³³ I have used “*” to indicate a theoretical construct.

⁶³⁴ Cortés y Zedeño, 5.

⁶³⁵ I use the * because even though Guerra described *-l* as the pronunciation of the absolutive ending, he wrote it with *-tl*.

xihuitl. Francisco de Torres was a Franciscan who probably learned Nahuatl in Central Mexico but was then assigned to San Francisco Chapalac, one of the easternmost towns in Ávalos. His two words, *machiol* and *xihuitl*, thus suggest that he may have been molding his Nahuatl to better fit what was spoken in this province.⁶³⁶ Furthermore, in his correspondence, he never uses the *-tzin* reverential to address the Indigenous nobles who are the addressees in his document, but he does write *ilhuitzin* (feast-days, reverential), perhaps because it was a difficult word to represent orthographically. How could he decide between *ilhuil* or *ilhuitl*?

Table 4-17: The Representation of the *-t/-tl/-l* Absolutive by Three Grammarians and Six Writers from ca. 1600 to 1653

Author	Document	Nouns with <i>-t</i> , <i>-tl</i> , or <i>-l</i> endings.
Horacio Carochi	1645 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	<i>āltepētl</i> , <i>ichcatl</i> , <i>pitzotl</i> , <i>tlācatl</i> , etc.
Juan Guerra	1694 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	<i>amatl</i> , <i>altepetl</i> , <i>atl</i> , <i>ymachiotl</i> , <i>xihuitl</i> , <i>*amal</i> , <i>*altepel</i> , <i>*al</i> , <i>*ymachiol</i> , <i>*xihuil</i> , etc.
D. Geronimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño	1765 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	<i>amal amat</i> , <i>altepet</i> , <i>al</i> , <i>at</i> , <i>tacatl</i> , <i>tlacatl</i> , <i>machiot</i> , <i>tzihuatl</i> , <i>xihuit</i> , etc.
Unnamed	N.Y. Sayula	<i>altepetl</i>
Fray Francisco de Torres	1626 S.F. Chapalac	<i>machiol</i> , <i>xihuitl</i>
Juan Fabian	1629 Zacoalco	<i>altepel</i> (2), <i>xihuil</i> (2), <i>amal</i>
Unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	<i>altipetl</i> (4), <i>yehuatl</i>
Diego Juan	1653 San Martin	<i>timomaçehuatlhuan</i> , <i>quahuitl</i> , <i>çacatl</i> , <i>atl</i> , <i>xiuitl</i> ,
Diego Juan	1654 San Martin	<i>timomaçehuatlhuan</i> , <i>yehuatl</i> (2), <i>quahuitl</i> , <i>çacatl</i> , <i>altl</i> , <i>tlacatl</i> , <i>xihuitl</i> , <i>huehuetlacatl</i>
Juan Sebastian	1658 San Francisco Tizapan	<i>tonitiquipachotl</i> , <i>altipitl</i> , <i>etlhuatl</i> (2) ⁶³⁷ , <i>noquitolinichitl</i> , <i>tomaciuatl</i> , <i>xihuitl</i>

Meanwhile, the unnamed notaries of “N.Y. Sayula” and “1653 Amatitlan” along with Diego Juan and Juan Sebastian exclusively use the *-tl* ending in their orthography. However, Diego Juan and Juan Sebastian also use *-tl* in syllable final position in situations in which it does not represent the absolutive. Diego Juan writes “*timomaçehuatllhuan*” instead of

⁶³⁶ Francisco de Torres also avoids the absolutive by only using the reverential ending with *ilhuitzin*, the only word to which he adds the reverential suffix (in its possessed form) despite addressing the Indigenous nobles of San Francisco Chapalac.

⁶³⁷ The noun *etlhuatl* resembles *ilhuitl*, “day; also, especially when possessed, the feast day of a saint, god, etc.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 220.

timomaçehualhuan and “*altl*” instead of *atl*, whereas Juan Sebastian has “*tonitquipachotl*” instead of *tonetiquipachol*, “*etlhuitl*” instead of *ilhuitl*, “*noquitolinichitl*” instead of *noquitolinichil*, and “*tomaciuatl*” instead of *tomacehual*. In other words, “*etlhuitl*” has a syllable-final and non-absolute *tl* even though colonial variants tend to only have an *l* in this situation while the addition of a possessive prefix like *no-* is supposed to turn *netequipacholli* into *nonetequipachol*, *quitolinichilli* into *noquitolinichil*, and *macehualli* into *nomacehual*. These different forms along with the information provided by Guerra and Cortés y Zedeño thus suggest that authors who wrote the *-tl* absolute alongside non-absolute and syllable-final *-tl* were demonstrating a type of insecurity because they pronounced the absolute as /l/, but were taught to write it as *-tl*, which led them to use *-tl* even in those syllable-final situations that only required an *l*. Therefore, the use of the *-tl* grapheme in non-absolute syllable-final positions can be defined as a type of hypercorrection in which speakers or writers use “a formal form [the *-tl* grapheme] in a situation where a more casual one [an *-l* grapheme] may be expected.”⁶³⁸

Hypercorrection is “documented as common among socially insecure groups of low socio-economic status...who appropriate linguistic features of socio-economic dominant groups in an attempt to gain social and cultural capital.”⁶³⁹ This scenario would apply to Indigenous notaries who wrote the documents of Northwestern New Spain used in this study. Scholars have

⁶³⁸ I have added the information inside the brackets in the quote by William Labov (*apud* Blum 2013: 341, 573), who employed the term hypercorrection in his revolutionary study of how the presence or absence of [r] in postvocalic position (i.e. *car*, *card*, *four*, etc) was a strong indicator of socio-economic status in New York City department stores. Labov, “The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores” in *Making Sense of Language: Readings in Culture and Communication* ed. by Susan D. Blum (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 573. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (consulted on August 2, 2016) defines hypercorrect as being a spelling, pronunciation, or construction that is falsely modelled on an apparent analogous form. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/90314?redirectedFrom=hypercorrection#eid123254130>

⁶³⁹ Immaculada M. García-Sánchez (*apud* Blum 2013: 269) defines hypercorrection phenomena in her study that examines how immigrant Moroccan girls used code-switching to construct gendered identities in Spain.

examined the use of hypercorrection in synchronic studies that focus on spoken language. However, I propose that, in the case of *-tl* hypercorrection, the visual medium of Nahuatl alphabetic writing has preserved enough evidence for a synchronic study of a historical period. As a result, I propose that the aforementioned examples suggest a *-tl* hypercorrection pattern in Ávalos during the seventeenth century.

Two other notaries from Ávalos used the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern (Table 4-18). The notary of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” provides thirty-four examples of the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern, which include the verbs *otimitzmachitltique* and *tihuatlnesilo* and possessed words like *timopitlhuan* and *motlatotl*. He even writes Spanish loan words that end in *l* like *hospital* (hospital) as “ospitatl” and *principal* (Indigenous elite) as “prinsipatl.” Meanwhile, his absolutive use is irregular; he writes four nouns with *-tl* and one noun with *-l*. On the other hand, the notary of “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” has one example of the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern, and he also includes the *-tl* absolutive in *altipitl*.

Table 4-18: The Use of *-tl* and *-l* absolutives and non-word final *-tl*

Autor	Document	-tl absolutive	-l absolutive	-tl hypercorrection pattern
Diego Felipe	1664 S. A. Acatlan	<i>yehuatl, cahuitl, xihuitl</i> (2)	<i>altipil</i>	none
Unnamed	1668 S. F. Zacoalco	none	<i>altipil</i>	none
Unnamed	1669 S. Ma. Magdalena Tizapan	<i>tehuatl, altepetl, xivtl</i>	none	none
Unnamed	1673 S. F. Tizapan	none	<i>altipil, yeual</i>	none
Unnamed	1679 Sayula	none	<i>al, sacal, tomal, altepel</i>	none
Unnamed	1682 S. J. E. Atoyac	<i>atltepetl</i> (3), <i>atltepetl</i> , <i>atltepetl, xihuitl</i> , <i>cuahuil</i> , <i>cuahuil</i>	<i>xihuil</i>	<i>tialltepehuaque</i> (2), <i>atltepetl</i> (3), <i>otihuatlnisique</i> (3), <i>timopitlhuan</i> (4), <i>xicomachitltizino</i> (2), <i>tunetequipachotl</i> (2), <i>otimitzmachitltique</i> (2), <i>ospitatl</i> (5), <i>otimachitltique</i> , <i>tihuatlnesilo</i> , <i>ticomachitltis</i> (2), <i>motlatotl</i> , <i>ylaxtahuitl</i> , <i>atltar</i> , <i>otichitlhuitl</i> , <i>Pascuatl</i> , <i>prinsipatl</i> (2)
Unnamed	1686 S. Pedro Tepec	none	<i>altepel, altepel, yeual, tequil</i> ,	none

			<i>xivil, altepel, xivil</i>	
Unnamed	1687 S. Ana Acatlan	<i>Altepetl,</i>	none	none
Hernando Miguel	1692 S. Andres Atotonilco	none	none	none
Unnamed	1693 S. Ana Acatlan	<i>amatl</i>	none	none
Unnamed	1694 S. J. E. Atoyac	<i>altipitl</i>	none	<i>tematzmachitltilo</i>

The remaining writers used *-l* or *-tl* as absolutes without the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern. The notary of “1679 Sayula” used the *-l* absolute on four occasions, that of “1686 San Pedro Tepec,” used it on seven occasions, and that of “1668 Zacoalco” used it once. The notary of “1669 S. Ma. Magdalena Tizapan” wrote the *-tl* absolute three times, that of “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” used it once, and that of “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” also used it once.

In total, the four writers from Ávalos that favor the *-l* absolute do not use the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern, whereas four of the six notaries who favor the *-tl* absolute employ the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern. As a result, the data suggest three patterns about the recording of the absolute suffix in Ávalos:

1. *-l* pattern: Writers favor the *-l* grapheme to represent /l/ sound for the absolute more than 50% of the time.
2. *-tl* pattern: Writers favor the *-tl* grapheme to represent /λ/ sound for the absolute more than 50% of the time.⁶⁴⁰
3. *-tl* hypercorrection pattern: Writers favor the *-tl* grapheme to represent /l/ because they write at least two examples of syllable-final non-absolute *-tl* and/or *-l* absolute.

Can these patterns be extended beyond Ávalos?

Some notaries from the provinces of Amula, Colima, and Tlajomulco also present these patterns (Table 4-19).⁶⁴¹ Speakers in Amula appear to favor /l/ in the absolute; the notary of “1649 Tuzcacuezco” has three instances of the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern, and records the

⁶⁴⁰ The International Phonetic Alphabet symbol for *tl* is /λ/.

⁶⁴¹ The full version of Table 4-19 is found in Appendix D.

absolute with *-l* two times and with *-tl* four times, whereas that of “1649 Tachichilco” favors *-l* against *-tl* by a factor of three to one. Furthermore, *-l* usage is probably also found in Tlajomulco, where two of the three writers from this province present *tl* hypercorrection. The notary of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” has four instances of the *-tl* absolute and one of *-tl* hypercorrection with “*patlr*” which probably stands for *patr* (or *pater*), and that of “N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco” has one case of the *-tl* absolute and one case of *-tl* hypercorrection in *momatl* (your hands), whereas that of “1630 Tlaxomulco” only has one case of the *-tl* absolute in *altepetl*.⁶⁴² In Colima, Pedro Puy presents the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern seventeen times and records nine instances of the *-tl* absolute, whereas Juan Cruz presents six instances of absolute *-tl* and one case of the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern, which is ambiguous because it could be a non-standard preterit form of *tlaçotla* (love).⁶⁴³ Therefore, the evidence suggests that Nahuatl speakers used *-l* absolute in a large region that stretched from Ávalos north to Tlaxomulco, west to Amula, and southwest to Colima.

Table 4-19: The Use of *-tl* and *-l* absolutes and non-word final *-tl* outside of Ávalos

Author	Province	Petition	-tl absolute	-l absolute	-tl hypercorrection pattern
Unnamed	Amula	1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezo	4 instances	2 instances	3 instances
Unnamed	Amula	1649 Tachichilco	1 instance: <i>altepetl</i>	3 instances	none
Francisco Sebastian	Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	12 instances	none	none
Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 Cohuatlan	9 instances	none	17 instances
Juan Cruz	Poncitlan	1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	6 instances	none	1 instance: <i>techtlaçotl</i>
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	1630 Tlajomulco	1 instance: <i>amatl</i>	none	none
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. Tlajomulco	4 instances	none	1 instance: <i>patlr</i>

⁶⁴² The notary of “N.Y. San Cacel Tlajomulco” writes *tictlasotenamiquilo momatl* (we kiss your precious hands).

⁶⁴³ Lockhart gives the preterit form of *tlaçotla* as *ōnicitlaçotlac*. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 236. Molina has *oninotlaçotlac* and *onitetlaçotlac*. Molina, 119.

Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. S. Cacer Tlajomulco	1 instance: <i>altepetl</i>	none	1 instance: <i>momatl</i>
---------	------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------------	------	---------------------------

4.5b. The Plural Subject Marker in Ávalos and Nearby Provinces

Another difference between Western and Central Nahuatl variants is the suffix that marks a plural subject in a present-tense verb (Table 4-20). Horacio Carochi writes “un salto, o singulto, o reparo, y suspensión” (a glottal stop /ʔ/) was added to the last vowel of a verb that had a plural subject.⁶⁴⁴ He also adds that speakers added *-lo* /lo/ to convert a present tense verb with a singular subject from the active to the passive voice, and *-lô* /loʔ/ to do the same for a verb with a plural subject. Guerra y Cortés and Zedeño suggest that speakers from the diocese of Guadalajara relied on the suffix *-lo* to distinguish the plurality of a subject in the present tense, but they do not indicate whether this morpheme was pronounced as /lo/ or /loʔ/, and they also do not present it as an option for the passive voice.⁶⁴⁵ Therefore, Carochi proposes that that /ʔ/ was the Central Mexican verbal suffix that marked a plural subject while Guerra and Cortés y Zedeño assert that *-lo* was its Western Mexican equivalent. Both *-lo* and /ʔ/ are apparently found in the documents of Ávalos and the provinces of Amula, Colima, and Tlajomulco.

Table 4-20: /ʔ//lo/ or /loʔ/

Autor	Documento	/ʔ/	/lo/ or /loʔ/
Horacio Carochi	1645 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	<i>Tinemî</i> , We live, <i>annemî</i> , you [plural] live, <i>nemî</i> , they live, etc.	<i>tipôhualô</i> , <i>ampôhualô</i> , <i>pôhualô</i> , etc [passive verbs]
Juan Guerra	1692 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	none	<i>Titlazoltlalo</i> , we love, <i>Anquitlazoltlalo</i> , you [plural] love, <i>Quitlazoltlalo</i> , they love
D. Gerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño	1765 <i>Arte de la lengua mexicana</i>	none	<i>Titazoctalo</i> , we love, <i>Antazoctalo</i> , you [plural] love, <i>Tazoctalo</i> , they love

⁶⁴⁴ Carochi, xvii, 22, 94, 96. Lockhart writes that many investigators have concluded that Carochi’s *saltillo* represents the glottal stop. Lockhart in Carochi, xvii.

⁶⁴⁵ Carochi, 124-125.

Both of these forms of the plural-subject-signalling suffix appear to be found in Ávalos. The notary of “1653 Amatitlan” writes *tictotinamiquilia* (we kiss it, reverential) and *ticchichihualo* (we repair it), in which the first verb appears to have the Central Mexican pronunciation /ʔ/, and the latter has the Western Mexican *-lo*.⁶⁴⁶ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero provides some support that the writer of “1653 Amatitlan” could be using a Central Mexican feature when he writes that Amatlán was inhabited by “Mexicanos advenedizos,” which roughly means Central Mexican immigrants.⁶⁴⁷ The first verb, which most likely has a glottal stop, is in the more structured introduction as *tictotinamiquilia momatzin yhuan mocxitzin* (we kiss your hands and feet), whereas the other verb is in the grievance section. Furthermore, the notary of “1686 Pedro Tepec” writes *tictlalia*, which lacks a suffix and suggests the presence of /ʔ/, and eight verbs with the *-lo* suffix: *quitemacalo*, *quichivalo*, *quinotzalo*, *quinchivalo*, *tiquipanolo*, *ticmatilo*, *monamictilo*, and *ticmacalo*. He places the verb that lacks a suffix in a phrase in the conclusion, *tictlalia tomachio tofirma* (we set down our signs-signatures), that served to present the Catholic names of the petitioners, whereas he writes the *-lo* forms throughout the grievance section in phrases such as *quinotzalo oficialis* (the officials summoned him/them) and *quitemacalo candela yvā bino de castillan* (they give candles and Castillian wine). Thus, not only do the introduction and conclusion contain phrasal elements common to most of the

⁶⁴⁶ Carochi places a mark, “^”, over the last vowel of the verb to signal the presence of the glottal plosive to indicate a present tense verb with a plural subject. Carochi, 124-125. Furthermore, Lockhart asserts in a footnote that, although the glottal stop was sometimes recorded with an “h”, it generally went unrecorded. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*, 2. Pedro Puy is the only notary in this study who appears to mark the glottal plosive with a grapheme, the colon.

⁶⁴⁷ Santoscoy is accessing information from the visitation book written by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero when he writes, “Mexicanos (‘advenedizos’ agrega el Libro.) Los de Amatlán a 8 leguas de Etzatlán.” Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050. Furthermore, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero classifies Santa María Magdalena Tizapan as being inhabited by Cocas (Refer to Chapter 2.3e). Ruiz Colmenero, in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

petitions, but “1653 Amatitlan” and “1686 Pedro Tepec” lack a suffix to indicate the plurality of the pronominal, which suggests that the Central Mexican form, /ʔ/, was most prevalent in these sections, whereas *-lo* was most prevalent in the grievance part of the petition. I propose that these situations demonstrate a weak *-lo* pattern.

Diego Juan also supports the weak *-lo* pattern in his two petitions (Table 4-21).⁶⁴⁸ In “1653 San Martín,” Diego Juan writes *tineçico*, *tictenamiquico*, *timofirmatia*, and *tictelchihua* without a grapheme, suggesting that these verbs have /ʔ/, placing all but the last verb in the introduction or conclusion, whereas he writes a large number of verbs with *-lo* in the grievance section: *timotequipacholo*, *ticmacalo* (nine times), and *ticnequilo*. Furthermore, in “1654 San Martín,” he has *timopechtecaco*, *tictotinamiquillico*, *timotlauhtia* in the introduction, *timofirmatia* in the conclusion and *tiquitohua* in the grievance section, whereas his *-lo* forms—*ticnequilo*, *techytalo*, *quipualo*, *ticchihualo*, *titemacalo* (eight times), *ticmacalo*, *tihuicalo*, and *tiztlacatilo*—are all in the grievance section except for *tiztlacatilo*, which is in the conclusion.⁶⁴⁹

Table 4-21: *-lo* and probable /ʔ/ usage in Petitions from Ávalos

Author	Petition	Grievance Section	Introduction	Conclusion
Unnamed	N.Y. Sayula	2 in <i>-lo</i>	2 probable /ʔ/ forms	none
Unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	1 in <i>-lo</i>	1 probable /ʔ/ form	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Diego Juan	1653 San Martín	3 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form	2 probable /ʔ/ forms	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Diego Juan	1654 San Martín	7 in <i>-lo</i> ; 2 probable /ʔ/ form	2 probable /ʔ/ forms	1 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form
Juan Sebastian	1658 S. Fco. Tizapan	2 in <i>-lo</i>	2 probable /ʔ/ forms	none
Unnamed	1668 S. Fco. Zacoalco	1 probable /ʔ/ form	1 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form	none

⁶⁴⁸ Table 4-21 presents petitions written by these writers and others from Ávalos. They are organized by the year-date. I have included the raw data for this table in Appendix D, which has tables divided by the provinces: Ávalos, Amula, Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco. The last three columns record the number of indicative present-tense verbs that have plural subjects in the grievance section, the introduction, and conclusion, respectively. Furthermore, a full transcription and translation of “1654 San Martín” is in Appendix B.

⁶⁴⁹ Diego Juan also writes *ma yectenehualo yn Santísimo Sacramento* but, in this case, *-lo* appears to be a passive suffix because this phrase means, “may the Holy Sacrament be praised. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1654 San Martín.”

Unnamed	1669 S. Ma. Magdalena Tizapan	4 in <i>-lo</i>	none	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	1673 S. Fco. Tizapan	none	1 in <i>-lo</i>	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	1679 Sayula	28 in <i>-lo</i>	2 in <i>-lo</i>	3 in <i>-lo</i>
Unnamed	1682 S. Ju. E. Atoyac	3 in <i>-lo</i>	none	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	1686 San Pedro Tepec	7 in <i>-lo</i>	none	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	1694 S. Ju. E. Atoyac	1 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form	none	none

Four other writers from Ávalos also favor the weak *-lo* pattern, including the notaries of “N.Y. Sayula,” “1658 San Francisco Tizapan,” “1669 Santa María Magdalena,” and “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac.” The notaries of “1668 Zacoalco” and “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” do not present enough examples: the former uses one *-lo* form and one probable /ʔ/ form in the introduction and one probable /ʔ/ form in the grievance section; and the latter has one *-lo* form in the introduction and one probable /ʔ/ form in the conclusion. On the other hand, the notary of “1679 Sayula” uses *-lo* throughout his petition: twenty-eight times in the grievance section, twice in the introduction, and three times in the conclusion. Therefore, “1679 Sayula” suggests that the overwhelming usage of *-lo* throughout a petition is possible, to which I will refer hereafter as the strong *-lo* pattern.

The two notaries writing in the adjacent province of Amula vary their usage of *-lo* and /ʔ/ in that one follows the weak *-lo* pattern and another follows the strong *-lo* pattern (Table 4-22). In Amula, the notary of “1649 Tachichilco” demonstrates another example of the strong *-lo* pattern when he uses *-lo* in all situations. Meanwhile, the writer of “San Antonio Tuzcacuezcó” favors the weak *-lo* pattern in the grievance section by writing seven verbs with *-lo* and only two without any suffix, and in the introduction/conclusion, he uses three verbs without any suffix. Both situation suggest the /ʔ/ form.

The writers of the provinces of Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco vary their usage. In Cajititlan, Francisco Sebastian follows the strong *-lo* pattern when he writes eleven forms with *-lo* in the grievance section and one probable /ʔ/ form in the introduction or conclusion. Pedro Puy and Juan Cruz present another possibility, because they only use probable /ʔ/ forms, which is also the case with the writer of “N.Y. Tlajomulco.” Meanwhile, the writer of “N.Y. San Cacel” does not provide enough examples; he writes one *-lo* form in the grievance section, one *-lo* form in the introduction/conclusion and two probable /ʔ/ forms in the introduction and/or conclusion.

Table 4-22: *-lo* and probable /ʔ/ usage in Petitions from Amula, Cajititlan, Colima, Poncitlan, and Tlajomulco

Author	Province	Petition	Grievance Act	Introduction and/or conclusion acts
Unnamed	Amula	1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezco	7 in <i>-lo</i> ; 2 probable /ʔ/ forms	3 probable /ʔ/ forms
Unnamed	Amula	1649 Tachichilco	5 in <i>-lo</i>	2 in <i>-lo</i>
Francisco Sebastian	Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	11 in <i>-lo</i>	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 San Andrés Coahuatlan	2 probable /ʔ/ form ⁶⁵⁰	none
Juan Cruz	Colima	1637 Coahuatlan de P. A.	4 probable /ʔ/ form	5 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	1630 Tlajomulco	none	none
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. Tlajomulco	3 probable /ʔ/ forms	1 probable /ʔ/ form
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. S. Cacel	1 in <i>-lo</i>	1 in <i>-lo</i> ; 2 probable /ʔ/ form

The previous data from petitions makes it possible to theorize the weak *-lo* pattern, the strong *-lo* pattern, and the probable /ʔ/ pattern within well-defined fields. I propose:

4. Weak *-lo* pattern: Notaries favor *-lo* forms from 50% to 90% of the time in the grievance section even if /ʔ/ forms may be present at a rate that is greater than 50% in the introduction and/or conclusion.
5. Strong *-lo* pattern: Notaries utilize *-lo* more than 90% of the time in the grievance section, and they utilize *-lo* at a rate that is greater than 50% in the introduction and/or conclusion.

⁶⁵⁰ As already mentioned, Pedro Puy appears to use “:” for the glottal stop in some instances i.e. the verbs *ticnequi*: (we want) and *titotlailanilia*: (we request).

6. Probable /ʔ/ Pattern: Notaries do not use a grapheme in verbs with a plural subject over 50% of the time in the grievance act, which suggests /ʔ/ usage.

The next step is to correlate the weak *-lo*, strong *-lo*, and the probable /ʔ/ patterns against absolute usage patterns to theorize about what variant of Nahuatl a given notary spoke and whether it was his native language or a second language (hereafter L2).

4.5c. Correlations: Central and Western Nahuatl

The notaries of “1646 Tachichilco,” “1679 Sayula,” “1686 Pedro Tepec,” and “1668 Zacoalco” most likely spoke a variant of Western Mexico Nahuatl because their usage of the strong *-lo* or weak *-lo* patterns correlate with that of the *-l* pattern (Table 4-26). The notary of “1649 Tachichilco” demonstrates the correlation between the strong *-lo* pattern and the *-l* absolute pattern because all five of his present tense verbs with plural subjects have *-lo*. In Ávalos, the notary of “1679 Sayula” uses the strong *-lo* pattern and the *-l* absolute pattern, whereas the writer of “1686 San Pedro Tepec” has the weak *-lo* pattern and the *-l* absolute pattern. The result of this consistency strongly suggests that these three notaries were native speakers of a Nahuatl variant from Western Mexico.⁶⁵¹ However, the evidence for the writer of “1668 Zacoalco” is not as conclusive. He has one verb with the *-lo* suffix in the grievance and one noun with the *-l* absolute, which is a correlation that suggests that it was somewhat likely that he was also a native speaker of a Nahuatl variant from Western Mexico because these are the only examples.

⁶⁵¹ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero identifies the inhabitants of Sayula as Sayultecos, a Nahua group (Refer to Chapter 2.4 and Chapter 4.5c and 4.6). Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero also notes that the inhabitants of San Pedro y San Pablo de Tepec (or San Pedro Tepec) and Zacoalco were Coca (non-Nahuas), whereas those from “1646 Tachichilco” were Bapames (poss: Otomí) (Refer to Chapter 2.3b). Ruiz Colmenero, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1049-1050.

Table 4-26: Correlation between the *-l* and *-lo* Patterns

Province	Author	Petition	<i>-l</i> pattern examples	Evidence for the <i>-lo</i> pattern in grievance
Amula	Unnamed	1649 Tachichilco - Bapame	<i>-l</i> in 3/4 nouns; <i>-tl</i> in 1/4 nouns.	<i>-lo</i> in 5/5 verbs [strong <i>-lo</i>]
Ávalos	Unnamed	1668 Zacoalco	<i>-l</i> in 1/1 nouns.	<i>-lo</i> 1/1 verb [strong/weak?]
Ávalos	Unnamed	1679 Sayula	<i>-l</i> in 4/4 nouns.	<i>-lo</i> 28/28 verbs [strong <i>-lo</i>]
Ávalos	Unnamed	1686 San Pedro Tepec	<i>-l</i> in 7/7 nouns.	<i>-lo</i> 7/9 verbs [weak <i>-lo</i>]

Notaries who wrote from other towns in Ávalos, along with with one writer from Amula and another from Tlajomulco, employed the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern together with the *-lo* suffix pattern (Table 4-27). In Amula, the writer of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” employed the hypercorrection *-tl* pattern together with the weak *-lo* pattern. In Ávalos, Diego Juan wrote the hypercorrection *-tl* pattern together with the weak *-lo* pattern in his two petitions: “1653 San Martín” and “1654 San Martín.” Furthermore, Juan Sebastian wrote the hypercorrection *-tl* pattern together with the strong *-lo* pattern in “1658 San Francisco Tizapan,” and the notary of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” did the same. On the other hand, the writers of “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” and “N.Y. San Cacerel” are more ambiguous; the correlation between their use of the *-tl* hypercorrection and the strong/weak *-lo* patterns are based on the correlation of one absolute *-l* and one *-lo* suffix. These results suggest that it is highly likely that Diego Juan, Juan Sebastian, and the writer of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” spoke a variant of Nahuatl from Western Mexico as an L2, but only somewhat likely that the writers of “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” and “N.Y. San Cacerel” did so, as well.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵² Bishop Ruiz Colmenero supports this assertion because he identifies San Martín, the town in which Diego Juan wrote, as being inhabited by Cocas, a group that Dávila Garibi identified as being speakers of a Cahita variant (Refer to Chapter 2.3e). Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050; Dávila Garibi, *El problema de la clasificación de la lengua coca*. Mexico City: Librería editorial San Ignacio, 1943. Furthermore, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero asserts that San Francisco Tizapan, in which Juan Sebastian wrote, was inhabited by Oibzitecos (possibly non-Nahua). Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

Table 4-27: Correlation between the Hypercorrection *-tl* and *-lo* patterns⁶⁵³

Province	Author	Petition	Hypercorrection <i>-tl</i> pattern examples	Evidence for the <i>-lo</i> patterns in grievance section
Amula	Unnamed	1649 S. Antonio Tuzcacuezco	3 times	7 in <i>-lo</i> ; 2 probable /ʔ/ forms [weak <i>-lo</i>].
Ávalos	Diego Juan	1653 San Martin	2 times.	<i>-lo</i> 3 verbs; 1 probable /ʔ/ form [weak <i>-lo</i>].
Ávalos	Diego Juan	1654 San Martin	3 times.	7 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form [weak <i>-lo</i>].
Ávalos	Juan Sebastian	1658 S. Francisco Tizapan	15 times.	<i>-lo</i> 2 verbs [strong <i>-lo</i>].
Ávalos	Unnamed	1682 S. Juan Ebangelista Atoyac	26 times.	<i>-lo</i> 3 verbs [strong <i>-lo</i>].
Ávalos	Unnamed	1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	1 time.	1 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 probable /ʔ/ form [weak <i>-lo</i>].
Tlajomulco	Unnamed	N.Y. S. Cacel	1 time.	1 in <i>-lo</i> [strong/weak <i>-lo</i>]

However, other notaries use the aforementioned patterns in a manner that suggests that they were influenced by Central Mexican variants. In Ávalos, the writer of “N.Y. Sayula” provides a few examples suggesting that he used the *-tl* pattern together with the probable /ʔ/ pattern, which makes it somewhat likely that he spoke a Central Mexican variant. However, the writer of “1653 Amatitlan” and that of “1669 Santa Maria Magdalena” provide several examples to support their usage of the *-tl* pattern together with the *-lo* pattern, which suggests that they spoke a mixed Central/Western Mexico Nahuatl.

Table 4-28: Other Correlations between the Aforementioned Patterns

Province	Author	Petition	Type of Absolute pattern: H=hypercorrection of <i>-tl</i> ; <i>-tl</i> =absolute <i>-tl</i> , <i>-l</i> =absolute <i>-l</i> .	Evidence for the <i>-lo</i> or /ʔ/ patterns in the grievance section
Ávalos	Unnamed	N.Y. Sayula	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 1/1 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	2/2 in /ʔ/.
Ávalos	Unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 5/5 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	2/3 in <i>-lo</i> [Weak <i>-lo</i> pattern].
Ávalos	Unnamed	1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 3/3 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	<i>-lo</i> 4 verbs.
Cajititlan	Francisco Sebastian	1644 Cajititlan	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 13/13 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	11/11 in <i>-lo</i> [Strong <i>-lo</i> pattern]
Colima	Pedro Puy	1622 Coahuatlan	<i>-tl</i> hypercorrection pattern: 8/8 in <i>-tl</i> and 3 H.	2/2 in /ʔ/ [ʔ/ pattern]
Colima	Juan Cruz	1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 6/6 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	4/4 in /ʔ/ [ʔ/ pattern]

⁶⁵³ “1653 San Martín” is from McA-UCLA, Box 20-8. All of the others are from AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl.

Tlajomulco	Unnamed	1630 Tlajomulco	No examples.	No examples.
Tlajomulco	Unnamed	N.Y. Tlajomulco	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 3/3 in <i>-tl</i> and 0 H.	3/3 in /ʔ/ [ʔ/ pattern]

Pedro Puy, Juan Cruz, and the notary of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” also show features of Central Mexican Nahuatl in that they used the probable /ʔ/ pattern (Table 4-28). In Colima, Pedro Puy exhibited the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern when he used three words with syllable-final, non-absolute *-tl* and wrote two of two verbs with a colon to possibly mark the /ʔ/ suffix in the grievance. Such a correlation suggests that it was likely that he was an L2 speaker who spoke a mixed Central/Western Nahuatl variant. Juan Cruz and the notary of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” show a stronger preference for a Central Mexican variant because they both used the *-tl* and probable /ʔ/ patterns. Juan Cruz wrote six of six nouns with the *-tl* absolute suffix without any examples of *-tl* hypercorrection and four of four verbs without a suffix, whereas the notary of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” wrote three of three *-tl* nouns and three of three verbs without a plural-marking suffix for the subject pronominals, which suggests the /ʔ/. As a result, it is highly likely that both writers spoke a Central Mexican variant of Nahuatl.

Francisco Sebastián and the writer of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” respectively wrote in Cajititlan and Tlajomulco, towns that were relatively close to each other, but the former was likely a speaker of a mixed Central/Western variant of Nahuatl, whereas the latter was likely a speaker of Central Mexico Nahuatl. Francisco Sebastián used the *-tl* pattern together with the strong *-lo* pattern when he wrote thirteen of thirteen nouns with the *-tl* pattern without any examples of *-tl* hypercorrection and eleven of eleven verbs in the grievance act with the *-lo* suffix. The notary of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” used the *-tl* pattern with the probable /ʔ/ pattern because he respectively used three of three nouns with the *-tl* absolute without any instances of *-tl* hypercorrection and three

of three verbs in the grievance section without a plural-marking suffix, which suggests the /ʔ/ suffix.

The results from the writers of some of the letters and receipts from Ávalos are less than conclusive (Table 4-28). Fray Francisco de Torres writes *xihuitl* and *machiol*, and he also uses one *-lo* verb form. He provides only a few examples, but since he was a Franciscan, it is probable that he first learned a variant of Nahuatl from Central Mexico before arriving in Northwestern New Spain, where he then learned a Western Mexican variant. Juan Fabian shows a preference for the *-l* absolute and also presents nine verbs without a suffix to mark the plural subject pronominals, which suggests the /ʔ/ suffix, but his letter was meant for the Indigenous cabildo of San Felipe Cuquio, whose officers could be expected to be less formal about Nahuatl than a translator who spoke Spanish and Nahuatl. The unnamed notary of “1664 Santa Ana Acatlan” wrote only one of five forms with the *-l* absolute, but his use of one verb with *-lo* suggests that he was, at least, influenced by a Nahuatl variant from Western Mexico, whereas the notary who wrote “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” does not provide enough examples to theorize because he only provides two examples of absolute *-tl*.⁶⁵⁴

Table 4-29: Absolute Choice and *-lo* or /ʔ/ in Letters and Receipts from Ávalos

Author	Non-petition document	Type of Absolute Pattern,	Evidence for the <i>-lo</i> or probable /ʔ/ patterns in the whole document.
Fray Francisco de Torres	1626 San Francisco Chapalac	<i>-l</i> pattern: 1/2 in <i>-l</i> and 0 H.	1/1 in <i>-lo</i> [Weak/Strong <i>-lo</i>].
Juan Fabian	1629 Zacoalco	<i>-l</i> pattern: 6/6 in <i>-l</i> and 0 H.	9/9 in /ʔ/ [/ʔ/ pattern].
Diego Felipe	1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	<i>-tl</i> pattern: 4/5 in <i>-tl</i> , 1/5 in <i>-l</i> and 0 H.	1/1 in <i>-lo</i> [Weak/Strong <i>-lo</i>].

⁶⁵⁴ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero appears to have associated this Santa Ana with the Cocas. Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050. Santoscoy listed it under the Cocas and in between entries for the towns of Santa María Tizapan and Zacoalco, which are a few miles east of Santa Ana Acatlan. Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

Antonio de la Cruz? ⁶⁵⁵	1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	-tl pattern: 1/1 in -tl and 0 H.	None.
Antonio de la Cruz?	1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	-tl pattern: 1/1 in -tl and 0 H.	None.

I have illustrated these proposed correlations in Map 4-1, in which the solid circles indicate towns where notaries wrote petitions, letters, or receipts that contain evidence of Central Mexican (hereafter C) and/or Western Mexican patterns (hereafter W1) of Nahuatl.⁶⁵⁶ These correlations suggest that notaries who wrote during the early seventeenth century tended to favor C patterns, that those who lived in communities close to Franciscan convents could have C and W1 patterns, and that those who lived in more isolated towns tended to favor W1 patterns. Going from north to south, Tlajomulco is preceded by C/W because the notary of “N.Y. San Cacel” in the province of Tlajomulco used two W1 patters, whereas that of “N.Y. Tlajomulco” used two C patterns. San Martín is preceded by W because Diego Juan favored W patterns in his two petitions. Santa María Magdalena Tizapan and Cajititlan are preceded by C/W for the respective notaries since each used one C pattern and one W1 pattern. Zacoalco is preceded by C/W because the notary of “1629 Zacoalco” favored C patterns, and that of “1668 Zacoalco” favored W1 patterns. Meanwhile, the W before San Pedro Tepec, the W before San Francisco Tizapan, and the W preceding San Juan Evangelista Atoyac show that the respective notaries who wrote from these towns favored W1 patterns. In Amatitlan, the C/W indicates that the notary of “1653 Amatitlan” used a W1 pattern together with a C pattern, whereas the C/W in

⁶⁵⁵ Although there is some ambiguity as to whether Antonio de la Cruz wrote “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan,” the calligraphy of these two receipts, which are attached to a Spanish-language Indigenous petition, suggests that they were made by the same author.

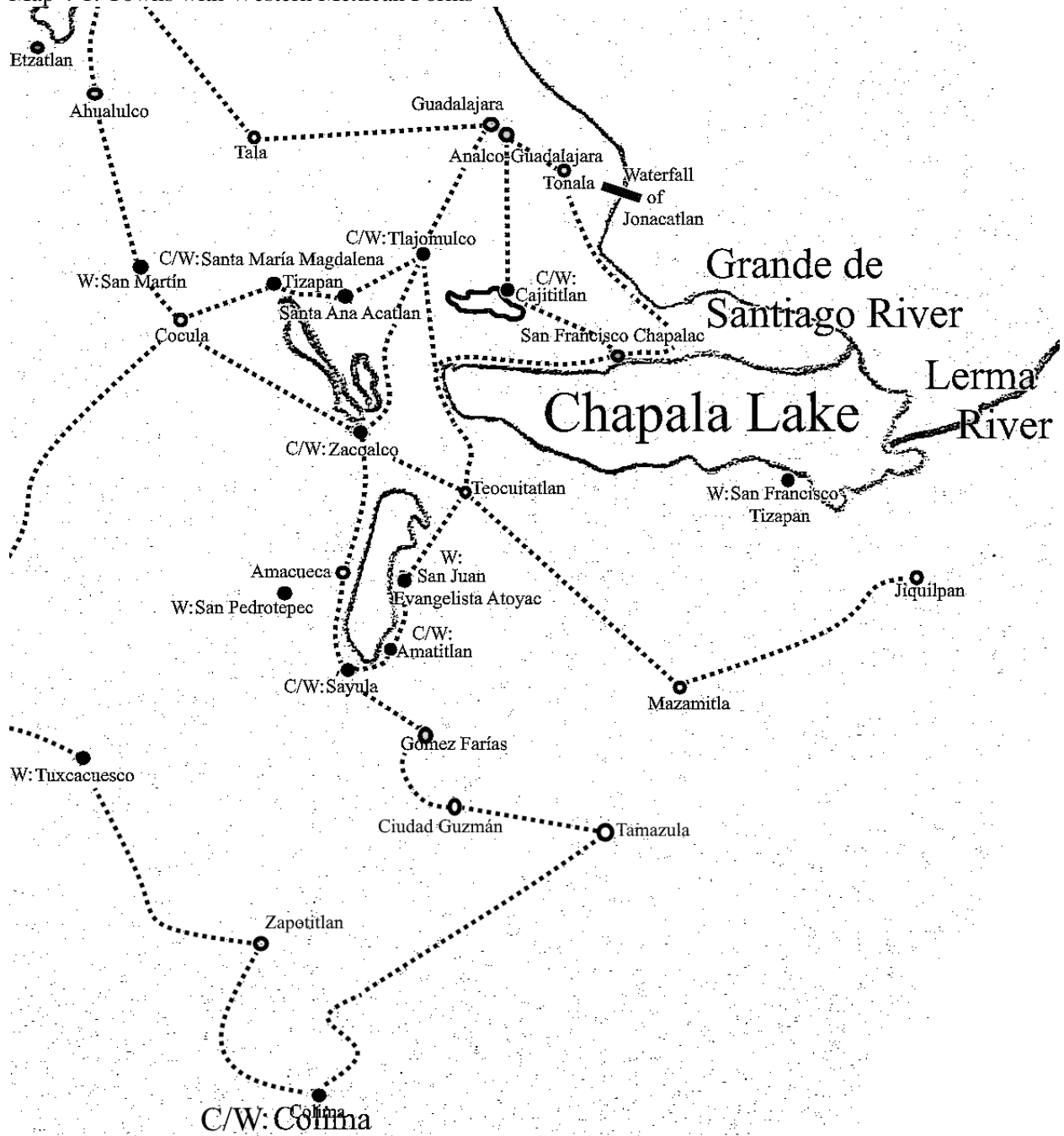
⁶⁵⁶ Solid lines indicate bodies of water and dotted lines indicate roads. The “C” precedes the name of a town in which one or more writers favored the Central Mexican patterns; “W” precedes the name of a town in which one or more writers favored the Western Mexican patterns; and “C/W” precedes the name of a town in which either a writer favored the Central Mexican patterns and another favored the Western Mexican patterns; or one or more writers used a Central Mexican pattern with a Western Mexican pattern.

Sayula indicates that the writer of “N.Y. Sayula” used two C patterns and the writer of “1679 Sayula” used two W1 patterns. In Tuscacuesco, the notary of “1649 San Antonio Tuscacuesco” favored W1 patterns. In Colima, Pedro Puy used one W1 pattern and one C pattern in his work, “1622 San Andres Cohuatlan,” and Juan Cruz used two C patterns in “1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.”

Finally, I propose that W1 be known as Sayulteco due to the correlation of historical and linguistic patterns. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero identified the inhabitants of Sayula along with those of seven other towns as Sayultecos: Jocotlán, a coastal town, Jirotto, Mazatlán in the province of Purificación, Apango, Jalpa in the parish of Amacueca, Tapalpa, Atemajac, and Uxmajac. Sayula was also a sizeable town that was the head town of the province of Ávalos and also had a population that included Indigenous people, Spaniards, and people of mixed-race.⁶⁵⁷ Furthermore, the writer of “1679 Sayula” suggests that W1 was firmly embedded in Sayula because he employed twenty-eight of twenty-eight verbs with the *-lo* suffix with four of four nouns with the *-l* pattern. Notaries also favored W1 forms in nearby San Pedro Tepec, San Juan Evangelista Atoyac, Tuxcacuesco, and San Francisco Tizapan. Thus, I will refer to W1 as Sayulteco from now on.

⁶⁵⁷ AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1679 Sayula.”

Map 4-1: Towns with Western Mexican Forms



4.6. Two Western Variants of Nahuatl

Notaries created the petitions, letters, and receipts of New Spain with language that preserves evidence of relationships between themselves, the people they represented, and the Spanish secular and church hierarchies they addressed. In petitions, most writers adhered to a tri-partite division of the text in which the more formulaic introduction and conclusion drew upon an inventory of borrowed Spanish words and phrases. In that respect, letters and receipts were more fluid than petitions.

Writers of all three genres employed a large number of Spanish loan words and phrases to address colonial officials. Notaries recorded “we kiss your hands and feet” to address both secular and ecclesiastical officials, used Christian names for themselves, and employed specific titles for officials of all kinds. However, they more commonly referred to officials by their titles, and only a few used the specific names of their addressees. They also employed a large loan vocabulary to describe the pastoral nature of Northwestern New Spain.

Writers also gave clues to whether they spoke Central Mexican, Sayulteco, or another Western Mexican variants of Nahuatl in their documents by favoring certain grammatical patterns. Those notaries that used the *-tl* absolute together with the absence of a suffix for verbs with plural pronominals, which suggests the */ʔ/* suffix, employed two C patterns, which strongly suggests that they spoke C, whereas those who favored the *-l* absolute together with the *-lo* suffix employed two Sayulteco patterns and most likely spoke Sayulteco Nahuatl. Writers who tended to use *-tl* hypercorrection together with *-lo* exhibited two Sayulteco preferences and most likely spoke Sayulteco, and their use of *-tl* hypercorrection also suggests an insecurity that points toward L2 usage.

Both Guerra and Córtes y Zedeño observed the presence of a *-t* absolutive suffix, but this tendency is less visible in the petitions, letters, and receipts of Northwestern New Spain (Table 4-30). The only notaries to present multiple examples of *-t* usage in their writing are the notary of “1657 Tonalá” within the jurisdiction of Guadalajara and that of “1649 Ocotitíc” in the province of Tacotlán. The former writes *nehuat* (I), *tacat* (man), and *amat* (paper) while the latter has *xihuat* (woman), *yehuat* (he/she/it), *nehuat*, *amat*, and *xihuit* (year). Furthermore, Don Francisco Nayari and the writer of “1652 San Francisco Juchipila” both write the word *yehuat* once. All of these usages occur in towns that are located to the north of Tlajomulco, the northernmost place in which writers use both *-l* pattern or the *-tl* hypercorrection pattern together with the *-lo* pattern.

Table 4-30: The *-t* Absolutive

Author	Province	Document	-tl	-t
Don Fco. Nayari	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	<i>none</i>	<i>alitepet</i>
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	<i>none</i>	<i>nehuat</i> , <i>tacat</i> (4 times), <i>amat</i>
Unnamed	Juchipila	1652 S.F. Juchipila	<i>xiuitl</i>	<i>yehuat</i>
Unnamed	Tacotlán	1649 Ocotitíc	<i>altepetl</i> (4 times)	<i>xihuat</i> (4 times), <i>yehuat</i> (2 times), <i>nehuat</i> , <i>amat</i> , <i>xihuit</i>

Do these writers of the *-t* absolutive also use the verbal prefix *-lo* to indicate a plural subject in a present tense verb (Table 4-31)? The results are less conclusive than for Sayulteco. Whereas the notaries of “1652 Juchipila” and “1649 Ocotitíc” indeed use *-t* and *-lo*, Don Francisco Nayari and the writer of “1657 Tonalá” do not use a suffix with plural pronominals, which suggests /ʔ/. In fact, the latter makes use of *-lo* in an unorthodox way by creating *quihuicalosnequi* (they want to take) *tiquitalosnequi* (we want to see), which are optative/irrealis constructions that appear to be treated as compound verbs in the present tense. Therefore, the case for a W2 requires more evidence.

Table 4-31: The *-t* Absolute with *-lo* and/or /ʔ/ Verbal Suffixes

Author	Province	Document	<i>-t</i> and/or <i>-tl</i>	<i>-lo</i> or /ʔ/
Don Fco. Nayari	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	1 in <i>-t</i>	1 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	6 in <i>-t</i>	11 in /ʔ/; 2 in <i>-lo</i>
Unnamed	Juchipila	1652 S. Francisco Juchipila	1 in <i>-t</i> ; 1 in <i>-tl</i> .	14 in <i>-lo</i> ; 2 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Tacotlan	1649 Ocotitic	9 in <i>-t</i> ; 4 in <i>-tl</i>	13 in <i>-lo</i> ; 1 in /ʔ/

A comparison between the towns in which notaries favor *-t* or *-l* is instructive (Map 4-2). The northernmost town that contains the *-l* variant is San Cacer in the province of Tlajomulco, which is southwest of Tonalá, the southernmost *-t* variant town. Then, Ocotitic and Juchipila are both northeast of Tonalá and Tzacamota is to the northwest. Tonalá is the only *-t* variant town in the hotlands, but it stood on a road that led to one of the crossings of Huentitan Canyon and the Grande de Santiago River (Refer to Map 4-1). Tonalá thus appears to have been one of the gateways to the cold lands and to other towns in which notaries used some examples of a *-t* variant, whereas the other towns—Ocotitic, Juchipila, and Tzacamota—stood on the other side of the Grande de Santiago River, suggesting that this body of water may have separated speakers of a Sayulteco Nahuatl in the provinces of Amula, Ávalos, and Tlajomulco; and a W2 Nahuatl in Tonalá and some towns in the Cold Lands (Map 4-2). Continued study of the documents from Northwestern New Spain may reveal more C, Sayulteco, and W2 patterns, but now, I turn to examine the grievance section of petitions and the content section of letters and receipts to analyze what they reveal about how Indigenous actors responded to the colonial practice of visitations.

Map 4-2: *-t* and *-l* Variants in Northwestern New Spain⁶⁵⁸



City: Editorial Porrúa, 1997.

⁶⁵⁸ This map was created with Google Maps on December 16, 2015. It relies on the supposition that the present-day towns of Juchipila and Tonalá have not been moved too far from their colonial antecedents. I also propose that present-day La Mesa in the state of Nayarit stands on or near the site of Tzacamota. Finally, I consulted *pueblosamerica.com* on December 16, 2015 to approximate the location of Ocotitic.

Chapter 5. Writing and Adjudication

*auh xitechmopalehuili ma ytencopatzinco t[ot][ecuiy]° Dios in maca çan yoqui egiptolaca in Rey faraon ynic ymacpa maquix ti lo que ynīs Rael ypilhuan ytencopatzinco Dios*⁶⁵⁹

May you [bishop] help us by the will of our lord God, who is not like the pharaoh of the Egyptians, because in his hands the children of Israel were redeemed by the will of God.⁶⁶⁰

Juan Cruz, notary of Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, Colima

5.1. Indigenous Grievances

The extent to which notaries of Northwestern New Spain were literate—able to read and write Nahuatl in the Roman alphabet—varied considerably. Some notaries wrote Central Mexican Nahuatl because they lived in a town nearby a Franciscan convent, where friars emphasized this variant, but the majority wrote Western Mexican Nahuatl. As in Central Mexico, Indigenous people in Northwestern New Spain taught Nahuatl to others, ultimately perpetuating the practice on their own. Indigenous nobles expanded their use of Nahuatl literacy from the ecclesiastical sphere in which it began to the sphere of colonial law.⁶⁶¹ In Central Mexico, Indigenous people began to bring suits and complaints to the viceregal court for adjudication by the middle of the sixteenth century, a pattern that became even more pronounced and widespread

⁶⁵⁹ McA-UCLA, Box 20-42, “1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.”

⁶⁶⁰ There is some ambiguity here because *y macpa maquixtiloque* could be translated as “in his [God’s] hands, they were rescued” or “from his [pharaoh’s] hands, they were rescued.” I arrived at this translation with the help of Francisco Maciel and Magnus Pharaoh Hansen.

⁶⁶¹ Lockhart observes that in Central Mexico, “Franciscans, other ecclesiastics, and possibly some literate Spanish laymen taught enough Nahuas how to write their own language in the Roman alphabet that the art became self-perpetuating among writing specialists throughout the Nahua world, serving as the normal medium for record-keeping of all kinds.” Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest*, 6.

in the seventeenth century.⁶⁶² The Nahuatl documents in this study confirm that this process began in Northwestern New Spain in the sixteenth century, when a few Indigenous communities turned to ecclesiastical and royal adjudication. In the seventeenth century, many more communities sought legal recourse. Indigenous officers of the *cabildos* and lay sodalities played a leading role in this legal turn almost three decades after the end of the Mixtón War.

5.2. Early Literacy and Correspondence, 1569-1595

José Francisco Román Gutiérrez proposes that the earliest view of Nueva Galicia was provided by Hernán Martínez de la Marcha, who went on a *visita* between the end of 1549 and the beginning of 1550.⁶⁶³ Martínez de la Marcha traveled throughout many of the provinces of Nueva Galicia and even took petitions from Spanish and Indigenous elites who, among other things, complained about the placement of the newly-created Audiencia of Nueva Galicia and a diocese at Compostela. Indigenous petitioners from Etzatlán, Agualulco, and Oconahuac wanted to change jurisdictions from the Audiencia of New Spain to that of New Galicia and from the Diocese of Michoacán to the Diocese of Compostela, which Bishop Pedro Gómez de Maraver wanted to move to Guadalajara.⁶⁶⁴ Furthermore, a number of Indigenous petitioners from towns in the province of Guadalajara also claimed to want the *audiencia* to be located in Guadalajara, probably because of the influence of Bishop Gómez de Maraver.⁶⁶⁵ Some of these petitioners

⁶⁶² Owensby, 51.

⁶⁶³ Román Gutiérrez, *Sociedad y Evangelización en Nueva Galicia durante el Siglo XVI*, 69.

⁶⁶⁴ Román Gutiérrez, 217.

⁶⁶⁵ Román Gutiérrez writes that it was remarkable that so many *caciques* and *principales* coincided in their petitions asking for the movement of the audiencia and the see from Compostela to Guadalajara and proposes that Bishop Gómez de Maraver had to have traveled widely to promote this objective. Román Gutiérrez, 217.

were from towns that would become correspondence communities such as Juchipila, Nochistlan, Tequila, Tlaxomulco, and Tonalá. At this early date, Indigenous petitioners most likely dictated their petitions to a translator who spoke to a Spanish notary.⁶⁶⁶

Martínez de la Marcha also commissioned a series of four maps; of which apparently only one has survived (Map 5.1).⁶⁶⁷ It shows a very clear distinction between a pacified hot lands and a hostile cold lands.⁶⁶⁸ The hot lands are dominated by towns pictured by one or more Spanish-like houses, whereas the latter are beyond lines of sentinels representing different Chichimecs, non-Christian Indigenous people (Refer to Chapter 2.3a).⁶⁶⁹ The map also depicts the first colonial center of Compostela, by the coast, and the second colonial center of Guadalajara, to the south of an undulating ribbon representing the Grande de Santiago River. It also shows the three early correspondence communities of Xalisco, Oconahuac, and Nochistlan.⁶⁷⁰ The latter community is unique because it is represented by a Spanish-style house and situated near a *peñol*, a rocky hill that is a symbol of nomadic space. Surprisingly, the example of Nochistlan is not the only community from the more independent cold lands, where Nahuatl literacy would flourish as a result of friar-nahuatlato dyads and the institutional support of the Franciscan Order.

⁶⁶⁶ Román Gutiérrez, 217-218.

⁶⁶⁷ AGI, ES.41091.AGI/27.17//MP-MEXICO, 560 (Accessed on September 21, 2016). Román Gutiérrez asserts that the the map is from 1550. Román Gutiérrez, 217-218. Neither Nombre de Dios, founded during the 1560s, nor La Magdalena, founded in the early 1600s, are represented, which supports this early date.

⁶⁶⁸ Refer to Chapter 2.2b and 2.2c.

⁶⁶⁹ Román Gutiérrez, 71.

⁶⁷⁰ Compostela and Guadalajara are classified as cities; Nochistlan has a “P.” for *pueblo*, and Xalisco and Oconahua are only identified by their names.

peacefully in some fifty *encomiendas* and an equal number of *corregimientos*.⁶⁷² Fray Juan de Ovando probably also gained decrees to command the archbishop of Mexico and the bishops in the dioceses, including that of Guadalajara, to produce summaries.⁶⁷³ As a result, in 1569, fray Alonzo de Peraleja and four other friars drew up a letter which detailed how the Franciscan convents of Northwestern New Spain relied on friars and *nahuatlato*s to teach Indigenous youth to write Nahuatl with the Roman alphabet (Refer to Chapter 3.5). He described how the Franciscans were proselytizing in various convents, including Juchipila, Nombre de Dios, Etzatlan, and Xalisco.⁶⁷⁴ Their process relied on the friar-*nahuatlato* dyad in each convent to teach Nahuatl and literacy to Indigenous male youths as a way to compensate for the many languages spoken in Northwestern New Spain (Refer to Chapter 3.5).

However, there were mitigating factors that affected the learning of alphabetic Nahuatl writing by Indigenous youths. The convent of San Juan Bautista in Nombre de Dios ministered to Indigenous people who had migrated from Central Mexico and Michoacan, and while those

⁶⁷² *Encomiendas* were grants of labor and tribute assigned by the crown to an individual. Yanna Yannakakis, *Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 22. The main division in New Spain were *provincias mayores*, which had as their nuclei *audiencias*, and were subdivided into *alcaldías mayores* and *corregimientos* ruled by *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores*, respectively. Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 70. Parry also explains, “there were in 1570 about fifteen hundred Spanish householders in Nueva Galicia, distributed among two cities, six towns, and fifteen established mining settlements.” The two cities were Guadalajara and Zacatecas, and most of the peaceful Indigenous people probably lived in the hot lands (Refer to Chapter 2.2d). Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century*, 121.

⁶⁷³ Salvador Chávez Hayhoe presents the *relaciones*, accounts, of the archdiocese of Mexico and the diocese of Puebla, the diocese of Michoacan, and the diocese of Guadalajara. Chávez Hayhoe in *Codice Franciscano*. Gerhard proposes that the order of Juan de Ovando led to a questionnaire being sent to the bishop of the diocese of Guadalajara, but since the latter died two days after its arrival, fray Alonzo de Peraleja authored the *relación* for the missions of Nueva Galicia on November 8, 1569 (Refer to Chapter 3.5). Gerhard, *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, 70. The Franciscan friars in the diocese of Michoacan appear to have responded with a short letter by fray Ángel de Valencia on February 4, which explains that fray Francisco Peláez would be sent to the king to give a clearer account of the state of this province. Valencia in *Codice Franciscano*, 241-242.

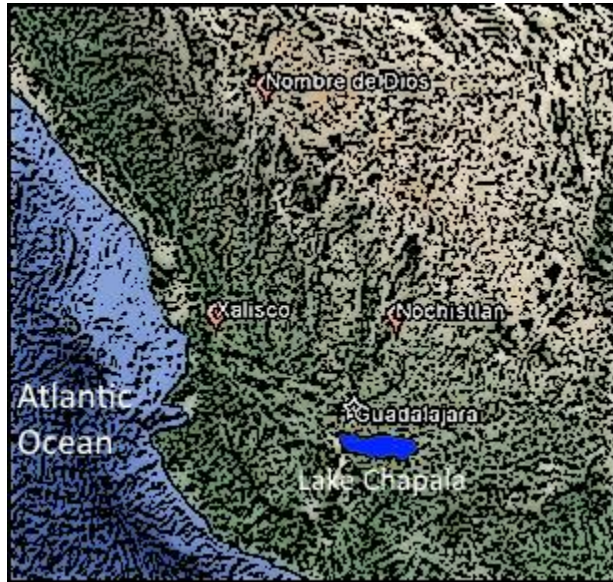
⁶⁷⁴ The other convents were in Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Ahuacatlan, Autlan, Izahuatlan, Atoyac, Izaculco, Cocula, Tlajomulco, and Ajijic. *Código Franciscano*, 152-153.

from Central Mexico only had to learn to adapt their native Nahuatl to the Roman alphabet, those from Michoacan had to learn how to write in a new language.⁶⁷⁵ Many Indigenous people living around the convents of Etzatlan and Juchipila were Nahuatl-speaking Cazcanes, who only had to learn a new regional variant of Nahuatl.⁶⁷⁶ In and around Xalisco, Huichol and Cora people spoke Uto-Aztecan languages, which were closely related to Nahuatl; but Nahuatl, Huichol, and Cora were still mutually unintelligible languages so that Coras and Huicholes also must have had some difficulty in learning to read and write in Nahuatl. The writings of Northwestern New Spain examined in this study began ten to twenty years after the Franciscan letter of 1569: the earliest documents are “1580a Nochistlan” and “1580b Nochistlan.” These two are followed chronologically by “N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585,” “1593a Xalisco,” “1593b Xalisco,” “N.Y. Xalisco ca. 1593,” “1594 Xalisco,” “1595a Xalisco,” and “1595b Xalisco” (Map 5-2).

⁶⁷⁵ The Franciscans and *nahuatlato*s relied on Central Mexican Nahuatl during the sixteenth century because the Nahuatl in petitions from this period has forms reminiscent of the *Arte de la lengua mexicana* by fray Andrés de Olmos. He finished this work in 1547 and claimed that it was a primer for the “lengua mexicana or tetzucana,” which suggest that the Nahuatl of what became Mexico City and the nearby town of Tetzucoco became the norm for Franciscans in Northwestern New Spain and elsewhere. Fray Andrés de Olmos, *Arte de la lengua mexicana* edición, estudio introductorio, transliteración y notas de Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla and Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002), 22r and 10.

⁶⁷⁶ In a sense, colonial Nahuatl was like many dominant languages today that are composed of “clusters of dialects.” John McWhorter in Bloom, 286.

Map 5-2: Nochistlan, Nombre de Dios, and Xalisco



The petitions of “1580a Nochistlan” and “1580b Nochistlan” were written by two different notaries in Nochistlan, an important way station for the transport of silver from Zacatecas (refer to Chapter 2.2c and 2.3c).⁶⁷⁷ These notaries did not write the date, but their petitions accumulated many Spanish addenda dated 1580, so these petitions must have been written in this year or before.⁶⁷⁸ These two petitions and their addenda are bound together with “1580a Nochistlan” followed by “1580b Nochistlan,” representing one cycle of documents begun by the *visita* of the *presidente* (chief judge) or an *oidor* (judge) of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara.⁶⁷⁹

Both notaries most likely address members of the Real Audiencia to seek an *amparo*, a written legal decision that they could use to protect their interests in court.⁶⁸⁰ The notary of

⁶⁷⁷ Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*, 17.

⁶⁷⁸ For example, the translator of “1580b Nochistlan” dates his addenda July 13, 1580.

⁶⁷⁹ BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia, Ramo Civil, Caja 1, Expediente 11, Progressivo 11.

⁶⁸⁰ These petitions deserve a separate study.

“1580b Nochistlan” addresses the *presidente*, probably referring to the head of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara. The writer of “1580s Nochistlan” refers to the addressee as *tlacate tlatohuaniye* (o lord ruler!), employing a title generally used for *alcaldes mayores*, the viceroy, the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara, or an Indigenous lord [refer to Chapter 4.2]. These notaries complain that their *alcalde mayor* was appointing Indigenous officials, demanding too much tribute in goods and labor, and abusing members of the *cabildo* by taking away their staffs of office.

Owensby describes the process in and around Mexico City of how a petition led to an *amparo* or decree that Indigenous petitioners periodically used against the people they accused, which is a good starting point for learning what may have happened in Northwestern New Spain.

He states:

By 1640...the bare legal requirements for filing an *amparo* petition with the *Juzgado* [or viceregal court] were well established: petitioners had to be Indigenous people (because the *Juzgado* was a special jurisdiction limited to Indians), the written petition had to allege some sort of individual harm, and it had to request the king’s protection in the form of an enforceable order. As a nonadversarial proceeding—the party complained about rarely appeared to tell its side of the story—the writ was not legally complex. Even so, most petitioners retained legal counsel to help them draft and file their petitions. Procuradores such as Çeli, not full-fledged lawyers but with considerable legal experience, knew best how to present a petition for maximum impact on judges’ minds.⁶⁸¹

The main difference between Indigenous petitioners in Central Mexico and in Northwestern New Spain is that many of the former went to the *Juzgado General de los Indios* in Mexico City instead of the Real Audiencia. Owensby also notes that the *amparo* only became readily available in the 1590s and goes on to assert:

Usually, the tribunal ruled on the validity of a claim very quickly and issued an order within days. Typically, an *amparo* was directed to a named justice, often an *alcalde*

⁶⁸¹ Owensby, 51.

mayor or *corregidor* in a particular jurisdiction, though at times the order would instruct any justice to whom it was presented to execute it, effectively giving the bearers of the order a choice of judge. Notification was entrusted to “any person who knows how to read and write,” usually a notary, but in a pinch any other person who could read and understand the order. With an *amparo* in hand, petitioners were free to use it when and as they pleased. Frequently they went straight to a notary in their home jurisdiction and asked that it be officially served on the justice named. Less often, especially when seeking to prevent a harm rather than redress one, petitioners would hold the order in abeyance to use at an opportune moment in an ongoing lawsuit or as a way of launching a legal offensive.⁶⁸²

The petitioners of Nochistlan do not appear to have received an *amparo* from the Royal Audiencia.

The document “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca. 1585” is the third of five *memorias* of what Barlow and Smisor call “Memorial of the Indians Concerning their Services, c. 1563,” but their proposed date of 1563 for this petition is probably too early. It would make Nombre de Dios, one of the most isolated towns at this time, one of the earliest correspondence communities.⁶⁸³

Fray Alonzo de Peraleja’s 1569 letter asserted that Nombre de Dios had a Franciscan convent with a priest and *nahuatlato* who proselytized to three hundred Indigenous people.⁶⁸⁴

Furthermore, it also claimed that the friar of Nombre de Dios took confessions, which meant that he had begun to learn an Indigenous language and relied on an interpreter in this town, which these scholars and their sources described as being inhabited by three Indigenous groups:

Mexica, Michoacanos, and Zacatecos. As a result, the friar was most likely listening to confessions in Nahuatl from Mexica, and those Michoacanos and Zacatecos who knew Nahuatl

⁶⁸² Owensby, 51.

⁶⁸³ Barlow and Smisor propose that the Indigenous writers were Mexica, and that they were educated by Cintos or fray Pedro. Barlow and Smisor, xxi. The manuscript itself is from BAN-UCB, “Documentos historicos sobre Durango: Mexico: ms., 1560-1847” compiled by José Fernando Ramírez.

⁶⁸⁴ The Franciscans used the term *interprete* (interpreter) because they addressed the king. If their audience had been from New Spain, they most likely would have used the term of *nahuatlato* (Refer to chapter 3.4).

were serving as translators, as the priest's *nahuatlato* for religious services in Purépecha. However, the friar's command of Nahuatl must have been limited since, according to fray Antonio de Peraleja, he could not preach, unlike the friar of Juchipila who supposedly could hear confessions and preach.⁶⁸⁵ Nothing is mentioned about the literacy of the *nahuatlato* of Nombre de Dios, and even if he had been literate and had written "N.Y. Nombre de Dios" and/or one of the other *memorias*, it is doubtful that he could have done so before 1569.

It is more likely that the cycle of documents to which the *memoria* of "N.Y. Nombre de Dios" belonged were written in response to "the *memoria* of those things that should be answered and should be done regarding these *relaciones*," which is the questionnaire that led to the large number of responses that have come to be known as the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Refer to Chapter 2.3).⁶⁸⁶ The questionnaire posed fifty questions that a Spanish *alcalde mayor* or *corregidor* was expected to answer with the aid of Spanish and Indigenous inhabitants under his jurisdiction. Question two asked: "Who was the discoverer and conquistador of the said province and by whose order was it discovered, and the year of its discovery and conquest, whatever can be known."⁶⁸⁷ Meanwhile, question fourteen was specifically directed at Indigenous people, "Who were they during their time as gentiles, and what dominion did their

⁶⁸⁵ *Códice Franciscano*, 152.

⁶⁸⁶ "Memoria de las cosas a que se ha de responder y de que se han de hacer las relaciones." I favor 1585 as the date of production because that is year of the *Relación Geográfica* of San Martín, a town that is a short distance to the east of Nombre de Dios. Acuña, 18.

⁶⁸⁷ "Quién fue el descubridor y conquistador de la dicha provincia, y por cuya orden y mandado se descubrió, y el año de su descubrimiento y conquista; lo que, de todo, buenamente se pudiese saber." Acuña, 18.

lords have over them, and what did they give in tribute, and, regardless of whether good or bad, what worship practices, rituals, and customs did they have.”⁶⁸⁸

The response to the latter question better applies to “N.Y. Nombre de Dios,” whose answer explains how the petitioners fought under Spanish leadership without receiving proper remuneration. The notary writes that the Mexica contributed sixteen warriors and the Michoacanos contributed twelve to fight under Francisco de Susa, an *alcalde ordinario*, who promised them that they could keep any captives from their battles. Their opponents were Chichimecs, nomadic non-Christians, but the notary asserts that, after one battle, these petitioners were not allowed to keep anyone. If true, this event took place sometime in the 1560s, but the notary probably presented this event to answer questions two and fourteen around 1585. Also, unlike other notaries, they did not ask for specific acts on behalf of the petitioners but simply wrote these *memorias* twenty-five years later, apparently to solidify their claim to Nombre de Dios.

The *Relación Geográfica* of Teucaltiche describes a region southeast of Nombre de Dios, and its content suggests what might have happened in or near Nombre de Dios.⁶⁸⁹ The compiler of the *Relación* of Teucaltiche was Hernando Gallegos, the lieutenant of the *alcalde mayor* of the province of Teocaltiche; in the introduction and conclusion of this work he described the procedure he used to elicit information from Indigenous nobles from this region. He began by dating his document December 30, 1585 and proceeded to name himself, his office title, and the titles of the *alcalde mayor*, Antonio Maldonado, who tasked him with this compilation. Then, he

⁶⁸⁸ “Cuyos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad, y el señorío que sobre ellos tenían sus señores y lo que tributaban, y las adoraciones, ritos y costumbres, buenas o malas, que tenían.” The other *memorias* focus more on their relationship with Franciscan friars in the midst of war against non-Christian Indigenous people. Acuña, 19.

⁶⁸⁹ For more information about the *Relaciones Geográficas*, refer to Chapter 2.3.

named the Indigenous officials of Nochistlan who furnished him with information, including Don Baltasar de Mendoza, *gobernador*, Juan Gregorio, *alcalde*, Miguel Zacarías, *regidor*, and a few other named individuals including the *nahuatlato* Antón Julian, who knew *Mexicano* (Central Mexican Nahuatl) and *Cazcan*, a Nahuatl variant from Northwestern New Spain (Refer to Chapter 2.3c).⁶⁹⁰ Then, Gallegos asked them the questions required by the Relación Geográfica decree and included the answers as translated by Antón Julian in the Relación Geográfica of Teocaltiche. A similar process probably led to Nahuatl and Purépecha accounts in Nombre de Dios that were recorded in Nahuatl by one or more *nahuatlato*(s), one or more notary, or a combination of both.

Several years later, Indigenous officers from the town of Xalisco began six petitions to protest the movement of the convent of this town to Itzcuintlan sometime before April 26, 1593, the date of “1593a Xalisco.”⁶⁹¹ In this first petition, the notary (hereafter notary one) addresses a Franciscan *provincial* and *definidores* to report the grief that the inhabitants feel about the convent and ask that it be moved back to the neighborhood of Tepehuacan in Xalisco.⁶⁹² He also names the petitioners as Don Juan Cristobal, *alcalde*, Alonzo Abias, *alcalde*, Tomás de Aquino, *síndico*, Gonzalo Juan, *regidor*, and Andrés Felipe *regidor*.⁶⁹³ A different notary (hereafter notary two) wrote “1593b Xalisco” in a rougher hand, but he also addressed it to the *provincial* and *definidores* of the Franciscan Order. However, he shifted the emphasis by mentioning that

⁶⁹⁰ Acuña, 299 and 308.

⁶⁹¹ BPEJ-JJA, Fondo Franciscano, Volumen 14, Numero 1074.

⁶⁹² Xalisco may have been an *altepetl* within a multi-*altepetl* polity because the notary refers to Tepehuacan in a context that can only mean that the latter is a sub-division of the former.

⁶⁹³ *Síndico* may be a term for treasurer. The Diccionario de la Real Academia (Consulted on September 7, 2016) defines *síndico* as a person who kept the money that was given to mendicant people.

the petitioners knew that the Franciscans were having trouble in Itzcuintlan and by reminding them that the friars residing at Xalisco had always received support from their community. He dated this document to April 26, 1593.

The previous cycle of petitions had succeeded because Indigenous nobles from Xalisco reported that a new convent was being built in Xalisco in a new cycle that includes “N.Y. Xalisco,” “1694 Xalisco,” and “1695 Xalisco.”⁶⁹⁴ Two notaries also worked on “N.Y. Xalisco” because the first few lines were written by notary two, who addressed the *provincial general*, the *comisario general* and perhaps the *definidores* before notary one took over.⁶⁹⁵ The latter went on to write thirty-seven lines praising the work and sacrifices of fray Miguel de Lezo, who the petitioners wanted to be reassigned to the Franciscan convent in Jalisco. However, because the bottom right side of the paper of this petition is torn, the month and year are missing and only an “18” is visible with the Nahuatl word for “day”. In “1594 Xalisco,” notary one addressed the *provincial general*, the *comisario general*, and the *definidores* before notary two took over and again asked that fray Miguel de Lezo be sent to them. He then dated this letter to September 30, 1549, instead of 1594, which is more likely. “1595 Xalisco” is the third petition in which the same two notaries asked for the return of this friar and another one named Andrés de Medina. Then, for emphasis, notary two mentioned that many people were no longer trying and, although a piece of the page is missing because it is torn, there is enough evidence to suggest that this petition was supported by the elites of at least eleven subject towns of the convent of San Juan Bautista. They were Analco-Tepic, San Pedro Analco, Matlaticpa, San Andrés, Aqualachtempa,

⁶⁹⁴ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG. <http://dle.rae.es/?id=XxphX21>

⁶⁹⁵ The word *definidores* is partially obscured by splotched ink. N.Y. Xalisco, Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

Mecatlan, Santa Cruz, Itztlapan, San Miguel, and at least two others whose names are only partially readable due to a tear in the document.

The last petition from Xalisco is “1595 Xalisco,” in which a notary presented the resignation of the petitioners who appeared to have realized that neither fray Miguel de Lezo nor Andrés de Medina would be placed in the rebuilt convent of San Juan Bautista. He no longer praised either of these friars but presented the qualities that the petitioners wanted in a new provincial friar. The petitioners explained:

*ticitla[ni] amoyxpantzinco ce toteopixcauh navatl y[pam]pa ticcaquitzque
yvan techcaquitz yvan chic[ahuac] tlatatl yn ya veventzin.*

We came to request before your presence a *nahuatlato* priest who we will understand and who will understand us, and a strong man who is an elder.

The nobles accepted the permanent presence of friars, and they simply wanted someone with whom they could reason. They also resigned themselves to the fact that they had lost their bid to retain fray Miguel de Lezo.

"Cycle" is an appropriate word to describe what occurred with these early petitions from Northwestern New Spain. The first is a *visita*-petition cycle that involves “1580a Nochistlan” and “1580b Nochistlan,” which began because of a *visita* by a member of the Royal Audiencia, the reason why their author addresses the president of this institution in his second document. These petitions generated addenda as officers of the Royal Audiencia sought to understand and decide on the nature of the grievances. A different *visita*-petition cycle begins with “N.Y. Nombre de Dios,” which is less complete because it lacks any addenda, since this document is not the original sixteenth-century petition but a copy recorded by Faustino Chimalpopoca in the nineteenth century (Refer to Chapter 2.2c). Indigenous nobles appear to have been the promoters of these petitions by traveling to the Franciscan convent, as a result of their collective understanding of an emerging colonial order in Northwestern New Spain. In this nascent new

order, Indigenous notaries were the new warriors who sought to protect their interests and the interests of their communities against other subjects of the Spanish king and the Catholic Church.⁶⁹⁶

5.2b. Cycles of Literacy II, 1593-1600

The Spanish King and the Church exercised their power through subordinates, in this case the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara and the Diocese of Guadalajara, respectively, and while the crown continued to grow in power during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Church was besieged by the Protestant Reformation. However, the Church convened the counter-reformation Council of Trent, which would affect the Indigenous groups of Northwestern New Spain.⁶⁹⁷ The Second Mexican Council, a gathering of important clerics in Mexico City, did not receive the Council of Trent decrees in time to comment on them, so it was left to the Third Mexican Council, which met in 1585. One decree emphasized the role of bishops as pastors to visit the different parishes under their jurisdiction periodically.⁶⁹⁸ The Third Mexican Council proposed that bishops in this region should visit their dioceses annually or biannually, but when attending bishops pointed out that such *visitas* would require two to three years, they were permitted to appoint a *visitador general* to assist them.⁶⁹⁹ In the diocese of Guadalajara, this

⁶⁹⁶ Owensby writes, "Parties to legal disputes were under no illusion that they would always prevail: the obvious paradox of litigation is that both parties to a dispute equate justice with victory but recognize that only one of them can win." Owensby, 296.

⁶⁹⁷ Lundberg, 80.

⁶⁹⁸ Burns, 390.

⁶⁹⁹ Lundberg, 80.

official was the *provisor visitador general* who is addressed in the sixteenth-century petitions of “1593b Oconahuac,” and “1593c Oconahuac,” whereas the bishop is addressed in “1600 Tala.”

Clerics of the Third Mexican Council also deliberated and passed decrees about how to regulate ways in which parish priests and friars interacted with neophytes.⁷⁰⁰ One decree even stated that each church had to have two printed copies of these decrees for consultation, but this did not occur until after the decrees of the Third Mexican Council were published in 1622 as the *Statuta ordinata, à sancto Concilio Provinciali Mexicano III* (hereafter 1622 SCPM).⁷⁰¹ Other decrees within 1622 SCPM advised parish priests and friars about what to do regarding the sacraments. Clerics had to say mass and give communion in the church of the *cabecera* at least once every Sunday and on required feast days.⁷⁰² They had to perform baptisms and hear confessions.⁷⁰³ They also had to visit the subject towns at least twice a year to administer the sacraments.⁷⁰⁴ In short, the duties of Catholic clerics revolved around administering the sacraments to parishioners in return for fees. However, at the turn of the sixteenth century, it seemed that Indigenous petitioners knew these duties better than their assigned priests, judging by the effective arguments in “1593b Oconahuac,” “1593c Oconahuac,” “1600 Tala,” “1622 Cohuatlan, and “1622 La Magdalena” that accused priests of incompetence (Map 5-3).

⁷⁰⁰ Lundberg explains this in his examination of provincial council decrees in his chapter, “Trent Comes to Mexico: Provincial Council Decrees,” in *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishioners and Parish-Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*.

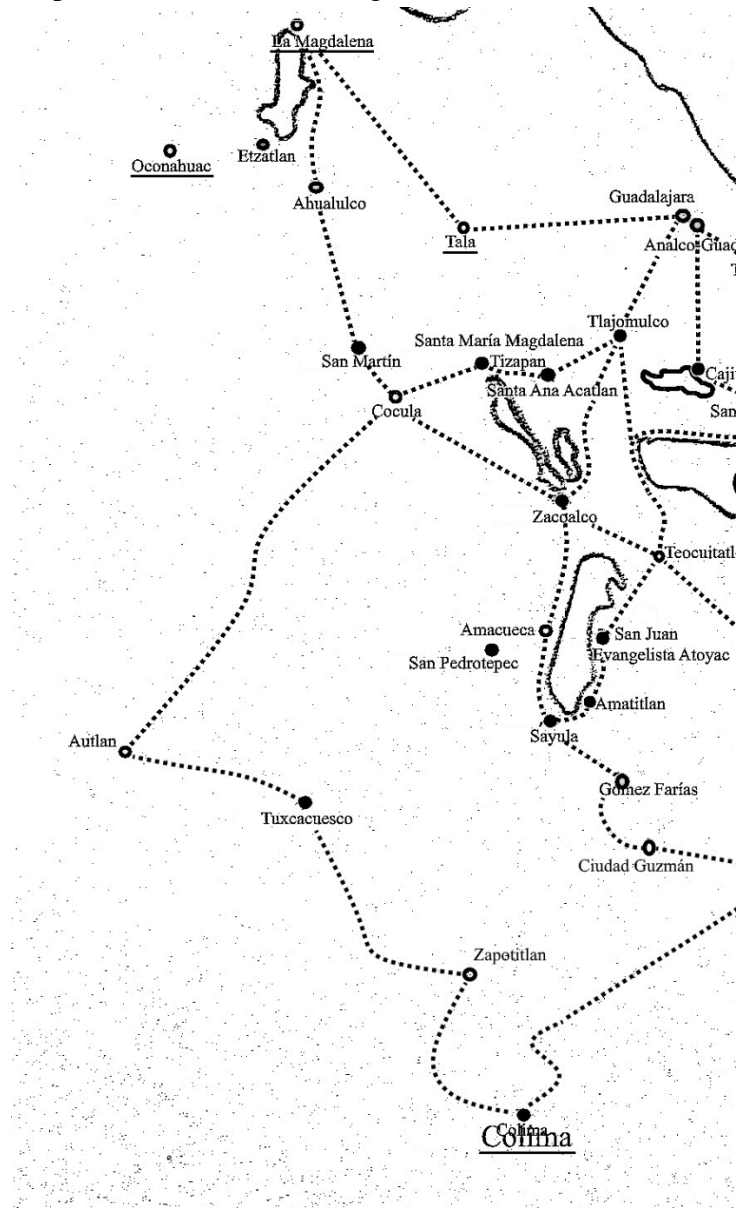
⁷⁰¹ Lundberg names this published manual as SCPM 1622 from *Statuta ordinata, à sancto Concilio Provinciali Mexicano III*. Lundberg, 67.

⁷⁰² Lundberg 2011: 73.

⁷⁰³ Lundberg 2011: 73.

⁷⁰⁴ Lundberg 2011: 72.

Map 5-3: Coahuatlan, La Magdalena, Oconahuac, and Tala



Don Pedro Juan Martín identifies himself as the writer of “1593a Oconahuac,” and he probably also wrote “1593b Oconahuac” because the caligraphy of the two is similar.⁷⁰⁵ In the first petition, he addressed the members of the Real Audiencia on behalf of petitioners from five

⁷⁰⁵ “1593b Oconahuac” is missing one or more folios because it abruptly ends without a conclusion that identifies the petitioners and the author. BPEJ-JJA, Real Audiencia: Ramo Civil; Caja 1, Expediente 9, Progressivo 9.

Indigenous towns—Oconahuac, Tzichtig, Tepetlatlahucan, Xatlatzinco, and Amatlan—which were located east of the convent of Etzatlan. He related how the Franciscan *provincial* took too much tribute from them and required them to attend mass in Etzatlan, which was described as being distant from these towns. He also wrote that the *provincial* had imprisoned some of the nobles from these towns in the convent of Etzatlan. This petition is not dated, but accompanying addenda are dated to 1593, which shows that it was written with the three other petitions on or before this year. Furthermore, Don Pedro Juan Martín addressed “1593b Oconahuac” to *titotlatocauh profizur* (you, our ruler, provisor) demonstrating that the *visita* protocols decreed by the Mexican Council of 1585 were being followed by the bishops because they were appointing a *provisor visitador general* who went to visit not only parishes but also regions controlled by Franciscan convents. However, Don Pedro Juan Martín did not address the bishop. Did a *provisor* perform a *visita* to Oconahuac due to the high turnover rate of the office of bishop during the 1590s?⁷⁰⁶ In 1582, Domingo de Alzola had begun to serve as bishop but died in 1590, and he was followed by Pedro Suárez de Escobar who had been appointed bishop in 1591 but died in that same year. Then, Francisco Santos García de Ontiveros y Martínez was appointed on May 22, 1592 and died on June 28, 1596. This last bishop probably had to deal with numerous matters in Guadalajara because of the instability of this post, and he either had to appoint a *provisor* as a *visitador general*, or he had to accept the *provisor visitador general* of Domingo de Alzola to perform *visitas*.

Don Pedro Juan Martín represented petitioners from Oconahuac who knew the decrees of the Third Mexican Council regarding the sacraments. First, they accused a fray Alonzo from

⁷⁰⁶ Information about the tenures of the bishops of Guadalajara in this paragraph are from catholic-hierarchy.org . Consulted on March 16, 2016 at <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dguad.html> .

Etzatlan of not traveling to confess a Pedro Juantzin, who had died without confession, which was one of the key duties required of parish priests; clearly these petitioners also applied these expectations to the Franciscan friars of Etzatlan.⁷⁰⁷ In fact, the petitioners claimed that, instead of the friar visiting Pedro Juantzin, he had asked them to take Pedro Juantzin to him with the result that this individual had died and had to be buried on the road. They added that seven other people died without confession and last rites. They went on to accuse other friars of neglecting last rites and/or confessions for other people who died: fray Luis Navarro for five people; fray Martín de Aguayo for four people; and Friar Miguel for three people. They also detailed how fray Miguel did not perform *visitas* and neglected to baptize the children from the towns of Tzichitic and Tepetlatlahucan.⁷⁰⁸

Some of these Indigenous officials were probably literate, but they most likely did not learn of these edicts through the written or printed word. In most cases, they came to learn of these decrees when the bishop or *provisor* interviewed them through his Nahuatl-Spanish *nahuatlato* during the *visita* process (Refer to chapter 4.2a). This interview was most likely followed by a council meeting as the Indigenous notary and the *cabildo* met to negotiate the content of the written petition. In “1593b Oconahuac,” Don Pedro Juan Martín and the *cabildo* focused on how the clerics performed the sacraments for those who were sick. However, the last addenda in this *visita*-petition cycle was unfavorable because the petitioners were sentenced to

⁷⁰⁷ Lundberg explains that Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza included a questionnaire for *visitadores* in his *Direcciones pastorales* (1646) that included a question about whether a given parish priest had visited the home of the sick when called upon. Lundberg, 84.

⁷⁰⁸ The notary writes *nohuiyan altepetl ypan amo quichihua fisital* (he did not perform the *visita* in every town).

jail and their town was deprived of two plots of land: one used for food crops and another used for animals.⁷⁰⁹

Disagreements within the *cabildo* could also lead to the retraction of a petition, as in “1600 Tala,” which was addressed to the bishop and referred to Don Alonzo de la Mota y Escobar, who held the office between 1597-1606.⁷¹⁰ He is best known for having written the *Descripción geográfica de Nueva Galicia*, which was actually a letter to the king in which he claims to make

as detailed a compendium of the kingdoms of [Nueva] Galicia, [Nueva] Vizcaya, and [Nuevo] León, so that your majesty has information of them and their inhabitants so that their administration is more constant.⁷¹¹

In this work, he described the different parishes of the Diocese of Nueva Galicia during the last years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century by giving geographical information, including the state of the roads that connect the different parishes, as well as the number of Africans, Indigenous people, Spaniards, and people of mixed race (Refer to Chapter 2.3). He also included information about the state of the church in the head town and the state of the chapels in the subject towns. For example, he described Tala [or Tlala] as a region inhabited by fifty Indigenous householders in the head town, which was also known as Tala, a secular parish that was the seat of government for some one hundred other householders

⁷⁰⁹ The first is named a *sementera* and the latter an *hacienda*.

⁷¹⁰ The notary writes *sanc.dre*, or *sancto padre* (holy father), which is a reference to the bishop.

⁷¹¹ Mota y Escobar writes “...*me he animado a obedecer su mandato haciendo este compendio de los reinos de la Galicia, Vizcaya y León, por lo más menudo que me ha sido posible para que, teniendo vuestra excelencia distinta noticia de ellos y de sus moradores, sea más cierto el juicio y gobierno de ellos (como es necesario que lo sea aquel a quien precede mayor claridad de las cosas).*” Mota y Escobar, 25. Also, Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas proposes that Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar gathered the information for his *Descripción geográfica de la Nueva Galicia* between 1602 and 1605. Ramírez Cabañas in Mota y Escobar, 15.

who lived in *sujeto* towns (Refer to Chapter 2.2b).⁷¹² In short, his description of Tala along with that of other towns in the Diocese of Guadalajara suggests this work fits within what Lundberg describes as visitation records.⁷¹³

Although the notaries of the previous petitions referenced the provisor, it was the primary duty of the bishop to perform the *visita*. If possible, the bishop had to use the *visita* to

...ensure sound and orthodox teaching and the removal of heresies, to safeguard good practices and correct evil ones, to encourage the people by exhortation and warning to the practice of religion, peace and blameless life, and to make any dispositions for the benefit of the people that place, time, and opportunity may suggest to the wisdom of the visitors. That all this may more easily and smoothly come about, each and all those mentioned above who are concerned in visitations are charged to embrace all with fatherly love and Christian zeal.⁷¹⁴

As a result, the bishop was tasked with being a patriarch who could encourage, castigate, and adjudicate within the parishes of the diocese. More specifically, the bishop exercised the role of a judge who had to know canon law to perform his duties in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Third Mexican Council.

Did Bishop Mota y Escobar excel in this role of judge? His past experience in the church hierarchy would suggest that he was at least very knowledgeable about the decrees of the

⁷¹² Mota y Escobar goes on to describe how Tala sits in a fertile valley in which the inhabitants raise *ganado mayor* and *ganado menor* as well as maize, and wheat, that they take to many local mills. Mota y Escobar, 71.

⁷¹³ Lundberg cites a similar work by Mota y Escobar that the latter wrote while he was bishop of the Diocese of Puebla. Lundberg, 79. Also, Ramírez Cabañas proposes that, although Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar gathered some of the information for *Descripción geográfica de la Nueva Galicia* from his subordinates, the majority of *Descripción geográfica of Nueva Galicia* came from direct observation. Ramírez Cabañas in Mota y Escobar, 15.

⁷¹⁴ This is Lundberg's translation of the Council of Trent session 24, *decretum de reformatione, canon 3*. Lundberg, 80.

Council of Trent and the Third Mexican Council. He had previously served as *deán*⁷¹⁵ of the Cathedrals of Michoacán and Puebla, and from January 22, 1593 until October 22, 1597 he took on this same post in the Metropolitan See in Mexico City.⁷¹⁶ His last tenure as *deán* ended when he accepted the position of bishop in the Diocese of Guadalajara on October 22, 1597, but he did not arrive to take power until 1599.⁷¹⁷ He was well suited to be bishop because during his tenures as *deán*, he had presided over the *cabildos* of three very distinct dioceses: the more peripheral Diocese of Michoacan, which shared a border with the Diocese of Guadalajara, the multi-ethnic Diocese of Puebla, and the Archdiocese of Mexico City. Finally, his residence in Mexico City probably also allowed him time to get acquainted with the decrees of the Mexican Council of 1585 regarding *visitas*.

Bishop Mota y Escobar's extensive experience, together with his geographic account of Tala in the aforementioned *Descripción de Nueva Galicia*, suggests that he performed at least one *visita* interview in this town. A memory of this event survives in the petition of "1600 Tala," which was written by the Indigenous notary Francisco Felipe.⁷¹⁸ The latter writes an unconventional petition that explores both the *visita* interview with Bishop Mota y Escobar and political maneuverings between the members of the extended *cabildo* of Tala.

The Indigenous *cabildo* was different from the Spanish *cabildo*. Robert Haskett proposes that, in the Central Mexican province of Cuernavaca, Spaniards tried to limit the size of *cabildos*

⁷¹⁵ The *diccionario de la real academia online* (consulted on February 29, 2016) defines *deán* as, "Canónigo que preside el cabildo de la catedral" (Canon who presides over the *cabildo* of the cathedral).

⁷¹⁶ Joaquin Ramirez Cabañas, "Don Alonzo de la Mota y su descripción de la Nueva Galicia," 279. Accessed on February 29, 2016. http://www.revistadeluniversidad.unam.mx/ojs_rum/files/journals/1/articles/3687/public/3687-9085-1-PB.pdf

⁷¹⁷ Joaquin Ramirez Cabañas, "Don Alonzo de la Mota y su descripción de la Nueva Galicia," 279.

⁷¹⁸ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

because they constituted this institution with a finite number of officers who served for a regulated time.⁷¹⁹ However, Indigenous *cabildos* included not only the hierarchy of elected officials, but also, “a larger group of past officers, members of the local elite, and a variety of lesser functionaries who might or might not be elected but were still full members of a given town’s ruling group.”⁷²⁰ He also adds that the institution of the *cofradía* and its leadership was not completely separate from the *cabildo* and that the notary was an elected office of the *cabildo*, which is also relevant to “1600 Tala.”

Francisco Felipe wrote to retract a previous petition in which the *cabildo* of Tala had accused their priest, Don Fernando Villanueva, of failing to pay for a horse and corn. Francisco Felipe begins:

yc otiaque molino oticpinautique doteopizqui dom pernado vel melavac teopizqui...
When we went to Guadalajara, we shamed our priest Don Fernando, a true priest...

This statement refers to a trip that some Indigenous nobles of Tala took to Guadalajara to accuse their priest, Don Fernando de Villanueva. However, the petition that resulted from this trip has been lost, and all that remains is “1600 Tala,” which seeks to convince Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar of the innocence of Villanueva.

Francisco Felipe and the *cabildo* had learned of the decree that ordained clerics must not beg.⁷²¹ He wrote that Don Fernando Villanueva had paid for some corn and a mare.

tiquitoa melavac otechtlaztlavi toteopizcauh dompernando
y pampa cauayotli yevah ypap oquiçaça^{ca} que ytlaol mochi otechtlaztlavi
ym quezquich tech viquilia a amo ten tech viquillia

⁷¹⁹ Haskett, 5.

⁷²⁰ Robert Stephen Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 5.

⁷²¹ SCPM 1622 stated that ordained priests could not perform non-clerical labor or beg and had to rely on family support, chaplaincy, or another kind of benefice. Lundberg, 70.

We say truly that Don Fernando, our priest, paid us for the corraled mare, for all his corn. He paid us what he owed us. He does not owe us [anything].

Two people—Gerónimo Ortega and Juan González—had testified against Don Fernando de Villanueva for not paying for the mare and some corn. Ortega appears to have been higher-ranking than González, but the latter’s position as *mayordomo* clarifies what may have happened. Francisco Felipe wrote:

ypāp pascua otechtlatolmaca totlatzin ceronimo otltecatl yvan ymayordomo Ju^o conçaliz yc otiaque molino...
for on Easter, Gerónimo Ortega and Juan González *mayordomo* testified to us against our father. For this reason, we went to Guadalajara.

In 1600, Easter fell on April 2 and this petition is dated May 13. Prior to their trip to Guadalajara, Gerónimo Ortega and Juan González had first testified against Fernando Villanueva, probably during a *visita*. In another part of the document, the notary mentions that Tala had a *hospital*, which suggests that it also had a lay sodality of the Holy Conception (refer to Chapter 3.5). For this reason, Juan González’ title of *mayordomo* suggests that, as the *mayordomo* of this lay sodality, he administered a sizeable portion of animals and arable land in the town. As a *mayordomo*, he was most likely also a member of the *cabildo*, and he had one of the keys to the locked chest, which held the money from transactions that involved the business of the lay sodality. Thus, González would have interacted with Don Fernando Villanueva regarding any transaction that involved any lay sodality property.⁷²² For this reason, one interpretation of “1600 Tala” is that Juan González and Gerónimo Ortega were two nobles from the *cabildo* of Tala who had convinced the other members into sending a petition against Fernando Villanueva.

⁷²² Refer to Chapter 3.5 for more information about the the lockbox of a lay sodality.

What probably happened was that Juan González and Gerónimo Ortega kept the money and accused Don Fernando Villanueva on Easter, April 2, of not paying for taking the mare and some corn. The *cabildo* then sent a delegation to Guadalajara with an earlier petition, which they wanted returned:

tictlatlauhtia totlatocauh titechcuepilliz totlatol yc amo timopinautizque melavac
We ask our lord to return our words to us so we will not be truly ashamed.

The phrase *titechcuepilliz totlatol* (return our words to us) is not a metaphorical construction. It represents a plea for the return of the previous petition, which they have since learned was based on false information.

Second, Francisco Felipe represented how the *cabildo* wanted to exonerate Don Fernando Villanueva from repercussions by carefully explaining how this priest followed the decrees of the Third Mexican Council. Francisco Felipe asserted:

*doteopizqui dom pernado^{vel} melavac teopizqui quitxiva ytequiuh mochi...
quiquitxiva ytequiuh... quitxiva missa yvan teyolcuitia yvan melavac
mexica navau quitxiva ytequiuh yn teoyotl⁷²³*
our priest don Fernando is a true priest who does all his duties...
he performs mass, he confesses, and with true
Mexican Nahuatl, he makes his work, the sacraments.

Felipe described how Villanueva performed the sacraments of mass and confession in the prescribed manner, and he was able to do so because of his command of Nahuatl (*mexica navau*), which he speaks clearly.⁷²⁴ The Indigenous elites both affirmed their knowledge of Villanueva's duties and explained that this priest performed them in an exemplary fashion. They did not explain where they learned the duties of a priest, but they had to have learned them from the

⁷²³ "1600 Tala," Documentos en náhuatl, AHAG.

⁷²⁴ According to SCPM 1622, priests had to administer the sacraments within a place—a church or chapel—that had been designated by the bishop. Lundberg, 72.

visita interview because Francisco Felipe knew enough to address this petition to the bishop, the *santo padre* (holy father) whom they had met during a *visita*. They probably also consulted Villanueva because he was the wronged party, but they did not address him or the *provisor*; they addressed the *santo padre*, Bishop Mota y Escobar, because they remembered his *visita* and interview.

Bishop Mota y Escobar's travels should have spurred the creation of more petitions, but "1600 Tala" is the only extant example. Two reasons for the lack of additional documentation are possible. Either he did not require Nahuatl petitions because of the dearth of Indigenous notaries at this time, or most of these early petitions were lost. The latter possibility sounds more convincing because although this is the only extant petition addressed to the bishop during his tenure, the petitioners also mentioned one other petition which has since been lost.

5.2c. Standardization and Printing, 1611-1622

The tenure of Bishop Mota y Escobar ended on February 12, 1607 when he was became Bishop of Puebla. The next bishop was Juan de Valle y Arredondo, who was appointed on March 19, 1607 and resigned in 1617; he was followed by Francisco de Ribera y Pareja, who was appointed on January 29, 1618 and ended his tenure on September 17, 1629.⁷²⁵ These two bishops relied on one or more *provisores* to perform *visitas* during their tenures; the twenty-three known petitions are addressed to the *provisor*.

Twenty-one petitions concern accusations against the priest Francisco Muñoz by Indigenous notaries from the provinces of Jalostotitlan, San Gaspar, and other towns (Map 5-3).

⁷²⁵ Leonel de Cervantes y Carvajal left the Diocese of Guadalajara to become the bishop of the adjacent Diocese of Michoacan.

A notary from the *cabecera* of Jalostotitlan appears to have initiated litigation with a petition against Muñoz that was translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart who named it as “Petition for removal of the priest of Jalostotitlan 1611.”⁷²⁶ They also identify the writer as the *alcalde* Juan Vicente, who identified himself in the first person.

auh ynehuatl ni ju^o vicenti allde cenca onehmictic...
He has severely beaten me, Juan Vicente *alcalde*...⁷²⁷

Juan Vicente made this accusation in the first paragraph of the letter, in which he also explains that Muñoz had whipped him three times, had broken his staff of office, and had whipped the *macehualtin* (commoners). In the next paragraph (which he numbered "one"), Vicente accused Muñoz of staying in an *estancia* with a woman, instead of near the church.

Map 5-4



⁷²⁶ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 166-173. This petition is from McA-UCLA, Box 20.

⁷²⁷ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart identify the writer in the first paragraph, which is the only one that Juan Vicente does not number. Vicente numbers the next paragraph as one and his petition finishes with the fourteenth paragraph, but it is probably missing a portion because it lacks a conclusion (Refer to Chapter 4.2a). Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 166-167.

Juan Vicente numbered the next paragraph "two" and began by accusing Muñoz of taking 15 pesos and 2 tomines from the chest of the lay sodality of the Holy Sacrament. Then, he explained how he complained about Muñoz to the *provisor*:

yn iquac cepa onictexxpahuic yxpan señr prouisor yhuā san gaspar
Another time, I complained about him to the lord *provisor* and [so did] the

tlaca allde ome altepetl otictexxpahuiq[u]e
the *alcalde* of the people of San Gaspar. We, of the two *altepetl*, complained.

This statement refers to a *visita* by the *provisor* to Jalostotitlan, which is the head town of San Gaspar. Jalostotitlan and San Gaspar were Tecuexe towns inhabited by people who spoke an unidentified native language, and a few who were “*ladino en lengua mexicana*” (fluent in Nahuatl).⁷²⁸ Those individuals who were *ladino* in Nahuatl mediated when the *provisor* interviewed the nobles of the province, and according to this petition, only Juan Vicente and the *alcalde* of San Gaspar complained about Francisco Muñoz, which is the reason why Muñoz resented the author of this document.

After hearing these accusations, the *provisor* was forced to act. Juan Vicente describes how this happened:

auh yn señr prouisor oquinonotzac oquitlacaquiti quitlacuilhuic
the lord *provisor* admonished him; criticized him; wrote to him⁷²⁹

The first two actions represent vocal actions, but did Juan Vicente and the *alcalde* of San Gaspar ask for more? Did they ask the *provisor* for an *amparo* at the time of the *visita*, or did they go to Guadalajara to meet with the *provisor* to complain about Francisco Muñoz at a later time? Most

⁷²⁸ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart (1976: 166) explain that, in a Spanish-language addendum, an investigator returned to Jalostotitlan to take testimony from five witnesses who were *ladino en lengua mexicana*. Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 166. For a discussion on *ladino*, refer to Chapter 3. For a discussion on the province of Jalostotitlan refer to Chapter 2.

⁷²⁹ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 168-169.

likely, Juan Vicente and/or the *alcalde* of San Gaspar did not complain during the *visita* but went to Guadalajara because he claims that both:

auh yn señr obispo yhuā proui quitlacuilhuique oquilhuique
the lord bishop and the *provisor* wrote him [Francisco Muñoz] to tell him,

xiquinyolali macehualtin ca mopilhuan xiquintlaçotla
“Console the commoners for they are your children. Love them.”⁷³⁰

With this statement, Juan Vicente records how the bishop and the *provisor* followed the instructions of the Third Mexican Council by pressing Muñoz to perform his duties properly.

Then, Juan Vicente referred to a conversation with Francisco Muñoz:

auh yn iquac oquicaquic yamauh señr obispo yhuā prouisor niman
And when he [Francisco Muñoz] had heard the document of the lord bishop and *provisor*,

oquito tleypampa ayahui amoteyxpahui ynahuac prouisor niman ayaxquia ynahuac
he said, “Why do you go and complain to the *provisor*, and then you go

señr obispo çan monequi xihuian mexico...
to the lord bishop. You really need to go to Mexico City...”⁷³¹

This conversation confirms the hierarchy that the Indigenous nobles of Jalostotitlan and San Gaspar could consult. First, the Indigenous elites of Jalostotitlan, San Gaspar, and perhaps other towns in the province of Jalostotitlan directly met with the *provisor* during the *visita*. Then, Juan Vicente and the *alcalde* of San Gaspar went to meet the *provisor* in Guadalajara to complain again and wait for a document, possibly an *amparo*, signed by both the *provisor* and the bishop even if they did not actually meet the bishop.

⁷³⁰ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 168-169.

⁷³¹ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 168-169. Vicente also repeated this conversation in the twelfth paragraph, which is actually numbered as the eleventh paragraph. Vicente in Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 172-173.

Juan Vicente continued to record this conversation and proposed that Muñoz challenged the powers of both the *provisor* and the bishop:

çan monequi xihuian mexico ca ompa oniquixtic nonahuatil ynic nican nivicario
You really need to go to Mexico City, it is there where I got my orders to be *vicario*
here...⁷³²

This writer referred to Mexico City for three reasons. First, he emphasized how Muñoz is challenging the authority of the *provisor* and the bishop, who reside in Guadalajara. Second, he showed how Muñoz did not think highly of him because Muñoz, in a sense, challenged him to go all the way to Mexico City for aid. Third, he explained how his visit to Guadalajara to accuse Muñoz before the *provisor* provoked Muñoz's anger:

ypampa ynin nechcocolia quicocolia mochi altepetl
Because of this, he hates me; he hates the whole town.

This petition shows that the *visita* represented an important check on the power of the provincial priests and friars, but it also suggests that the petitioners could suffer repercussions once the bishop or *provisor* had gone.

Juan Vicente became more specific with his accusations about Muñoz lashing men and women in the paragraph that he numbered eleven. Vicente referred to some information that he received during the *visita* with the *provisor*, or the subsequent meeting with this official in Guadalajara:

no yhuan amo techmachtia teotlatoli sermon ca çan yxquich techcocolitinemi
And also, he does not teach us the holy words, the sermon, but he only hates us

techtolintinemi
and mistreats us constantly.

⁷³² Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 168-169.

Vicente thus accuses Muñoz of not fulfilling the sacrament of Mass in a satisfactory manner, and that he only mistreats him and fellow residents of Jalostotitlan. Then, once again, Vicente refers to the document from the *provisor* and presents another response by Muñoz:

yn iquac señr prouisor quitlacuilhuic oquihui xiquinyolali macehualtin
When the lord *provisor* wrote him, he said: “Console the commoners for they are

ca mopilhuan niman quicaquic quitoa tleypampa niquinyolaliz niquintlaçotlaz
your children.” As soon as he heard it, he said, “Why am I to console them, to love them

coz nopilhuan ca ypilhuan diablo ca niquintoliniz
as my children? They are children of the devil. I will mistreat them.”

amo quitlacamati ytlanahuatil señr prouisor yhuan obispo
He did not obey the order of the lord *provisor* and the bishop.

Juan Vicente was more explicit here about the mistreatment by Muñoz toward him and the residents of Jalostotitlan, which is a clear violation of the document, the probable *amparo*, signed by the bishop and the *provisor*.

The other numbered paragraphs also serve to support the argument against Muñoz. In the third paragraph, Vicente claimed that Muñoz beat him once when he was carrying the *provisor*'s document, and that he beat him two other times. In the fourth paragraph, he asserted that Muñoz whipped an eight-year-old sacristan and also struck this boy's mother. In the fifth paragraph, Muñoz asked a former *fiscal* to do something for him, but this individual refused because his service had ended, and Muñoz then beat him. In the sixth paragraph, Muñoz beat the new *fiscal*. In the seventh paragraph, Muñoz beat someone who went to look for him at the *estancia* when Muñoz was with his woman. In the eighth paragraph, Vicente claims that when his daughter, Catalina Juan, went to the church to sweep:

auh yn totatzin ompa teopan quitzitzquic quiyecoznequi

there in the church our father seized her and wanted to have [sex with] her⁷³³

However, the girl escaped. The ninth paragraph serves as a type of summary, and the tenth is another complaint about how Muñoz spends too much time in the *estancia* with his Spanish woman instead of in the church. In the twelfth, Juan Vicente asks that Muñoz be removed and that their parish receive a good priest. In the thirteenth, Juan Vicente requested the return of fifteen pesos and two tomines that Muñoz took from the *cofradía* of the Holy Sacrament. Finally, in the fourteenth paragraph, he added that Muñoz does not pay commoners who travel to Guadalajara on his behalf.

Despite this *visita*-petition cycle, the tense situation only escalated by 1618, when numerous people accused Muñoz in twenty petitions transcribed and translated by John Sullivan. These petitioners include Juan Vicente from Jalostotitlan, who was no longer the *alcalde*, and officials and inhabitants from the nearby towns of San Gaspar, Santiago Teocaltitlan, San Miguel, Mezquitic, Mitic, and San Juan. These towns were in the provinces of Jalostotitlan and Lagos, but they appear to be in the same parish district. Although these towns were situated in a border region shared by the Cazcanes and the Tecuexes, the towns of Jalostotitlan, Mitic, and San Gaspar are mainly associated with the latter (Refer to Chapter 2.3d).⁷³⁴

⁷³³ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart translate *quiyecoznequi* as “wanted to have her,” suggesting what I have added in brackets. Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 171-173.

⁷³⁴ Tello writes, “fray Antonio de Segovia, que había / poco había venido de España en la segunda barcada que fue de religiosos, y era hijo de la Illustríssima Provincia de la Concepción, y fray Juan Padilla [mistake: it should be Juan de Badiano], baptizaban y administraban las Provincias de Tonalán, Tlaxomulco, Ocotlan, Atemajac, y entraron por la Tequexa de Mitic, Xalostotitlan, Tecpatitlán y toda la Caxcana, que son los pueblos y cabezeras de Zuchipila, Taltenango, Teul, Mecatabasco, Nochistlan y Theocaltich. Tello Vol. II, 206-207. Sullivan also suggests that the writer of Jalostotitlan was not a native speaker of Nahuatl because he did not omit the absolute suffix on possessed nouns, writing *toaltepetl* and *yqueytl*, and he used Spanish forms in Nahuatl, such as *nimotoca thomas luiz*, which literally translates the Spanish *me llamo thomas luiz*, instead of the Central Mexican form, *notoca thomas luiz*. Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote*, 11.

Sullivan names each petition with a number followed by the petitioners, their town, and the date of the petition. The writers of nine petitions (1, 13-20) address one individual with the petitioners of “1. Petición del alcalde, el regidor y otros funcionarios de Jalostotitlán, a 3 de mayo de 1618,” addressing the *gobernador*, whereas the thirteenth through twentieth petitions address an individual named *juez*, which presents two possible officials (Table 5-1). First, all of the petitioners reported their accusations to the *juez gobernador*, the presiding figure in the head town of Jalostotitlan.⁷³⁵ This official also might have been the chief Indigenous officer of a nearby Franciscan mission like Nochistlan.⁷³⁶ The final possibility is that they used these terms to address a member of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara.

The notaries of the petitions from Jalostitlan addressed members of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara in a less ambiguous manner. They wrote terms such as *antomaviztlatocavan* (you, our honored rulers), *antoqueytatocaquan* (you, our great rulers), and *tictotennamiguiliya yn amotaçomatzin yvan amocxitzin* (We kiss your [plural] precious hands and your [plural] feet).⁷³⁷ Three writers identified the addressees: Don Miguel in “6. Memoria de don Miguel, originario de San Miguel, a 3 de mayo de 1618;” Pedro Francisco in “8. Memoria de Pedro Francisco, alcalde

⁷³⁵ Gibson asserts that in the Basin of Mexico, the *juez gobernador* or *gobernador* was, “the presiding figure in each *cabecera*...and his office was to signify the separate, non-*sujeto* status of the *cabecera* under his rule.” Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), 167. Meanwhile, Lockhart (1992: 30) and Haskett (100) explain that, in the Basin of Mexico and in nearby Cuernavaca, the first *gobernador* was often the conquest-era *tlatoani* or his heir. Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 30; Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca*, 100. Lockhart (1992: 34-35) adds that, toward the end of the sixteenth century, *gobernadores* were used as *jueces* (judges) who served for a set period in order to examine the local *cabildos* in the Basin of Mexico, and this is when the person serving in this capacity became known as the *juez gobernador*.

⁷³⁶ Deeds writes that, in northwestern Mexico, *gobernador* could also serve as the title of the chief Indigenous officer in a mission. Deeds, 265.

⁷³⁷ Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhua yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote*, 20-21,

de San Miguel, a 3 de mayo de 1618;” and Juan Nuñez in “11. Memoria de Juan Nuñez, ex-fiscal de Teocaltitlán, a 3 de mayo de 1618” (Table 5-1).⁷³⁸ These three writers used very similar phrases to address the *provisor*, the *oidores*, and one or more *canónigos*.⁷³⁹

Table 5-1: Offices of Individuals Addressed in Petitions 6, 8, and 11

Author	Petition	Nahuatl phrase with English translation
Don Miguel	6. Memoria de don Miguel...	<i>anotatocavan...oyirorez yhuan provisor yhuan cananigo</i> [to] you my lords...the <i>oidores</i> , the <i>provisor</i> , and the <i>canónigo</i>
Pedro Francisco	8. Memoria de Pedro Francisco	<i>tatuque oyiroriz yhuan provisor yhuan cananicaz yzquich</i> the lords: the <i>oidores</i> , the <i>provisor</i> , and all of the <i>canonigos</i> .
Juan Nuñez	11. Memoria de Juan Nuñez...	<i>tatuque provisor yhuan cananicoz yhuan oyirorez</i> the lords: the <i>provisor</i> , <i>canonicos</i> , and <i>oidores</i>

The *oidores* were the officials who had judicial powers and were led by a *presidente* in the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara. An *oidor* was, “a justice of appeal”⁷⁴⁰ so it is very likely that the term *juez* refers to these officials, whereas *canónigo* represented an official of the diocese. Therefore, the presence of these officials in the petitions demonstrates that a portion of the process against Muñoz began with the *visita* by a *provisor*, continued with an investigation by a *canónigo*, expanded to include one or more *oidores*, and eventually found its way to the court of the Inquisition in Mexico City.

The different writers of these twenty petitions recapitulated what had been recorded in “Petition for removal of the priest of Jalostotitlan 1611,” and they also included the testimony of new victims. They wrote of Muñoz’s Spanish woman and how she prevented him from carrying

⁷³⁸ Sullivan, *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote*, 25, 27, and 33.

⁷³⁹ The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (consulted on September 7, 2016) defines *canónigo*, “Eclesiástico que tiene una canonjía,” and *canónigo doctoral*, “Prebendado de oficio. Es el asesor jurídico del cabildo catedral y debe estar graduado en derecho canónico o ser perito en cánones.” <http://dle.rae.es/?id=7AGHh6P>

⁷⁴⁰ Parry defines the *oidor* in this way. For *canónigo*, an addenda in “1654 San Martín by Diego Juan” requests that a *canónigo* translate a petition from Nahuatl to Spanish. Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government*, 5.

out his duties as priest, how he took money from the treasuries of lay sodalities, how his solicitations for sex in the church caused many women to avoid him, how he whipped Indigenous officials, and how Indigenous residents from the accusing towns had turned to another priest to receive the sacraments. All of these offenses led a larger number of officials from the Diocese of Guadalajara and the Royal Audiencia of Nueva Galicia to investigate and pass on this case to the Court of the Inquisition in Mexico City.⁷⁴¹

The remaining two petitions from this period are María Magdalena's "1622 La Magdalena" and Pedro Puy's "1622 Coahuatlan." María Magdalena probably revealed her situation to the *prioste* of her lay sodality, who wrote to appeal to the *provisor* to defend her against the aggressive actions of the *alcalde mayor* of Etzatlán (Refer to Chapter 1.1 and Chapter 4.2a).⁷⁴² However, she appears not to have met the *provisor* during his *visita* because:

ya ticmomachiltia tinotlatocauh teoyotica ca ya ovalmovicaya
As, you, my spiritual ruler, already know,

mixpātzinco yno tlatocauh prioste ca ya omitzcaquiltico
the lordly *prioste* was coming before your presence to inform you.⁷⁴³

In other words, the *prioste* went to see the *provisor* about María's situation because the *provisor* might not have known female officials of the lay sodality, but would likely be more familiar with its male officials. The result of this visit appears to have been a letter, possibly an *amparo* that the *prioste* gave to María, who showed it to the *alcalde mayor*. However, she explained that:

auh yn don Sabastian oquixitini motlanavatiltzin amo quimaviztillia çan oquito amo nelli
Don Sebastián destroyed your message. He does not show respect. He merely said,

⁷⁴¹ Many of these twenty petitions resemble the Maya petitions against priests soliciting sex in the confessional that John Chuchiak examined in "Secrets Behind the Screen: Solicitantes in the Colonial Diocese of Yucatan and the Yucatec Maya, 1570-1785."

⁷⁴² "1622 La Magdalena," Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁴³ I have included the full petition with its addenda in Appendix A.

oquichihuahac tlatovani cācampa omochivac yz catqui oquito don Sebastián
“it is not true [that] the ruler did it [destroy the message], but where was it done?” That is what Don Sebastián said.

Later, she requested an *amparo*, and a Spaniard in an addendum agrees that she should indeed receive one.

In the same year, Pedro Puy wrote “1622 San Andrés Cohuatlan”⁷⁴⁴ to the *provisor* because the residents of San Andrés Cohuatlan were instructed to move their settlement as part of a *congregación*, a reorganization of Indigenous people into a new location, and the petitioners wanted to remain in their town.⁷⁴⁵ In 1622, San Andrés Cohuatlan had a small population—Pedro mentioned only fourteen married men and five single men. However, he made the case that:

*teuati timaçevatl ti:techicavique.*⁷⁴⁶ *michvactlalpan*
We are the commoners who strengthened people in the land of Michoacan.

oticchivque caxtoli civitl oticçelique
We delivered tribute for fifteen years.

Thus, Pedro Puy made the case that the petitioners were devoted subjects, and he appears to have argued that they should be heard; the one addendum which includes a translation recommends that they receive an *amparo* in their favor (Refer to Chapter 1.6).⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁴ Although Pedro Puy writes Coatlan in this petition, I have regularized the orthography of this name so that it resembles how Juan Cruz spelled Cohuatlan in “1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo” and “N.Y. Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.” Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁴⁵ Pedro Puy writes *señr frufixotl*. “1622a Cohuatlan,” Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁴⁶ Pedro Puy appears to use the colon for the glottal stop.

⁷⁴⁷ Cohuatlan had disappeared by 1734. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 81.

These diocesan petitions suggest that, as in Real Audiencia petitions, *visitas* impressed Indigenous notaries and Indigenous officials and spurred them to write to the Spanish officials who had performed the *visitas*. When a *visita* took place, the notaries of correspondence communities conferred with the officers of the *cabildo* and/or the lay sodality to create these early documents. Other Indigenous officials did not have any complaints during the *visita*, but they remembered when their interests or those of their communities were threatened and wrote to diocesan officials. Therefore, the *visita*-petition cycle that figured in Real Audiencia petitions was also a factor in diocesan petitions; the *visita*-petition cycle was a colonial practice by which Spanish officials could govern the many peoples of Northwestern New Spain. However, did Indigenous officers come to trust the diocese to a greater degree? The remaining petitions suggest such a possibility in that most are addressed to diocesan officials, which is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 6, Standardization

*onitlaquilo yntencopa mochintin altepehuaque*⁷⁴⁸

I wrote by order of all the residents

Diego Juan, notary of San Martín, Ávalos

6.1. 1622 SCPM

The dissemination of 1622 SCPM, the printed publication of the Third Mexican Council, constitutes a break with the previous petitions in that this publication required all clerics to know what was expected of them when assigned to a head town.⁷⁴⁹ This mandate extended to the bishops. The 1622 SCPM specified that not only was a bishop required to visit parishes in his diocese, but that he also had to record his *visita* through a notary.⁷⁵⁰ The 1622 SCPM also decreed that each church had to keep at least two copies of the Third Mexican Council publication, and many of the extant copies are from convents, so both priests and friars had to know what was expected of them.⁷⁵¹ Such a standardization of expectations must have led to changes in the behavior of clerics, which Indigenous notaries appear to have recorded in subsequent petitions, turning away from complaints about the sacraments toward grievances about tribute required during the feast-days of the Catholic calendar.

⁷⁴⁸ AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1654 San Martín.”

⁷⁴⁹ The dissemination of 1622 SCPM occurred during the tenure of Francisco de Rivera y Pareja (January 29, 1618 to September 17, 1629), and the subsequent bishops were Leonel de Cervantes y Carvajal (December 17, 1629 to February 18, 1636), and Juan Sánchez Duque de Estrada (July 21, 1636 to November 12 1641).

⁷⁵⁰ Lundberg, 85. The earliest such record held by HAAG is from 1666.

⁷⁵¹ Lundberg, 67.

6.2. Visita-Petition Cycles, 1626-1646

Indigenous elites would not have had similar access to 1622 SCPM and would continue to rely on *visita* interviews to learn about how their clerics should behave. Clerics and Indigenous people had different responsibilities in the church, but both had to follow the code of conduct known as *policia cristiana*, which was used to judge all Catholics.⁷⁵² Indigenous people learned about *policia cristiana* from their priests and devout Indigenous residents of their town, but the former exercised much more power, which is visible in the letter “1626 San Francisco Chapalac” and in the decree “1629 Zacoalco.” There are seven extant *visita*-petition cycles in the period between 1626 and 1646, and they are different because they move away from incompetence to too many requirements. Could this reflect the influence of 1622 SCPM? Finally, only the receipt of “1630 Tlajomulco” represents a document in which the presence of the local priest is hard to discern.⁷⁵³

The Franciscan *provincial* Francisco de Torres wrote “1626 San Francisco Chapalac” on November 30, 1626 for the *alcaldes, regidores, prioste, mayordomo, and principales* who were the Indigenous elites of the town of San Francisco Chapalac (Table 6-1).⁷⁵⁴ His purpose was to admonish these nobles for failing to support adequately their *guardian* fray Joseph López de Carpio with alms, which suggests two possible scenarios. First, this letter could be a type of *amparo* given during a Franciscan *visita*; the title of *provincial* identifies Francisco de Torres as the head of the Franciscan province of Santiago de Xalisco while that of *guardian* names López

⁷⁵² Hanks defines it as “involved at once built space, the care and presentation of the body, a code of conduct, and the orderly relation among the three.” Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross*, 1.

⁷⁵³ AIPEJ, Tierras y Aguas Vol 2.

⁷⁵⁴ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

de Carpio as the head of the convent of San Francisco de Chapalac, which is within this province. Perhaps, López de Carpio told Francisco de Torres, his superior, about the difficulties he was having with the inhabitants of this town, and Francisco de Torres responded with this document that he would read aloud before leaving it with the former. Alternatively, this letter may have been a speech that Francisco de Torres wrote to help him deliver it before the residents of San Francisco de Chapalac who might have been critical of his imperfect Nahuatl.

Table 6-1: Letters and Petitions from 1626 to 1646

Dates: N=Nahuatl & S=Spanish	Notary	Name of Petition (P), Letter (L), or Receipt (R)	Region	Ethnic Group ⁷⁵⁵
N: November 30, 1626	Fray Francisco de Torres	1626 San Francisco Chapalac (L)	Ávalos	Spanish author and Coca town
N: October 20, 1629	Juan Fabián	1629 Zacoalco (L)	Ávalos	Coca
N: December 15, 1630	Not named	1630 Tlajomulco (R)	Tlajomulco	Coca/Tecuexe
N: June 19, 1637 S: July 1, 1637	Juan Cruz	1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo (P)	Colima	Pame/Central Nahua
N: June 19, 1637	Juan Cruz	N.Y. Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, ca. 1637 (P)	Colima	Pame/Central Nahua
S: February 8, 1642 S: March 10, 1642	Juan Miguel	1642 Contla (P)	Tacotlan and Cuquio	Tecuexe
S: October 21, 1644	Francisco Sebastián	1644 Cajititlan (P)	Cajititlan	Coca
N: May 11, 1646 S: May 12, 1646	Francisco Rafael	1646 Tepequechpan (P)	Minas de Chimaltitan	Tecual/Huicho 1

Regardless of the scenario, Francisco de Torres records the different ways in which Indigenous elites used to pay alms to the local friar or priest. He admonishes them for reducing the alms given to López de Carpio during the feast day of the Holy Conception. Then, he asks them to give tribute in the manner that they had in the past and reminds them of the covenant that their ancestors had made with the Franciscans:

yuc xicchihuacan xicaxiltican quenami muchipan anquichihuaya
Likewise, pay and supply tribute as you always used to pay it.

⁷⁵⁵ Unless otherwise stated, these ethnic identifications are from Bishop Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1049-1052.

xiquilnamiquican ca hueca uc huala inon tlanahuatili

Remember that for a long time, they [your grandfathers] returned because of those orders.

He also tells them to stop attending masses at the nearby Franciscan convent of Axixic, and to go to their assigned convent of San Francisco de Chapalac to listen to López de Carpio. These words suggest that the nobles of San Francisco had been waging a political struggle against López de Carpio, who felt compelled to ask for the intervention of the highest Franciscan leader in the region.

The letter of “1629 Zacoalco” by Juan Fabián represents another type of negotiation between clerics and the Indigenous elites from two correspondence communities: Zacoalco and San Felipe Cuquío (refer to Table 6-1). Juan Fabián wrote to respond to a letter from the *cabildo* of San Felipe Cuquío that sought information about whether Juan Diego, a resident of Zacoalco, was widowed. Juan Fabián answered:

yhuan melahuac oticmatiqui omomiquili ynamicatica axca chicome xihuil omomiquili
and we found it to be true that his former wife died, she died seven years ago now,

yhuā amopahihueyaya toyolo auh yanepa cepa oconana amal ompa çacalan
oquihualhueca
and our hearts were not yet satisfied so he took a letter there to Zacatlan and brought it back...⁷⁵⁶

Other parts of the letter suggest that the *cabildo* of Zacoalco questioned Juan Diego to ascertain whether he was widowed, but they were not completely satisfied so they sent him to Zacatlan, the town of his parents, to collect the signatures of his parents, which appear at the end of “1629 Zacoalco.”

Furthermore, Juan Fabián’s letter explains that the clerics of both towns played a prominent role in this investigation. He wrote:

⁷⁵⁶ Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, 198-199.

yhuan doquartian ymahueztocatzin fr milchior Nican techpachoticati
And our prior, whose honored name is fray Melchor, has guided us here

Sancta Ecclesea yhuan fry antris meriena prisentinti
[in matters] of the holy church, along with fray Andrés [Maríana?], president.

Both of these friars were assigned to the Franciscan convent of Zacoalco, which had been founded in the early sixteenth century, when San Felipe Cuquio was a secular parish. However, the priest of the latter probably also motivated its elites to begin the process of investigating whether Juan Diego was indeed widowed because clerics in general, and the Franciscans in particular, enforced the view of marriage as a monogamous union that could only be broken by death (Refer to Chapter 3.4).

Sometimes, clerics were not directly involved in the creation of documents. Simón Agustín and/or the lay sodality of Mary of the Holy Conception of Tlajomulco created “1630 Tlajomulco” as a bill of sale.⁷⁵⁷ This document emphasizes the importance of cattle to the lay sodalities in Northwestern New Spain. It records how Simón Agustín sold twenty cows for one hundred and twelve pesos to officials of this lay sodality, how he had to have his son-in-law sign because he could not write, and how the cows were rebranded with the mark of the lay sodality.

The documents “1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo” and “N.Y. Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, N.Y.” represent the province of Colima at two distinct times: June 19, 1637 when the Indigenous writer, Juan Cruz, dated the first petition; and July 1, 1637 when an unnamed Spaniard dated one addendum (Table 6-1).⁷⁵⁸ Juan Cruz referred to the addressee in “1637a Cohuatlan” and “N.Y. Cohuatlan, N.Y.” in similar ways:

yñçenca timahuiztililoni yntehuatzin yntixiplatzin tt^o Js^o (1637a Cohuatlan...)

⁷⁵⁷ AIPEJ, Tierras y Aguas Vol 2.

⁷⁵⁸ Although “N.Y. Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, ca. 1637” lacks the year, I am assuming that it was made at the same time as “1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.” McA-UCLA, Box 20-42.

You are truly the revered one, you are the image of our lord Jesus Christ

ynçenca timahuiztililoni yntixiptlatzin tto Js^o__ (N.Y. Cohuatlan...)
You are truly the revered one, the image of our lord Jesus Christ

Juan Cruz also included several lines in the back of “N.Y. Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, ca. 1637” in which he addressed the office of the bishop:

quimotoliz amatzintli tlatohuani ohuizpo ompa
Could the lord bishop who is there

moyetztica ymahuizchantzinco mahuiztic altepetl
in his honored home [of Guadalajara], the splendid town, recite a letter.

Here, Juan Cruz requested a letter of *amparo* from the bishop of Guadalajara, but he does not know that the previous bishop, Leonel de Cervantes y Caravajal, had been transferred to Antequera and that the next bishop, Juan Sánchez Duque de Estrada, would not arrive in Northwestern New Spain until September 21, 1637. As a result, he addressed Leonel de Cervantes y Caravajal, whom he remembered from a previous *visita* during his tenure as bishop in Guadalajara, which lasted from June 26, 1631, to February 18, 1636.⁷⁵⁹ The Spanish writer who dated his addendum to July 1, 1637 also explained that the Nahuatl letter is going to father Antonio, *presbítero vicario* (Refer to Chapter 4.2).

Juan Cruz used the *visita* of Bishop Leonel de Cervantes y Carvajal to begin “1637a Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo.” He wrote to the bishop: “you gave me the [written] command, but he [a local cleric] does not obey it because of his seniority.”⁷⁶⁰ This statement suggests that Juan Cruz had received an *amparo* from the bishop during the *visita* to curb the abuses of the cleric mentioned in the petition, who ignored it because of his seniority. Then, Juan Cruz referred

⁷⁵⁹ Leonel de Cervantes y Caravajal was appointed on December 17, 1629, but he was not installed until June 26, 1631. <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcercar.html> (Consulted on May 16, 2016).

⁷⁶⁰ In Nahuatl, it is *otinechmomaquilic prohuision amo quitlamic oc tlapanauhti*.

to the Chichimec/Christiano classification to describe the conduct of their cleric toward the community by stating:

çenca techtolini maca çan yoquin tiyahouan ypan techmati yoqui

He really oppresses us; not just as if we are war-like, but as if he knows we are

tichichimeca ypan techmati yoquin amo tichristianos yhuan amo yquin quichiua misa
Chichimecs; he does not think of us as Christians. And, he does not say mass.⁷⁶¹

Juan Cruz used these words to try to convince the bishop of their cause: that their priest treats them like Chichimecs by neglecting to say mass. He emphasized that they fed their cleric as required, and then switched his petition to address how the women of the community were sent to feed the members of an Indigenous group, the *Salineros*, without being paid. Finally, in “N.Y. Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo, ca. 1637” he asked the bishop for a written decree to send this priest away from them, and when this is done, he promised that the petitioners will continue to be good Christians by receiving the sacraments from the friars of a nearby convent.

In the next petition in this series, Juan Miguel wrote “1642 Contla” to the *alcalde mayor* of the province on or before February 8, 1642, which is almost two months after Bishop Sánchez Duque de Estrada had died.⁷⁶² This is the reason why Juan Miguel, the *alcalde* of Contla, addresses “1642 Contla” to the *alcalde mayor* even though the features of this document suggest a diocesan petition.⁷⁶³ In fact, the most prominent indicator that it is a diocesan petition is that a Spanish notary named Pedro de Placencia wrote in an addendum that it was to be passed on to Pedro Manuel Maçedo *provisor* and judge of the Diocese of Guadalajara.

⁷⁶¹ McA-UCLA, Box 20.

⁷⁶² He died on November 12, 1641 according to the Catholic Encyclopedia.

⁷⁶³ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

Juan Miguel accused a parish priest named Juan Juárez of one main transgression that did not require input from a *visita* interview. He claimed that when Miguel Ángel died in Contla, Juárez arrived and not only took five cows but also seized Francisca, the eight-year-old child of the deceased, and placed her in chains. Juan Miguel added that Juárez would only release Francisca if he were given an ox and a sheep. Because this petition was addressed to the *alcalde mayor*, it suggests that neither Juan Miguel nor the other nobles of Contla had significant memories of any recent *visita* interview by a bishop or *provisor*.

The next document in time is “1644 Cajititlan”; it has the structure of a petition, but it is never named as such.⁷⁶⁴ In fact, the only identifying feature is *pedimento*, the term which Antonio González de Shipman used at the end of his addenda to this document. A *pedimento* or *informe de pedimento* was a request for written testimony that a Spanish official made of the aggrieved party, so for all intents and purposes “1644 Cajititlan” is a petition.⁷⁶⁵

Francisco Sebastián was the notary of “1644 Cajititlan,” and by referring to a *visita*, he presented a different perspective from Juan Miguel of “1642 Contla.” Francisco Sebastián wrote on behalf of the *cabildo/cofradía* officers and addressed the *provisor* to protest several abuses by the Franciscan Friar in charge of the Franciscan convent at nearby Tlajomulco. First, he protested how the Franciscan friar whipped the *mayordomo* and *prioste* because, a week before Easter they had not delivered money to him in front of the building of their *cofradía*. This money was supposed to be for the purchase of an ornament for the church in the convent of Tlajomulco, but

⁷⁶⁴ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁶⁵ The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* defines the adverbial expression “a *pedimento*” (by *pedimento*) as “a instancia, a solicitud, a petición.” The *Diccionario* defines *pedimento* as, “Acción y efecto de pedir” (The action and result of asking); “Escrito que se presenta ante un juez” (Written account presented before a judge); and “Cada una de las solicitudes o pretensiones que se formulan en un *pedimento*” (Each one of the requests and solicitations that result from a *pedimento*). <http://dle.rae.es/?id=SJ7mdNL>

the notary claimed that neither the *prioste* nor the *mayordomo* knew about this requirement and even suggested that, perhaps, the officers of the *cofradía* of nearby Cuyutlan had been the ones to agree to this.

At this point, Francisco Sebastián shifted from the topic of tribute to refer to the addressee, the *provisor*, by explaining:

nel nimā ohualnecico mixpātzinco o^{ti}quimo maquili çe mādamiento deāparo ypanpa amo
[So then] they appeared in your presence and you gave a *mandamiento de amparo* so that
quitemacasque tomines
others [from Caxititlan] don't give their money.⁷⁶⁶

This portion of text represents two actions: the arrival of the *provisor* during a *visita* and the presentation of an order of *amparo*. However, Francisco Sebastián did not yet present the *visita* interview, even though one must have occurred in order for the *provisor* to create an order of protection for Indigenous people against another cleric.

Francisco Sebastián then detailed the tribute that the officials of Cajititlan were giving to the church and convent of Tlajomulco, and remarked that they were being impoverished and were being beaten when they failed to produce it. He complained:

tlen monequi santaygls^a tlaxLco ca Amo motolinia
What does the holy church in Tlaxomulco need? It is not poor.

mias hacienda quiplateopan huan Santa hospital
The church and the holy hospital have a lot of landed property.

This segment presents an effective contrast with what follows:

teguantin ca tiprobes amo tlen mopia ca motolinia Santa yglza ca no mias
As for us, we are the poor; the holy church [here in Cajititlan] has nothing, it suffers.

totechmonequi mias ytlacauhuti toteopan yhuan santa hospital
Thus, we are in great need. Our church and the holy hospital are greatly damaged.

⁷⁶⁶ AHAG, "Documentos en náhuatl."

This appeal to the *provisor* about the unfairness of this situation is a reference to the caretaking role of the clergy emphasized in 1622 SCPM, but how could Francisco Sebastián know about this? Francisco Sebastián learned because he and the petitioners had spoken to the *provisor* during the *visita* interview. He wrote:

no yhuan ticmomachiltiz ca ya axcan otictenegua ytechpa Santa ospital
Also, you will know today that you acknowledged

ca moxitiniz calli yahuel xitintiyauhu aocmo quali
that a house next to the Holy Hospital will be knocked down,

ya omo çencahua quahuimeh...
it is no longer in good shape. The wooden beams are ready [to be razed]...

This statement suggests that the *provisor* learned of this house during the *visitatio rerum*, the inspection of the structures and implements of Catholic ritual (Refer to Chapter 4.2a).⁷⁶⁷ This possibility is confirmed when Francisco Sebastián goes on to talk of the poor state of the images of Cajititlan.

yhuan ymagenez ya mochi yçoltic ytlacauhutica mochi mochichihuaz
and the images, they are all old and damaged. All will be remade.

Francisco Sebastián used this part of the petition to remind the *provisor* of the dire state of the objects required for practicing the Catholic faith in Cajititlan. This part also served to contrast these conditions to the demands of the friar from the convent of Tlajomulco, which the notary had portrayed as wealthy. Finally, this reference also suggests that, sometimes, the *provisor* conducted the *visita* interview, which was a part of the *visitatio hominum*, at the same time as the *visitatio rerum*.

⁷⁶⁷ Pueyo Colomina, 479-480; Magnus Lundberg, 82.

Francisco Sebastián did not end the petition there but continued to present hardships that would be remedied by having their own beneficed priest. He wrote that Tlajomulco was three leagues away, too far away to carry the flag that was used for the *Te Deu Ladamus*, and that it was especially far for the elderly residents of Cajititlan.⁷⁶⁸ Then, he asked:

axcan ma xitechmopalehuili ma timacocan ce benefiado glerigo ma onpa
Today, may you please help us? May we be given a beneficed cleric from there

mochanti yehuatl techpias techmocuitlaguiz
to settle [here] so that he can protect and care for us?

However, he demonstrated no malice toward the Franciscans when he said:

açoyahuelçiya techitalo San Franciscos
Perhaps it is already possible. The Franciscans see us.

ma techcaguacan no yoqui tehuātin ma tiquincaguacan
May they leave us and may we, likewise, leave them.

Finally, Francisco Sebastián wrote that the residents of Cajititlan were well-known stonemasons who were also giving many limestone blocks for the church of Tlajomulco. This was another complaint, but its purpose at the end was to convince the *provisor* that Cajititlan was important enough to serve as the seat of a beneficed priest.

The final petition during this period is “1646 Tequepechpan,” written by Francisco Rafael to Antonio González on May 11, 1646. González was identified in an addendum as the priest of the province of Chimaltitan.⁷⁶⁹ Rafael wrote this petition in response to a local *visita* by González, who traveled from the *real de minas* of Chimaltitan to the Huichol town of Tepequechpan (Refer to Chapter 2.2c and 2.3h). Francisco Rafael, like many notaries of

⁷⁶⁸ *Te Deum Laudamus* is a hymn to God, meaning “We Praise thee, o God!”

⁷⁶⁹ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

petitions, began by acknowledging the prior visit of González and then informed him that they will stay, instead of leaving the town and its chapel, because of his promised help:

ticmatiznequi aço ya titehmopalehuilia yca yehuatl otimiztomaquilifque⁷⁷⁰ topetizion
We want to know if you have helped us with it. We gave you our petition

Auh yn naxcan tehhuahztzin ticmomahitiya ca ya monahuac timocahuallo
And now, you know that we remain with you since

ynic teuatzin titehmopalleuiliz ypampa dios
you will help us, because of God.

The statement "you know that we remain with you" is important because Tequepechpan was a highland town on the southern side of El Gran Nayar, and one strategy of resistance was to flee. Thus petitioners presented a veiled threat that they would remain in the town as long as their last petition was answered in a satisfactory manner.

At the same time, Francisco Rafael used the appropriate reverential forms, perhaps because he was going to give González bad news. The former wrote:

ca tehuantin timopilhuan amo tihuellitillo yn ten nica timizpalehuizque
We who are your children are not able to help you with that which is here

ca zan nahua timo te machillo ye [tear]xquih
for we only know Nahuatl.

⁷⁷⁰ I have used the “fj” in the transcription to represent a symbol that I cannot recreate from unicode, and which appears to represent a glottal stop in this instance and in a previous word, *momahuiztocaftzin* (your revered name). Lockhart defines *tōcāitl* with two long vowels, *ō* and *ā*. *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples*, 239. He also identifies the singular suffix of possessed nouns as, “-hui [w/ in IPA notation], which is used after stems ending in a vowel.” Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples* 3. I propose that both of these statements explain why Francisco Rafael wrote *fj* to represent the glide in *momahuiztocaftzin* as either /tō cāw tzīn/ or /tō caw tzīn/. Also, Lockhart writes that verbs that end in either *ia* or *oa* lose the *a* in the preterit so that a verb such as *ticnemitiah* (we maintain) becomes *ticnemitique*. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples*, 34. I propose that, in this Western Mexican variant, the root *nemitia* can be modified to *nemitifj* /ne mi tiw/ in the preterit.

The literate nobles claimed to know Nahuatl even though Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero would attest a few years later that this was a Tecueje (or Huichol) town (Refer to Chapter 2.3h). The most likely explanation is that a Spanish official had shown them an alphabetic text written in another Indigenous language from the region, but they claimed not to know it or not to be able to read it.

These letters and petitions that followed the dissemination of 1622 SCPM suggest that priests knew the specific ways in which they had to perform the sacraments and sought to follow them. As a result, petitioners had shifted their accusations away from the sacraments and toward more unique situations. Also, the lack of a bishop from 1642 to 1648 may have lessened the number of petitions and those like “1642 Contla” demonstrate that some Indigenous elites were turning to the *alcalde mayor* for issues that concerned the church. However, the relationship between the diocese and Indigenous nobles had begun to change yet again because, on June 25 1646, Juan Ruiz Colmenero had been appointed in Spain as the new bishop of Guadalajara, and the large number of extant documents suggest that petitioners felt more comfortable writing to him than any other official of Northwestern New Spain.

6.3. Cycles in the Tenure of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, 1648-1664

Indigenous notaries created at least twenty documents during the tenure of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, 1646-1663. He was installed on December 24, 1647 and went on *visitas* to different provinces of Northwestern New Spain between 1648 and 1649, but his *visita* journal has been lost from the AHAG.⁷⁷¹ However, Mexican historian Alberto Santoscoy had access to this book

⁷⁷¹ The Spanish record of the *visitas* of 1648 and 1649 is not in the AHAG, and it appears to have been lost during the 20th century. Gerhard, “*La frontera norte de la Nueva España*,” 48-49.

and listed more than one hundred forty towns, along with the ethnic identity of the inhabitants from information in the *visita* journal of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero.⁷⁷² These details help identify the notaries and petitioners who crafted petitions to this bishop (Refer to Chapter 1.1, Chapter 2.2c, and Chapter 4.3).

Bishop Ruiz Colmenero probably named the parish and the date he visited it, along with the ethnic identity of its inhabitants, in his now lost visitation journal.⁷⁷³ Then, he would have narrated the state of the properties of the church in the given parish, and he also would have provided some information about the priest and perhaps other officials of the parish.⁷⁷⁴ He would have noted the age of the priest and his level of education, including language proficiency, and the manner in which this official performed his duties in the given parish.⁷⁷⁵ The loss of this *visita* book is regrettable, but some of these missing details of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero's *visita* can be gleaned from the Indigenous, European, and Casta notaries who preserved the *visita* interviews in petitions and addenda.⁷⁷⁶ These petitions and letters with their addenda will, in a sense, represent many *visita*-petition cycles that were made during the tenure served by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. These extensive *visita*-petition cycles can be organized in four stages: the Long Year of 1649, 1652-1654, 1656-1657, and 1658-1664.

⁷⁷² I counted 149 towns from Alberto Santoscoy's list. Santoscoy, "Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara," 1049-1052.

⁷⁷³ Pueyo Colomina, 480.

⁷⁷⁴ Pueyo Colomina, 480-481.

⁷⁷⁵ Pueyo Colomina, 481.

⁷⁷⁶ Lundberg writes that the individual petitions in his corpus of petitions from the diocese of Puebla and the archdiocese of Mexico City have one to nine pages and adds that some are not accompanied by other documents but others have become part of a legal process because they have questionnaires, translations, accounts, and powers of attorney. Lundberg, 176.

6.3a. The Long Year of 1649

The earliest Nahuatl petition from Bishop Ruiz Colmenero’s tenure is “1649 Tachichilco,” from the town of Tachichilco in the province of Amula, which was inhabited by the Bapame, possibly another name for Otomí (Table 6-2).⁷⁷⁷ An unnamed notary wrote and dated this petition May 23, whereas the bishop himself dated an attached *auto* to May 24, 1649. Such a rapid response suggests that Tachichilco had one or more *nahuatlato*s who spoke Nahuatl and Bapame, and had one or more notaries literate in Nahuatl. These individuals most likely included members of the *cabildo*, who are named in this petition as Juan Zacarias, *alcalde*, Juan Miguel, *fiscal*, and Diego Felipe.⁷⁷⁸ Therefore, they probably included at least one *nahuatlato* who spoke Nahuatl and Bapame, and one literate individual Nahua who communicated to the bishop, but it is not clear whether one or two people exercised these skills.

Table 6-2: Petitions to Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, 1649

Dates: N=Nahuatl & S=Spanish	Notary	Name of Petition	Region	Ethnic Group ⁷⁷⁹
N: May 23. S: May 24, 1649.	unnamed	1649 Tachichilco	Amula	Bapame
S: June 7, 1649.	unnamed	1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco	Amula	Bapame

⁷⁷⁷ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl. Bapame may have referred to Otomí. An account of the Cortés Buenaventura expedition that passed through the region identified inhabitants as Otomí, but there is disagreement as to whether Nahuatl informants employed Otomí to refer to speakers who did not speak Nahuatl, in general, or to speakers of the language Otomí, specifically. I briefly discussed this controversy in Chapter 2.3b, favoring the first possibility. Yolanda Lastra presents an analysis that is more neutral. Lastra, *Los Otomíes, su lengua y su historia* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 2006), 30-31.

⁷⁷⁸ Lundberg defines *fiscal* as church steward and proposes that he was the leading middleman between the priest and the parishioners at large, and the office itself as restricted to *principales*. Lundberg, 180. Lisa Sousa defines *fiscal* as a native official who had responsibilities for different church functions. Sousa, “Tying the Knot: Nahua Nuptials in Colonial Central Mexico” in *Religion in New Spain* ed. by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 40. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (consulted on February 26, 2016) defines *fiscal de vara* as an, “alguacil eclesiástico.” In Northwestern New Spain, the title of *fiscal* does not appear very often; only three notaries use it in four petitions: “1649 Tachichilco,” “1653 Amatitlan,” “1653 San Martín,” and “1654 San Martín.”

⁷⁷⁹ This information about Indigenous identity is from Santoscoy, unless otherwise noted.

N: June 23, 1649 S: July 15, 1649.	unnamed	1649 San Juan Ocotitic	Tequila	Tepecano
S: July 17, 1649.	unnamed	1649a La Magdalena	Izatlan	Cazcan (Ocho)
S: July 17, 1649.	unnamed	1649b La Magdalena	Izatlan	Cazcan (Ocho)
N: July 19, 1649. S: July 20, 1649.	unnamed	1649 San Francisco Ahualulco	Izatlan	Cazcan (Ocho)

In any case, the communication was not direct. There is little evidence to suggest that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero spoke Nahuatl in 1648 or 1649, when he performed his best known *visita*. Instead, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero brought at least two people with him: a *nahuatlato* who spoke Nahuatl and Spanish, and a notary who was literate in Spanish. Indeed, “1649 Tachichilco” has an addendum by the notary Gallardo y Ochoa who summarizes the Nahuatl petition, and in another addendum, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero writes that the translator was Don Diego de Herrera.⁷⁸⁰ In other words, Gallardo y Ochoa was Bishop Ruiz Colmenero’s notary and Diego de Herrera was his *nahuatlato*. Diego de Herrera was either an Indigenous person who spoke Nahuatl and perhaps learned Spanish at a young age, or a Spanish-speaking European who had learned Nahuatl (Refer to Chapter 3.4 and 3.5).⁷⁸¹

This diocesan party met with Juan Zacarias, Juan Miguel, and Diego Felipe on or before May 23 to begin the complex exchange between Bapame, Nahuatl and Spanish. The Indigenous elites of Tachichilco claimed that their diminished population could not pay the money and goods required by their *guardian*, and they asked for the return of what had been given during

⁷⁸⁰ These addenda are in the margins and on the back page of the original petition. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1649 Tachichilco.”

⁷⁸¹ Gerhard writes that, in Amula, “Several dialects (Amultecan, Bapame, Pino, Zapoteco) were spoken of a language known as Otomí,” suggesting that Bapame was a variant of Otomí and mentions in parentheses, “its relation, if any, to the Otomí of the central plateau is not known.” Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 46. For the neighboring province of Autlan, which was west of Amula, Gerhard writes that a mid-seventeenth century source states, “‘Otomite’ was spoken just north of the Cihuatlan River, then ‘Bapame’.” Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 58. However, Rosa Yáñez Rosales and I conclude that Nahuatl-speakers used *nahuatlato* in contrast to *otomí* when distinguishing Nahuatl speakers from those peoples who speak another tongue (Refer to Chapter 3.3).

the feasts honoring Saint Peter and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. They told their notary that these amounts were three pesos, one turkey, and four candles for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and six pesos, a table cloth, four napkins, a bottle of wine, a quarter of beef, and one turkey for the feast of Saint Peter. The next day, Gallardo y Ochoa wrote a Spanish summary with the aid of Don Diego de Herrera, and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero wrote a favorable *auto* that he names as a *decreto de visita* (visita decree) that lessened the tribute of this town to no more than four pesos without any other requirements for each feast day. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero also ordered that this judgement be written down for consultation in the future so it appears that the *auto*, or *decreto de visita*, was an *amparo* because it favored the petitioners, but that would not have been the case if he had ruled against them.

Shortly after this visit, the diocesan party traveled to San Antonio Tuzcacuezco, a nearby town that was also Bapame, but the Nahuatl petition, “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” lacks a date so it is harder to know whether the *cabildo* of this town relied on a nearby *nahuatlato* and notary.⁷⁸² However, two of its addenda are dated to June 7, 1649 so the original petition was written on or before this date. The first addendum is a Spanish summary of the Nahuatl petition by Gallardo y Ochoa, and the second is an *auto* by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero who again acknowledges that Don Diego de Herrera was the acting translator of the diocesan party.

This diocesan party met with Simeon Cardes, *alcalde*, Francisco Hernández, *alcalde*, Juan Antonio, *regidor*, Juan Perez, *regidor*, and possibly three others: Pablo Joachim, Francisco Martín, and Juan Bonifacio.⁷⁸³ One of these Indigenous people is probably the notary who

⁷⁸² Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁸³ The Indigenous notary did not append any titles to the last three names.

crafted “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” and asked for a reduction of the monetary tribute. For example, he claims that, on the feast of San Antonio, they gave their *guardián* a total of twelve pesos and four tomines, which included seven pesos for the mass of San Antonio, one peso for a turkey, one peso for beef, one peso for wine, four tomines for hens, four tomines for bread, and seven tomines for something that can not be identified. He also named lesser but still significant monetary tribute for the mass, for food, and for other goods on the feast days of Resurrection, Lent, Christmas Eve, All Saints’ Day, and Santiago and San Francisco. The discrepancy of tribute obligations between Tachichilco and San Antonio Tuzcacuezco were significant, but this was due to the fact that the former was a rural *sujeto* whereas the latter was a *cabecera* with a Franciscan convent.

After the province of Amula, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero and his party traveled north and west for many days, stopping at towns whose *cabildos* and/or *cofradías* had no grievances or wrote petitions in Nahuatl that have been lost. They crossed the Grande de Santiago River and entered the cold lands, stopping in San Juan Ocotitic on or before June 23, when a notary dated a petition on behalf of this town. However, Gallardo y Ochoa did not write a Spanish addendum until July 15, 1649. Why the delay? The most likely possibility is that since the inhabitants spoke Tepecano the diocesan party could not communicate with this town’s Indigenous *cabildo*.⁷⁸⁴ Then, either Bishop Ruiz Colmenero continued on the *visita* and left Gallardo y Ochoa behind, or the whole party left and was caught elsewhere by a delegation from this town, who asked them to return because a Nahuatl-Tepecano *nahuatlato* had been found. For one of these reasons,

⁷⁸⁴ Mithun classifies Tepecano as falling within the southern branch of the Tepiman-O’odham language group along with Southern Tepehuan. Mithun, 539.

Gallardo y Ochoa was present to render a verdict on July 15 while the bishop continued toward the province of Izatlan, where a new notary wrote an *auto* on July 17.⁷⁸⁵

The meetings between Gallardo y Ochoa, his *nahuatlato*, the Tepecano *nahuatlato*, and the Indigenous *cabildo* of San Juan Ocotitic were probably more tense than those in Tachichilco or San Antonio Tuzcacuezco. The inhabitants of San Juan Ocotitic, like those of the aforementioned Tepequechpan, were close to El Gran Nayar so that leaving their town had to be seen as a viable option. Gallardo y Ochoa received “1649 San Juan Ocotitic” from Agustín Jimenez *alcalde*, Antonio de la Cruz *principal*, Juan Miguel *principal*, Agustín Sebastián, and Juan Diego who had three main complaints. They explained that fray Juan the Castilian had borrowed forty-five pesos for an organ without buying it or returning their money; that he had physically abused some of the residents and children from this town; and that he had neglected his duties to perform the sacraments on one occasion.

In one addendum, Gallardo y Ochoa writes that the petition had been translated by the *maestro* Antonio de Carvajal, and that Bishop Ruiz Comenero had decreed that the *cabildo* of San Juan Ocotitic be granted all of their requests. Gallardo y Ochoa also cautioned the *cabildo* and the residents not to flee the town. This time, Antonio de Carvajal may have written the translation; although he did not sign it, it is in a different hand from Gallardo y Ochoa’s, and it is a translation that very literally follows the content of the original Nahuatl document. The translation was written on or around July 15, 1649.

Around that time, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero was in the province of Izatlan and close to La Magdalena. On July 17, 1649, he signed two *autos* that his new notary, Francisco de la Cruz,

⁷⁸⁵ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero was in La Magdalena according to “1649a La Magdalena” and “1649b La Magdalena,” *Documentos en nahuatl*, AHAG.

attached to two petitions: “1649a La Magdalena” and “1649b La Magdalena.”⁷⁸⁶ The first *auto* was in response to “1649a La Magdalena,” a petition in which the officers of the *cofradía* of the Santo Hospital and the *cofradía* of the Santísimo Sacramento complained of a Spaniard, Martín de Agiazca, who was squatting on lands that belonged to these two *cofradías*.⁷⁸⁷ The petitioners are Cazcan, and they explain that Martín de Agiazca was claiming that the king had given him these lands, but were skeptical because he had not produced any document to support his assertion.⁷⁸⁸ They also expressed a sense of urgency by saying that it was *xupantla* (the rainy season), and that their cattle would be like locusts because the remaining pasture lands would not provide them with enough to graze and they would in turn need to eat crops.⁷⁸⁹ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero decided in the *auto* that they should go before the president of the Real Audiencia because the matter fell under its jurisdiction.⁷⁹⁰ This episode shows how Indigenous elites relied on the *visita* for information about Spanish colonial practices that affected them, and how they could not always distinguish between the division of political powers of the Diocese of Guadalajara and the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara.

⁷⁸⁶ Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁸⁷ The officers were Juan Bautista *prioste*, Francisco Lucas *mayordomo*, Francisco Simón *prioste*, and Andrés Miguel *mayordomo*. “1649a La Magdalena,” Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG. Also, the *cofradía* of the Santo Hospital probably refers to that of the Holy Conception, which had an attached hospital to take care of the sick according to fray Antono Tello.

⁷⁸⁸ The people of this town are classified as Tocho, which is another name for Cazcan (Refer to chapter 2.3c).

⁷⁸⁹ Arregui defined *jopantla* as summer and Guerra defined *xopantla* as the time of waters, or summer, but rainy season is more accurate because although it is warm and humid in this region in July, this month falls during the halfway point of a rainy season that lasts from April to October (Refer to Chapter 2.2a). Arregui, 23; Guerra, 29.

⁷⁹⁰ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero wrote Tocho, but that was another word used to identify the Nahuatl-speaking Cazcanes (Refer to chapter 2.3c). Ruiz Colmenero, in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1051.

In “1649b La Magdalena,” the officers of the lay sodality of the Santo Hospital and those of the lay sodality of the Santísimo Sacramento ask that their herds not be culled because too few remain for them to multiply and help the town.⁷⁹¹ However, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero signed a decree that the culling of the herds was just and ordered that it be carried out. He also asked the Indigenous people of this community to inform him if the culling became excessive. He signed his name below this decree while Francisco de la Cruz signed his name to the right and below that of the bishop.

Afterwards, the diocesan party went to San Francisco Ahualulco, another Cazcan town. The officers of this town’s *cabildo* and *cofradía* wrote a petition that they dated to July 19.⁷⁹² These officials reminded Bishop Ruiz Colmenero about how he had allowed them to celebrate only two feasts with payment of fees to the local priest, and complained that the latter was charging too much, had instituted three feasts, and also wanted to exchange the cattle of the *cofradía* for mares. Francisco de la Cruz dated the Spanish response to July 20 and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero signed it. The former recorded in the translation that the cows should not be exchanged for horses, and that the constitutions should be followed in response to the number of feast days, which follows what had been decreed in “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco.” This statements also suggests that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had visited San Francisco Ahualulco at an earlier date.

⁷⁹¹ For some reason, Francisco Lucas who was the *mayordomo* in “1649a La Magdalena” is replaced by Lucas Miguel in “1649b La Magdalena,” whereas the names of the other officials remain the same. Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁹² Andrés Pablo *alcalde*, Bernabe Lasazon *alcalde*, Martín Agustín *prioste*, Juan Bonifacio *mayordomo*, and many *principales*. The notary does not name the latter. Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

Francisco de la Cruz also named Bishop Colmenero as the bishop of Guadalajara in the kingdom of Nueva Galicia and León and the province of Nayar. However, jurisdiction over Nayar was more illusory than real because a writer who named himself as Don Francisco Nayari claimed this region and addressed a Nahuatl letter to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero dated to May 15, 1649 (Table 6-2).⁷⁹³ Nayari identified himself as a Cora and a Christian from Tzacamota, which was in the heart of El Gran Nayar, and he promised the bishop that neither he nor his people, the Cora from the towns of Ayotochpa, Huazamota, or Guaxicori, were trying to form an alliance with the Tepehuanes, an allegedly hostile Indigenous group (Refer to Chapter 1.1, Chapter 2.2c and 2.3g, and Chapter 4.3). This document appears to respond to an initial letter from Bishop Ruiz Colmenero that has been lost. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero did not mention Ayotochpa or Huazamota in his 1648-1649 *visita* journal, but he did refer to Guaxicori, which he identified as a Cora town.⁷⁹⁴ As a result, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero most likely sent a letter from Guaxicori weeks or more before May 15, 1649, when Nayari dated his letters.

Table 6-3: Letters to Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, 1649

Dates: N=Nahuatl & S=Spanish	Notary	Name of Petition (P) or Letter (L)	Region	Ethnic Group⁷⁹⁵
N: May 15, 1649	Don Francisco Nayari	1649a Tzacamota (L)	El Gran Nayar	Cora ⁷⁹⁶
No date.	D. Fco. Nayari	1649b Tzacamota (L)	El Gran Nayar	Cora

⁷⁹³ Don Francisco Nayari addresses a *señor vispo* (lord bishop) without naming the addressee, but an accompanying addendum refers to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. “1649a Tzacamota,” Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

⁷⁹⁴ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero spells it Guajicori. Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050. Guaxicori also served as one of the bases from which the Franciscans proselytized into El Gran Nayar during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Refer to Chapter 2.2b and 2.3f). Refer also to the *visita* journals of Bishop Francisco Verdín y Molina from 1666 and Bishop Juan de Santiago y León Garabito from 1578-1579. Gobierno, Visitas Pastorales, Box 1, AHAG.

⁷⁹⁵ Unless otherwise stated, these ethnic identifications are from Bishop Ruiz Colmenero (*apud* Santoscoy 1986: 1049-1052).

⁷⁹⁶ Bishop Ruiz Comenero never visited Tzacamota because he never identifies it, but Don Francisco Nayari names himself and his people as Cora in “1649a Tzacamota,” “1649b Tzacamota,” and “1649c Tzacamota.”

No date.	D. Fco. Nayari	1649c Tzacamota (L)	El Gran Nayar	Cora
----------	----------------	---------------------	---------------	------

Nayari probably traveled on the road from Guadalajara to Izatlan and stopped at San Francisco Ahualulco, where he issued a written decree that the Franciscan in this town should require payment for no more than two feasts. Then, he went to La Magdalena, at the foot of the mountain pass that leads to Acaponeta, the head town of the province of the same name, which has Guaxicori as one of its subject towns. Then, he might have traveled to the port of Matanchen or that of Chacala to take a ship to bypass the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range and land in La Navidad, from where he could have easily taken a road to Tachichilco and arrived by May 24, 1649.⁷⁹⁷ His other alternative was to backtrack, climb the imposing mountain range again, pass through La Magdalena, and continue southwest toward the province of Amula.

6.3b. 1652-1654

Four petitions from 1652 confirm that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had indeed been in Guaxicori. Residents of this town remembered him when they wrote three years later (Table 6-3). On April 23, 1652, Sebastián García addressed a petition, “1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta,” to complain about the actions of friar Juan de Vizcarre in the nearby town of San Antonio Quihuiquinta.⁷⁹⁸ The next day, two other notaries from San Sebastián Guaxicori

⁷⁹⁷ The galleon trade suggests favorable currents from the northwest to the southeast; Olveda describes how galleons from Manila skirted the coast on their way back to Acapulco. Olveda, 222. Shirley Fish proposes that the Manila galleon usually sailed between the last day of June and July 15 to arrive in Acapulco between December or early January after sailing down the California coast and usually taking on water in the port of Navidad, which Gerhard places in the province of Autlan. But the dates of the bishop's visita do not correspond with the annual timing of the galleon traffic, so he would have gone by some other ship. Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific* with an annotated list of the transpacific galleons, 1565-1815 (Central Milto Keynes, UK: AuthorHouse, 2011), 350-351; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 59.

⁷⁹⁸ McA-UCLA, Box 20-10. Braun, Sell and Terraciano (1989: 89) propose that the scribe of “1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta” was a person trained as a central Mexican Nahua notary.

likewise wrote to complain about the actions of this cleric (Table 6-4). Both of these towns are north of the town of Acaponeta, within the province of the same name so that Guaxicori refers to the same town mentioned by Don Francisco Nayari (refer to Chapter 1.1, Chapter 2.2b, 2.2d, 2.3f). Also, another notary directed a petition toward the *alcalde mayor* of Acaponeta regarding this complaint, so that four petitions were made against this priest. These accusations may have reached the inquisitorial court in Mexico City, judging by the large number of accompanying Spanish addenda.⁷⁹⁹

Table 6-4: Petitions to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, 1652-1654⁸⁰⁰

N = Date in Nahuatl S = Date in Spanish	Notary and Addressee	Name of Petition	Region	Ethnic Group
N: Th, April 11, 1652. S: August 18, 1652.	unnamed to bishop	1652 S. Francisco Juchipila	Juchipila	Cazcan (Ocho)
N: April 23, 1652. S: May 3, 1652.	Sebastián Garcia to bishop	1652b S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	Acaponeta	??
N: April 24, 1652. S: May 3, 1652.	unnamed to bishop	1652a S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	Acaponeta	Totorami
N: April 24, 1652. S: May 3, 1652.	unnamed to bishop	1652b S. Sebastián Guaxicori	Acaponeta	Cora
N: April 1, 1653. S: March 31, 1653; April 2, 1653, March 2, 1653.	Diego Juan to bishop	1653 San Martín	Ávalos	Coca
S: May 12, 1653.	unnamed to bishop	1653 Amatitlan	Ávalos	Coano? Mexicano?
N: March 2, 1654 S: May 26, 1654	Diego Juan to bishop	1654 San Martín	Ávalos	Coca

Twelve days earlier, the unnamed notary of “1652 San Francisco Juchipila” had written a petition in which he referred to the presence of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero in San Francisco Juchipila, a Cazcan town.⁸⁰¹ The notary wrote on behalf of the Indigenous officers or Juchipila to

⁷⁹⁹ The four petitions along with their accompanying addenda are currently in McA-UCLA so it is impossible to know if these had been kept by the Diocese of Guadalajara or the Real Audiencia, or had been passed on by one of these institutions to the inquisitorial court in Mexico City.

⁸⁰⁰ Unless otherwise noted, the identification of these ethnic groups are from Bishop Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1049-1052.

⁸⁰¹ “1652 San Francisco Juchipila,” Documentos en nahuatl, AHAG.

acknowledge that his petition had to go to the bishop who was no longer present. This petition has one Spanish addendum whose date of August 18, 1652 appears with a few words signalling that it should be kept for someone whose name is not legible, due to a tear in the document.⁸⁰²

In this document, the notary asks the bishop to help compel the Spaniards in San Francisco Juchipila to sponsor a *monumento*, a reference to the very elaborate altar on which the tabernacle was placed on the last Thursday of Lent. The Indigenous notary of “1679 Sayula” used this term to refer to an item that required a large quantity of wax for candles during holy week; hence this altar, which was one of the main items that bishops and *provisores* ensured were in good condition during the *visitatio rerum*.⁸⁰³ The statement about the bishop compelling the Spaniards to contribute to the *monumento* is a complex reference to the political reality of Juchipila from the point of view of the Indigenous officers. They lived in a multi-ethnic head town that the bishop had visited, and he found the *monumento* to be in poor condition. The bishop told the officers to fix it, so they sought contributions from the Spanish population to do so, but when the Spaniards refused the officials wrote a petition to the bishop.

On April 1, 1653, Diego Juan wrote a petition on behalf of the *cabildo* of San Martín, a Coca town, to complain that the friar and *cabildo* of the *cabecera* of Cocula compelled them to send tribute and laborers to work on their church.⁸⁰⁴ This petition, “1653 San Martín,” has three

⁸⁰² Guadalax^a 18 de Agosto 1652 an + guartesepera. AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1652 San Francisco Juchipila.” .

⁸⁰³ The *Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spanish* (consulted on August 20, 2016) defines *monumento* as, “altar muy adornado en el que se coloca el arca eucarística el día de Jueves Santo.” <http://dle.rae.es/?w=monumento> AHAG, Gobierno-Parroquias, Sayula 1632-1772, “1679 Sayula.”

⁸⁰⁴ Santoscoy wrote down the ethnic identifications from information provided by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. Box 20-8, Byron McAfee Collection, University of California, Los Angeles. Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050.

addenda.⁸⁰⁵ The first is by Francisco de Villalobos, who wrote a *pedimiento* for the whole town of San Martín that he dated to March 31, 1653. He explained that he had been present for three months and that the Indigenous people of San Martín had just cause to complain; he also included a second date, April 2, 1653, at the beginning of this document to explain when it was sent. By this he meant that two documents were sent: the *pedimiento* and a Spanish translation that was probably done in San Martín. Like in “1644 Cajititlan,” *pedimiento* appears to refer to a petition that was done at the request of an official sent by the bishop or *provisor* to investigate grievances that occurred after a *visita*.

The third addendum is Gallardo y Ochoa’s response from Guadalajara, in which he writes that an investigator will be sent to examine the charges. Gallardo y Ochoa dated his addendum to March 2, 1653, but he probably meant May 2 because the petition was from April 1.⁸⁰⁶ Furthermore, an abbreviated signature is present at the end of this document, Jde^{co}, which appears to refer to the bishop, J[uan] de Co[lmenero].⁸⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the problem of tribute remained one year later, when Diego Juan wrote another Nahuatl petition dated March 2, 1654 in which he described similar concerns.⁸⁰⁸ This document reached Guadalajara on or before May 26, 1654 when Gallardo y Ochoa wrote the only addendum, which was an instruction that it be sent to a *canónigo* Casillas for translation (Refer to Appendix A).

⁸⁰⁵ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸⁰⁶ Gallardo y Ochoa’s addenda is with “1653 San Martín” in the AHAG, and “1654 San Martín” is in McA-UCLA, but it is also possible that Gallardo y Ochoa meant to write March 2, 1654 to refer to the latter petition.

⁸⁰⁷ In the document, the “co” is underlined twice.

⁸⁰⁸ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1654 San Martín.”

Meanwhile, in “1653 Amatitlan,” the *cabildo* of Amatitlan claimed that Don Giuseppi de Avalos was stopping them from using their church because he wanted the land on which it stood.⁸⁰⁹ This petition has two addenda: a Spanish translation by an unnamed individual and the decision recorded by Gallardo y Ochoa. The first addendum is a decent translation that closely follows the original meaning of the Nahuatl petition. Gallardo y Ochoa dated the second to May 12, 1653, and recorded that J^{co}, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, decreed that fray Blas de Mendoza, *cura doctrinero* of the *cabecera* of Sayula, should investigate these allegations.⁸¹⁰

6.3c. 1656-1657

Two related Nahuatl petitions were reviewed by officials of the Diocese of Guadalajara in 1656 and 1657, and evidence suggests that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had begun to delegate the duties of investigating petitions to a *provisor* (Table 6-5). These documents represent attempts by the *cabildo* of Tonalá, a large Indigenous town a few miles east of colonial Guadalajara, to make their Augustinian friar return (Refer to Chapter 2.2b and 2.2e, and Chapter 4.3 and 4.6).⁸¹¹ The first document, “1656 Tonalá,” is a letter addressed to an Augustinian friar in which the unnamed Indigenous notary assures him that he would return to Tonalá and promises him that a

⁸⁰⁹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl. Bishop Ruiz Colmenero records an Amatlán as being inhabited by Mexicanos (Nahuas from Central Mexico) and an Amatlán-Cuaramita as Coano (Refer to Chapter 2.3f). Bishop Ruiz Colmenero in Santoscoy, “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara,” 1050. This town is probably the former because the Nahuatl of the petitions has several Central Mexican features such as the consistent use of *in* and the use of the glottal stop to signal the marker for plural verbs.

⁸¹⁰ As before, “co” is underlined twice in the addendum.

⁸¹¹ Fray Nicolás de Zúñiga belonged to the Augustinian order according to both documents. McA-UCLA, Box 20-11, “1656 Tonalá”; AHAG, Documentos en náhuatl, “1657 Tonalá.”

petition that they would send to assure his return would be backed by the *cabildo*.⁸¹² The notary does not date this Nahuatl letter, but a Spanish *secretario* named Don Thomas Muñoz de Moraza wrote a brief addendum in Spanish, which he dated to December 29, 1656.

Table 6-5: Documents from Tonalá to the Diocese, 1656-1657

N = Date in Nahuatl S = Date in Spanish	Notary & Addressee	Name of Petition (P) or Letter (L)	Region	Ethnic Group
S: December 29, 1656	Unnamed to fray Nicolás de Zúñiga	1656 Tonalá (L)	Guadalajara	???
S: January 4, 1657, December 23, 1656.	Domingo de Ramos to provisor	1657 Tonalá (P)	Guadalajara	???

The other Nahuatl document is “1657 Tonalá” by Domingo de Ramos, an Indigenous notary; it contains a Spanish addendum in the space between the cross and the first line of Nahuatl text with the date of January 4, 1657.⁸¹³ In this petition, Domingo de Ramos addressed the *provisor* instead of the bishop while also naming the friar of Tonalá as fray Nicolás de Zúñiga. Domingo de Ramos explained that fray Nicolás de Zúñiga was in a building in Tonalá on the night of December 13, 1656 when the priors of Guadalajara and Tonalá and other people entered with a decree for fray Nicolás de Zúñiga to accompany them. Fray Nicolás responded by claiming that they were violating a decree by the bishop.⁸¹⁴ Nonetheless, the priors and their companions took fray Nicolás de Zúñiga away from Tonalá and imprisoned him.

Domingo de Ramos wrote that the people of Tonalá went to see fray Nicolás de Zúñiga a few days later; they may have shouted encouragement to him, explaining that they would ask for his return. Domingo de Ramos does not record these shouts, but they can be almost heard in the

⁸¹² McA-UCLA, Box 20-11.

⁸¹³ The Spanish notary Don Francisco de la Rosa writes this addenda, and he also names the translator as the *licenciado* Don Diego de Herrera. AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1657 Tonalá”.

⁸¹⁴ Domingo de Ramos appears to be referring to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero here even though he does not mention him by name. AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “Tonalá 1657”.

content of “1656 Tonalá,” which was recorded by the other Nahuatl notary on or before December 29, 1656. This unnamed notary wrote a letter asking that God strengthen fray Nicolás de Zúñiga. The *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and other *principales* of Tonalá then asked the lord bishop and the lord *presidente* to bring about the friar's return. On or before January 6, 1656, these same Indigenous elites directed Domingo de Ramos to write “1657 Tonalá.”

Domingo de Ramos names the petitioners of “1657 Tonalá” as the *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *principales*, and the noble women of Tonalá.⁸¹⁵ Domingo de Ramos offered a reason why the initial petition to return the bishop by the previous Indigenous notary was now being directed to the *provisor*:

titotatocatzin S' provisor ma sanoyoqui topan yn ticmotatauhtilis
You are our leader, lord *provisor*. Thus on our behalf may you implore

tomahuistatocatzin S' obispo...
our revered lord bishop.⁸¹⁶

It is likely that the *provisor* had visited Tonalá, and that Domingo de Ramos was hopeful that he would intercede with the bishop.

Diego de Herrera, a Spanish notary, received testimony about “1657 Tonalá” that he recorded in a Spanish addendum, which seems to be a direct translation of testimony in Nahuatl because it provides more details than “1657 Tonalá.”⁸¹⁷ At first, Diego de Herrera wrote that the

⁸¹⁵ Domingo de Ramos made this petition on behalf of *cabildo* officers, *principales*, and “*yxquichtin sihuapipiltin quitemiqui momatzy* (the noble women who kiss your hands).” I make a note of this because Indigenous notaries did not generally include women in the conclusion acts of their petitions. This could also be a reference to the *tonantzizihuan* (grandmothers) or *capitanas* (female captains) who are mentioned in “1622 La Magdalena” or “1653 Amatitlan.” AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸¹⁶ Folio 2, “1657 Tonalá,” AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸¹⁷ Don Diego de Herrera recorded *lo que tiene esta petición...es* (what this petition contains...is); a different writer records *testado* (attested) in the margins of this addendum, implying that the former wrote a translation of spoken testimony and not a translation of “1657 Tonalá.”

capture took place on December 13, but then crossed it out and wrote that it occurred on December 23. Then, he explained that the priors of Tonalá and Guadalajara confronted fray Nicolás de Zúñiga with a letter from the head of the Augustinian Order that directed the friar to accompany them, but that fray Nicolás refused by proclaiming that the bishop had ordered him to administer sacraments in the town. This discussion lasted about two hours, after which the priors and their party took fray Nicolás de Zúñiga to a holding cell in the Augustinian convent of Tonalá.

Subsequent addenda describe how Diego de Herrera was seen by the lord *visitador provisor*, Juan López Zerrato y Canas, who decreed in an *auto* that this petition be transferred to the *presbítero promotor fiscal*, Juan Gómez Santiago.⁸¹⁸ Gómez called witnesses who testified in Spanish in separate addenda that support the contents of “1657 Tonalá.” However, a final verdict is not among the addenda of this petition.

Despite the lack of a verdict, “1657 Tonalá” and its addenda suggest that the *provisor visitador* examined the petitions from Tonalá. The initial impulse of the unnamed notary of “1656 Tonalá” had been to write a twelve-line letter in which he mentioned the bishop, but he probably did not know about seeking the *provisor*, instead. However, Domingo de Ramos wrote a more complex petition of eighty-one lines and implored the *provisor* to let the bishop know of their grievance, suggesting that he knew that petitions had to go first to the *provisor*. Then, the Spanish addenda confirm that the *provisor* heard it directly and without the bishop before passing it on to a third official who questioned Indigenous witnesses.

⁸¹⁸ Don Diego de Herrera wrote the addenda of the translation. “1657 Tonalá,” Documentos en nahuatl, Folios 3-4, AHAG. Meanwhile Francisco de la Rossa included the title of *Señor visitador provisor* in one addenda and, in another, he shortened this title to *Señor visitador* while naming the holder of this office as Don Juan Lopez Cerrato. “1657 Tonalá,” AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

6.3d. 1658-1664

The next year, Juan Sebastián wrote a petition to the bishop from San Francisco Tizapan in Ávalos that he dated to July 22, 1658 (Table 6-6).⁸¹⁹ He did not name the bishop or the provisor but used *tlahtoani* (lord), *Sr* (lord), and *osstrismahuitl*, which appears to be a combination of the abbreviation of the Spanish *ilustrísimo* (illustrious), a title for the bishop, and the Nahuatl *mahuitl*, most likely *mahuiztli* (revered).⁸²⁰ He either addressed the bishop or used *ilustrísimo* to refer to the *provisor* on behalf of the nobles of the town: Juan Agustín *alcalde*, Fabián Gerónimo, *principal*, Francisco Jacobo, *principal*, Antonio Cristobal, *prioste*, and two people without any titles, Diego Juan and Gaspar Torres. These petitioners complained that their cleric, fray Esteban Velasco, had not been saying mass, had been yelling at them, had been removing yearlings and horses without paying for them, and had been shearing sheep without paying for the wool. Unfortunately, this petition is on a large folded page that does not contain addenda, and it is impossible to know what became of this grievance.

Table 6-6: Petitions, 1658-1664

N = Date in Nahuatl S = Date in Spanish	Notary / Addressee	Name of Petition	Region	Group
N: July 22, 1658.	Juan Sebastián / bishop-provisor	1658 S. F. Tizapan	Ávalos	Oibzitecos
S: February 24, 1661, February 24, 1661.	Unnamed / Hernando Calderon	1661 Etzatlan	Izatlan	???
N: February 14, 1664.	Diego Felipe / provisor	1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	Ávalos	Coca

⁸¹⁹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸²⁰ The term, *osstrismahuitl*, is similar to *osstricimo Sr*, which is found in “1678 San Francisco Tizapan.” Since both petitions are from San Francisco Tizapan, *osstricimo/osstrismahuitl* appears to be a regional term that suggests the continuity of a notarial tradition. Lockhart writes that *mahuiztli* means fear, respect, or something that deserves respect. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 224. Cortéz y Zedeño defines *mahuiztiliz* and *mahuiztilizti* as *reverencia*. Cortés y Zedeño, 113.

A different notary wrote “1661 Etzatlan,” a Nahuatl petition with three addenda, in which memories of the bishop’s *visita* are preserved.⁸²¹ Etzatlan was in the province of Izatlan, like the towns of Ahualulco and La Magdalena, and it had had a Franciscan convent since the early sixteenth century. Its notary records:

yquac mayordomo catcac Diego Feli[pe] quinequiyaya caxiltis ytlanahuatil
When the mayordomo was Diego Felipe; he wanted to follow the decree of the

Señor Obispo oquimictic yhuan oquicaltzacuac totatzin fr Diego Rodrigis
lord bishop, [but] fray Diego Rodriguez, our priest, beat him and locked him up.

The phrase *Ytlanahuatil Señor Obispo* (the bishop’s decree) most likely referred to an *amparo* or *auto* that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had issued during his 1648 or 1649 *visita* to this town. The notary does not give more information about what this document concerned, but Diego de Tapia wrote in Spanish in one of the addenda that the people of Etzatlan were obligated to give too much corn, soap, cows, and *atole*, a corn-meal drink, and that when Diego Felipe had protested that these requirements violated the bishop’s decree, he was beaten and locked up by fray Diego Rodríguez. This information suggests that the decree addressed what was mentioned in “1649 Tachichilco,” “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” and “1649 San Francisco Ahualulco”: that Indigenous parishioners should only pay four pesos per feast day and that they were required to pay for only two feast days. Finally, Diego de Tapia added information in the translation not found in the original Nahuatl petition, which suggests that he not only translated the Nahuatl text but also interviewed the petitioners.

Furthermore, the writer of the Nahuatl petition writes *vmd*, “vuestra merced,” (your grace), as a standard polite greeting to refer to the addressee, the secular priest (a cleric who is

⁸²¹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

not a friar), Hernando Calderón, who made himself known as the recipient of this document in two other addenda.⁸²² In the first, Calderón wrote in the open space at the bottom that he received it on February 24, 1661 and was waiting for the translation before proceeding. However, the translation occurred quickly because Calderón dates his next addendum, which follows the translation to the same day. He also decided that he would send the Nahuatl petition to the bishop through the person of the *provisor visitador* so that, again, a Spanish official claimed that a petition must go through the *provisor* before reaching the bishop.

The last petition is from Santa Ana Acatlan, a Coca town according to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. Diego Felipe, the author, addressed the *provisor* and dated it to February 14, 1664, three and a half months after the death of this bishop.⁸²³ News had probably reached this town that the bishop had died and that the *provisor* had taken charge of addressing Indigenous grievances. Diego Felipe asked on behalf of the *cabildo* for the return of money to buy clothes from Mexico for their image of the Virgin Mary. It contains one addenda by a secular priest whose name is not legible.⁸²⁴ He summarized the Nahuatl content of this petition in Spanish and clarified that the amount was a hundred pesos and that the clothes were a *frontal* (mantle) and a *manta* (cloak).⁸²⁵

⁸²² Wiktionary translates this term into English as “your grace” (Consulted on 02-24-2016). https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/vuestra_merced. Regular clerics are members of the monastic orders; secular clerics do not belong to the monastic orders.

⁸²³ Bishop Ruiz Colmenero died on September 28, 1663 according to Catholic-Hierarchy.org, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dguad.html>. Consulted on (June 6, 2016).

⁸²⁴ The Nahuatl notary identifies the addressee as *Br*, most likely an abbreviation for *bachiller*.

⁸²⁵ The dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* defines *frontal* as, “Paramento de sedas, metal u otra materia con que se adorna la parte delantera de la mesa de altar.” <http://dle.rae.es/?id=IW9jtUd> (Consulted on February 17, 2016).

During his reign, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero tended to favor Nahuatl petitioners, but none more so than those of “1649 Tachichilco,” “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” “1649 San Francisco Ahualulco,” and “1661 Etzatlan.” In all four petitions, he decreed that the tribute for feast day masses be reduced to four pesos per feast day, and that the Indigenous *cabildo* keep a record of his decree. He also specifically ordered that clerics hold no more than two feast day masses per year. With these rulings, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero favored Indigenous petitioners, but why? First, these decrees may signal an institutional rift between the diocese and the Franciscan order. All four of these petitions were from towns that had a Franciscan convent within their confines or nearby: Amula had one in San Antonio Tuzcacuezco, and Izatlan had convents in La Magdalena and Etzatlan (Refer to chapter 2.2b and 2.2e). Second, Indigenous parishioners had been required to attend mass every Sunday and on eleven obligatory feast days in 1537 by Pope Paul III, but the notary of “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco” had only mentioned six feast days, and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero limited these days even further to only two feast days.⁸²⁶ Did Bishop Ruiz Colmenero judge that the requirement of six feast days should only apply to secular parishes because the Franciscan convents had other sources of income?⁸²⁷ Was he trying to curb the power of the Franciscans by limiting the alms they could collect, or did he think that towns within Franciscan provinces tended to be wealthier than those in diocesan parishes?

⁸²⁶ According to Lundberg, Pope Paul III had reduced the required feast days of observance for Indigenous parishioners to eleven: Christmas, the Circumcision of Jesus Christ, the Epiphany, Easter Sunday, the Ascension of Jesus Christ, the first day of Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Lundberg, 75.

⁸²⁷ Secular parishes are controlled by secular priests

6.4. Visita-Petition Cycles within the tenure of Provisor Baltasar de la Peña Y Medina, 1668-1673

The bishop who succeeded Ruiz Colmenero was Francisco Verdín y Molina, but indigenous notaries did not address him in the three Nahuatl petitions from his tenure: “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco,” “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan,” and “1673 San Francisco Tizapan.” One possible reason was that the office of bishop was vacant until he was appointed on July 6, 1665, and he did not enter Guadalajara until March 1, 1666.⁸²⁸ In fact, his *visita* journal from 1666 lists ten other people: the *provisor*, Don Baltasar de la Peña y Medina; the first notary and interpreter, José Martínez Gudino; the second notary, Don Juan Bautista Verdín Codar; the *presbítero promotor fiscal*, Don Juan Martínez Gómez; the *falcón camarero*, Don Juan Marín; the *fiscal de vara* Diego Tenorio; and four servants who are not named.⁸²⁹ It also lists fourteen mules for riding and sixteen for baggage.⁸³⁰ These individuals and animals probably represented who and what was available to take on a given *visita* and not the total number that went on every *visita*. Alonzo Felipe of “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco” and the writer of “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan” addressed the *provisor*, whereas that of “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” used the more ambiguous title of *osstricimo Sr*, and the writers of *addenda* in the last two name the person in charge as the *juez provisor*, Baltasar de la Peña y Medina.

Alonzo Felipe wrote “1668 San Francisco Zacoalco” on or before December 12, 1668 when the priest José Martínez Gudino added a small addendum in the open space preceding the

⁸²⁸ AHAG, Gobierno, Visitas Pastorales, Caja 1.

⁸²⁹ AHAG, Gobierno, Visitas Pastorales, Caja 1.

⁸³⁰ AHAG, Gobierno, Visitas Pastorales, Caja 1.

petition (Table 6-7).⁸³¹ Alonzo Felipe summarized a *visita* by the *provisor* and described a fine imposed by the latter. He identified himself as the *mayordomo* of the lay sodality of the Holy Sacrament and added that his petition also represented the lay sodality of the Rosary, which were both in Zacoalco. He mentioned the presence of a Franciscan convent and explained that fray Diego Servantes struck him and the other *cofradía* officers after the *provisor* had gone, and implied that the two lay sodalities of Zacoalco had not had the money required by the *provisor* for the *visita* because this friar periodically demanded it of them.

Table 6-7: Petitions, 1658-1664

N = Date in Nahuatl S = Date in Spanish	Notary / Addressee	Name of Petition	Region	Group
S: December 12, 1668	Alonzo Felipe / provisor	1668 S. Fran. Zacoalco	Ávalos	Coca
N: September 17, 1669 S: September 18, 1669	Not named / provisor	1669 S. María Magdalena Tizapan	Ávalos	???
S: 2/22/1673-2; 3/3/1673; 3/6/1673;	Not named / provisor	1673 S. Francisco Tizapan	Ávalos	Coca?

However, Alonzo Felipe also proposed that the nine pesos that were due to the *provisor* were being sent with the petition. The relevant passage is:

axcan otiquitoqui ytla ytincopa tlatohuane Sinor probisor yhuan tlatohuane Señor obispo titimacazqui tominis...aço ticmacazqui ynon 9 p^os...

Now, we say if by order of the ruler, lord *provisor*, and the ruler, lord bishop, we are to give money...we must give those nine pesos...

Second, the petition and the money could have been sent to the Franciscan convent, but neither the notary nor the other officers of the lay sodalities appeared to trust the Franciscans. Instead Alonzo Felipe sent the petition to secular priest, Martínez Gudino, in Xonacatlan.

The notary of “1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan” did not identify himself, but he did date his petition to September 17, 1669, whereas three Spanish addenda are dated to

⁸³¹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

September 18, 1669.⁸³² In this petition, the notary asked if the petitioners had to provide two cows and some yearlings to the convent of the Franciscans in Guadalajara (Refer to Table 6-7). A notary named Gregorio Gallego wrote the three addenda, but in the ruling, he only recorded the words of the *provisor*, J. Baltasar de la Peña y Medina, who had held office since at least 1666.⁸³³ The latter ruled that the town should continue to provide the cows and the yearlings from the lay sodality, but added that the younger animals did not have to be the best ones. Also, the rapid response suggests that the *provisor* remained in Santa María Magdalena Tizapan, a Coca town, for a day, or had not traveled far because he ruled on the petition one day after it was written. It also implies that the nobles had access to one or more people who were literate enough in Nahuatl to create a fairly conventional petition (Refer to Chapter 4.2).

The notary of “1673 San Francisco Tizapan” did not identify himself, but he did date his petition to February 19, 1673. Francisco Huinada, a notary, dated the first addenda to February 22, 1673 (Refer to Table 6-7). The closeness of these dates suggests that one or more Indigenous officials of the small town of San Francisco Tizapan were literate enough to create a petition to take advantage of a *visita* to Teoquitatlan, the diocesan head town. They claimed that a *bachiller*, José Villaseñor, had branded five mares that belonged to their lay sodality of Mary of the Holy Conception.

Provisor Baltasar de la Peña y Medina appointed Juan Martínez Manzano, a priest from Sayula, to investigate, who traveled to San Francisco Tizapan to decide in favor of the petitioners. The investigation took several days. Martínez Manzano accepted the assignment on

⁸³² AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸³³ His name is listed as *provisor* during the first *visita* of Bishop Verdín y Molina’s tenure from 1666. AHAG, Gobierno, *Visitas Pastorales*.

March 3 and left on March 6 to travel the seventeen leagues to San Francisco Tizapan.⁸³⁴ On March 10, he relied on the interpreter León Quintero to interview four Indigenous witnesses: Gaspar Antonio, Miguel Francisco, Andrés Gerónimo, and Juan de la Cruz. He also interviewed a Spaniard named José Hernández. Afterwards, he decided in favor of the petitioners and against Villaseñor, whom he cautioned not to interfere with the mares upon pain of excommunication and to pay two hundred ducats. In his last addenda, Martínez Manzano included the original Nahuatl petition in a conclusion, explaining that the investigation consisted of ten folios.

6.5. Visita-Petition Cycles within the Tenure of Bishop Santiago de León Garabito, 1678-1694

Francisco Martín is the notary of the next Nahuatl petition, “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan,” which he dates to December 13, 1678, but this document is beyond the tenures of both Bishop Verdín y Molina and Provisor Baltasar de la Peña y Medina.⁸³⁵ Instead, it falls within the tenure of Bishop Juan de Santiago de León Garabito, who left Guadalajara on November 16, 1678 to begin a *visita* without appointing a *provisor*. His *visita* journal identified his support staff as Juan Sedano, a priest who functions as the interpreter; Don Martín de Figueroa, a priest who functioned as a master of ceremonies; Don Gonzalo Martín de Santiago Colmona, the *secretario de gobierno* and chief notary; and Don Pedro Roberto Paje who was the first notary. The journal also mentions servants without specifying a number, fourteen mules for riding, and sixteen for baggage. This *visita* journal offer the first occasion of extant dialogue between Indigenous nobles

⁸³⁴ Seventeen leagues is approximately 94.7 kilometers, or 58.8 miles (Refer to Chapter 2.2b).

⁸³⁵ It is also after the short tenure of Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz who was appointed bishop on February 19, 1674 and only served until March 31, 1676.

and Spanish officers, which is also useful for the remaining petitions in this study: “1679 Analco,” “1679 Sayula,” “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac,” “1683 San Gaspar,” “1686 San Pedrotepec,” “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan,” “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan,” “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac.”

The times between “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” and the *visita* journal of Bishop Santiago de León Garabito do not correlate. Francisco Martín dates his document to December 13, 1678, whereas the *visita* journal documents the arrival of the *visita* party to December 23, 1678 (Table 6-8).⁸³⁶ This order suggests three possibilities. The more plausible explanation is simple clerical error. Another possibility is that the petitioners were using December 13, 1678 as a Julian date, which represents the same day as the Gregorian date of December 23, 1678.⁸³⁷ The final possibility is that the petitioners did not respond to the *visita* interview itself but to a conversation with an official who was sent ahead to prepare the town for the *visita*.

Table 6-8: Juan de Santiago y León Garabito: Conf-09/13/1677 to 07/12/1694 dies.

N = Date in Nahuatl S = Date in Spanish	Notary / Addressee	Name of Petition	Region	Group
N: December 13, 1678 S: None	Francisco Martín / bishop	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	Tequepespan	Huichol?
S: May 4, 1679	Not named / Sria Illstriss	1679 Analco	Guadalajara	
S: December 23, 1679	Not named / Sria Illstriss	1679 Sayula	Ávalos	Sayultecos ⁸³⁸
N: August 17, 1683 S: August 19, 1683	Not named / obispo	1682 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Ávalos	Coca?
N: 1683	Not named / unclear	1683 San Gaspar	Lagos	Tecuexe
N: February 9, 1686 S: February 9, 1686 tr.	Not named / obispo	1686 San Pedrotepec	Ávalos	Coca
N: August 8, 1687 S: August 12, 1694	Antonio de la Cruz? / provisor	1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	Ávalos	Coca

⁸³⁶ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸³⁷ Toke Norby posted that from October 5, 1582 to February 28, 1700 that a Julian date plus ten equals a Gregorian date. <http://norbyhus.dk/calendar.php> (Consulted on July 1, 2016).

⁸³⁸ The notary represents the Sayultecos, but he also names Spaniards, *mulatos*, and *coyotes* as living in this town.

N: May 8, 1692 S: May 20, 1692	Hernando Miguel/ bishop	1692 S. Andrés Atotonilco	Ávalos	Coca
N: June 5, 1693 S: August 12, 1694	Antonio de la Cruz?/	1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	Ávalos	Coca
N: December 11, 1694	Not named / provisor	1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Ávalos	Coca?

The petition of “1678 Pochotitlan” is well-crafted. The petitioners asked for a reduction in alms to their friar during feast days when their lay sodality had to give money and goods for the accompanying masses.⁸³⁹ They also complained that their friar sold five steers for fifteen pesos to pay himself for masses that he had not yet said for ten people who had died. They also complained that their feet burn because he forces them to make lime without paying them.⁸⁴⁰ It only has one addendum, a translation in Spanish that lacks a signature.

The author of the *visita* journal is different from that of the addendum. The former claims that the bishop appeared before the *mayordomos* and *priostes* of the lay sodality of the Holy Conception and records that the sodality had 316 cattle, 5 horses, and 25 mares. He did not name the Indigenous officials, but he described the chapel as an adobe structure with a thatch roof. The vestibule was covered with a red cloth, with an image of Santiago (Saint James the Greater) the Apostle. He described the hospital building as an adobe structure with a thatch roof, but without a door. He added that a decree should be issued to require two beds with sheets, pillows, and blankets for the room for the sick in the hospital, and that two needles should be bought. He also mentioned that the previous *visita* had occurred in 1670.

⁸³⁹ They complained that they had to give fourteen pesos and four tomines [the sum of the money is actually thirteen pesos and six tomines] to the priest during the Feast of the Holy Conception: four pesos for the mass of the anniversary, four pesos for the mass dedicated to the lady, two pesos and two tomines for candles, five tomines for his food, seven tomines for the wine for the host, four tomines for handkerchiefs, and one peso and four tomines for singers.

⁸⁴⁰ I propose that their feet burned from creating lime, which is derived from limestone, which has to be heated and crushed to produce lime. Website of the National Lime Association (consulted on August 20, 2016), <http://lime.org/lime-basics/how-lime-is-made/>.

The main factors that unify “1678 Santiago Pochotitlan” with this *visita* journal entry are circumstantial. The adjusted dates are the same. Whereas the writer of the one addendum of “1678 Pochotitlan” does not name Santiago Pochotitlan, the other two writers identify the town with this name. The Spanish notary located it close to San Luis, which was in the parish of Xalisco, while Gerhard locates both San Luis and Pochotitlan within the province of Tequepespan (Chapter 2.2c, 2.2d, and 2.3h and Chapter 4.2a, 4.4).

The next two petitions are “1679 Analco” and “1679 Sayula.” The notary of the first did not name himself or date his petition, but the aforementioned Martín de Santiago Colmona, the main notary, identified himself as the writer of a small addendum with a date of May 4, 1679.⁸⁴¹ This handwriting matches that of the previous journal entry for Pochotitlan, which suggests that Martín de Santiago Colmona wrote large portions of the *visita* journal for Bishop Santiago de León Garabito.

Martín de Santiago Colmona wrote in the addendum that Bishop Santiago de León Garabito ordered that the contents of the petition should be sent to the *provisor* for judgement. The petitioners of “1679 Analco” were Francisco Melchor, Juan Bernabe, and Gregorio Sandoval who are identified respectively as the *prioste*, the *mayordomo*, and the *diputado* of the hospital of Mary of the Holy Conception in Analco (Refer to Chapter 2, 3.5 and Chapter 4.4). They ask that, during feast days, the officers of lay sodalities should observe a decree on June 15, 1672 by *provisor* Baltasar de la Peña y Medina, who had ordered that the parade of standards go from oldest to newest in order to prevent disturbances.

⁸⁴¹ AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl, “1679 Analco.”

The notary of “1679 Sayula” represented the nobles of the six neighborhoods of Sayula, the *cabecera* of Ávalos, which was a multi-ethnic polity.⁸⁴² This petition has two addenda. The first is a translation of the Nahuatl petition by Juan Sedano, which is more of a short summary of the more important points. The second is an unsigned decree. The petitioners addressed the bishop with the title of *Señoría Ilustrísima* and presented two sets of complaints; the strongest complaint was against the *alcalde mayor* of Sayula, and the second targeted the prior of the Franciscan convent in this same town.

The notary and petitioners complained about the *alcalde mayor*, the Franciscan prior, and other Franciscan friars. They claimed that their children had to exercise and feed the horses of the *alcalde mayor* with grass provided by Sayula, and if their children did not perform these labors adequately, he jailed them and required a fine of one peso to be paid for their release. The petitioners also seemed to imply that the *alcalde mayor* would sell their children if the fine were not paid. Finally, after signing the document, the petitioners added that he forced his way into the homes of many people to see whether couples were married or only living together, arresting those who were not married.⁸⁴³ Their complaints against the Franciscan prior are twofold. They protested that the prior requires six *tomines* for the *amonestación*, public notice of a marriage, along with a turkey, two chickens, and bread.⁸⁴⁴ They also explained that on holy festivals

⁸⁴² AHAG, Documentos en nahuatl.

⁸⁴³ The writer of “1679 Sayula” claims that these couples included poor *macehualtin* (Indigenous people), Spaniards, mulatos (African-Spaniards), and coyotes (Indigenous Immigrants).

⁸⁴⁴ According to the Diccionario de la Real Academia online, *amonestaciones* or *amonestación* refers to the act of admonishing; public notice was made in church about those who were going to get married or ordained so that someone could make known any impediments to the ordination or marriage (“Notificación pública que se hace en la iglesia de los nombres de quienes se van a casar u ordenar, a fin de que, si alguien supiere algún impedimento, lo denuncie. U. m. en pl. Correr, leer, publicar las amonestaciones”). <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=amonestacion>. Consulted on July 27, 2013.

required by the bishop the prior and other friars require money and food for meals; the petitioners proposed to give only three pesos for each festival. They also claimed that the friars required fifty pesos to buy wax for a monument, but that a lot of this wax goes unused. They complained that they paid too much money for wax and proposed to buy it themselves.

The first addendum is the translation; the second represents a decree that offered a mixed verdict for the nobles of Sayula. The writer explained that they were advised where to go for adjudication of their complaints against the *alcalde mayor*, by which he most likely meant that they had to go before the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara. However, in the complaint against the Franciscans, the writer required them to continue to give six *tomines* for the *amonestación* for each marriage, but that they did not have to give food to the friar who officiated. Furthermore, he agreed that they could buy the wax themselves instead of giving the Franciscans fifty pesos. He reinforced these decisions by writing that they could go to the bishop if any one of the decisions was not followed.

An unidentified notary wrote “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” on August 17, 1682, which has an incomplete addenda dated to August 19, 1682. The Indigenous notary wrote on behalf of the petitioners who were officers of the *cabildo* and the lay sodality of Mary of the Holy Conception, and who complained that their priest, fray Juan Pablo, had taken money meant to repair their *retablo*, which was a structure made from wood that covered the wall behind the altar, and which also had sculpted, carved, or painted images with religious motifs.⁸⁴⁵ This money would have paid for gold and for the goldsmith who would have repaired the gilding of

⁸⁴⁵ The most relevant definition of *retablo* provided by the *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (consulted on August 21, 2016) is, “Estructura de piedra, madera u otros materiales que cubre el muro situado detrás del altar, compuesta de obras escultóricas o pictóricas con motivos religiosos.” <http://dle.rae.es/?id=WFlAxJK> The petition, “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac,” suggests that their *retablo* was made of gold and was gilded.

this structure. They also assured the bishop that this money belonged to the lay sodality, and even requested a new cleric. If this were not granted, they proposed to fire the *mayordomo* who paid sixty pesos to a master wood carver for his work.

The most likely reason for the concern of the nobles of San Juan Bautista Atoyac was that the bishop had passed through the town and through the *visita rerum* and had seen the poor condition of *retablo*.⁸⁴⁶ He probably admonished them, and thus “1682 San Juan Bautista Atoyac” represents an attempt to deflect the blame for its condition to fray Juan Pablo, with whom they might have had economic, social, and political disagreements. They also explained that if their friar were not replaced, they would replace the *mayordomo*, Felipe Alonzo, because he had given sixty pesos to a master wood carver to repair the wooden *retablo*. However, the final judgement for this petition is not known because only a small portion of one addendum remains.

Nicolás Alonzo wrote “1683 San Gaspar” to represent the officers of the *cabildo* and lay sodality of Mary of the Holy Conception in a document that lacks the month or day and only bears the year date of 1683. He explained that the father *bicario* took material and ornaments from their chapel, including two *casullas* (chasubles), two cloaks, the censer, a black mantle, a wooden cross, a little bell, and a bell. He also claims that they had bought some of these things for a total of seventy-five pesos.

An unnamed notary records “1686 San Pedrotepec” and dates it to February 9, 1686, whereas a different author wrote what appears to be a very literal translation that has the same date. The petition of “1686 San Pedrotepec” represents a very thorough case against the actions

⁸⁴⁶ For example, in the entry for Santiago Pochotitlan, the Spanish notary writes that the church of this town had a *retablo* of St. James, which was in good condition. AHAG, 1678, Gobierno, Visitas Pastorales.

of the secular priest, Agustín Alcalá, but since no decrees accompany it, it is impossible to know what happened. Its notary represents the officers of the *cabildo* and the lay sodality of this town, who complained that Agustín Alcalá was not performing his duties, unlike the Franciscans from Sayula who used to administer their town. The nobles claimed that they used to give candles and Castilian wine to the Franciscan prior, who then said masses, but that Alcalá only collects these items without saying masses. The *cabildo* members go on to explain that Alcalá failed to confess an Indigenous person named Pedro Juantzin before he died. They complained that he had sent Pedro Juantzin's son, Juan Bautista, to the jail of Sayula and later sold him for thirteen pesos to a Spaniard who worked him to death. They also accused Alcalá of stealing a horse from the *alcalde*, Francisco Juan. They testified that Alcalá charged five pesos for the *derecho* to get married and nine more pesos for other marriage requirements. Finally, they accused him of taking the staff of office from the *alcalde*, Francisco Juan.

Hernando Miguel wrote "1692 San Andrés Atotonilco," Don Antonio de Chripres, the main notary, wrote the first and third addenda, and Juan de Sarmiento wrote the second addendum for this petition. Hernando Miguel wrote on behalf of the officers of the *cabildo* and lay sodality to claim that the Spaniards were taking the stallions, mares, and mules that belonged to the lay sodality, and he requested help to recover them. The first addenda introduces this Nahuatl document while the second gives a very short summary of the Nahuatl petition. The third addenda was created by Don Antonio de Chipres and signed by Bishop Santiago de León Garabito, who required that the theft of these horses and mules be investigated, that their brand be checked, and that those that are found to belong to the town be returned. Hernando Miguel dated his petition May 8, 1692, whereas Don Antonio de Chipres dated his first addendum to May 20, 1692.

The *provisor* exercised a great deal of power in the diocese. The final documents discussed in this chapter suggest that at least one of these officers, Ignacio de Acevedo y Guzmán, used it to enrich himself. Antonio de la Cruz wrote “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” as receipts, the first dated to August 8, 1687 and the second June 5, 1693. Another notary who wrote a petition in Spanish, “ca. 1594 Santa Ana Acatlan,” lacks a date. These two receipts and the petition detail how *provisor* Acevedo y Guzmán made the officers of Santa Ana Acatlan sell their cattle without being paid. In the first receipt, Antonio de la Cruz records how, in 1687, a lord Ahumada took thirty-two bulls for ninety-six pesos by the order of *provisor* Acevedo y Guzmán, and that Ahumada had already been credited with thirty-six pesos because of his donation of a blue wool dress for the image of the Virgin Mary. Antonio de la Cruz adds that *Provisor* Acevedo y Guzmán would deliver the balance. Antonio de la Cruz wrote the second receipt in 1694 to record how the officers of the lay sodality of Santa Ana Acatlan gave twenty-eight bulls and calves to Jose Motete, *mayordomo de carniseria* (main butcher), for the price of five pesos each, which was also mandated by the aforementioned *provisor*.

However, since the officers of Santa Ana Acatlan did not receive full payment for selling their cattle, they had another notary create a petition in Spanish to the bishop. The petitioners claimed that *Provisor* Acevedo y Guzmán--violently and over their objections--had taken thirty-two head of cattle from their lay sodality on August 8, 1687 for Juan de Ahumada. They alleged that he ordered ten head of cattle be given to Juan de Ahumada on August 30, 1692, and that he ordered that José Motete should receive twenty-eight head of cattle on June 5, 1693. The petitioners explained that they received no money for those seventy head of cattle, and that the money was needed for their lay sodality.

The petition was heard on August 11, 1694 before the president and the other judges of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara. Antonio de la Cruz translated “1687 Santa Ana Acatlan” and “1693 Santa Ana Acatlan” to Spanish, but he did not record the translation because his signature does not match the handwriting in the two addenda that contain the translations. The Real Audiencia ordered that the documents be taken to the Cathedral of Guadalajara on August 12, 1694 so that the *Provisor* at that time, Don Antonio de Miranda Villa, could learn whether these cattle belonged to the lay sodality or were *bienes de comunidad*. Then, the petitioners of Santa Ana Acatlan obtained a lawyer, Antonio de Ayala Natera, who restated the petition in one addendum while the public notary, Felipe de Silva, incorporated the two Nahuatl receipts and the lost receipt into another addendum which claimed that the amount owed totaled 310 pesos and 4 tomines. In a final addendum, Felipe de Silva wrote that the Indigenous people of Santa Ana Acatlan were given the 310 pesos and 4 tomines in the presence of their lawyer.

The final petition is “1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac,” and it also concerns cattle and the aforementioned *provisor* Acevedo y Guzmán. The petitioners were the *prioste* and the *mayordomo* of the lay sodality of Mary of the Holy Conception in San Juan Evangelista Atoyac; they asked the *provisor* if he allowed the *alguacil*, Diego Vázquez, to demand ten cows that he intended to slaughter. This petition is dated December 11, 1694, the same year as the previous case, so it is possible that *Provisor* Ignacio de Acevedo y Guzmán, who was accused in Santa Ana Acatlan, also allowed this Diego Vázquez to take cattle from San Juan Evangelista Atoyac, since both of these towns are in the province of Ávalos.

6.6. Colonialism and Literacy in Northwestern New Spain

Franciscans and *nahuatlatos* played a prominent role in the development of literacy in Northwestern New Spain, educating male Indigenous children from correspondence communities.⁸⁴⁷ Some of these men became notaries in their communities, and began writing to the Real Audiencia in the late sixteenth century. The Diocese of Guadalajara was not as influential as the Franciscan order at first, but by the end of the sixteenth century and the first two decades of the seventeenth century, *provisores* had begun to go on *visitas*, and notaries from select towns responded to these *visitas* with petitions written in Nahuatl. These early petitions focused on how clerics did not administer the sacraments, did not fulfill their spiritual duties.

After the publication of 1622 SCPM, most clerics in head towns had become aware that they were obligated to perform the sacraments according to certain rules and regulations, and that those who were prone to abusing their charges had to devise other ways to enrich themselves. For this reason, the tenor of petitions shifts after 1622 to a focus on the excessive amount of tribute given during feast days, and away from a focus on sacraments. At the same time, petitioners continued to address most of their diocesan petitions to the *provisor*.

Bishop Ruiz Colmenero's *visitas* in 1648 and 1649 seems to have encouraged Indigenous petitioners to write--and perhaps even to write in Nahuatl--for more Nahuatl-language documents were produced in Northwestern New Spain during his tenure than during any other official's tenure. Petitioners may have perceived Bishop Ruiz Colmenero as sympathetic to their complaints, and especially their complaints against the Franciscans, as the bishop was a

⁸⁴⁷ Román Gutiérrez posits that, in Nueva Galicia, the only evidence of the children of Indigenous lords being educated as a group was between 1534 and 1536, when they were taught literacy in Spanish along with *policia cristiana*. Román Gutiérrez, 151.

secular priest. The rivalry between secular priests and friars reached new heights in this period of the mid seventeenth century. But by the mid-1650s, the bishop appears to have turned over the duties of the *visita* to a *provisor*.

After Bishop Ruiz Colmenero's tenure, petitioners in Northwestern New Spain did not write as much correspondence to subsequent bishops, and the *provisor* appears to have become the most important official in the *visita pastoral*. As such, petitioners appear to have recognized that each *provisor* wielded great power, and perhaps they even knew that this official could excommunicate Spaniards. However, some petitioners also learned that this power could force them to do things that were against their best interests. Above all, the correspondence examined in this dissertation documents the struggle between literate Indigenous people who represented their various constituencies, defending the livelihood of women and men who lived in towns of Northwestern New Spain, and officials of the three most powerful institutions in the region. These complex struggles ran the gamut from negotiation and cooperation to legal recourse and war, if necessary.

Conclusion

The Nahuatl-language petitions, letters, and receipts written in Northwestern New Spain provide glimpses of Indigenous life in the long period from 1580 to 1694. The documents demonstrate how Indigenous leaders in this region attempted to hold local Spanish officials accountable for their actions or inactions by petitioning officials in Guadalajara. The documents suggest how Indigenous communities actively sought to negotiate with Spanish authorities whose actions affected their lifeways and livelihood.

The Nahuatl petitions, letters, and receipts in this study were produced between 1580 and 1694, a period when Spaniards were consolidating their control of Northwestern New Spain. By 1580, the Royal Audiencia and the Diocese had moved from Compostela to Guadalajara, which was at the center of a web of roads connecting it to important European and Indigenous towns that served as *cabeceras*. Many of these *cabeceras* also had Franciscan convents, which served as centers of Franciscan administration and Spanish, Latin, and Nahuatl literacy. In the sixteenth century, Indigenous towns with convents can be considered correspondence communities, civic spaces that survive in extant Spanish and Nahuatl sources, and by 1694 smaller and more isolated Indigenous towns had also become correspondence communities that would surface in the sources of my study.

Indigenous groups who inhabited the correspondence communities of Northwestern New Spain included Cocas, Coras, Huicholes, Tepecanos, and several Nahua groups. These Indigenous people lived in towns and *rancherías* in a region characterized by rainy and dry seasons, and in a landscape that might be divided into hot lands and cold lands. Sayula, La Magdalena, and Xalisco were three of the most prominent correspondence communities in the hot lands. Their inhabitants produced thirteen Nahuatl documents: two in Sayula, three in La

Magdalena, and six in Xalisco. Sayula became the *cabecera* of the rich province of Ávalos, which was south of Guadalajara and contained many Franciscan convents. La Magdalena was a *reducción* established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as the final rest stop before the pass of Mochitiltic, the gateway for two tenuous roads that connected Acaponeta, Compostela, and other coastal provinces to Guadalajara. In fact, Acaponeta and Compostela were the only hot land provinces with correspondence communities that were located north of the Grande de Santiago River. Xalisco, located in Compostela, had a Franciscan convent from which friars traveled to the independent region of El Gran Nayar.

All of the correspondence communities from the cold lands were located north or east of the Grande de Santiago River in a highland region where communities were less populated but more isolated and independent than those in the hot lands. Nahuatl literacy was also less prevalent in that prominent correspondence communities there were not as well documented as hot land towns. For example, only six extant Nahuatl documents were produced in Nochistlan, Tzacamota, and Santiago Pochotitlan (with two, three, and one, respectively). Located in El Gran Nayar, Tzacamota was an administrative and religious center for the Coras. Its ruler, Nayari, wrote three strategic letters to Bishop Ruiz Colmenero.

Franciscans spread Nahuatl literacy in Northwestern New Spain by creating friar-*nahuatlato* dyads who took advantage of the importance of Nahuatl in this region. In 1539, the archbishop of Mexico met with the bishops of Antequera, Michoacan, and Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian representatives. These clerics acknowledged the presence of *nahuatlato*s, translators who spoke Spanish and an Indigenous language, and promoted their literate education. Such a strategy was vital. The first European-led expeditions to Northwestern

New Spain in 1525 and 1530 had learned through *nahuatlato*s that Nahuatl was a *lingua franca* in this region.

After these initial expeditions, African, European, and Indigenous people from Central Mexico began to settle in Compostela and in other scattered communities. Friars of the Franciscan order also began to arrive with *nahuatlato*s; between 1530 and 1570, they established a good number of convents close to Indigenous population centers such as Etzatlan, Juchipila, Nochistlan, Nombre de Dios, and Xalisco. *Nahuatlato*s helped them to preach in Nahuatl, while local leaders became aware of these activities.

The Indigenous leaders of the Cazcanes and the Cora ruled a variety of semi-nomadic *rancherías* as military and religious authorities. The powers were threatened by the advance of Franciscan-*nahuatlato* dyads. Indigenous leaders heard the Franciscans preach of peace while Spaniards ruled with an iron fist. In response, leaders formed the Mixtón Confederation decided to attack and sent messengers bearing *tlatols*, anti-Christian Nahuatl speeches, to unite as many towns as possible. When the Mixtón War began, leaders struck at European towns and convents. They killed a Franciscan-*nahuatlato* dyad from the convent of Etzatlan by the names of Cuellar and Calero. Fray Gerónimo Mendieta wrote hagiographies for these individuals in which he managed to convey the importance of small-unit Indigenous leadership. He claimed that Indigenous leaders killed and mutilated Cuellar and Calero by striking them in their mouths. If true, these actions suggest that Indigenous leaders understood the power of words, and thus the potential power of Franciscan-*nahuatlato* dyads who could speak Nahuatl.

Cazcan and Cora Indigenous leaders were defeated in the Mixtón War. The discovery of silver in Zacatecas in 1546 ensured a steady migration of outsiders into the region, while periodic epidemics depleted the Indigenous population of Northwestern New Spain. Franciscan-

nahuatlato dyads stepped into this demographic void to create intellectual and tribute-paying networks that tied the Indigenous people who remained to Europeans in settlements such as Guadalajara, Compostela, and Acaponeta. Evidence of these ties are present in the selective ways in which notaries from towns adapted Spanish loan words for the acts of reading, writing, and signing, and the all-important position of the notary.

Notaries created Nahuatl-language correspondence in Northwestern New Spain that can be divided into three genres: petitions, letters, and receipts. Petitions were the most numerous. Thirty-three of the Nahuatl documents were identified as petitions by their authors or by writers of accompanying addenda. The petitions were generally divided into three parts: a formulaic introduction, a more discursive grievance section, and a formulaic conclusion. In the introduction, notaries generally included phrases to present the addressee [A] and the petitioners [P] connected by *moixpantzinco tineçico* (we appear before you, [MN]), a phrase that presented the unequal status of the petitioner to the addressee. They also tended to write the communal identity [ID] of petitioners and a phrase of deference [D] such as, *tictotenamiquilia* (we kiss, reverential) *momatzin yhuan mocxitzin* (your hands and feet, reverential). The grievance section was the most unique part of the petition; notaries usually began this section with verbs that referred to speech acts, such as *ma ticmocaquiltia* (may you listen) or *ticmotlatlauhtilia* (we implore you). They also tended to finish the grievance section with the phrase *ya ixquich* (it is all). The conclusion contained elements that were different from those of the introduction. The most prominent one was the names of the petitioners [N], which were only rarely written in the introduction, and nouns or verbs that referred to writing [W] or signing [S]. The introduction and conclusion generally only shared references to God [G] or the Virgin Mary [Ma]. Identified and

non-identified petitions can also be divided into four types based on the addressee(s): diocesan petitions, Franciscan petitions, Real Audiencia petitions, and Alcalde Mayor petitions.

Letters and receipts differed from petitions. Writers of letters did not write MN in the introduction and generally addressed individuals of a similar social status. For example, Nayari addressed the bishop as an equal. He did not include a phrase of deference [D] nor *moixpantzinco nineçico* [MN]. Letters were also less structured, without a clear introduction, although they did have a discernible conclusion. Receipts were very short, often a quarter of a folio, and they stated in a very direct manner what the author had given to an institution or an individual. For example, the writer of “1630 Tlajomulco” recorded how the author, the person dictating the receipt, had given cattle to a lay sodality.

The Indigenous writers of the documents in my study relied on a repertoire that included Spanish loan words and phrases that show the different ways that the landscape of Northwestern New Spain was being colonized. Every petitioner and author had at least one Spanish name and addressed secular or ecclesiastical officials by their titles. Notaries also wrote a variety of expressions that suggest that time and space were being divided in Spanish ways. Names of the week and ecclesiastical divisions of the day are present, as well as terms that refer to Spanish ranching culture by naming cattle, sheep, butchers, and tanning. These loan words and phrases place the language of these documents from Northwestern New Spain into what Lockhart referred to as "stage two," which included the adoption of Spanish verbs and their adaptation for Nahuatl usage through the addition of Nahuatl affixes such as *-oa*.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁸ Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*.

The Nahuatl itself was examined through a study of *-tl/-l/-t* absolutive and plural-pronominal suffixes in documents from the hot land provinces of Amula, Ávalos, Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco with results that suggested that notaries employed Central Mexican Nahuatl, Sayulteco Nahuatl, or a Central Mexican/Sayulteco *lingua franca*. The notary of “1679 Sayula” employed Sayulteco in that his work contains the strong *-lo* and *-l* patterns without any use of the Central Mexican *-tl* and probable */ʔ/* patterns. He probably spoke Sayulteco Nahuatl, like the writers of nearby San Pedro Tepec and Tachichilco, who employed the same patterns. Writers such as the notaries of “1658 San Francisco Tizapan” and “1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac” employed the strong *-lo* and hypercorrection *-tl* patterns, suggesting that they spoke Sayulteco as an L2. The notaries who wrote “1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco,” “1653 San Martín,” and “1654 San Martín” likely also spoke Sayulteco as an L2 because they used the weak *-lo* and hypercorrection *-tl* patterns.

The writers of “N.Y. Sayula” and “1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo” were different. They employed *-tl* and probable */ʔ/* patterns, suggesting that they spoke Central Mexican Nahuatl. The remaining notaries from in and around Ávalos combined absolutive and plural-pronominal patterns, suggesting that they spoke a Central Mexican-Sayulteco *lingua franca* that varied in being Central Mexican or Sayulteco dominant, depending on the town. Also, writers from the provinces of Amula, Ávalos, Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco who created documents before 1637 were more influenced by Central Mexican Nahuatl than those who wrote afterward, which might be related to the contraction of Franciscan influence that Román Gutiérrez proposed for the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁹ Román Gutiérrez, *Sociedad y Evangelización en Nueva Galicia durante el siglo XVI*.

Information about documents from the provinces of Acaponeta, Compostela, and the cold lands is less conclusive. The notaries of “1657 Tonalá” and “1649 Ocotitlán” favor a *-t* absolute, but the former employs the probable /ʔ/ pattern, whereas the latter uses the strong *-lo* pattern. Nayari identified himself as a Cora and his non-standard forms suggest that he was an L2 speaker, who used the *-t* absolute once and the probable /ʔ/ plural-pronominal suffix once. However, none of these writers nor others from provinces in the cold lands demonstrate *-l* or *-tl* hypercorrection, suggesting that they employed Central Mexican Nahuatl, W2 Nahuatl, or a Central Mexican-W2 lingua franca. Further research is necessary to test my findings.

My findings reveal two variants of Western Mexican Nahuatl and contribute to a debate about different chains of dialects. Una Canger’s theory of central, western periphery, and eastern periphery variants has gained wide acceptance. My study provides data for two features suggesting two western-periphery variants: Sayulteco and W2. Also, the *-t* absolute of W2, which has been examined by John Sullivan and Yáñez Rosales, was probably an independent innovation, but it is also common to eastern periphery variants.⁸⁵⁰

The content of petitions from Northwestern New Spain in many ways resembles that of petitions examined by Robert Haskett and Magnus Lundberg.⁸⁵¹ The notaries of Northwestern New Spain wrote documents on behalf of petitioners who sought to defend their collective

⁸⁵⁰ Sullivan, John, *Ytechcopa timoteilhua yñ tobicario (acusamos a nuestro vicario): pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618* and “The Jalostotitlan Petitions, 1611-1618”; Yáñez Rosales, *Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de padua tlaxomulco ‘En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco’: Textos en lengua náhuatl, siglos XVII y XVIII*.

⁸⁵¹ Haskett, “‘Not a Pastor, but a Wolf’: Indigenous-Clergy Relations in Early Cuernavaca and Taxco;” Lundberg, *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*.

interests, even if it meant challenging the power of the local clergy. This is the type of document that Haskett examined in his study of a petition written in 1818, in Jonacatepec, Morelos.

Notaries there documented a struggle between Indigenous elites and local Spanish officials. These conflicts were often adjudicated by officials who relied on decrees from Mexico City, Seville, and Rome. Magnus Lundberg observed much the same in his study of petitions from the Diocese of Puebla and the Archdiocese of Mexico City. However, the content of petitions of Northwestern New Spain also demonstrate a space that was quite unlike central Mexico because it had the land of El Gran Nayar, a region that fell within the sphere of Spanish influence but was also more independent due to its relative geographical isolation and distance from the capital.

Indigenous notaries addressed sixteenth-century petitions to officials of the Royal Audiencia such as the writers of “1580a Nochistlan” and “1580b Nochistlan.” Both of these petitions began what I call a “cycle of literacy,” a corpus of documents in which one or two Nahuatl petitions led to subsequent addenda in Spanish. I also propose that cycles of literacy defined the proto-typical correspondence community; they represent a mixed Nahuatl-Spanish record that historicizes Indigenous towns in Northwestern New Spain. Cycles can also be incomplete, as in “N.Y. Nombre de Dios, ca.1585,” a petition copied in the eighteenth century by Faustino Chimalpopoca, a Nahua polymath, which probably dates to 1585 instead of 1563, as proposed by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor. Nonetheless, I agree with their assessment that its Nahuatl represents a rustic central Mexican variety because its nouns and verbs have few reverential forms.⁸⁵²

⁸⁵² Barlow and Smisor, *Nombre de Dios, Durango, Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning its Foundation: Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, c. 1563; Agreement of the Mexicans and the Michoacanos, 1585.*

Notaries in Xalisco began several cycles of literacy to prevent the movement of a Franciscan convent from this town. They appear to have begun with “1593a Xalisco,” which failed, and continued with “1593b Xalisco” and “N.Y. Xalisco,” which shifted the argument from the convent to attempts to bring back a Franciscan friar who had previously served in Xalisco. These cycles also failed, but notaries continued with “1594 Xalisco” and “1595 Xalisco,” which reveal some success in that a new convent was built in Xalisco.

The Diocese of Guadalajara became a recipient of Nahuatl petitions with “1593b Oconahuac” and “1593c Oconahuac,” which notaries addressed to the *provisor*. These petitions suggest that a *provisor* had begun *visitas* on behalf of the Diocese of Guadalajara. The Third Mexican Council met in 1585 to adapt decrees from the Council of Trent to New Spain.⁸⁵³ The *visita* was outlined in one of these decrees, and it required the bishop or one of his subordinates, the *provisor* in Northwestern New Spain, to travel to the parishes to interview elites about the performance of local clerics and to inspect ecclesiastical instruments.⁸⁵⁴

Printed copies of these modified decrees only began to circulate in 1622. Perhaps this is why petitions written before 1622 addressed *provisores* and *bishops* to complain about the different ways in which local clerics were failing to administer the sacraments. At times, Indigenous petitioners appeared to know the duties of priests better than the priests themselves. Petitioners learned these duties from interviews with visiting bishops or *provisores*. However, notaries who wrote petitions on or after 1622 turned away from writing about grievances related to the sacraments and began to emphasize the excessive financial obligations of feast days and

⁸⁵³ Lundberg,

⁸⁵⁴ Pueyo Colomina,

other, more unique, problems. In response to 1622 SCPM, priests were more inclined to fulfill their duties to travel, in order to administer the sacraments to healthy and sick Indigenous people. Their visits often required compensation in the form of food and drink and other amenities, obligating communities to raise funds for their visits, especially when those visits corresponded with feast days.

Furthermore, notaries who wrote before 1648 most often addressed *provisores*, which suggests that they were the ones who made *visitas*. When Bishop Ruiz Colmenero went on a series of *visitas* between 1648 and 1649, his visits solicited a large number of petitions in Northwestern New Spain. He wrote a *visita* journal, now lost, which can be reconstructed to some degree by the petitions produced during his tenure. We know that he visited Tachichilco, San Antonio Tuzcacuezco, San Juan Ocotitic, La Magdalena, and San Francisco Ahualulco. Notaries from these towns wrote him petitions in 1649. In some of these towns, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero responded to grievances by granting *amparos* that inhabitants could use against defendants who, in most cases, were Franciscans. He acted as an itinerant judge. In La Magdalena, petitioners complained about how a Spanish squatter had claimed a large portion of land that belonged to the *cofradías* of the Holy Conception and Holy Sacrament, and Bishop Ruiz Colmenero referred this grievance to the royal audiencia. The bishop also received three letters sometime after May 15, 1649 from Nayari. These documents were most likely in response to a letter that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had sent from Guaxicori, in Acaponeta, to complain about interactions between Nayari's fellow Coras and Tepehuanos, an Indigenous group that was apparently hostile to Spaniards at this time. Nayari responded in his letters that the Tepehuanos had sought him out and asked for an *amparo* to replace one that had been lost.

Notaries who had grievances after 1648 or 1649 remembered Bishop Ruiz Colmenero's *visita* and wrote petitions to him several years later. In Acaponeta, writers aimed four petitions against their Franciscan friar in the towns of San Antonio Quihuiquinta and San Sebastián Guaxicori in 1652; and in Ávalos, notaries wrote three petitions between 1653 and 1654. However, by 1657, notaries had begun to address the *provisor*, which suggests that Bishop Ruiz Colmenero had turned over the *visitas* to this official. When the bishop died on September 28, 1663, the cycles of Nahuatl literacy in Northwestern New Spain reverted to the *provisor*.

Provisor Baltasar de la Peña y Medina was the recipient of three petitions written between 1668 and 1673. Alonzo Felipe wrote him from San Francisco Zacoalco and explained that nobles from this town had not had the nine pesos required by the *visita* because their Franciscan friar had taken too much tribute from them and assured him that he was sending it with their petition, "1668 San Francisco Zacoalco." Alonzo Felipe thus presented the price of *visitas* at this time. He also related how Indigenous officers sought to pay the fee in order to maintain the benefits of this practice. His words also suggest that Indigenous officers were aware of the rivalry between officers of the diocese and Franciscans in Northwestern New Spain. The notary who wrote "1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan" provides evidence of a similar understanding of a diocesan-Franciscan rivalry in that he asked whether the petitioners had to continue to provide cows to a Franciscan convent in Guadalajara.

The last cycles of literacy occurred during the tenure of Bishop Santiago de León Garabito; the most notable text included two receipts in Nahuatl, "1687 Santa Ana Acatlan" and "1693 Santa Ana Acatlan," one petition in Spanish, and a number of addenda. The petitioners accused *provisor* Ignacio de Guzmán of taking cattle without paying in full. A subsequent petition by a notary from nearby San Juan Evangelista Atoyac in 1694 made a similar claim

against Diego Vázquez, an *alguacil*. These claims about how officials bought cattle without paying full price may be related to the demand for Spanish-style goods and foods of residents of Guadalajara, which increased in population in the late seventeenth century, according to Eric Van Young.⁸⁵⁵ The integration of the rural countryside of Northwestern New Spain by Guadalajara began to accelerate in this period.

My dissertation examines the largest number of Nahuatl petitions to be found in Northwestern New Spain, fifty-two, along with eleven other Nahuatl documents. Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart were among the first to analyze a large number of Nahuatl documents addressed to imperial or ecclesiastical authorities, classifying them into four genres, the last of which, “petitions, correspondence, and other formal statements,” applies to the petitions, letters, and receipts in this dissertation. Restall, Sousa, and Terraciano identify petitions as notarial works that follow familiar conventions, presenting examples of letters and petitions addressed to the king and other colonial authorities. Haskett used a nineteenth-century petition from Cuernavaca to show that Indigenous officials challenged the local clergy.

Hanks, Sullivan, and Lundberg also identify various characteristics of petitions. Hanks examines Maya petitions from the Yucatan Peninsula, positing that writers generally wrote from a “we” perspective, representing the petitioners to a “you”, often a Spanish official. Sullivan asserts that the phrase *tinessico moyspantzin*, “we come to appear before you,” embodies the petitioning process that takes place in an oral culture. Lundberg presents the confluence of oral and written cultures within the *visita*, a practice promoted by the Third Mexican Council and shaped by the archbishops, bishops, and other diocesan officials in his study of Nahuatl

⁸⁵⁵ Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Power in Eighteenth Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820*.

documents from the Archdiocese of Mexico City and the Diocese of Puebla. I posit that in Northwestern New Spain the *provisor* was more important than the bishop in promoting and performing *visitas*, except during the tenure of Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, who traveled on a *visita* to begin his tenure and generated a large number of petitions. I propose that writers organized petitions into three parts: introduction, grievance section, and conclusion, as discussed above.

Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart examined the genre of “petitions, correspondence, and other formal documents” from a large area including the Basin of Mexico, Guatemala, and Northwestern New Spain, positing that writers from large towns in the Basin of Mexico wrote a Classical Nahuatl that was more formal than that of the inhabitants of small towns. However, Una Canger problematizes such a classification, theorizing three dialect chains of Nahuatl: an eastern peripheral chain, a central chain, and a western peripheral chain. She adds that the central and western peripheral chains share some affinities.

Sullivan’s examination of the Nahuatl of petitions and Yáñez Rosales’s investigation of Tlajomulco are important for discerning colonial variants from the western periphery. Sullivan examines a large number of petitions from the cold land provinces of Jalostotitlan and Lagos, observing that the writers employed rhetorical constructions that reflected a peripheral variant, features unique to the region, including the use of *-lo* to represent plural subject pronominals, and features that suggested that the writers used Nahuatl as an L2. He notes the use of initial syllable “tl” in words like *hastla* and *estlancia*, suggesting that some of the writers only used “t” in speech and that these were examples of hypercorrection. Yáñez Rosales presents two features in documents from the province of Tlajomulco, positing that one represents writers who used Nahuatl as an L2, and another indicated a Western peripheral variant of Nahuatl. She asserts that confusion of “d” for “t” in a word like *dechtolinia* (he abuses us) points to writers who used

Nahuatl as an L2, and the apparent confusion between “tl” and “t” indicated a Western peripheral variant of Nahuatl. I agree with Sullivan and Yáñez Rosales about the presence of a western peripheral variant in the provinces of Jalostotitlan and Tlajomulco, since the documents in my study from the cold lands contain examples of the features that they describe. I theorize that the Grande de Santiago River served as a boundary for this western peripheral variant, which only includes a few provinces and towns in the hot lands, such as the province of Tlajomulco and the town of Tonalá in the province of Guadalajara. I have named it W2 to differentiate it from another variant.

I have analyzed Nahuatl documents from provinces southwest of Jalostotitlan and south of Tlajomulco in the hot lands, where I posit a different western peripheral variant, which I name Sayulteco, after the town of Sayula, and its identification by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero. I think that writers who used *-tl* in a syllable-final, non-absolute position, in Nahuatl words and even Spanish loans, were relying on a *-tl* hypercorrection pattern that disguised the use of *-l* as an absolute, or noun-signalling, suffix. I propose that the use of strong *-lo* or weak *-lo* patterns together with *-l* absolute or *-tl* hypercorrection patterns signal Sayulteco Nahuatl. I also believe that those writers that employed *-lo* patterns together with the *-l* absolute pattern were Sayulteco Nahuas, whereas those who relied on *-lo* patterns and *-tl* hypercorrection spoke Sayulteco Nahuatl as an L2 in that they belonged to a non-Nahua group. Other writers mixed *-lo* patterns, *-l* absolute, and *-tl* hypercorrection patterns with those of Central Mexico. In these cases, I propose that the writers were caught between pressures from Franciscans and local Indigenous speakers, and responded by writing a Sayulteco-Central Mexican Nahuatl *lingua franca*.

Such a *lingua franca* was influenced by the Franciscans directly or through *nahuatlato*s, bilingual or trilingual people who knew at least one Indigenous language. In his study of the Mixteca region of Colonial Oaxaca, Terraciano observed that *nahuatlato* meant simply "interpreter" and referred to individuals who knew at least one Indigenous language, such as Nahuatl or Ñudzahui (Mixtec). Yáñez Rosales investigates documents related to a 1525 expedition into what would become the provinces of Colima and Izatlan, concluding that *nahuatlato* and *otomí* were Nahuatl terms to separate Nahuatl speakers and non-Nahua speakers. In Northwestern New Spain, I propose that the earlier meaning was "clear speaker," referring to a speaker of Nahuatl. Over time, I think the term came to represent a translator who spoke Nahuatl along with one or two other languages.

An area that demands future study is the presence and nature of the *altepetl* in Northwestern New Spain. Lockhart and Wood propose that the *altepetl* was the basic Nahua polity in Central Mexico, and it may have extended into Northwestern New Spain. Yáñez Rosales examines documents from the province of Tlajomulco, concluding that Indigenous people in Northwestern New Spain also relied on *altepetl* organization. I concur with regards to Cazcan, Sayulteco, and other towns inhabited by Nahuas, since notaries often used *altepetl* to identify their communities and even occasionally mention the names of sub-divisions, *tlaxilacalli* or *tlahuilanal*, that are consistent with Central Mexican Nahuatl forms. However, I am uncertain about towns in which Nahuas were not the majority of the population. I suspect that, in some cases, *altepetl* represented a Nahua-like polity, but in others it simply served as an approximate term for translation.

The colonial *altepetl* in Central Mexico changed with the introduction of the *cabildo* and lay sodality. Haskett examines documents from the Central Mexican *altepetl* of Cuernavaca,

observing that its Nahua inhabitants treated the *cabildo* as a more inclusive institution than Spaniards, and having a leadership that was not completely separate from its lay sodality. I have found similarities, especially among Cazcan towns such as La Magdalena and Nochistlan, in which notaries wrote many names with *cabildo* and lay sodality titles, alongside others names that lack such titles. I propose that such examples present Indigenous interpretations of the *cabildo* and the lay sodality in Northwestern New Spain, which are similar to those of Cuernavaca for Cazcan towns. In the future, I hope to find whether these observations apply to the towns of other Indigenous groups in the correspondence communities of Northwestern New Spain.

Appendix A: Identified Petitions and Letters

This section contains several tables concerning the issue of classification of the petition genre. Table A-1 presents petitions that were identified as such by either the notary who wrote the given petition, or the writer of an addendum. The first column contains the name of the petition together with the name of the writer if he is identified as the notary. The second column has any available information that the writer of a petition provided to identify his document as within this genre. The second column contains the terms or phrases that an addenda author used, whereas “none” specifies that lack of any identifying terms. The last column presents the addressee of the given petition. Table A-2 presents the institution associated with the addressee. The first column has the title of the addressee, and the next four columns represent the institution: Diocese, Alcaldía Mayor, Royal Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, and King.

A-1: Classification of Named Petitions

Name of the Petition with the author [if named]	Identification by Petition Notary	Identification by Addenda Author	Addressee
1580a Nochistlan	none	eporpetiçion quepresentaron	tlacate tlatohuaniye [lord]
1580b Nochistlan	none	eporpetiçion quepresentaron	señor blexidente [lord president]
N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585	Auh nizatqui ylnamicoca	none	tohuey tlatocatzin [lord]
1593a Oconahuac	topediçion,	none	antotlatocahuan... aubençaia reyal [Royal audiencia]
1622 Cuatlan by Pedro Puy	none	Peticion de los yndios, una petiçion	Señor frufixotl [provisor]
1622 Santa Maria Magdalena by Maria Magdalena	none	esta peticion, forme la peticion	titlatohuani sñor provisor
1637 Coatlan de Puertos de Abajo	none	Petiçion de los yndios	tixiptlatzin ttº Jsº [you who are the very image of Jesus Christ]; Presbiterro bicario [by a Spanish notary]
1642 Contla	nopeticion,	esta petiçion	tinoalcalde mayor
1646 Tequepechpan by Francisco Rafael	topetitiziyon, topetiçion	none	titomahuizteopixcauh [priest]; cura Viaº [by a Spanish notary]

1649 San Antonio Tuzcacuezco	topedicion	esta peticion, esta peticion, La peticion	timaviztililoni Santo obispo [bishop]
1649 San Francisco Ayahualulco	none	Esta peticion, la peticion	Señor obispo [bishop]
1649 San Juan Ucutytic (Ocotitic)	amat petiçion,	none	Señor obispo [bishop]
1649a Santa Maria Magdalena	none	la petici ^{on} , esta petiss ^{on} , esta peticion	Señor obispo [bishop]
1649b Santa Maria Magdalena	none	por esta peticion, esta peticion	Señor obispo [bishop]
1649 Tachichilco	inin topetitzion,	por esta peticion, la peticion de arriba, destes autos y peticiones,	Señor obispo [bishop]
1652a San Antonio Quihuiquinta	topedeçio	nra peticion,	Ma rolesençia..de sinoria [??]
1652b San Antonio Quihuiquinta	nopedicion	none	señor obispo [bishop]
1652 San Francisco Juchipila	yn ica topetision	none	su señoria [??]
1652a San Sebastian Guaxicori	pediçion, topedicion	esta peticion, nuestra petiçion, Petiçion de los naturales	don Pedro de Sorit Señor capitan... titoalcalde mayor
1652b San Sebastian Guaxicori	topetitzion,	dos petiziones, esta petizion. la petizion	senior opispo su señoria [bishop]
1653 Amatitlan by Don Jeronimo	none	esta petiz ^{on} , esta petission, dha petission,	tiopesbo [bishop]
1653 San Martín by Diego Juan	none	esta peticion	ys ^a obispo [bishop]
1657 Tonalá by Domingo de Ramos	none	Autos echos por peticion, esta petiçion, dicha petiçion, esta peticion	Sr probisor [provisor]
1661 Etzatlan	topetision	esta petission, la peticion, nuestra peticion, la peticion	Vmd vuestra merced [your grace]
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	none	esta petiz ^{on}	Siñor probesor [provisor]
1669 Santa Maria Magdalena Tizapan	none	esta petision, la petission, su petission,	Señor tlatohuani probesol [provisor]
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	none	esta petision	ostrecemo Sr [señoria] [??]
1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	topetision	none	Sr obispo [bishop]
1679 Analco	none	esta petiçion	Su Sta Yll ^a S ^{or} D Juan de Santiago deleon [bishop]
1679 Sayula	none	la petiçion	Su Señoria ylustrisima
1686 San Pedrotepec	petiçion	Petision	señor obispo... ço çeñoria ylostrisimo, [bishop]
1692 San Andres Atotonilco by Hernando Miguel	none	esta petisi ^{on}	su seneorea [oria] [??]
N.Y. Aquautitan	ca topetecion	esta petisio, petision de los naturales	compernator [governor]

A-2: Totals

Addressee	Diocese of Guadalajara	Alcaldía Mayor	Royal Audiencia of Nueva Galicia	King
Bishop (by title or name)	13	0	0	0
Su señoría	5	0	0	0
Provisor	5	0	0	0
(Presbitero or Cura) Vicario	2	0	0	0
Vuestra merced	1	0	0	0
Royal Audiencia	0	0	1	0
Presidente	0	0	1	0
Alcalde Mayor	0	2	0	0
Gobernador	0	1	0	0
Tlatohuani (2 variants)	0	0	1	1
Total	26	3	3	1

Appendix B: Two Petitions and One Letter

The three documents presented here are “1622 La Magdalena,” “1649a Tzacamota,” and “1654 San Martín.” The first is a petition from the town of La Magdalena in the province of Izatlan, whereas the second is a letter by Don Francisco Nayari to Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero. Both works figure very prominently in my study. The third document is a petition from San Martín in the province of Ávalos in which notaries wrote the largest number of alphabetic Nahuatl documents.⁸⁵⁶ The translations for these three works have four lines in which the first line represents a paleography that approaches the original, the second line presents morpheme boundaries, the third line defines the different morphemes, and the fourth line contains my English translation of the content. Table B-1 presents the abbreviations used to describe the different morphemes in line three, when they are not translated.

Table B-1: Morpheme Abbreviations

1: first person	det: determiner	humIO: human indirect object	O: object	pron: pronoun
2: second person	dim: diminutive	int: intensifier	OP: optative	prt: particle
3: third person	dim.pej: pejorative diminutive	lig: ligature	P: possessor, or “relational word object	R: reflexive
abs: absolutive	dir.ven: venitive directional	loc: locative	p: plural element of pronominals	rev: reverential
app: applicative	dir.and: anditive directional	masc: masculine	PA: preterit agentive	S: subject
con: conditional	fem: feminine	neg: negative	pass: passive	s: singular element of pronominals
cs: causative	fut: future	nom: nominalizer	pl: plural morphemes rather than “p” element of pronominals	sg: signature
	hab: habitual	nhumIO: non-human indirect object	pret: preterite	st: something

⁸⁵⁶ I have devoted significant portions of chapters 1 and 2 to “1622 La Magdalena,” and I have also written about it in chapters 2 and 5.

1622 Santa María Magdalena; Caja 4-12; edited by Kevin Terraciano, Celso Mendoza, and Juan Pablo Morales Garza.

Nahuatl: 1 front

1. En 20 de março [1]622 +
On March 20, [1]622.
2. __yn çena yntimahuiztilliloni ynteoyotica titlatohuani sñor
yn çena⁸⁵⁷ yn⁸⁵⁸ ti-mahuiztilli-lo-ni yn teoyo⁸⁵⁹-ti-ca⁸⁶⁰ ti-tlatohuani sñor
prt int prt 2sS-honor.respect-pass-nom prt holyness-liv-rel 2sS-ruler señor
You who are most respectable in your holiness, lord ruler
3. provisor. mixpantzinco nineçico. nimopectecaco. nicnotena
provisor m-ixpan-tzin-co ni-neçi-co ni-mo-pecteca-co
provisor 2sP-presence.of-rev-rel.ven 1sS-appear-rel.ven 1sS-R-bow.down-rel.ven
come.to.appear⁸⁶¹
ni-c-no-tenamiqui-lli-co
1sS-3sO-R-kiss-AP-rel.ven
provisor. I come to appear before your presence. I come to bow down and kiss your
4. miquillico teoyotica⁸⁶² motlatocamatzin yhuā teoyotica motlato
teoyo-ti-ca mo-tlatoca-ma-tzin y-huan teoyotica mo-tlatoca-yçxi-tzin
sacred-lig-rel 2sP-ruler-hand-rev 3sP-and holy-lig-rel 2sP-lord-foot-rev
your sacred lordly hands and your holy lordly feet.

⁸⁵⁷ *cena, cenca*: means very, greatly, and is a general intensifier Lockhart 2001: 213).

⁸⁵⁸ Scholars describe *in* in different ways: James Lockhart (2001: 58) as a general subordinator; Richard Andrews (1975: 296) as an adjunct; and Michel Launey (1994: 63) as a conjunction (1994: 63). Meanwhile, the grammarian Horacio Carochi (2001: 69) defines it as a relative.

⁸⁵⁹ *teoyotica, teōyōtl*: divine thing, divinity, sacrament(s), sometimes the sacrament of marriage specifically (Lockhart 2001: 234).

⁸⁶⁰ *teoyotica, -ca*: instrumental relational word; by means of, through, with, etc (Lockhart 2001: 212).

⁸⁶¹ James Lockhart, 215. present/past of purposive motion. The Nahuatl dictionary attests *amixpantzinco ninecico yn antlatoque* translated as *he venido ante la presencia de ustedes que son tlahoque* (Reyes García et al 1996: 165).

⁸⁶² Joan Guerra, 32. *Teioitica*: espiritual. English: spiritual, holy.

5. ca ycxitzin. ma xinechmoçelilitzino yni mo^cnomaçevatl notoca m^a.
 ma xi-nech-mo-çeli-li-tzino⁸⁶³ yni-mo^cno⁸⁶⁴-maçeuatl⁸⁶⁵ no-toca
 Maria
 may 2sO-1sO-R-receive-app-rev prt.1sS-1sP.humble-servant-abs 1sP-name Maria
 May you receive me, your humble servant whose name is Maria
6. magdale na nicā nochan Sancta maria magdalena
 Magdalena nican no-chan Santa Maria Magdalena
 Magdalena here 1sP-home Santa Maria Magdalena
 Magdalena and whose home is here in Santa Maria Magdalena.
7. ma xicmocaquiltitzino yni techcopa yno netequipachol ca
 ma xi-c-mo-caqui-lti-tzino yn i-techcopa
 may 2sO-3sO-R-hear-cau-rev prt 3sP-about
 yno-ne-tequipachol ca⁸⁶⁶
 prt.1sP-idef.R-concern prt
 May you hear about my affliction.
8. ya⁸⁶⁷ ticmomachiltia tinotlatocauh teoyotica. ca ya o val mo
 ya ti-c-mo-machi-ltia ti-no-tlatocauh teoyotica ca ya o-val-mo-vicaya⁸⁶⁸
 already 2sS-3sO-R-know-cau 2sS-1sP-ruler spiritual prt already pret-dir.ven-R-come
 As, you, my spiritual ruler, already know,

⁸⁶³ Lockhart (2001: 240) defines *-tzino* as a class 3 reverential suffix of verbs, used sometimes over and above the normal reverential, but especially when the reflexive prefix has already been used in a semantically meaningful fashion, and he describes *-tzinoh* as the preterit form. However, this notary does not use *-tzinoh* in the manner that writers of Central Mexico use it.

⁸⁶⁴ *nimo^cnomaçevatl*, *icnōtl*: orphan, poor, humble person; this word is extensively combined with verbs and nouns to add a sense of compassion and humility (Lockhart 2001: 219).

⁸⁶⁵ *nimo^cnomacehuatl* has the *-tl* absolutive ending even though it is possessed. The author (García forthcoming) postulates that, in the province of Ávalos, notaries hypercorrected by using *-tl* in syllable-word final positions because they were first pressured to use *-tl* for an absolutive that they pronounced as *-l*. Ricardo García, “Entre la lengua mexicana y la *mera* mexicana: El náhuatl de Juan Guerra, D. Gerónimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño, y escribanos de la provincia de Ávalos, ca. 1600 a 1765” in [CD] *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina, Álvaro G. Torres Nila y Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales. Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming.

⁸⁶⁶ Molina, *porque*. Lockhart, 212. *ca*: clause-introductory particle with many uses. Sometimes it indicates reason why, other times the beginning of the nuclear complex, or the beginning of an answer. *ca qualli* or *ca ye qualli*, that’s fine, okay. *ca nel*, because, since, for, etc.

⁸⁶⁷ Lockhart (2001: 241) proposes that *ya* is used in peripheral areas.

⁸⁶⁸ From *mohuicaya*. This is reverential of to come.

9. vicaya. mixpātzinco. yno tlatocauh prioste ca ya omitzca
 mo-ixpan-tzin-co yn no-tlatoca-uh prioste ca ya
 2sP-presence.of-rev-rel prt 1sP-lord-sing prioste prt already
 o-mitz-caquilti⁸⁶⁹-co
 pret-2sO-inform-to
 the lordly prioste was coming in your presence to just inform you.
10. quiltico ca ya oticmocaquilti y notechcopa y notla tequipacho
 ca ya⁸⁷⁰ o-ti-c-mo-caqui-lti yn no-techcopa y
 prt just pret-2sS-3sO-R-hear-cau prt 1sP-about prt
 no-tlatequipacho-lliz
 1sP-concern-nom
 You just heard my concern,
11. lliz cahoncā yxpā altar onechanac Justiçia al^{va}çil mayor one
 cah onca-n-yxpa⁸⁷¹ altar o-nech-anac justiçia alguacil mayor
 for there-1sP-before altar pret-1sO-seize Justicia Alguacil Mayor
 o-nech-tlalli
 pret-1sO-place
 for there, before the altar, the Justicia Alguacil Mayor seized me, placed me
12. chtlalli teytpiloyan nilpitica çeyohuatl. auh yn moztlatlica
 teytpiloyan n⁸⁷²-ilpi-ti-ca çe-yohua-tl auh yn moztla-ti-ca⁸⁷³
 jail 1sS-keep.in.custody-lig-be one-night-abs then prt next.day-lig-with
 in jail, and he kept me in custody for one night. Then, on the next day,
13. onechquixti onechhuicac Etzatlan onechcahuac ynavac
 o-nech-quixti o-nech-huicac Etzatlan o-nech-cahua-c y-nahuac⁸⁷⁴
 pret-1sO-remove pret-1sO-take Etzatlan pret-1sO-relinquish-pret 3sP-
 with
 he removed me, took me to Etzatlan, and relinquished me with

⁸⁶⁹ caqui + tia = inform

⁸⁷⁰ Lockhart (2001: 100) proposes that when *ye* and its variant *ya* precede a preterit verb, they emphasize pastness, with some Nahuatl writers appearing to use them to distinguish a perfect sense from a simple past narrative sense.

⁸⁷¹ Lockhart, 222. *yxpan*, relational word. in the presence of , before, facing, *ixtli*, *-pan*.

⁸⁷² *nilpitica*, *ilpia*: *nite*; to tie someone, or to take someone and jail him (Molina 2001: 37). I postulate that Maria meant *nechilpitica* instead of *nilpitica*. The former means “was keeping me in custody.”

⁸⁷³ Lockhart, 235. *-ti*, *-c*, pret. ending indicating pret. agentive.

⁸⁷⁴ Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 71) writes Con, preposicion de ablativo: Ica, 1. inahuac, para animados el Següdo.

14. don Sapastian onechtepositaro. onicçelli ypā chicuey tona
 Don Sebastian o-nech-tepositaro. o-ni-c-çelli ypan chicuey-tonatiah
 Don Sebastian pret-1sO-place⁸⁷⁵ pret-1sS-3sO-accept for eight-days
 Don Sebastian. He placed me under arrest, and I accepted it for eight days.
15. tiuh. auh ynuquac ya açico yn motlanavatiltzin ynçenca oti
 auh yn iquaq ya açi-co yn mo-tlanahuatilli-tzin⁸⁷⁶ yn
 then prt when already arrive-purp prt 2sP-order-rev prt
 çenca o-ti-nech-mo-tauhcolli-lia.⁸⁷⁷
 really pret-2sS-1sO-R-show.mercy-app
 When your messenger arrived, you showed mercy to me.
16. nechmotauhcollilia.⁸⁷⁸ auh yn Sñor altemayor oquimoçelili
 auh yn Señor altemayor o-qui-mo-çeli-li
 prt prt Señor Alcalde.mayor pret-3sO-R-receive-app
 The Señor Alcalde Mayor received it [order] and
17. oquimaviztilli. ynuquac o quimocaquilti motlanavitiltzin
 o-qui-mahuiztilli ynuquac o-qui-mo-caqui-lti mo-tlanahuatiltzin
 preterit-3sO-honor at.the.time pret-3sO-REF-hear-cau 2SPO-message⁸⁷⁹
 honored it. At the time he (*alcalde mayor*) heard it,
18. nimā oquito. ca ya qualli⁸⁸⁰ niman axcā an quibicazque
 niman o-qu-ito ca-ya-qualli niman axcan an-qui-vica-z-que
 immediately pret-3sO-say That-is-fine then today 2pS-3sO-accompany-fut-pl
 he said, “Very well. Then, today, you [pl] will accompany the

⁸⁷⁵ To place a women on a type of house arrest in someone else’s house; entrust. Kevin Terraciano. May 31, 2011.

⁸⁷⁶ Molina, 128. *Tlanauatilli*. citado, mandado, despedido o licenciado. I also spoke to Ofelia Cruz Morales, a Nahuatl-speaker from Veracruz, and she asserted that *tlanahuatilli* was a “persona con cargo importante.” Ofelia Cruz Morales, personal conversation through Skype on September 14, 2012.

⁸⁷⁷ Lockhart, 239. *tlaoçolia, nic*. to favor someone, do someone a favor, to grant someone something.

⁸⁷⁸ This word is troublesome orthographically and semantically. In the manuscript it can either be *otinechmotauhcollilia* or *otinechmotlauhcollilia*.

⁸⁷⁹ I believe that *motlanahuatiltzin* sometimes refers to the messenger and the message because during the colonial period, official proclamations were read aloud by a person, and the Spanish summary mentions that Maria Magdalena received an *orden de amparo* (order for relief), which would have been read aloud.

⁸⁸⁰ Lockhart, 212. *ca ye cualli*, that’s fine. *ya*. older form of *ye*, already seen... in peripheral areas.

19. *çihuantzintli. yzcatque oquito ypā lonez ypā comple[taš]*
çihuan-tzin-tli⁸⁸¹ yz catque⁸⁸² o-qui-ito y-pa lonez
 y-pan
 woman-rev-abs here is pret-3sO-say 3sP-rel Monday 3sP-rel
completas⁸⁸³
 afternoon
 the woman.” Here is [what] he said on Monday in the afternoon.
20. *tas auh yn don Sabas tian. oquixitini motlanavatlitzin. amo*
auh yn Don Sebastian o-qui-xitini⁸⁸⁴ mo-tla-navatil-tzin amo
 prt prt Don Sebastian pret-3sO-destroy 2sP-message-rev neg
 Don Sebastian destroyed your message. He does not
21. *quimaviztillia çan oquito. amonelli oquiczivactlato*
qui-mahuiztillia çan o-qu-ito amo nelli o-qui-chihuac tlatovani
 3sO-show.respect merely pret-3sO-say neg true pret-3sO-do.pret ruler
 show respect. He merely said, “it is not true [that] the ruler did it,
22. *vani çācampa omochivac. yz catqui oquito don Sebastiā*
çan⁸⁸⁵ campa⁸⁸⁶ o-mo-chihuac yz catqui o-qu-ito Don Sebastian
 but from.where pret-R-be.done here was pret-3sO-say don Sebastian
 but where was it done?”⁸⁸⁷ That is what Don Sebastian said.
23. *auh yn moztlatica ypā martes. yn oquito Sñor alldemayor. amo*
auh yn moztla-ti-ca y-pan martes yn o-qu-ito Señor alcalde mayor.
 then prt next.day-lig-with 3sP-on Tuesday prt pret-3sO-say señor alcalde mayor.
 Then, on the next day, Tuesday, the alcalde mayor [Don Sebastian] said, “You will not
24. *anquihuicazque çivatztintli axcan. ypandomingo ompatiazq’*
an-qui-huica-z-que çiva-tzin-tli axcan y-pan domingo ompa ti-ya-z-
 que
 2pS-3sO-take-fut-pl woman-rev-abs today 3SPO-on Sunday there 3pS-go-fut-pl
 take the woman now. On Sunday, we will go there,

⁸⁸¹ The context suggests that *çihuantzintli* is pejorative instead of reverential here.

⁸⁸² Lockhart, 213. *catqui*. archaic present sing. of *cah*. seen most often in set phrase *iz catqui*, here is.

⁸⁸³ *completas*: Ultima parte del oficio divino, con que se terminan las horas canonicas del dia.

⁸⁸⁴ Karttunen, 326.

⁸⁸⁵ *can, çan*: only just, merely, but (Lockhart 2001: 213).

⁸⁸⁶ *campa, cāmpa*: to or from where, interrogative; with *in* relative, dependent; *çān, pa*.

⁸⁸⁷ Don Sebastian did not use reverential forms in this statement.

25. ompaticcahuazque toçeltin yhuā tlanavatilli. amo anqui
 ompa ti-c-cahua-z-que to-çel-tin⁸⁸⁸ y-huan tlanavatil-li amo
 there 1sS-3sO-deliver-fut-p 1pP-individual-pl 3sP-with message-abs neg
 an-qui-vica-z-que
 2pS-3sO-take-fut-pl
 we will deliver her ourselves with a message. You will not take her.”
26. vicazque yz ca yc oquimonavatilli alldes yuā mayordomo
 yz⁸⁸⁹ ca yc o-quimo-navatil-li alcalde-s y-uan mayordomo
 here is what pret-3pO.3pR-order-app alcalde-pl 3sP-and mayordomo
 That is what they ordered the *alcaldes*, the *mayordomo* of the
27. ospital yuā escriuano auh ynaxcā ya chicnavitonatiuh
 ospital y-huan escriuano auh yn axcan ya chicnahui-
 tonatiuh
 hospital 3sP-and notary prt prt now already nine-day
 hospital, and the notary. Now, after nine days
28. yno quimoca quilti motlanavatiltzin. amonelli quichiva
 yn o-qui-mo-caqui-lti mo-tlanavatil-tzin amo-nelli qui-
 chiva
 prt pret-3sO-R-listen-caus.pret 2sP-messenger-rev not-true3sO-do
 since he heard your message, he truly did not do it,
29. amo quinel tillia. motlanavatiltzin auh yc oniquiçac onival
 amo qui-neltilia mo-tlanahuatil-tzin auh yc o-ni-quiza-c⁸⁹⁰
 not 3sO-carry.out 2sP-messenger-rev prt for.which.reason pret-1sS-leave-PA
 o-ni-val-cholo⁸⁹¹
 pret-1sS-dir.ven-flee.pret
 he did not carry out your message. For that reason, I left, I fled.
30. cholo axcā onihuala mixpātzinco _____
 axcā o-ni-huala m-ixpantzin-co
 today pret-1sS-come 2sP-face-rel
 Today, I came before you.

⁸⁸⁸ Lockhart, 213. *-cel*. necessarily partially possessed indefinite pronoun. Someone alone, by oneself or itself, only, unique. can have a pl. *celtin*.

⁸⁸⁹ Lockhart, 222. *iz*, particle. here. rarer than *nican*.

⁸⁹⁰ Lockhart, 215. *-co*. present/past of the purposive motion form *-quiuh/-co* for motion in toward the point of reference. pl. *-coh*.

⁸⁹¹ *onibalcholo*, *choloa*: *ni*, to flee, run away; to leap (Lockhart 2001: 215).

31. Nimitznotlatlauhtillico niquitlanico çe motlanavatiltzin titechmomomaquiliz
 Ni-mitz-no-tlatlauhti-lli-co ni-qui-tlani-co çe mo-tlanahuatil-tzin
 1sS-2sO-R-implore-app-rel 1sS-3sO-ask-rel one 2sP-messenger-rev
 ti-tech-mo-mo-maqui-li-z
 2sS-1pO-R⁸⁹²-give-app-fut
 I implore you, I request a decree. May you give it to us
32. momaquilliz ynic amoçe^{pa} techmauhtiz. amotech paçolloz. yni
 yn-ic amo çe-pa tech-mauhti-z amo tech-paçollo-z yn
 prt-so.that neg one-for 1pO-frighten-fut neg 1pO-harass⁸⁹³-fut prt
 so that he will not frighten us, he will not harass us in
33. chatzinco totlaçonātzin. caya titequipanova. oncā ospital
 i-cha-tzin-co to-tlaço-nan-tzin ca-ya ti-tequipanohua
 3sP-home-rev-rel 1pP-precious-mother-rev for-already 1pS-work
 oncan hospital
 there hospital
 the home of our precious mother for we have worked there in the Hospital,

Nahuatl: 1 back

34. yno ^cihuā çe quitenantzitzihuā ca ya mochi^{tin} momauhtia
 yn ... cequi te-nan⁸⁹⁴-tzi-tzi-huan ca-ya⁸⁹⁵ mochtin mo-mauhtia
 prt ... some humIO-mother-redup-pl-pl be-imp all 2sP-frighten
 ... some of the grandmothers were being frightened, they
35. acmo oncate çā ya campanemi. quimacaçi Justiçia
 acmo oncate çan ya campā nemi qui-macaçi Justiçia
 no longer have only already from.where live 3sO-fear Justicia
 are no longer living there [because] they fear him. Justicia,
36. ma çenca xitechmopalehuilli. ma xicmotlacahualtilli yca
 ma cenca xi-tech-mo-palehui-lli ma xi-c-mo-tlachualti⁸⁹⁶-lia y-ca
 may very 2sO-1pO-R-help-app may 2sO-3sO-2sR-impede-app 3sP-rel
 may you greatly help us, may you grant by

⁸⁹² The second *-mo-* might be a mistake.

⁸⁹³ *pahzoloa pachoa*: to trouble press, to govern. Molina 2001: 79; Lockhart 2001: 229.

⁸⁹⁴ Ofelia Cruz Morales from Tecomate, Veracruz told me that *tenantzin* means “abuelita” in the Huasteca-Veracruzana variant of Nahuatl. Skype lesson on August 29, 2011. Also, the notary of “1653 Amatitlan” has *yhuan tinantzitzihua capitanas ypan altipetl amatitlan* (and the captain-grandmothers of Amatitlan) in a similar context.

⁸⁹⁵ *caya*: Past form of *ca*. Lockhart, 64.

⁸⁹⁶ Francis Karttunen (1985: 251) writes that *tlacahualtia* means impede. Cortés y Zedeño (1765:) defines *tacahualti*

37. mo tlanavatiltzin ma tech cavaz
 mo-tlanahuatil-tzin ma tech-cava-s
 2sP-messenger-rev may 1pO-leave-fut
 your order that he leave us.
38. [space]
39. teoyotica tinotlatocauh yntla tinechmocnoytiliz yntla tinech
 teoyotica ti-no-tlatocauh yntla ti-nech-mocnoyti-lli-z yn-tla
 sacred 2sS-1sP-ruler if 2sS-1sO-2sR.take.pity-app-FUT prt-if
 ti-nech-mo-maqui-lli-z
 2sS-1sO-R-give-app-fut
 You are my sacred ruler. If you will take pity on me. If you
40. momaquilliz motlanavatiltzin. ma ytech^{tic} mocahuilliz yno
 mo-tlanavatiltzin ma y-tech⁸⁹⁷ ti-c-mo-cahui-lli-z y
 2sP-message may 3sP-joined.to 2sS-3sO-R-leave-app-fut prt
 no-tlaço-teopixca-tzin
 1sP-respected-priest-rev
 give me your message, then may you leave it [message] with
41. tlaçoteopixcatzin. noguardian. ynic yevatl quimonavati
 no-guardian yn-ic yehua-tl qui-mo-navati⁸⁹⁸-lli-z
 1sP-guardian prt-so.that 3s.pron-abs 3sS-R-to.give.orders.to-app-fut
 my respected and precious priest, my guardian, so that he will give orders to
42. lliz yhuā quipohuilliz motlanavatiltzin yn Sñor alde
 y-hua qui-pohui-lli-z mo-tlanavatil⁸⁹⁹-tzin yn Sñor alde
 3sP-and.also 3sS-read-app-fut 2sS-order-rev prt Señor Alcalde
 read your order for the lord alcalde
43. mayor yxquich yc mixpātzinco nimitznotlatlauhtillico
 mayor yxquich yc m-ixpan-tzinco ni-mitz-no-tlatlauhti-lli-co
 mayor everything when 2sP-face-loc 1sS-2sO-R-implore-app-rel
 mayor. All that I implore before you.
44. ma ttodios mitzmotlaçoca pilli yua çihuapilli S^{ta}. M^a__
 ma [nues]tro Dios mitz-mo-tlaço-ca pilli i-hua çihuapilli Santa Maria
 Let our God 2sO-R-love-pl lord 3sP-and lady-abs Santa Maria
 May our lord God, the child, and the lady Santa Maria love you.

⁸⁹⁷ *-tech*: relational word. joined to, next to; used as a general connector in verbal idioms with greatly varying translations depending on the verb (Lockhart 2001: 232).

⁸⁹⁸ Lockhart, 226. *nahuatia* (1). *nic*. advise. notify someone, give instructions or orders to someone, take one's leave of someone. Class 3: *onichahuatih*. apparently not based on *nahuati*. Karttunen (1985: 157) writes that *nahuatia* means to give orders to.

⁸⁹⁹ *motlanavatiltzin*, *tanahuatilizti*: Requerimiento (Cortés y Zedeño 1765: 113). Refer to the previous footnote as well.

42. onitlacuillo notoca
 o-ni-tlacuillo no-toca
 pret-1sS-wrote 1sP-name
 I wrote and my name is:
43. [signature] Maria Magdalena [signature]
 Maria Magdalena.
44. +

Nahuatl: 2 back

45. +
46. quimoceliliz petiçion
 qui-mo-celi-li-z petition
 3sO-3sR-accept-app-fut petition
 May the petition be accepted by
47. teoyo tica tlato huani
 teoyo-ti-ca tlatohuani
 holy-lig-with lord
 the holy lord.
48. sñor provisor
 sñor provisor
 lord provisor
 provisor.

Spanish: 1 back

15. __maria magdalena natural y vezina [different writer]
 16. del pu[eb]lo de la magdalena prouincia de la
 17. provincia de ytzatlan dize por esta peticion
 18. q[ue] en la eleccion q se hizo de mayordomos
 19. del [h]ospital de su pueblo la eligeron
 20. pr tenantzi y q sin causa ni telito que
 21. lo viese cometido el alcalde mayor la saco
 22. y dio a un don Sebastian q[ue] reside en
 23. el pu[eb]lo de ytzatlan sacándola del dho
 24. hospital donde estaba sirviendo y
 25. de su pueblo y casa sin causa solo por
 26. decir q serbia bien. y q los días pasa [-]
 27. dos sobre esta causa los prioste y ma [-]
 28. yordomos del ospital del dho puo de

Spanish: 2 front

1. la madalena paresieran ante Utn
 2. y se les libio mandamiento de an
 3. paro el qual vin mando q[ue] no sele
 4. hijiese vejacion sino se le anparase
 5. el qual no an querido, obedecer

6. antes de nuevo la persiguen por lo qual
7. se ausento y viene ante mi a pedir
8. fabor que le dexen en el serbicio del
9. d[ic]ho ospital donde fue elegida por
10. tenantzi y q si tubiese algun peca
11. cado entonses le castiguen con
12. forme la peticion.
13. ---mo Lopes
14. [space]
15. [space]
16. [note in different handwriting will follow as soon as I can transcribe it]

1649a Tzacamota

Page one front

1. — +
2. ma totecuiyo⁹⁰⁰ Dios amitzmopielī Señor vispo
 ma to-tecuiyo Dios amitz⁹⁰¹-mo-pie-li-Señor vispo⁹⁰²
 may 1pP-lord God 2sO-2sR-protect-app-irr.lord bishop
 May our lord God protect you lord bishop
3. yhū⁹⁰³ nomahuiztazopilitzin tlatōan Rei yhuān oce
 yhun no-mahuiz-tazo⁹⁰⁴-pili-tzin tlatōan Rei y-huan occequin-tin
 and 1sP-revere-precious-child-rev ruler king 3sP-and other-pl
 and my revered precious child, ruler, king, and other
4. quinti tlatōqui ma totecui Dios amitzimotla
 tlatō-qui ma to-tecui Dios amitzī⁹⁰⁵-mo-tlaço-ca-pie-li
 lords-pl may 1pP-lord God 2sO-2sR-love-lig-keep-app
 lords. May our lord God protect you with his love

⁹⁰⁰ Nayari has a peculiar way of writing ui because he writes u and dots the leftmost line.

⁹⁰¹ Nayari is using *amitz* (2sO) instead of the more common *mitz* (2sO). Perhaps, he is combining *am* (2sS) form together with *mitz* (2sO).

⁹⁰² Nayari is using *vispo* for *obispo*. Refer also to lines 20 and 25 in this document, and to his other two letters: “1649b Tzacamota by Don Francisco Nayari” and “1649c by Don Francisco Nayari.”

⁹⁰³ The overbar over the “u” of *yū* resembles a “c”.

⁹⁰⁴ *nomahuiztazopilitzin*, *tlaçotli*: a precious thing, most often seen combined with nouns to mean dear, precious, and when it is possessed, it can mean a person beloved by someone (Lockhart 2001: 236). *tazoctalizti*: Amor (Cortés y Zedeño 1765: 58).

⁹⁰⁵ Nayari writes *amitzī-* (2sO) here instead of *mitz-*. Refer to line 2.

5. ço ca pieli miyexuiti
 miyexui⁹⁰⁶-ti⁹⁰⁷
 many.year-abs
 for many years.
6. yhūan neguati notoca Don Frn^{co} nayari
 y-huan neguati no-toca Don Fr[a]n[cis]co nayari
 3sP-and 1s.pron.abs 1sP-name Don Francisco Nayari
 And my name is Don Francisco Nayari.
7. totecuiyo Dios nehimomaquilia nochi no
 to-tecuiyo Dios nehi⁹⁰⁸-mo-maqui-lia nochi⁹⁰⁹no-pili-gua⁹¹⁰
 1pP-lord God 1sO-1sR-give-app all 1pP-child-pl
 Our lord God gave me all my children, and
8. piligua nipactica yhūan yoqui xncihivali
 ni-pactica y-huan yoquixn-cihiva-li⁹¹¹-mati-ca
 1sS-be.healthy 3sP-and thus.2sOP-make-know-pl
 I am healthy, and you may thus make it known.
9. matica
 ...
10. yhūan aquimatizqui quenami nivnica
 y-huan a⁹¹²-qui-mati-z-qui quenami ni-vnica⁹¹³
 3sP-and 2sS-3sO-know-irr-pl how 1sS-be
 and you should know how I am

⁹⁰⁶ Nayari unites *miyec xihuitl* (many years) into *miyexuiti*.

⁹⁰⁷ *xuiti, xihuit*: Año de doce meses (Cortés y Zedeño 1765: 59). *xihuitl*: year (Lockhart 2001: 241).

⁹⁰⁸ Nayari again uses a non-standard prefix *nehi-* instead of the more common *nech* (1sO).

⁹⁰⁹ Nayari writes *nochi* instead of *mochi* (all).

⁹¹⁰ *nopiligua, huān*: possessive pl. nominal suffix (Lockhart 2001: 217).

⁹¹¹ *xncchivalimatica* The meaning makes some sense, but the morphemes and orthography are odd.

⁹¹² Nayari appears to be using *a-* to signal *am/an*, the second person plural prefix.

⁹¹³ Nayari appears to have written *nivnica* instead of *ni-onca* (1sS-be). He does the same in a number of other lines including 11 and 14.

11. nichrstiano ~~nica~~ nivnca quenami vnixtlali
 ni-chrstiano ni-vnca quenami v-nix⁹¹⁴-tlali
 1sS-Christian 1sS-be how pret-1sO-install
 a Christian that
12. Rei yhuan quenami vnichilihui marques tlatoani
 Rei y-huan quenami v-nich⁹¹⁵-ilihui marques tlatoani
 king 3sP-and how pret-1sO-tell Marques ruler
 the king installed, and how the Marques ruler told me
13. ypapa amonimone los ynahuaca tepeuani vnichiliu
 y-papa amo ni-mo-nelo⁹¹⁶-s y-nahuaca⁹¹⁷ Tepeuani v-nich-iliu
 3sP-so.that neg 1sS-1sR-associate-irr 3sP-with Tepehuanos pret-1sO-tell
 that I should not mix with the Tepehuanos. That is what the ruling marques told me.
14. tlatōan marques axca nimatitica nivnica tevqui totlatōa⁹
 marques axca ni-mati-ti-ca ni-vnica tevqui to⁹¹⁸-tlatōā
 marques now 1sS-know-lig-be 1sS-be lord 1pP-ruler
 Now, I know how I am truly the lord ruler,
15. milava ca amo ~~pieh~~ nimonelo a san noyoqui nechicocolia
 milava ca amo ni-mo-neloa san noyoqui nechi⁹¹⁹-cocolia
 truly prt neg 1sS-1sR-mix thus just 1sO-hate
 and I do not mix with them. Thus, the Tepehuanes just hate me.

⁹¹⁴ Nayari appears to have written *nix* instead of *nech* (1sO).

⁹¹⁵ Nayari appears to have written *nich* instead of *nech* (1sO), which he repeats in line 13.

⁹¹⁶ The sense of *nimonelos* is associate. Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 64) defined *neloa* as, “Batir, rebolver, mesclar, juntar” (Beat, mix, or join); whereas (Molina 2001: 66) writes, “remar, mecer o batir algo” (row, rock, or beat). Therefore, the sense is to mix or join something of a smaller quantity to something of a larger quantity, and associate makes the most sense in English when referring to people.

⁹¹⁷ In Northwestern New Spain, *-nahuac* means “with” for animates. Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 71) writes, “Con, preposicion de ablativo: Ica, 1. inahuac, para animados el Segūdo.” He also has “*contigo*: adverbio, *monahuac* (Cortés y Zedeño 1765: 72).

⁹¹⁸ Nayari writes *totlatōā* (we are the ruler) instead of *nitlatōani* (I am the ruler), which is probably a mistake.

⁹¹⁹ Nayari writes *nechi-* instead of the more common *nech-* (1sO). Refer also to *tinechitla* in line 21, *tinechitlazotaz* in line 22, and *tinechipaleuiz* in line 25.

16. tepeuani milavacatlavaliloco amo nimonelo a yna
 tepeuani milavaca tlavaliloco⁹²⁰ amo ni-mo-neloa ynavaca
 Tepehuanes truly scoundrel neg 1sS-1sR-mix 3pP.with
 Truly, they are scoundrels, and I do not mix with them.
17. vaca neguati nicora moch nopiliguan quasamota-
 negua-ti ni-cora moch no-pili-guan quasamota
 1s.pron-abs 1sS-Cora all 1sP-child-pl Guazamota
 I am Cora. My children are all the
18. corami yhuān ayotochipa nopiliguan corami –
 cora-mi y-huan ayotochipa no-pili-guan cora-mi
 Cora-pl 3sP-and Ayotochpa 1sP-child-pl Cora-pl
 Cora in Guazamota; in Ayotochpa, my children are Cora;
19. yhuān guaxcore nopiligua corami yxquichitimatiz
 y-huan guaxcore no-pili-guan cora-mi yxquichi ti-mati-z
 3sP-and Guaxicori 3sP-child-pl Cora-pl all 2sS-know-irr
 and in Guaxicori, all my children are Cora. You should know
20. Señor vispo yhuan Rei espania vnica vmpa mopoaz.
 Señor vispo y-huan Rei espania vnica vmpa mo-poa-z
 lord bishop 3sP-and king Spain be there 3sR-read-irr
 lord bishop, and [so should] the King there in Spain. It will be read
21. moyxpa ypapa moyolo pachiuiz yhuān tinechitlaçutazo †?
 mo-yxpa y-papa mo-yolo⁹²¹ pachiuiz y-huan ti-nechi-tlaçota-zota-z⁹²²
 2sP-before 3sP-so 2sP-heart glad-irr 3sP-and 2sS-1sO-love-redup-irr
 before you so you will be happy, and you will always love me, and
22. taz miyequi tinechitlazotaz axca nimitzpouilia notlatoli
 miyequi ti-nechi-tlazota-z axca ni-mitz-pou-ilia no-tlato-li
 int 2sS-1sO-love-irr now 1sS-2sO-relate-app 1sP-word-abs
 you will love me a lot. Now, I relate to you my words so

⁹²⁰ Lockhart (2001: 236) defines a variant form, *tlahuēlīlōc*, as scoundrel, rogue, bad person, or evildoer. Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 75, 77, 127) defines *tahualiloc* as *demonio* (demon) or *diablo* (devil), and *tahualilo* as *vellaco* (scoundrel).

⁹²¹ Lockhart (2001: 242) defines *yollo* as mood or spirits, which is made clear in the translation.

⁹²² It appears that Nayari wrote a type of couplet here in which he first uses the reduplication of *tinechitlazotazotaz* to signify duration followed by *miyequi tinechitlazotaz* to signify intensity. Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 58, 84) only presents love as a noun: *tazoctalizti* (love), *tetazoctalizti* (love), *tazoctaliani* (loving), *tazoctalizti de momaxtiz* (philosophy, love of learning). Guerra (1992: 38) simply takes the Central Mexican form *tetlaçotlaliztli* (love). Lockhart (2001: 236) defines *tlaçotla* as “love, esteem, or treat well.”

23. ticaquiz timoyolaliz yhua nimitzyolalia amo tenonotlatla
 ticaqui-z ti-mo-yolali-z y-hua ni-mitz-yolalia amo ten⁹²³no-tlatlacoli
 2sS.hear-irr 2sS-2sR-be.consoled 3sP-and 1sS-3sO-console neg that 1sP-sin
 you will hear. You will be consoled, and I will console you that I have no sins.
24. coli quali nivnica
 quali ni-vnica
 good 1sS-be
 I am good.
25. Señor vispo hueli nimitztlatlautia tinechipaleuiz nicqui nei
 Señor vispo hueli ni-mitz-tlatlautia ti-nechi-paleui-z ni-cqui-neiqui
 Lord bishop int 1sS-2sO-ask 2sS-1sO-help-irr 1sS-3sO-want
 Lord bishop I implore you to help me. I want
26. qui navatili yehua tivpoliui temaca ya marques ypapa
 navati-li yehua-ti v-poliui⁹²⁴ temaca-ya marques y-papa
 order-abs 3s.pron-abs pret-lost give-imp marques 3sP-so
 the order. It was lost. The Marques gave it so
27. mopiaz ypa alitepet tzacamota noalitepeu
 mo-pia-z y-pa alitepe-t tzacamota no-alitepeu
 3sR-possess-irr 3sP-for community-abs Tzacamota 1sP-community-rel
 it could it be possessed by the community of Tzacamota, my community.
28. no piaz amati yni nic qui ne qui
 no⁹²⁵-pia-z ama-ti yni ni-cqui-nequi
 1pR-guard-irr paper-abs prt.dem 1sS-3sO-want
 I will guard the paper that I desire.

Page one back

29. yhuān nimitztetlanilia notlanavatili mopoa metzti
 y-huan ni-mtz-tetlani⁹²⁶-lia no-tlanavatili mo-poa metzti
 3sP-and 1sS-2sO-send-app 1sP-message.abs 3sR-count month
 And, I send a message for you. My request will be read. The month is May, [and]

⁹²³ Nayari appears to write *ten* instead of *tlein* or *tlen* which Lockhart (2001: 239) defines as what or that which.

⁹²⁴ Cortés y Zedeño (1765: 106) defines *perderse* (to get lost) as *polihuia*.

⁹²⁵ The use of *nopiaz* is a mistake. The three grammatical possibilities are *nicpiaz* (I will guard it), *ninopiaz* (it will be guarded by me), or *mopiaz* (it will be guarded).

⁹²⁶ *nimitztetlanilia*, *titlani*: *nic*; to send (messages, people on errands); in a Florentine Codex passage, apparently to use and even to expose something to (Lockhart 2001: 235). Possible example of barred i.

30. caztoli tonali nemi mayo vmochiva amati
caztoli tona-li nemi⁹²⁷ mayo v-mo-chiva ama-ti
fifteen day-abs pass May pret-3sR-make letter-abs
fifteen days have passed [when] the letter was made.

Sp: page 4 verso

Line Gloss and translation

1. ___Carta escrita en lengua Mexicana, al Yffino S[anto]
2. P[adre] Joan Ruis, Colmenero, Dignissimo Obpo de la
3. Sta Yglesia Cathedral de Guadalaxara, Por D. Franco.
4. Nayari, Indio = tradusida como suena =
5. titulo de la Carta Este ^{papel} a de leer el famoso guarda de la Casa de Dios, ell
6. Señor Obispo. Ytambien el famoso hijo del Rei a quienes Dios
7. nuestro señor guarde y de muchos dias de vida en que se gozen. (Año de 1649)
8. Señor Obispo, Dios nuestro Señor tenga ya nuestro famoso hijo del rey y
9. tambien a los demas señores y ministros a quienes Dios guarde muchos
10. años=
11. Y yo que me llamo D. Franco Nayari digo pa q asido Dios servido
12. de darme salud, y a todos mis subditos qu[e] se hallan con ella=
13. Y tambien as de saber como estoi en el estado de Christiano
14. conforme me puso el Rei, y como me lo dijo aquel Sr Marques
15. para que no me rebolbiese con los Tepeguanes=
16. Sr Marques e sabido que se dice que los mios Los Comunican
17. la verdad es que tal no pasa ni comu[n]jico eso qte, si no que estandome
18. quieto ellos me andan a buscar qe de verdad son
19. malos los Tepeguanes, y yo si de los Coras, y los demas mis
20. subditos, los Guasamotas, Coras, Ayotuspas, y Guaxicoras estan
21. quietos y assi quiero qui lo sepas=
22. Sr. Obpo y tambien el Rei qe esta en españa, lease este papel
23. en vra Presencia, para que vro corason se quiete, y me quera
24. mucho como yo os quiero, y ahora os digo lo que siento pa que
25. lo sepais y os holguezis y holgarme yo de que no tengo pecado
26. sino que estoi como me aveis puesto=
27. Sr Obpo mucho y con su mision te pido que nos ayudes, en qe
28. se nos embie orden de lo que devemos haser pa que se guarde
29. en el Pueblo, por que la que nos dio El Marques se nos a perdido
30. y deseamos ten ella y este es nro yntento=
31. y tambien te digo que ynbio este papel y razon qdo le cuentan
32. quince del mes de Mayo = aquí a caba el un papel =

⁹²⁷ Because of the contest, I have translated *nemi* as a present perfect form even though it is written as a present tense.

1654 San Martin by Diego Juan, translated by Ricardo García and edited by Kevin Terraciano, Celso Mendoza, León García Galagarza, and Juan Pablo Morales Garza

Page 1 left: Nahuatl and some Spanish

1. Guadalax^a 26 de Mayo 1654
 2. Remitese a el Sr canonigo
 3. casillas para que la interpre[te]
 4. te asi lo proveyo yo Su SSa=el B[achille]r [Ju]an Gallardo
-
1. +
 2. ma yectenehualo yn Santis moSacramento

ma	yectenehua-lo	yn	Santismo	Sacramento
may	praise-pass	prt	Holy	Sacrament

 May the Holy Sacrament,
 3. yhuan yni chipahualiz yn conçepcion

y-huan	yn	i-chipahualiz	yn	conçepcion
3sP-and	prt	3sP-immaculate	prt	Conception

 and the Immaculate Conception be praised.
 4. y tehuantin timomaçehuatl huan Senyor obizpu mixpantzinco timo
 tehuantin ti-mo-maçehuatl⁹²⁸-huan Senyor obizpu m-ixpantzinco⁹²⁹ ti-mo-pechteca-
 co

1p.pron	1pS-2sP-servant-pl	lord	bishop	2sP-presence	1pS-1pR-bow.down-rel
---------	--------------------	------	--------	--------------	----------------------

 We are your servants, lord bishop. We bow down before you,
 5. pechtecaco ticmotinamiquilico momatzin Senyor ma dios es

ti-c-mo-tinamiquili-co	mo-ma-tzin	Senyor ma	dios	espiritu
1pS-3sO-kiss-rel	2sP-hand-rev	lord may	God	spirit

 we kiss your hands, lord. May God the Holy Spirit
 6. pirito Santo moyetzties monahuac mochipacamicac cenca mi

Santo	mo-yetzties	monahuac ⁹³⁰	mochipa	ce	micac	cenca	miyec
holy	3sR-be	with.you	always	always		int	int

 be with you always and forever. We
 7. yec timotlauhtia monahuac timochintin altepehuaque Samātin

ti-mo-tlauhtia	monahuac	ti-mo-chintin	altepehuaque	Sa	mantin
1pS-1pR-implore	with.you	1pS-1pR-all	resident.pl	San	Martin

 the residents of San Martin, beseech you.

⁹²⁸ Diego Juan uses *-tl* in syllable final position in *timomaçehuatlhuan*. Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero (*apud* Santoscoy 1986: 1050) visited San Martin in 1648 or 1649 and wrote that it was populated by Cocas, a non-Nahua group.

⁹²⁹ Diego Juan uses *mixpantzinco* instead of *moixpantzinco*, which other writers use.

⁹³⁰ *monahuac*, *monahuac*: adverbio, contigo (Cortés y Zedeño 1765: 72).

8. ma ypampa dios ma xitechmopalehuili ytechcopa tocabeceras ca ye
 ma y-pampa dios ma xi-tech-mo-palehuili y-techcopa to-cabeceras⁹³¹
 may 3sP-for God ma 2sOP-1pO-2sR-help 3sP-concerning 1pS-cabecera
 ca yehuantin
 prt 3p.pron
 On behalf of God, may you help us concerning our [officials of the] *cabecera* because, by their
9. huantin yntencopa otechtolini Senyor alcalde mayor axcan tiqui
 yn-tencopa o-tech-tolini Senyor alcalde mayor axcan ti-qu-itohua
 3pP-by.order.of pret-1pO-afflict lord alcalde mayor now 1pS-3sO-say
 order, the lord *alcalde mayor* has afflicted us. Now, we the residents of
10. tohua timochintin altepehuaque Sa martin ma ypampa dios titech
 ti-mochin-tin altepehuaque Sa martin ma y-pampa dios
 1pS-all-pl resident.pl San Martin may 3sP-for God
 ti⁹³²-tech-mo-maqui-li-z
 2sS-1pO-2sR-give-app-fut
 San Martin say, for God's sake, may you give us
11. momaquiliz ce teyopixque glerigo yehuatl mochiuh tobicario
 ce teyopixque glerigo yehua-tl mo-chiuh⁹³³ to-bicario
 one priest cleric 3s.pron-abs 3sR-become 1sP-vicar
 a priest to be our vicar.
12. amo ticnequilo tipuhuizque cocolan ypampa yehuantin mochipa
 amo ti-c-nequi-lo ti-puhui⁹³⁴-z-que cocolan y-pampa yehuantin mochipa
 neg 1pS-3sO-want-pl 1pS-belong-fut-pl Cocula 3sP-because 3p.pron always
 We do not want to belong to Cocula because they have

⁹³¹ Diego Juan pluralizes *cabeceras* here, and Celso proposes that it is probably because the notary is referring to the two officials of the *cabecera* because this notary also uses *quim*, the third-person-plural object to refer to the *cabecera* in line 36, footnote 31.

⁹³² Carochi (2001: 106-107) writes that the addition of *mā* to the future of the indicative yields the imperative future in a phrase such as, “*Mā titlapōhuaz*, leas tu despues,” which may mirror Diego Juan’s, *ma...titechmomaquilis*. Carochi (2001: 106) adds that it is common for the temporal adverb *quin* (later) to be added, “*māquintitlapōhuaz*, leas tu despues.”

⁹³³ *Mochiuh* is literally “was made,” of “he made himself.” Celso opines that *mochiuh* has become lexicalized. Refer to footnote 1.

⁹³⁴ Lockhart (2003: 230) writes that *-tech* is needed to convey the sense of *to belong to*, but Diego Juan does not use *-tech*.

13. techcocoliticate ypan alçi amo tlen ypan tec hytalo yhuan ticmatiz
 tech-cocoli⁹³⁵-ti-ca-te y-pan⁹³⁶alçi⁹³⁷ amo tlen y-pan tech-yta-lo y-huan
 1pO-hate-lig-be-pl 3sP-rel arrive neg what 3sP-for 1pO-see-pl 3sP-and
 ti-c-mati-z⁹³⁸
 1pS-3sO-know-fut
 hated us from the beginning; they completely disrespect⁹³⁹ us. May you know
14. melahuac ca hue ca ticate omelehua yhuan tlaco asta cocolan yahuel
 melahuac ca hueca ti-ca-te ome lehua y-huan tlaco asta cocolan ya huel
 true that distant 1pS-be-pl two legua 3sP-and half to Cocula already int
 truly that we are distant. It is two and a half leagues to Cocula. We have been
15. miyec timotolin ticate yca tequitl ma nel yuhqui amo quipualo yehuā
 miyec ti-motolin-ti-ca⁹⁴⁰-te y-ca tequi-tl ma nel yuhqui⁹⁴¹
 int 1pS-afflict-lig-be-pl 3sP-with work-abs although
 amo qui-pua-lo⁹⁴² yehuantin

⁹³⁵ *techcocoliticate, cocolia*: to hate someone or wish someone ill (Lockhart 2001: 215).

⁹³⁶ Although writers of Central Mexican nahuatl use different possessive prefixes to precede *-pan*, every writer from Ávalos uses *i-/y-* (3sP) except for the Franciscan Friar Francisco de Torres who uses *in-*. It appears to have become lexicalized. Refer to footnote one.

⁹³⁷ Lockhart (2001: 210) writes that *pan achi* means to find a person or thing there on one's arrival. This phrase is not in the past, but it conveys a past sense.

⁹³⁸ The *-z* morpheme appears to act in a similar way to the optative here because it signals a condition that has not happened and is either desired, wished, or yet to happen. I judge it to function in a similar way to the modal verbs in English, which fulfill similar functions.

⁹³⁹ The expression *amo tlen ypan techyvalo* resembles other expressions that mean to care nothing such as *ca tle ypa quita* in a document from Azcapotzalco from 1569 (McAfee Collection, box 20), *amo tle ipan quitta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl* (they cared nothing for precious stones, feathers, or turquoise) in Lockhart (1993, 248), and the Huasteca Nahuatl expression *axtlen* (it's nothing) which is used after *tlazcamati* (thank-you). The Nahuatl dictionary (<http://whp.uoregon.edu/dictionaries/nahuatl/index.lasso>) has many other examples under the heading *ipan quitta*.

⁹⁴⁰ Lockhart (2001: 64) writes, “*ca* is also formally preterit, but it is harder to recognize as such and adds that the lost present must have been *cati*, class 2. Its preterit must have been *cat* singular, *catque* plural, although in addition to *cat* there there was a variant with the archaic singular *-qui, catqui*, which still exists in some frozen phrases (*iz catqui*, “here is,” is the most common). As Nahuatl will not long tolerate a final *t*, *cat* became *ca(h)* in the same way that the preterit of *mati*, “to know,” *mat*, became *ma(h)*. The *t* of the plural, protected by a suffix, survived, but perhaps because of the ultra-frequency of the word, the consonant of the suffix was lost, so that instead of *catque* we now see *cate*. Starting with *cat* as the preterit stem, the pluperfect *catca* is regular, and it is used as a preterit/imperfect.”

⁹⁴¹ Refer to the Nahuatl Dictionary at <http://whp.uoregon.edu/dictionaries/nahuatl/index.lasso>.

⁹⁴² In this case, the *-lo* appears to be the passive because it refers to tribute. Lockhart (2001: 223) notes that *-lō* has a long vowel while Carochi (2001: 124) writes it with a regular vowel in the present tense, *nipōhualo*, but with a long vowel in the singular forms of the imperfect, pluperfect, and future aspects. Diego Juan does not mark

neg 3sO-count-pl 3p.pron
suffering greatly with work, although they do not count it. The

16. tin alcaldez cocolan quitohu amo tlen ticchihualo quil çan ticpacticate
alcalde-z cocolan qu-itohu amo tlen ti-c-chihua-lo quil çan
alcalde-pl Cocula 3sO-say.pret neg what 1pS-3sO-do-pl reportedly only
ti-c-pac-ti-ca-te
1pS-3sO-happy-lig-be-pl
alcaldes of Cocula said that, reportedly, we are not doing anything, we are only enjoying ourselves.

17. nican ticmotiliz tlatohuani yhuan ticpuhuas ynquexquich titemacalo ca
nican ti-c-moti-li-z tlatohuani y-huan ti-c-puhua-s yn
here 1pS-3sO-1pR.see-app-con lord 3sP-and 1pS-3sO-read-con prt
quexquich⁹⁴³ ti-temaca-lo cabecera
how.much 1pS-give.tribute⁹⁴⁴-pl *cabecera*
Here, ruler, you will see and read how much we give to the *cabecera*.

18. becera limosna yn nahuac toguardianes
limosna yn-nahuac to-guardian-es
alms 3pP-with 1pP-guardian-pl
The alms to our *guardianes* are:

19. y titemacalo quahuitl ce careta çeçemana _____ limosna
ti-temaca-lo quahui-tl ce careta çeçemana⁹⁴⁵ limosna
1pS-give-pl wood-abs one cart every.week alms
y We give a cart of wood every week _____ alms.

20. y çacatl ome careta çeçemana _____ limosna
çaca-tl ome careta çeçemana limosna
hay-abs two cart every.week
y Two carts of hay every week _____ alms.

21. y michin çeçemana ti[te]macalo _____ limosna
michin çeçemana ti-[te]⁹⁴⁶maca-lo limosna
fish every.week 1pS-hum.IO-give.tribute-pl alms

vowel length in this petition so *-lo* (passive) resembles the *-lo* suffix that signals a plural subject prefix in a verb. Simeon (1988: 388) has *poualo* as *leerse* or *contarse* and describes it as passive or impersonal.

⁹⁴³ This could refer to *yn quexquich* (all).

⁹⁴⁴ Cortes y Zedeño (1765: 74) writes “Maca, 1. temaca” as definitions for *dar* (to give) and in “1653 San Martin,” Diego Juan uses *ticmaca* when listing the tribute that San Martin is giving.

⁹⁴⁵ The notary appears to be combining the second syllable of *çeçe* (every) with the first syllable of *semana* (week) for *çeçemana*, which appears to have a distributive sense. Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart (1976: 175) also notice this in “1653 San Martín.” Refer to footnote one.

⁹⁴⁶ There is a small fold in this portion that may hide a portion of the *te*.

- v we give fish every week _____ alms.
22. v tlaxcali ome tonali titemacalo chiquacempuali _____ limosna
 tlaxcali ome tonali ti-temaca-lo chiquacempuali limosna
 tortilla two day.abs 1pS-give-pl six.twenty.abs alms
v [Each] two days, we give 120 tortillas _____ alms.
23. mochipa ypan chicome tonali yhuan ome totilin _____ limosna
 mochipa y-pan chicome tonali y-huan⁹⁴⁷ ome totilin⁹⁴⁸
 Every 3sP-on seven day 3sP-and two turkeys
 Every seven days...and two turkeys _____ alms.
24. v tototelt çempuali momaca axcan quaresma _____ limosna
 totot-telçempuali mo-maca axcan⁹⁴⁹ quaresma limosna
 egg-pl one.twenty 3sR-give during lent alms
v Twenty eggs are given during for Lent _____ alms.
25. v ortelan çeçemana titemacalo mochipa _____ limosna
 ortelan⁹⁵⁰ çeçemana ti-temaca-lo mochipa limosna
 turtle.dove every.week 1pS-give-pl always alms
 We give turtle doves every week _____ alms.
26. v cabalyo pixqui çe cemana titemacalo mochipa _____ limosna
 cabalyo pixqui⁹⁵¹ çecemana ti-temaca⁹⁵²-lo mochipa limosna
 horse keeper every.week 1pS-give-pl always alms
 We always give a horse-keeper every week _____ alms.
27. __atlt para coniz totatzin çeçemana yhuan nican tihuicalo tochan limosna
 al-tl para coniz⁹⁵³-z to-tatzin çeçemana y-huan nican
 water-abs drinking 1pP-father.rev every.week 3sP-and here
 ti-huica-lo to-chan limosna
 1pS-bring-pl 1pP-home alms

⁹⁴⁷ The use of *yhuan* (and) and *asço* (if) do not fit the basic word order of Nahuatl in which particles generally precede a clause or phrase that they connect to another clause or phrase. Celso proposes that *yhuan* may follow a number that Diego Juan forgot to write. Refer to footnote one.

⁹⁴⁸ In many Nahua communities, *totolin* refers to turkeys.

⁹⁴⁹ Diego Juan dated this document to March 2, 1654, which falls around Lent.

⁹⁵⁰ hortelano: *Diccionario de la lengua española*, .

⁹⁵¹ The best translation of *cabalyo pixqui* is probably a horse keeper, a person who is in charge of maintaining the horse.

⁹⁵² Here, Diego Juan uses *titemacalo* to either mean that they give the horse keeper or give money to pay a horse keeper.

⁹⁵³ The phrase *para coniz* literally means to drink, but I'm glossing it as drinking.

We bring drinking water here from our home for our father every week_____alms.

28. __yquac monequi bigas ompa compento titemacalo_____limosna
 y-quac mo-nequi biga-s ompa compento ti-temaca-lo limosna
 3sP-when 3sR-want beam-pl there convent 1pS-give-pl alms
 When wooden beams are needed there in the convent [of Cocula], we give them_____alms.

29. __as çomonequi tablas titemacalo_____limosna
 asço mo-nequi tabla-s ti-temaca-lo limosna
 prt 3sR-need lumber-pl 1pS-give-pl alms
 If needed, we give lumber_____alms.

30. __yquac monequi as ço ometlacatl tlapalehuia teyopan
 y-quac mo-nequi asço⁹⁵⁴ ome tluca-tl tla-palehuia teyopan
 3sP-when 3sR-need if two person-abs nhumIO-help church
 Whenever needed, we give two people to help at the

31. compento titemacalo_____limosna
 compento ti-temaca-lo limosna
 convent 1pS-give-pl alms
 convent. We give_____alms.

Page 1 right: Nahuatl

32. __yn tla monequi titlantli ynahuac toguardian titemacalo_____limosna
 yn-tla mo-nequi titlantli⁹⁵⁵ y-nahuac to-guardian ti-temaca-lo limosna
 prt-if 3sR-need messenger.abs 3sP-with 1pS-guardian 1pS-give-pl alms
 If a messenger is needed, we give [one] to our *guardian*_____alms.

33. __mochi yn quexquich nican yquilotica huel melahuac yxpan
 mochi yn quexquich nican yquilo⁹⁵⁶-ti-ca huel melahuac yxpan
 all prt how here writing-lig-with int true before
 Here all that is written here is very true. Before

34. dios amotiztlacatilo catitemacalo amotechtlaxtlahuilia
 dios amo t-iztlacati-lo ca ti-temaca-lo amo tech-tlaxtlahui-lia
 God neg 1pS-lie-pl prt 1pS-give-pl neg 1pO-nhumIO.compensate⁹⁵⁷-app
 God we do not lie, for we give and they do not compensate us for it.

⁹⁵⁴ The use of *asço* in the middle...

⁹⁵⁵ sv. *titlantli*: messenger (Karttunen, 241).

⁹⁵⁶ Here, the notary uses *yquilo*, the Italian *qui* /k^{wi}/.

⁹⁵⁷ *techtlaxtlahuilia*, *ixtlāhua*: *nic*; to pay, pay back; Class 2, *ōniquixtlāuh*; it bears *tla-* object prefix much of the time (Lockhart 2001: 222).

35. ma nel yuhqui amo techtequipachoaya tiquimpalehuiaya toca
manel yuhqui amo tech-tequipachoa-ya ti-quim⁹⁵⁸-palehuia-ya to-cabeceras
 although neg 1pO-bother-imp 1pS-3pO-help-imp 1pP-cabecera
 We would help our *cabecera* as if it did not bother us.
36. beceras axcan ma dios quinmopieli ma yçeltin quite
 axcan ma dios quin-mo-pie-li ma y-çeltin qui-tequipano-can
 now may God 3sO-3sR-guard-app may 3sP-themselves 3sO-work-pl
 Now, may God guard them, may the priest[s], the *guardiane*[s] serve themselves.
37. quipanocan teyopixqui guardian axcan nican otimoçentlali
 teyopixqui guardian axcan nican o-ti-mo-çentlali-que
 priest guardian today here pret-1pS-1pR-gather.together-pl
 Today, we have gathered here together,
38. que timochintin maçehuatl tin yhuan huehuelque ma ypampa dios
 ti-mochin-tin maçehuatl-tin y-huan huehuet⁹⁵⁹-que ma y-pampa Dios
 1pS-all-pl commoner⁹⁶⁰-pl 3sP-and elder-pl may 3sP-because.of God
 all of us, the commoners and the elders. On behalf of God,
39. ma titechmomaquilis ce teyopixqui glerico yehuatl
 ma ti-tech-mo-maqui-li-s ce teyopixqui glerico yehua-tl
 may 2sS-1pO-2sR-give-app-con one priest cleric 3s.pron-abs
 may you give us a priest who
40. mochihuas tobicario nican Sa martin yhuan axcan toguar
 mo-chihua-s to-bicario nican Sa martin y-huan axcan to-guardian
 3sR-make-fut 1pP-vicar here San Martin 3sP-and now 1pP-guardian
 will can become our vicar here in San Martin. And now, our *guardian*
41. dian huel moqualantia tonahuac ypampa nican quichihua misa totatzi bila
 huel mo-qualan⁹⁶¹-tia to-nahuac y-pampa nican qui-chihua
 misa
 int 3sR-be.angry-cau 1pS-with 3sP-because here 3sO-perform
 mass
 to-tatzi bilalobus
 1pP-father Villalobos
 is angry with us because, here, our father Villalobos performs mass.
42. lobus quitohua quitzaquas teyopan yhuan mochi ornamento techquix
 qu-itohua qui-tzaqua-s teyopan y-huan mochi ornamento tech-quixtili-s

⁹⁵⁸ Here, the *quim-* appears to refer to the officials of the *cabecera*.

⁹⁵⁹ The notary here does not mention nobles, which is instructive and may represent an Indigenous group without less social stratification than Nahuatl groups from Central Mexico. Refer to Nahuas after the conquest.

⁹⁶⁰ The word *macehualli* could refer to many peoples are using *macehualli* to refer to a commoner.

⁹⁶¹ *Moqualantia* is a reverential form.

- 3sO-say 3sO-lock.up-fut church 3sP-and all ornaments 1pO-take.away-fut
 He [*guardian*] says he will lock the church and will remove all of the [church] properties from
 us [and]
43. tilis quihuicas ompa cocolan amo quinequi nican quichihuas misa tota
 qui-huica-s ompa cocolan amo qui-nequi nican qui-chihua⁹⁶²-s misa to-ta-tzin
 3sO-take-fut there Cocula neg 3sO-want here 3sO-perform-fut mass 1pP-father-rev
 he will take them to Cocula. He does not want our father
44. tzin bilalopus mochipa tech ahu ypanpa yca ynon huel timotequipachoa
 bilalopus mochipa tech-ahu[a]⁹⁶³ y-panpay-ca yn-on huel
 Villalobos always 1pO-scold 3sP-because 3sP-with prt-that int
 ti-mo-tequipachoa⁹⁶⁴
 1-1pR-afflict
 Villalobos to perform mass here. He always scolds us. Because of that we are greatly afflicted.
45. çaiçmera yao quihuica otechquixtili yca ynon huel timotequipachohua timo
 crizmera⁹⁶⁵ ya o-qui-huica o-tech-quixti-li yn-on huel
 chrism.urn already pret-3sO-take pret-1pO-remove-app prt-dem int
 ti-mo-tequipachohua ti-mochin-tin
 1pS-1pR-afflict 1pS-all-pl
 He has already taken the *chrism* urn; he took it away from us. Because of that all of us
46. chintin altepehuaque ya yxquich totlatol ma dios mitzmopielitlatohuani
 altepehua-que ya yxquich to-tlatol ma dios mitz-mo-pie-li tlatohuani
 resident-pl already all 1pP-word may God 2sP-3sR-guard-app lord
 residents of the *altepetl* are really afflicted. That is all we have to say. May God guard you lord.
47. otitlaquiloque axcan lunes çempuali 2 tonali março yhuan xiuitl 1654
 o-ti-tlaquilo-que axcan lunes çem-puali 2 tonali março y-huan xiui-tl 1654
 pret-1pS-write-pl now Monday one-twenty 2 day.abs March 3sP-and year-abs 1654
 We wrote today, Monday, March 22, 1654.
48. ynic neltiz totlatol nican timofirmatia timochinti altepehuaque Sa mar[tin]
yn-ic neltiz to-tlatol nican ti-mo-firmatia ti-mochin-tin altepehuaque Sa Martin
 prt-how true 1pP-word here 1pS-1pR-sign 1pS-all-pl resident.pl San Martin.
 So that our words will be verified, here we sign. All of us residents of San Martin
49. tin mochintin omoçetlali que bernabe leantro
 mochin-tin o-mo-çetlali-que bernabe leantro
 all-pl pret-3sR-gather-pl Bernabe Leandro
 are gathered: Bernabe Leandro *alcalde*

⁹⁶² *Qui*

⁹⁶³ *techahu, techahhua*: scold (Lockhart 2001: 210).

⁹⁶⁴ Here, one would expect to see the *-lo* indicating that the verb requires a plural subject.

⁹⁶⁵ A container or receptacle where the *chrism*, a type of oil, is kept.

50. alcalde Samartin
alcalde San Martin
of San Martin;
51. diego andres nicolas quutieres fra^{co} miguel huehuetlacatl
diego andres nicolas quutieres fra^{co} miguel huehuetlaca-tl
Diego Andres Nicolas Gutierrez Francisco Miguel elder-abs
Diego Andres *regidor*; Nicolas Gutierrez *fiscal*;⁹⁶⁶
52. regidor fiscal
regidor fiscal
regidor fiscal
Francisco Miguel elder;
53. Juan es[teban] Juan de la cruz Luyz basques Luyz martin Juan caspar
Juan esteban Juan de la cruz Luyz basques Luyz martin Juan caspar
Juan Esteban Juan de la Cruz Luis Vazquez Luis Martin Juan Gaspar
Juan Esteban; Juan de la Cruz, Luis Vazquez,
54. teban
teban
[See line above]
Luis Martin, Juan Gaspar,
55. fra^{co} marqus allonso martin fran^{co} çabastian allonso reyes
fra^{co} marqus allonso martin fran^{co} çabastian allonso reyes
Francisco Marcos Alonzo Martin Francisco Sebastian Alonzo Reyes
Francisco Marcos, Alonzo Martin, Francisco Sebastian, Alonzo Reyes,
56. Juan danyel diego Juçepa diego Juan onitlaquilo yntencopa
Juan danyel diego Juçepa diego Juan o-ni-tlaquilo yntencopa
Juan Daniel Diego Josepa Diego Juan pret-1sS-write by.order.of
Juan Daniel, Diego Josepa. Diego Juan, I wrote by order of
57. mochintin altepehuaque
mochin-tin altepehua-que
all-pl resident-pl
all of the residents.

⁹⁶⁶ Refer to Gibson. According to Kevin, he is one of the most important people in the town.

Appendix C: Loan Words

Part 1: Tables of Christian Names in the Nahuatl Documents of Northwestern New Spain

Appendix C has tables with loan words from Spanish. The first part has five tables about Christian names in the Nahuatl documents of four regions of Northwestern New Spain. The first column contains the abbreviation of the province together with the name of the document [refer to Chapter 1].⁹⁶⁷ The second column contains names of Indigenous persons, whereas the third column refers to Spaniards. The last column identifies the type of parish, if known, around the time when the document was written.

C-1: Coldlands: Minas de Chimaltitlan (Chim), Juchipila (Ju), Lagos (La), El Gran Nayar (Nay), Nombre de Dios (Nom), Tachichilco (Ta), and Tequila (Te)

Province and Document Name	Names of Indigenous persons	Names of Spaniards	Type of Parish
Chim: 1580a Nochistlan	Juan Alonzo, Diego Cante, Pedro Sanchez, Pedro Garcia, Miguel Sanchez, Francisco Tepo, and Juan Solio	Francisco Hernandez	Franciscan <i>doctrina</i>
Chim: 1580b Nochistlan	JA (see above), Juan Francisco, Pedro Tasual, Pedro Gaspar, Juan Julio, Cristobal Panen, Pablo Soli	Antonio de Medina,	Franciscan <i>doctrina</i>
Chim: 1646 Tequepechpan	Agustin Lazaro, Pedro Miguel, Pedro Felipe, Francisco Daniel, Juan Lorenzo, Juan Miguel, Francisco Rafael (notary)	Antonio Gonzalez	Franciscan <i>visita</i> of Xalisco and/or Xala
Chim: 1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	Francisco Martin, Sebastian, Juan Martin, Pedro Juantzin, Juan Lopez, Juan Jeronimo	none	Franciscan <i>visita</i>
Ju: 1652: S.F. Juchipila	Miguel Jose, Francisco Juan, Martin Jose, Francisco Esteban, Martin Felipe, Martin Gabriel, Juan Toribio, Juan Bautista, Juan Petres de Chavez, Juan Flores, and Juan Sebastian	Fray Bernabe	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
La: 1683 San Gaspar Tlacintla	Pedro Gaspar, Francisco Martin, Nicolas Dionisio, and Nicolas Alonzo	none	Unclear
Nay: 1649a Tzacamota	Don Francisco Nayari	none	Franciscans from different <i>cabeceras</i>
Nay: 1649b Tzacamota	Juan of El Nayar, DFN (as above)	Francisco, Don Diego Felipe	Franciscans

⁹⁶⁷ Provinces changed over time, but this column contains information about the name of the province at the time the document was written.

Nay: 1649c Tzacamota	DFN (as above), Miguel Jeronimo	Miguel Candela, Bartolome Juarez,	Franciscans
Nom: N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585	Gaspar Rodriguez, Rodrigo de Rio, Alonzo Miguel, Luis Hernandez, Francisco Hernandez, Bartolome de Los Angeles, Mateo Sanchez, Pedro Elias	Fray Juan de Cerado, Ortiz, Don Diego, Diego de Vara, Don Pedro, Juan Fernandez, Ganaova	Cabecera of Franciscans
Tac: 1642 Contlan	Juan Miguel, Miguel Angel, Francisca, Francisco Martin, Juan Miguel, Alonzo Felipe	Juan Juarez	Secular parish
Tac: 1649 Ocotitic	Agustin, Juan Miguel, Anton de la Cruz, Sebastian, Juan, Agustin Jimenez, Francisco, Hernando, Miguel, Anton Felipe, Pablo, Martin, Mateo, Agustin Sebastian, Juan Diego,	Fray Francisco, Fray Juan the Castilian,	Secular parish
Tequila: N.Y. Aquautitan	Francisco Miguel, Juan Lucas, Juan Antonio, Juan Diego, Diego Jeronima, Juan Esteban, Francisco de Mesa, Miguel Barquero, Juan Bautista, Cristobal, Diego Garcia,		Secular parish

C-2: Acaponeta et al: Acaponeta (Aca), Compostela (Comp), Izatlan (Iza), and Tala (Ta).

Province and Document Name	Names of Indians	Names of Spaniards	Type of Parish
Aca: 1652a S.A. Quihuiquinta ⁹⁶⁸	Elias Garcia, Gaspar Garcia, Elias de la Cruz, Melchor Hernandez, Sebastian Garcia, Juan Miguel, Lucas de la Cruz, Miguel Hernandez, Ambrosio Jimenes	Ponce de Leon,	Franciscan convent
Aca: 1652b S.A. Quihuiquinta	LdC, Bartolome Miguel, SG	Fray Juan Vizcarra,	Franciscan convent
Aca: 1652a S.S. Guaxicori	Simon Felipe, Mateo Juan, Zacarias, Lucas de la Cruz, Diegon Martin, Jacobo Garcia, Gabriel Miguel	Don Pedro de Zorita	Franciscan visita
Aca: 1652b S.S. Guaxicori	LdC (above), Sebastian Garcia, Lucas de la Cruz	Juan Vizcarra	Franciscan visita
Comp: 1593a Xalisco	Don Juan Cristobal, Alonzo Abias, Tomas de Aquino, Gonzalo Juan, Andres Felipe,	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Comp: 1593b Xalisco	none	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Comp: n.y. Xalisco, ca. 1593	none	fray Miguel de Lezo, fray Luis Menor	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Comp: 1594a Xalisco	none	fray Alonzo de Vilviesca, Fray Antonio de Roua	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>

⁹⁶⁸ The notary writes that the petition is on behalf of the Totorames, a group that is possibly Tepehuano/Tepecano.

Comp: 1595a Xalisco	none	fray Miguel de Leço, Andres de Metina	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Comp: 1595b Xalisco	Francisco Pedro Gonzalez, Cristóbal Francisco, Francisco Pedro Ángel , Juan Lázaro,	None	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Iza: 1593a Oconahuac	Alonzo Miguel, Pedro Rosas, Martin Mateo, Antonio Marcos, Francisco Zollenzo, Juan Mateo, Alonzo Santzin, Juan Mateo, Alonzo Simon, Hernando Benito, Alonzo Javier, Juan Bernabe, Francisco Simon, Gabriel Melchor, Juan Mateo, Juan Garcia, Pedro Miguel, Don Antonio, Pedro Felipe, Juan Garcia, Don Pedro Juan Martin	None	Franciscan <i>visita</i>
Iza: 1593b Oconahuac	Pedro Juantzin,	Fray Alonzo, Fray Antonio, Fray Diego Zatlanono, Fray Luis Navarro, Fray Martin de Aguayo, Fray Francisco, Fray Miguel, Fray Juan de Ableco	Franciscan <i>visita</i>
Iza: 1593c Oconahuac	Pedro Martin, AM (above), Pedro Lucas, Hernando Rafael, JM (above), Francisco Lorenzo, Tomas Marcos, JG (above), Antonio Lorenzo, Francisco Mateo, Hernando Sebastian		Franciscan <i>visita</i>
Iza: 1622 S.Ma Magdalena	Maria Magdalena,	Don Sebastian,	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Iza: 1649a S.Ma Magdalena	Juan Bautista, Francisco Lucas, Francisco Simon, Andres Miguel	Martin de Agiazca	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Iza: 1649b S.Ma Magdalena	JB, Lucas Miguel, FS, AM	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Iza: 1649 S. F. Ayahualulco	Not finished	Not finished	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Iza: 1661 Etzatlan	Diego Felipe, Francisco Luis, Juan Perez, Juan Marcos, Giuseppi Lorenzo, Juan Miguel, Diego Felipe, Bernardino Esteban	Fray Diego Rodriguez,	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Ta: 1600 Tala	Juan Felipe, Juan Gonzalez, Francisco Jeronimo, Francisco Felipe, Francisco Anbrinan, and Francisco Martin	Don Fernando, Jeronimo de Ortega,	Before 1605, it had a <i>beneficiado</i> priest.

C-3: Ameca et al: Ameca (Ame), Amula (Amu), Cajititlan (Caj), Colima (Col), Guadalajara (Guad), Poncitlan (Pon), Tala, and Tlajomulco (Tlaj).

Province and Document Name	Names of Indians	Names of Spaniards	Type of Parish
Ame: 1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezco: One of my early transcriptions. I may need to redo it.	Simeon Cardes, Francisco Hernandez, Juan Antonio, Juan Perez, Pablo Juachim,	none	Franciscan <i>visita</i> of Zapotitlan

	Francisco Martin, Juan Bonifacio, Francisco Felipe		
Amu: 1649 Tachichilco	Juan Zacarias, Diego Felipe, Juan Miguel	none	Secular parish
Caj: 1644 Cajititlan	Baltasar Sebastian, Francisco de la Cruz, Francisco Marcos/Martin, Pedro Simon, Francisco Sebastian (notary), Pedro Jeronimo, Juan Miguel	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i> in Tlajomulco
Col: 1622 Coahuatlan	Sebastian Juan Martin, Francisco Cuevas, Pedro Puy (notary), Francisco Mateo	Pedro Zolorzano, Juan Alonzo Lezo, Benito Pereyra,	
Col: 1637 Coahuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	Juan Agustin, Francisco Mateo, Juan Cristobal, Miguel Daniel, Miguel Jeronimo, Juan Agustin, Miguel Francisco, Martin Jimenez, Lucas Lopez, Juan Cruz (notary),	none	
Guad: 1656 Tonalá	none	none	Augustinian <i>cabecera</i>
Guad: 1657 Tonalá	Pedro Gaspar, Pedro Gaspar, Juan Baltasar, Juan Felipe, Francisco Miguel, Juan Miguel, Antonio Lorenzo, Francisco Pedro, Juan Felipe, Francisco Simeon, Francisco Martin, Francisco Zacarias, Francisco Miguel, Juan Felipe, Francisco Baltasar, Juan de Chavez, Felipe Juan Martin, Domingo de Ramos (notary)	fray Nicolas de Zuñiga, fray Manuel,	Augustinian <i>cabecera</i>
Guad: 1679 Analco	Francisco Melchor, Juan Bernabe, Gregorio de Sandoval,	provisor Don Baltasar de la Peña y Medina,	
Tlaj: 1630 Tlajomulco	Simon Agustin, Francisco Agustin, Pedro Lorenzo, Francisco Felipe, Miguel, Pedro Juantzin, Diego Martin, Don Pedro Luis, Diego Felipe, Gaspar Jimenez, Miguel Gregorio, Don Juan Vazquez, Gaspar Lorenzo, Francisco Miguel	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Tlaj: n.y. Tlajomulco	PL (above), GJ, Francisco Fernandez, Pedro Fabian, Simon Gaspar, Alonzo Sebastian, Cristobal Esteban, MG, FF, Alonzo Miguel, DF, JV, FA, Pedro Felipe, SA, Juan Gonzalo	none	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
Tlaj: n.y. S. Cacel Tlajomulco	Miguel Gabriel, Juan Antonio, Blas Fabian, Alonzo Martin	none	Franciscan <i>visita</i>

C-4: Ávalos

Province and Document Name	Names of Indians	Names of Spaniards	Type of Parish
1626 San Francisco Chapalac	none	fray Joseph Lopez de Carpio, fray Francisco de Torres	Franciscan <i>cabecera</i>
1629 San Francisco Zacoalco by Juan Fabian	Juan Diego, Juan Fabian (notary), Pedro Leon, Juan Ciprian, Juan Agustin, Juan Miguel, Juan Baltasar, Pedro Juan, Magdalena Barbola, Baltasar Lorenzo, Pedro Mendoza, Mariana	fray Melchor, fray Andres Meriena,	
1653 Amatitlan	Francisco de Santiago Tejedor, Miguel Angel, Juan Cruz, Miguel Agustin, Juan Pablo	Don Giuseppe D'Abalos, Don Lucas Canbiros, Pedro Sarmiento, Don Jeronimo	
1653 San Martin	Luis Vasquez, Juan Guerra, Juan Sebastian, Juan de la Cruz, Francisco Miguel, Juan Estevan, Juan Agustín, Bernabe Leandro, Francisco Sebastian, Luis Martin, Pedro Jeronimo, Diego Juan	none	<i>Sujeto</i> of the Franciscan <i>cabecera</i> of Cocula
1654 San Martin	Diego Andres, Nicolas Gutierrez, Juan Gaspar, Francisco Marcos, Alonzo Martin, Alonzo Reyes, Juan Daniel, Diego Giuseppe,	Villalobos,	<i>Sujeto</i> of the Franciscan <i>cabecera</i> of Cocula
1658 San Francisco Tizapan	Juan Agustin, Fabian Jeronimo, Francisco Jacobo, Diego Juan, Gaspar Torres, Antonio Cristobal, Juan Sebastian (notary)	Fray Esteban Velasco,	
1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	Juan Antonio, Juan Jacobo, Francisco Sebastian, Francisco Gaspar, Francisco Esteban, Pedro Diego, Miguel Gregorio, Juan Gabriel, Francisco Diego, Martin Sebastian, Miguel Angel, Domingo Hernandez, Pedro Miguel, Diego Felipe (notary)	none	
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	Alonzo Felipe, Pedro Juan	Fray Diego Servantes	
1669 Sta. Ma. Magdalena Tizapan	Juan Alonzo, Sebastian Gabriel, Juan Felipe, Diego Martin, Francisco Miguel	none	
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	Juan Nicolas, Melchor, Briseño, Diego Jacobo	Fray Alonzo Duran, Don Giuseppe	
1679 Sayula	Francisco Diego, Nicolas Hernandez, Juan Sebastian, Sebastian Lorenzo, Diego Sebastian, Gaspar Sebastian, Francisco Gaspar, Diego Felipe, Miguel Andres, Pedro Sanchez, Domingo Santiago, Diego Juan, Esteban Francisco, Agustin Francisco, Juan Martin, Sebastian	none	

	Pablo, Tomas Hernandez, Pedro Juan, and Francisco Miguel.		
1682 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Felipe Alonzo, Juan Ambrosio, Juan Martin, Pascual Miguel, Antonio Jimenez, Pedro Felipe, Francisco Esteban, Francisco Felipe, Juan Pascual, Juan Baltasar, Francisco Felipe, Felipe Juan, Juan Francisco, Juan Miguel, Antonio Miguel, Mateo Rodriguez,	Fray Juan Pablo, lietenant Esteban Diaz	
1686 San Pedrotepec	Pedro Juantzin, Juan Bautista, Francisco Juan, Tomas Martin, Gregorio Jacobo, Juan de la Cruz, Andres Martin, Diego Pedro, Juan Sebrian, Agustin Chavez, Jose Martin, Tomas Bautista, Juan Miguel, Juan Jose, Juan Lucas, Gaspar Felipe, Juan Felipe, Matias Bautista, Tomas Martin	Agustin Alcala, Nicolas Micheles,	
1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	Juan Hernandez, Diego Gomez	Lord Ahumada	
1692 San Andres Atotonilco	Francisco Jeronimo, Diego Lorenzo, Diego Sebastian, Francisco Martin, Juan Francisco, Hernando Miguel, Juan J ^o J ^o , Miguel Baltasar, Miguel Angel, Miguel Baltasar, Juan Cristobal, Diego Lucas	none	
1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	Luis Sebastian, Diego Gomez, Jose Motete	Don Gregorio	
1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Diego Vasquez, Tomas Miguel Mateo Rodriguez, Francisco Miguel, Gregorio de la Cruz	none	
n.y. Santiago S. F. Zayolan	Francisco Hernandez, Diego Garcia, Salvador Diego, Agustin Santiago, Andres Juan, Juan Angel, Pedro Juan, Juan Sebastian, Mateo Francisco, Domingo Sebastian, Juan Sebastian, Francisco Gaspar, Juan Tomas, Domingo Sebastian, Pedro Sebastian	Juan de la Cruz ⁹⁶⁹	

C-5: Most popular Indigenous names in Northwestern New Spain

	First name and/or Middle Name	Last Name	Name with –tzin.
Most common	Juan: 128	Hernandez: 15	Pedro Juantzin: 4
2nd most common	Francisco: 79	Cruz: 11	Alonzo Santzin: 1
3rd most common	Miguel: 55	Garcia: 10	None

⁹⁶⁹ There is ambiguity about Juan de la Cruz who appears to be an Indian because de la Cruz tended to refer to Indians. However, the elites of “n.y. Santiago San Francisco Zayula” claim that they rented land to him; that he died; that he promised not to leave such land to his child; and that after his death, a Spaniard held this land.

Part 2: Tables of Loanwords from Spanish that are not Names

The second part of Appendix C contains five tables that contain information about loanwords that are not names [Chapter 4]. I have organized the first four tables alphabetically by the name of the province, which appears in the first column. Since many provinces have more than petition, I have made the year-date of the petition, in the second column, the next factor for organization (Refer to Chapter 1 for naming conventions). If the petition lacks a year-date (N.Y.), I have placed it at the end.

Table B-1 contains all fifteen documents from the cold lands.⁹⁷⁰ The third column contains words related to Catholicism including names of saints, names of feast-days, baptismal names, titles of offices, and buildings and practices required by Catholicism. The next column contains the names associated with the imperial government including titles of offices, names for spatial organization (i.e. ciudad), names of towns or cities, and names of European ethnic groups. The last column has all other terms such as temporal terms (i.e. semana, Mayo), animals, and things.

C-6: Loanwords from Spanish in eight cold-land provinces

Province	13 Petitions	Catholic terms	Imperial government	Other terms
Chimaltitan, Minas de	1646 Tequepechpan	Antonyo gonçalles, dios	topetiziyon/topetiçion, alde, regidor, niescribano	mayo, 1646 años, tofirma
Chimaltitan, Minas de	1678 Santiago Pochotitlan	S ^r obispo, santa maria conspsion/santa maria consepsion, ⁹⁷¹ misa/ misas/ misa anibersario/misa	to s ^r alcalde mayor, alcalde, regidor	peso/pesos, cadelas, tomin (fraction of a peso), panishuelos,

⁹⁷⁰ Arregui (1946: 10-11) proposed that the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountain Range and the Grande de Santiago River cut Nueva Galicia in half: the first divided this region from the southeast to the northwest at a point seventeen leagues east of Guadalajara, near the mines of Santo Domingo and the pass of Mochitiltic; and the latter divided it close to Lake Chapala at a place known as Chinauatengo. He asserted that regions to the north and east of this divide represented “tierras frias” and those to the south and west were “calientes” [Refer to Chapter 2].

⁹⁷¹ I have attempted to place variant orthographies or forms of words side-by-side and separated by the symbol “/”. However, I have made some exceptions when too many forms are present as in *santo* and *santa*.

		consepsion/misa resada, mayordomo/mayordomos, toseniora, animas, nitoguardia, semana santa, ilhuzin espiritu/ylhuitzin corpus/ilhuitzin san francisco/ilhuitzin San Andres/ilhuitzin nochibue, mantamintos, santospital		cantores, nobillos, pies, bestias, se eradero, se baca, sensia, diciembre, xihuitl 1678 años, firmas
Juchipila	1652: San Francisco Juchipila	su señoría, Señor, dios, bobispo, pasision/pasion, crusifixus de gosnes, phiernes santo, santa cofradia suledad, limosna/tolimosna, tescomonion, frai bernabe, San Fra ^{co} , pheli[pe], phlores	tialldes, prinsipales, petision, alde, Regidor, hespanyoles,	ce arroba cantela, ypan monumento, Juebes, abril, 1652 años, otimafirmatique
Lagos	1683 San Gaspar Tlacintla	San Guaspar, padre bicar, dios, caso;la, para Santa gospital, frioste, mayordomo, Santa ygleçia,	alBace, alcalde, escribano,	ornamentos, libro, palyas, censario, frontales negro, campanilyo, campanas, pesos, timofirmatilo, años, ce crus de palo,
El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	Dios, Señor vispo, Don Frn ^{co} , nichrstiano	tlatoan Rei/Rei espania, marques tlatoani,	nicora, corami, mayo
El Gran Nayar	1649b Tzacamota	Dios, Señor vispo, gobento, fricafila (Francisco?), filibe, Don fran ^{co} Nayar	tlatuani marques, Rei	mocorona/ycorona/corona, inayar, corami, corame
El Gran Nayar	1649c Tzacamota	Señor vispo, miqueli ca Dela, Don Fran ^{co} Nayari, partolome Roares capitana, Dios	tlatoani Rei, nomaguiztlatzopilitzin Rei	espana, nimofirmatia
El Gran Nayar	1649d Tzacamota	Señor vispo, Dios	nomaguiztlatzopilitzin Rei	none
Lagos/ Teocaltiche	1611 Jalostotitlan	Ju ^o Vicenti, Miguel Lopez, tovicaria/tovicario, Fran ^{co} Muñus, sachristan/sacristan, alba, ystula, manipulo, padre, vigilia San Andres, huey yglesia, Sancto Sacramento/santissimo sacram ^o , Jueves Sancto, señr prouisor/proui/ prouisor, San Gaspar tlaca, su señoría obispo/señr obispo, nivicario, ylhuitl Santa María Natiuitias, Asperges, Catalina Juana, teotlatoli sermon, ypilhuan diablo,	alld ^e , titorrey, fiscal/nifiscal, nobara/mobara, titorrey,	ce señr ^a /señora, estancia, Jueves Sancto, cocinero, ce domingo, matlacti oras, 15 p ^o s, 2 t ^o ,
Nombre de Dios	N.Y. Nombre de Dios ca. 1585	nobre de Dios, Fracisco de Susa/Fracisco de Sosan, do Diego/Do Diego Domingo, tipedro, partholome de los	bila/vila, alcalde ordinario, alldesme/amalcaldesme /talcaldesme/	lonestica, melgonestica

		ajeles/Bartolome de los Ajeles, Jua de Sapedrotzin/ Juan de S. Pedro, Fran ^{co} Hernandez,	talcatesme, capitatia/capitan/ ticapitatin, castilteca	
Tacotlan	1642 Contlan	tobicario, Ju ^o Xuares, miqui/miguelangel, fran ^{ca} siguatonti, dios, pelipe, frioste	alcalde/nialcalde/ tinoalcalde, nopeticion, justicia/moJusticia, Rei, mayor, rregidor	ce cilla, ce corasa estribas, bacas macuilli, ce bueyes, ce prejas ⁹⁷²
Tacotlan	1649 Ocotitic	dios, Señor obispo/Señor tlatohuani, friol/tofriol fray franco, Sa gleçia, sepultura, cumbento, Anton de la Cruz, Agoustin, Juan miguel, Diego, Anton Pelipe, Pablo	frincipal/principal, toreya, destigu/destigos, alde/alcalde destigu/destigus, Señor correxidor, cubernador,	tumines, bara, mortero, ymachete, ybonete, molindera, harriero, tacurtirohua, bino, candela, xabato, tofirmas, domingo, anos, castilye
Tepeque, Minas de	1580a Nochistlan	dios, Sanfa ^{co} , Ju ^o allosa	alde/alcarte mayor/ alltesme, alguacil mayor	Salinas
Tepeque, Minas de	1580b Nochistlan	dios, sac fran ^{co} , antoniyo	señor blexidente, alldemayor/dialldesme/ alde	pesos, cavallo, sapras (goats), prias ⁹⁷³
Tequila	N.Y. Aquautitan	dios, fran ^{co} miguel, Ju ^o Lucas, chistopar	topetecion, principalis, pleto, compernator, alcates, alalate Oqotitic	decempre, virma

Tables B-2, B-3, and B-4 contain Spanish loanwords in documents from the hotlands. However, I have divided the large number of documents into three tables: B-2, B-3, and B-4. Table B-2 follows the same conventions as B-1 for the provinces of Acaponeta and Compostela, which are northwest of Guadalajara, and Izatlan and Tala, which are west of this city [Refer to Chapter 2].

C-7: Loanwords in the hotland provinces of Acaponeta, Compostela, Izatlan, and Tala.

Province	19 petitions	Catholicism	Imperial government	Other terms
Acaponeta	1652a S. Antonio Quihuiquinta ⁹⁷⁴	Samtoniyo, comvento/comvinto, vartian/vartianis, Santo, pascua, mayortomo/nimayortomo, ylias, caspar, marolesençia, dios, provinçial, carçiya, miguil, amprioçe, Santa maria, Jesus, sinoria	topedeçio, alnasel, tocapitan, majestat, pleto, alcalte	mardes, aprilis, a ^{os} ni/anhos, totoramis, banishuilos/banisvilos, candela, avansole, xicçomperma, titofirmatia

⁹⁷² The word *brejas* probably refers to *ovejas* (sheep) even though the notary only refers to one.

⁹⁷³ *prias, priasa: yçihcayotl* or quickly (Molina Spanish-Nahuatl 2001: 219). The word *priasa* appears to be a sixteenth-century form of *prisa* as in *tengo prisa* or *voy de prisa*, which mean, “I’m in a hurry.”

⁹⁷⁴ The notary writes that the petition is on behalf of the Totorames, a group that is possibly Tepehuano/Tepecano.

Acaponeta	1652b S. Antonio Quihuiquinta	Espui Sancto/Sancto padre/Sancto/Sancto corona, Conçillio, graçia/, Sancta Fe Catollica/Sancta Maria, eternidad, Jesus Xpo, confirmacion, Señor Opizbo, Sebastian Garcia, San Antonio Quihuiquinta, noguardian, pasgua, fray Diego Seruandes, Juan Garçia, misa, crixtiano, provinçial, Don Filipe, Sebastian Garcia, S ^t Antoñu, Lucas de la Cruz, Bartholome Migl	pedicion/nopedicion, bleyto, allde/alcalde, Justicia, fizcal, Audien Real, S ^r Presitente, testigus/testigo,	corona/Sancto corona, norancho/yrancho, molas/nomola, cahualos, bueyas/pueya/ypueyes/ poeyes, novacas, cãdelas, monamento, mortero, çe macho/nomacho, aratus, nimitzpreçetarua/nicpresentarua/nicpresentaro, martes, apprilis, anos
Acaponeta	1652a S. Sebastian Guaxicori	dios, Don Pedro de Sorit, guardian/guartian, Xacopo/Xacopo Garcia, Simon Pillipe/Simon Pilipe, Matheo Juan, Andres/don Andres, quixtiano/toquixtiano, dios, Zacarias, Locas de la +, Diegõ Martin, Grabiël Miguel	pediçion/topediçion, Señor Capitan, toalcalde mayor/alcalde/titoalcalde, totatzi presitente, mayor, Justicia mayor, titofirmatia,	miercoles/mierles, cacualo, ychochilo/ycuichil, viernes, çemana santa,
Acaponeta	1652b S. Sebastian Guaxicori	senior opispo, su señoria, san sebastian gauxicore, titopastor, dios, probincial, se mantamiento, toguardian, mantamiento	alcalde/alde/toalcalde mayor, prinsipale/principales, sumag, real audiencia, ome topetitzion,	de sequintin
Compostela	1593a Xalisco	toprovinçial, divinedores, conbento/yninconbento/yniconbento, doctrina, espirtu santo, sindico	tialcaldesme, tiregidoresme, toJustiçia, allde, regitor	lones, abril, 1593 años
Compostela	1593b Xalisco	toppincial, tibinitore, ynī conbento, conbento, doctrina, espu.S.to	tialles, tiregitoresme, tojustiçia,	lones, aplil, años,
Compostela	Comp: N.Y. Xalisco	toproviçial gener[al], tocomisario general, comissario general, dios, Sant Ju ^o Baptista monesterio, San fran ^{co} , abito, toguardian, fray miguel de leço, Sancta yglesia, fray Luis Menor	[N]veva espania	capitro
Compostela	1594a Xalisco	Nev Espania/Noveva Espania, top[o]vinçial general, tocomisario, andividores, totecuiyo dios, Jun Baptista Monesterio, S ^r Fran ^{co} , guardian, fray a ^o l/fr a ^o l de Virviesca/fray – antoniyo de rrova, ydoctrina, Spinin S ^o ,	alldes ^e , regidoresme,	cari[dad], sabato, setiembre, años
Compostela	1595a Xalisco	Sanct Ju ^o Baptista Monesterio, fran ^{co} , abito, toguardian, fray Miguel de Leço/fray Antres de	presitente,	años

		Metina, Sancta Yglesia/tosanta[fold]yglesia, tanima, totecuiyo dios, San andrestlaca, Sancta Cruz, S Mig[tear], monesterio		
Compostela	1595b Xalisco	comisario general, antivinidores, San adres, doguardian, dios, F pº, Gonçales, Xpoval Franº, Fº pº Angel, Jºn Laçaro,	alde, Regidor,	Juves, agosus, mil e quinientos, nenta y cinco años,
Izatlan	1593a Oconahuac	profinciyal, misa, profinçial, fraylles, toctrina, bios (God), çan + po (Pedro), ticristiyanotin, ecsterma onçion,	aubençia reyal, zu ma masesbat, topediçion, allde, rexibor,	be (de), llehua (legua), costum[bre], titobilmatique, nofilma, bõ (don),
Izatlan	1593b Oconahuac	profizur, Sant migl, fray Alos, fray ābonio (Antonio), fray biego çatlamono, ecstrema onçion, fray luis nahuaro, exstrema onçion, fray migl, fray jūā, fraylles, Sant pº, profinçiyal, toprofinçial, sacristiyā, ticristiyanotin, toquar[tian]	pleyto, teniyente, espaniolles, rrey,	cahuallios, farnes (viernes), cocinerotin, ome tlatatl portero, pohueltas, ornamento, quinfilmatic, mofilmatic, psº,
Izatlan	1593c Oconahuac	quartian, San miquel	aubençia reyal, deniyende, alldesme, rrexidoresme, testicosme, testimonio, tlacuilovani espāyor, ocçe espanyo[r], pleidos, destimonio, alldes, rexidor	fiernes, octubre, puerdas, campana, puerda, vinagre, toçino, coçinerotin, otechfirmati, titofirmatia
Izatlan	1622 Santa María Magdalena	sñor provisor, Sanda maria magdalena, prioste, altar, don Sapastian, completas, mayordomo, ospital, noguardian, S ^{ta} M ^a ,	Justiçia alvaçil mayor, Sñor altemayor, alldemayor, escriuano, Justicia, Sñor alde,	onechtepositato, martes, domingo,
Izatlan	1649a Santa María Magdalena	Señor obispo, Jesu xpõ, Sancta ma magdalena xochitepec, cofradias, priostes, mayordomos, Sacta cofradia, Sanctuspital, Sanctissimo Sacramēto, prioste, mayordomo,	alldes, espanyol Martin de Agiazca, Rei, inin espanyol, oficialles, oficialestin,	ganado
Izatlan	1649b Santa María Magdalena	Señor obispo, Sancta maria magdalena xochitepec, cofradiastin, Sanctissimo Sacramēto, Sanctuspital, prioste, mayordomo, Sancta cofradia, prioste, mayordomo	alldes, oficialles	ganado, бага, baca
Izatlan	1649 S. Francisco Ayahuatlulco	Señor obispo/Señor obispo, ttº dios, San Franº, Sancta ospital, frioste/friosten, mayordomo/mayordomos, tohuardian/tohuardia/huardianez, totlasomahuiznantzi consepçion,	alldes/alde, oficialez/oficiales, teputado escribano, españoles, pricipalez,	2 ps, cadelas, pan, plantanos, se matelez, pañesuelo, xabon, nosalario, azta, ybacaz/bacaz/bacas,

		Sancto Sa Fra ^{co} /Santo Sa Fra ^{co} , natibitas açupcio, consepccion, Sancto Sa Fra ^{co} n, probinçial, limosneros, descomunion, Adrez Pablo, Bernabe Lasaron, Marti Agustin, Ju ^o Bonifacion,		para, baquero, paliccion, Julio, años
Izatlan	1661 Etzatlan	Juramento, tiChristianos, artal, mayordomo, Señor obispo, fr diego Rodrigis	topetision, alde, R ^{or} (regidor), prinsipal	Jabon, gastos, cuentas, baca, candelas
Tala	1600 Tala	mayordomo, Ju ^o Conçaliz, Ceronimo Otltecatl (Ortega), ymayordomo, missa, ospital, ce cruz, tlalan Sanc,	altes, regidor, dompernando, pleyto, alldes, esgrivano,	cauayotli, molino (Guadalajara), Mexica, tofirma, Mayo, as (años), testico

Table B-3 represents loan words in documents from provinces west and south of Guadalajara.

C-8: Loanwords in Ameca, Amula, Cajititlan, Colima, Guadalajara, and Tlajomulco.

Province	11 Petitions	Catholicism	Imperial government	Other terms
Ameca	1649 S. Antonio Tuzcacuezco	Co Sanctiçimo çacramento, dios, Santo obispo, topediçion, San Antonio Tuzcacuezco, toguardian, misa Sanc Andonio, pazqua resurecion misa, noyoqui pazqua espiritu, noyoqui pazqua navidad, cuaresma, todo Sancto, Sanc Antonio, ylvitl Sanctiago Sanc françizco, guardianes	topedicion, tialcaldesme, provinçia de Ameca, alcalde, regidor	tomines, ce peso, vino, 4 t ^o , candelas, tomin, panis belas, titofirmatia, de Junio 1649
Amula	1649 Tachichilco	toylhuio San Pedro, dios, totlatzonantzi asomption, misa, Señor obispo,	topetiztion, alcalde, fiscal,	chiquacen pesos tomines, ce tabla manteles, nahui panisuelos, ce votihuela vino, ce quart nacal, nahui candelas, mestli mayo, timofirmatilo,
Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	prioste, Señor probiso, p ^e guardiã, niprioste, mayordomo, oquiççemana...de Ramos, Santa ospital, çe mādamiento de amparo, limosna, guardianes, pe guardã, Cofradia, santaygls ^a , hacienda, Santa yglza, pe guardiã, yca tedeuladamas, dotrina, ce beneficiado glerigo, San Fran ^{cos} , Conbentos,	alde, Regidor, palaçio	tomines (money), hornāmento, ce media dosena, chicuace tomines, carneros, ce entero carnero, quesqui baca, nahui bacas, nahui terneros, tiprobes, yey leguaz, bandera, mohuey Just ^a , çiudad,
Colima	Col: 1622 Cohuatlan	Señr frufixotl, sintadres, motlateuhcihuatlapito, p ^o Zololcanot, alozolezo, penito pelelia, apito, çacrameto	estacia, guatlacala, caliscu tlali,	motlatocacurulonatzin, eneru
Colima	1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	Js ^o , Dios, tosanta igleçi,	prohuision, Stopped at 30	Salinas, Salineros, yspuliado,

Guadala-jara	1656 Tonalá	Dios, Señor obispo, clérigo, probincial, agustinos, payes agustinos, titobinario, Dios padrenuestro, bicario, Amen,	Señor presidenti, teguantin alcaldes, regidoris, mochi principalis,	none
Guadala-jara	1657 Tonalá	Sr probisor, tobinario fray niculas de suniga, prior, fray manoguel, probincial, S ^r obispo, bicario, noprovincial, prior, fray niculas, s.tisimo sacramento, prios, fray manohuel, toRey, s.tiago de tonalan, Juan fhelipe	Rey, su magestad, Guadalajara, patente, S ^r presidente, allde, Regidor, principalis, escribano	yei tonali disienbre, ora, ventana franculos, molino (Guadalajara), porque, por feria, “no ai que tratar,” caballeria, canpanilla, ventana, sabado, yjos, se semana, 22 disienbre,
Guadala-jara	1679 Analco	Spanish petition	Spanish petition	Spanish petition,
Tlajomul-co	1630 Tlajomulco	s. maria, s.ta ospital cofraria, freoste, mayortomo, miquil,	alldes, Regetoris, frenzipalis, tigus, çidula,	cenpoali bacas, tomenis (money), ome ps, yhiro te venta, nofirma, decempri, ansos,
Tlajomul-co	N.Y. Tlajomulco	patlr nuestro, probisor, santo padre, nuestra señora. s.ta hosp[i]tal, cassaca,	alldes hordinarios, Rexidoriz, prinçipalis, Rexidor, prinçipal,	tomines (money), bagas, tleltic cruz pantli,
Tlajomul-co	N.Y S. Cacel Tlajomulco	Señor tlatoani, mayordomo, prosti, cofrades, Santa Cofradia Na Sa de la cadelaria, tocofradia, cofrade,	juridicion tlaximulco,	criadores, se Bes[e]rro, besera, pro, tranquilla, para Obra,

Table B-4 has one less column than all of the other tables because it only represents the documents from the province of Ávalos. In all other ways, it resembles Tables B-1, B-2, and B-3.

C-9: Loanwords in the hotland province of Ávalos

16 Petitions	Catholic terms	Secular government	Other terms
1626 San Francisco Chapalac	prioste, mayordomo, San Francisco, Guardian, Joceph, limosna, Concepcion, dios, Clerigos, missa, doctrina, moprovincial	Alcaldes, Regidores, principales	carneros, entierros, molino, Juebes, Nobiembre,
1629 Zacoalco by Juan Fabian	dios, nohuestra Senora, Sancha ecclesea/ Sanctia gclesia, Sancta ma/Sancha ma, San pelibe, Senores, San franco, Jn ^a , saserdotis, doquartian, milchior, fry antris, San Felipe,	Justiciatzin, alldes, Regedores, autinçia, Regedor, allde, prisentinti	sabato, ocdopre, anos, tofirma, titofirmatia,
1653 Amatitlan	franco, Sanctiago, miquil, tiposbo, dios, Sanctamaria, Juçepi, opisbo, Sancta yglesia, Jucepe, canpana, Juçepe, tiopisbo	yprovincia, estancia, tenyente, alvaçel mayor, escribano, estancia, Regedor, fiscal, priosti, mayordomo, capitanas,	none
1658 San Francisco Tizapan	Señor, ostrissima, santa maria, dios, çã fraco, missa, compinto, eztañcia, tiquibecitador, prioste,	alld, principal, principatl, ezcribano	friçada, lones, julio, anos, firma, carniros, caballos,
1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	probesor, dios, miquil,	alldes, preçipalis ordenarios, regedor, preñcipal, escia, huadalaxara,	Años, fiprero, frma,

1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	nimayordomo/mayordomo rosario/ mayordomos, sanctisimo sagraminto/S.tisimo sagraminto, probesor/probisor, dios, fre diego, preosti, bisitador, Sinor/Siñor, misa, filipe,	alldes, moliçençia, p ^{os} ,	sabado
1669 Sta. María Magdalena Tizapan	Señor, probesol, santa ospital, Sta ma magdalena, lemosna, Sta ma cosision, tto dios, prioste/prisote,, mayordomo, meguel,	ofesialis, gonbendo, depotado, alcalde, regedor	bacha, Septiembre, carniros, tomacheofremas,
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	ostrecemo Sr/ostrecimo Sr, santa confradiya, santa marea, fre aloço doran, jucipi/don jucipi, freosti, mayordomo,	testego, oficialis, alcalde,	llagona, nicecida, para, yas, asenda, yeuts, domingo, genero, anos, bahilier, domingo, befrero, anos
1679 Sayula	Su Señoria, ylustrisima, toSeñor capitan, toSanta ylecia, topadres guardianes/topadre guardian, amonestaciones, dios, Santos, Santas, Semana Santa, crus, Santa ylecia, Santa espital, Santo munimento,	yprovincia, alcalde mayor, casa Reales, Rey de su magestad, licencia, arancel, tocasa Reales, prensipales, Rexidores/Rexidorres, alcaldes/toalcalde mayor, ymicnistros, españoles,	semana, caballos/ycaballos, puerta, peso, para, becerro, pan, fiesta, pesos, candelas, semana, asta, pubre, manga, timofirmatilo, pobres, casados, amanebados, coyotes,
1682 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Señor obispo, Señor, Santa ospital, tocura, fray, Santa ospital, alltar, mayordomo/tomayordomo, migl, rexidor, ximenes, feliphe, prioste,	tialdes, rrejidor/rrexidores, provinsia, totiniente, alldes, prinsipal/prinsipatl/ prinsipales ordinarios, siudad de guadalaxara,	retablo, maestro dorador, tomin, rretablo, para, maestro, peso, ycuantas, martes, de, agosto,
1686 San Pedrotepec	San Pedrotepec, señor obispo, ço çeñoria/so çeñoria Ellostrisimo, ylostrisimo, tocura, misa/missa/missa cantada, fransicanos, Ju ^a chin, cõfecion, ymissa, ospital, tocora, çaçamiento, dios, doctrina	petiçion, alle/alldes/alldes, Regidor/Regidores, prinsipalis, siudad, oficialis/ofesialis, cabiçera/cabisera, derecho, yxpanol, gadalaxara,	calisio, p ^{os} , tomines, quicobarrova, candela, bino de castillan, dibiexo, caballo/çu caballo, muhla/muhlatica, tomines, gallena de la tiera, peços, março, domingo, ybara (rod), desienbre, mayu, henero, febrero, tomachio, tofirma,
1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	mayordomo, prioste, Señor, prouisor, para nrã señora madre de Dios	Alcaldes y demas principales, prou ^a de Abalos	mes de ag ^{to} , de 1687 años, toros y novillos, Res, pesos, bestido de lama azul
1692 San Andres Atotonilco	dios, su seneorea, señeora, preoste, maeordomo, megel	dila probensea di abalos, alcaldis, regedor, albaslemaeor, es=n ^o , presepales	ycorona, molas, magus, cabalios, tecobarolo, espanesoneoles, toferma, maeo
1693a Santa Ana Acatlan	mayordomo, prioste, Jusephe, Señor probisor	Señor lesintiado, testgos, y demas principalis, prou ^a de Abalos	del mes de Junio de 1693, toros y nobillos, mayordomo de carniceria, molino, se toro o nobatto, pesos

1693b Santa Ana Acatlan	This petition is in Spanish.	Spanish	Spanish
1694 S. Juan Evangelista Atoyac	Santissimo sacramento, Santa Maria consepçion, Amen, Jisus, San Juan ebangilizta Atoyaq, pr ^o oste/prioste, mayordomo, cofradia Santa ospital, probisol,	iprobinsia de abalos, lisingia, secretario, alcohil, alde	bacass, deçiembre, 1694 años
n.y. Santiago San Francisco Sayula	Jū te la Cruz, San ^o ospindal, Santiago Sā fran ^{co} çayolan,	alDes ordinarios, rexitores, altepehuaque principales, alde, alde, Regitor, Rexitor, yzpaniol,	none

Appendix D: Correlations

Ávalos

D-1: The *-tl/-t/-l* absolutive in Ávalos

Petition	-tl, -t, -l	-tl	-t	-l
1626 San Francisco Chapalac	-tl: ½ -l: ½	<i>xihuitl</i>	None	<i>machiol</i>
1629 Zacoalco by Juan Fabian	-l: 9/9, 100%	None	None	<i>altepel, xihuil, cehuatzinli, altepel, metzle, xihuil, amal, Amatzinli, altepel</i>
1653 Amatitlan	-tl: 5/5	<i>tonitiquipacholiztli, tochoquiliztli, altipetl, altipetl, yehuatl, altipetl, altipetl</i>	None	None
1658 San Francisco Tizapan	-tl: 4/4 5 OC	<i>altipitl, etlhuitl⁹⁷⁵, etlhuitl, xihuitl</i>	None	None
1664 Santa Ana Acatlan	-tl: 4/5 -l: 1/5	<i>yehuatl, cahuitl, xihuitl, xihuitl</i>	None	<i>altipil,</i>
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	-l: 1/1	None	None	<i>altipil,</i>
1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan	-tl: ¾ -l: ¼	<i>tehuatl, altepetl, mitztli, xivtl</i>	None	None
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	None	None	None	None
1679 Sayula	-l: 4/4	None	None	<i>al, Sacal, tomal, altepel</i>
1682 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	-tl: 7/8 -l: 1/8 4 OC	<i>atltepetl, atltepetl, atltepetl, xihuitl, cuahuatl, ospital, cuahuatl,</i>	None	<i>xihuil</i>
1686 San Pedrotepec	-l: 7/7	None	None	<i>altepel, altepel, yeval, chicavalisli, tequil, xivil, altepel, xivil</i>
1687 Santa Ana Acatlan	-tl: 1/1	<i>Altepetl</i>	<i>mautacte, mautacte,</i>	None
1692 San Andres Atotonilco	None	None	None	None
1693 Santa Ana Acatlan	-tl: 1/1	<i>amatl</i>	None	None
1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	-tl: 1/1	<i>altipitl</i>	None	None
n.y. Santiago San Francisco Zayolan	-tl: 1/1	<i>altepetl</i>	None	None

D-2: Pronominal Plural Suffix Use in Present Tense Verbs in Ávalos

Petition and author	Verbs and their location in a petition: (I) = introductory act;	Totals: /?/ or -lo	Totals: (G) or (I/C)
---------------------	---	--------------------	----------------------

⁹⁷⁵ *etlhuitl, ilhuitl*: day or feast-day; it especially refers to the latter when possessed (Lockhart 2001: 220).

	(G) = grievance act; or (C) = conclusion act		
1653 Amatitlan by unnamed	<i>tictotinamiquilia</i> (I) and <i>ticchichihualo</i> (G).	-lo: 1/2 (G) /?/: 1/2 (I/C)	-lo: 1/1 (G) /?/: 1/1 (I/C)
1653 San Martín by Diego Juan	<i>tictenamiquico</i> (I), <i>timotequipacholo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>ticnequilo</i> (G), <i>tictelchihua</i> (G), <i>timofirmatia</i> (C).	-lo: 3/6 (G) /?/: 2/6 (I/C) & 1/6 (G)	-lo: 3/3 (G) /?/: 2/3 (I/C)
1654 San Martín by Diego Juan	<i>timopechtecaco</i> (I), <i>tictotinamiquillico</i> (I), <i>ticnequilo</i> (G), <i>techytalo</i> (G), <i>timotlauhtia</i> (G), <i>quipualo</i> (G), <i>ticchihualo</i> (G), <i>titemacalo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>tihuicalo</i> (G), <i>tiquitohua</i> (G), <i>tiztlacatilo</i> (C), <i>timofirmatia</i> (C).	-lo: 7/13 (G) & 1/13 (I/C) /?/: 1/13 (G) & 3/13 (I/C)	-lo: 7/8 (G) /?/: 3/4 (I/C)
1686 San Pedrotepec by unnamed	<i>quitemacalo</i> (G), <i>quichivalo</i> (G), <i>quintzalo</i> (G), <i>quinchivalo</i> (G), <i>tiquipanolito</i> (G), <i>ticmatilo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>tictlalia</i> (C).	-lo: 7/8 (G) /?/: 1/8 (I/C)	-lo: 7/7 (G) /?/: 1/1 (I/C)
N.Y. Zayula by unnamed	<i>tineçico</i> (I), <i>tictotenamiquilia</i> (I), <i>timizyxpantilia</i> (G), <i>timizmachitia</i> (G).	?/: 2/4 (I/C) /?/: 2/4 (G)	?/: 2/4 (I/C) /?/: 2/4 (G)
1658 S.F. Tizapan by Juan Sebastian	<i>tictotenamiquilia</i> (I), <i>timopichticaqui</i> (I), <i>tiquitalo</i> (G), <i>tictlaçotililo</i> (G).	-lo: 2/4 (G) /?/: 2/4 (I/C)	-lo: 2/2 (G) /?/: 2/2 (I/C)
1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	<i>timopichticalo</i> (I), <i>tictotenamiquilia</i> (I), <i>ticmoniquiltia</i> (G).	-lo: 1/3 (G) /?/: 2/3 (I/C)	?/: 1/2 (G) -lo: 1/1 (I/C)
1669 Santa María Magdalena Tizapan	<i>tetlatlanilo</i> (G), <i>timitztlatlanilo</i> (G), <i>timizcaquelo</i> (G), <i>temitztlatlanilo</i> (G), <i>tictlalia</i> (C).	-lo: 4/5 (G) /?/: 1/5 (I/C)	-lo: 4/4 (G) /?/: 1/1 (I/C)
1673 San Francisco Tizapan	<i>tictenamiquilo</i> (I), <i>timopichiticalo</i> (C).	-lo: 1/2 (I/C) /?/: 1/2 (I/C)	-lo: 2/2 (I/C)
1679 Sayula	<i>tinesilo</i> (I), <i>tictenamiquilo</i> (I), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>quiquixtilo</i> (G), <i>quinhuitequilo</i> (G), <i>quintlalilo</i> (G), <i>quinqixtilo</i> (G), <i>timotlatlauto</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>ticoalo</i> (G), <i>quinequilo</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>monamictilo</i> (G), <i>tectlapalolo</i> (G), <i>ticquitolo</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>quixtilo</i> (G), <i>tiquitolo</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>quicoalo</i> (G), <i>motolinilo</i> (G), <i>ticquictolo</i> (G), <i>ticnequilo</i> (G), <i>quinnechicolo</i> (G), <i>quinepanolo</i> (G), <i>ticmacalo</i> (G), <i>timotlautialo</i> (G), <i>timofirmatilo</i> (C), <i>ticquictolo</i> (C), <i>tlatemotinemilo</i> (C).	-lo: 28/33 (G) & 5/33 (I/C) These include verbs that the writer repeats like <i>ticmacalo</i> .	
1682 S. J. Evangelista Atoyac by unnamed	<i>tihuatlhesilo</i> (G), <i>timochicahualo</i> (G), <i>timotequipacholo</i> (G), <i>tictenamiquia</i> (C).	-lo: 3/4 (G) /?/: 1/4 (I/C)	
1692 San Andres Atotonilco	<i>tectenamequilo</i> (I), <i>temotequipagaulo</i> (G), <i>poliguilo</i> (G), <i>tecobrarolo</i> (G), <i>quipealo</i> (G), <i>quineq'lo</i> (G), <i>temopesitecalo</i> (G), <i>tetanamacalo</i> (G), <i>tetanamacalo</i> (G), <i>temotequipasulo</i> (G), <i>teneselo</i> (G), <i>temopolgua</i> (G), <i>tectemaquilo</i> (C).	-lo: 10/13 (G) & 2/13 (I/C) /?/: (G)	
1694 San Juan Evangelista Atoyac	<i>tehualahue</i> (G), <i>temetzmachitlilo</i> (G)	-lo: 1/2 (G) /?/: 1/2 (G)	

Table: -l preference and verbal suffix.

Author	Petition	-l preference	G	I/C
Unnamed	1668 San Francisco Zacoalco	-l preference 1/1 times.	-lo 1 verb.	/ʔ/ 2 verbs.
Unnamed	1673 San Francisco Tizapan	-l preference 2/2 times.	None	-lo 1 verb; /ʔ/ 1 verb.
Unnamed	1679 Sayula	-l preference 4/4 times.	-lo 28 verbs.	-lo 5 verbs.
Unnamed	1686 San Pedrotepec	-l preference 7/7 times.	-lo 7 verbs.	/ʔ/: 1/8 (I/C)

Table: -tl hypercorrection and verbal suffix.

Author	Petition	Instances of -tl hypercorrection	Grievance Act	Introductory or Conclusion Acts
Diego Juan	1653 San Martín	2 times.	-lo 3 verbs; /ʔ/ 1 verb.	/ʔ/ 2 verbs.
Diego Juan	1654 San Martín	3 times.	-lo 7 verbs; /ʔ/ 1 verb.	-lo 1 verb; /ʔ/ 3 verbs.
Juan Sebastian	1658 S.F. Tizapan	15 times.	-lo 2 verbs.	/ʔ/ on 2/4.
Unnamed	1682 S. Ju. Evangelista Atoyac	26 times.	-lo 3 verbs.	/ʔ/ on 1/4.
Unnamed	1694 S. Ju. Evangelista Atoyac	1 time.	-lo 1/2 (G); /ʔ/ 1/2 (G).	None.

Table: -tl preference and verbal suffix.

Author	Petition	-tl preference	G	I/C
Unnamed	N.Y. Zayula	-tl preference 1/1 times.	/ʔ/ 2 verbs.	/ʔ/ 2 verbs.
Unnamed	1653 Amatitlan	-tl preference 5/5 times.	-lo 1 verb.	/ʔ/ 1 verb.
Unnamed	1669 S. Ma. Magdalena Tizapan	-tl preference 3/3 times.	-lo 4 verbs.	/ʔ/ 1 verb.

D-3 Full Table

Author	Non-petition document	Type of absolutive	Verbs in /ʔ/	Verbs in -lo
Fray Francisco de Torres	1626 San Francisco Chapalac	-tl in 1/2 times: <i>xihuitl</i> . -l in 1/2 times: <i>machiol</i> .	none	<i>anquicaxanilo</i>
Juan Fabian	1629 Zacoalco	-l in 6/6 times.	<i>anguilanehueya</i> , <i>tictochialia</i> , <i>tonlatohia</i> , <i>ticlayecoltia</i> , <i>ticpanahuezneque</i> , <i>tictolalilia</i> , <i>tictolalia</i> , <i>titofirmatia</i> , <i>tonlochia</i>	none
Diego Felipe	1664 S. Ana Acatlan	-tl in 4/5 times.	none	<i>timitzmotlatlauhtilo</i>

Unnamed	1687 S. Ana Acatlan	-tl in 1/1 times: <i>altepetl.</i>	none	none
Unnamed	1693 S. Ana Acatlan	-tl in 1/1 times: <i>amatl.</i>	none	none

Amula, Cajititlan, Colima, and Tlajomulco

D-4: Verb-Usage in Amula, Colima, and Tlajomulco

Author	Province	Petition	Grievance Act	Introductory and/or conclusion acts
Unnamed	Amula	1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezco	<i>tiquixtia, titemacalo, ticmacalo, titemacalo, ticmacalo, timoyolcuitilo, ticmacalo, ticmacalo, timitztotlatlauhtilia,</i>	<i>tineçico, tictotenamiquilia, titofirmatia</i>
Unnamed	Amula	1649 Tachichilco	<i>timextatautilo, timotolinilo, timechnahuatilo, ticchihualo, tatilo,</i>	<i>timopechtecalo, timofirmatilo</i>
Francisco Sebastian	Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	<i>tiquitolo, ticmatilo, tetemacalo, ticnequilohua, tiquitl[tear]anilo, tiquitolo, tiquitlanilo, tiguelitolo, tihuelitilo, tiquitlanilo, tiquitolo</i>	<i>tineçico</i>
Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 Cohuatlan	<i>ticnequi:, titotlaitlanilia:</i>	none
Juan Cruz	Colima	1637 Cohuatlan de Puertos de Abajo	<i>timitztotlatlauhtilia, ticlaqualtia, ticmomaquilia, ticmati</i>	<i>timitztotlatlauhtilia, tontopechteca, tictotlaçotenamiquilia, timofirmatia, timofirmatia</i>
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	1630 Tlajomulco	none	none
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. Tlajomulco	<i>tiquitlania, timopechticaco, tiquitlania</i>	<i>tineçico,</i>
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. S. Cacel Tlajomulco	<i>ticpialo,</i>	<i>tinesico, ticlasotenamiquilo, timopechtecaco,</i>

Grievance and Introduction

Author	Province	Petition	Grievance Act	Introductory and/or conclusion acts
Unnamed	Amula	1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezco	7 in -lo; 2 in /?/	3 in /?/
Unnamed	Amula	1649 Tachichilco	5 in -lo	2 in -lo
Fco. Sebastian	Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	11 in -lo	1 in /?/

Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 Cohuatlan	2 in /ʔ/ ⁹⁷⁶	none
Juan Cruz	Colima	1637 Cohuatlan de P. A.	4 in /ʔ/	5 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	1630 Tlajomulco	none	none
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. Tlajomulco	3 in /ʔ/	1 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. S. Cacel	1 in -lo	1 in -lo; 2 in /ʔ/

2 Numbers Table

Author	Province	Petition	Type of Absolute: H=Hypercorrection	-lo and /ʔ/ in the grievance act
Unnamed	Amula	1649 S.A. Tuzcacuezco	H in 3 times -tl in 4/6 times; -l in 2/6 times;	7 in -lo; 2 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Amula	1649 Tachichilco	-l in 3/4 times; -tl in 1/4 times	5 in -lo
Fco. Sebastian	Cajititlan	1644 Cajititlan	-tl in 12/12 times	11 in -lo
Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 Cuatlan	-tl in 8/8 times; H in 16 times	2 in /ʔ/ ⁹⁷⁷
Juan Cruz	Poncitlan	1637 Cohuatlan de P. A.	-tl in 6/6 times; H in 1 time	4 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Tlajomulco	N.Y. S. Cacel	-tl in 1 time; H in 1 time	1 in -lo

D-5 -t Correlation with -lo or /ʔ/

Author	Province	Document	-tl	-t	-lo	/ʔ/
Don Fco. Nayari	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	none	<i>alitepet</i>	none	<i>nechicocolia</i>
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	none	<i>nehuat,</i> <i>tacat</i> (4), <i>amat</i>	<i>quihuicalosnequi,</i> <i>tiquitalosnequi,</i>	<i>mitzmotatauhtilia,</i> <i>ticneltoca,</i> <i>anquinequi,</i> <i>anquihuicasnequi,</i> <i>tictotenamiquilia,</i> <i>timopechteca,</i> <i>ticnequi,</i> <i>timotequipachua,</i> <i>timotolinia,</i> <i>timitzmomahuistilia,</i> <i>quitemiqui</i>
Unnamed	Juchipila	1652 S.F. Juchipila	<i>xiuitl</i>	<i>yehuat</i>	<i>tihualmohuicalo,</i> <i>ticpialo,</i> <i>titopechtecalo,</i> <i>titlatanilo,</i> <i>timotequipacholo,</i> <i>techcuesolo,</i>	<i>timitztotlatautilia,</i> <i>titopechtecaco,</i> <i>titochoquilico</i>

⁹⁷⁶ *ticnequi;*, *titotlaitlanilia*.

⁹⁷⁷ *ticnequi;*, *titotlaitlanilia*.

					<i>quitemacalo, tictlatanilo, techpalehuilo, ticnequilo, titlacenhualo, quinmoyahuilo, tichihualo, tihuelitilo</i>	
Unnamed	Tacotlan	1649 Ocotitic	<i>altepetl</i> (4)	<i>xihuat</i> (4), <i>yehuat</i> (2), <i>nehuat, amat, xihuit</i>	<i>michmotlatlautililo, ticmatilo, tictalilo, ticnequilo, quimatilo, yahuilo, quincacayahualo, quineq[ui]lo, hualalo, tictequipanolo, timishcaquiltilo, teshmacalo, tiquitolo</i>	<i>tictotecpanilia</i>

-t and -lo Correlation

Author	Province	Document	-t and/or -tl	-lo or /ʔ/
Don Fco. Nayari	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	1 in -t	1 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	6 in -lo	11 in /ʔ/; 2 in -lo ⁹⁷⁸
Unnamed	Juchipila	1652 S.F. Juchipila	1 in -t; 1 in -tl.	14 in -lo; 2 in /ʔ/
Unnamed	Tacotlan	1649 Ocotitic	9 in -t; 4 in -tl	13 in -lo; 1 in /ʔ/

Tonalá

Author	Province	Document	-t and/or -tl	-lo or /ʔ/
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1656 Tonalá	2 in -tl	
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	6 in -lo	11 in /ʔ/; 2 in -lo ⁹⁷⁹

D-6 Correlation between three factors (Not used in chapter 4)

Author	Province	Document	-l, -tl, and/or hypercorrecti on (H)	-lo or /ʔ/	mo- or no-/to-
none	Ávalos	N.Y. Sayula	1 in -tl	4 in /ʔ/	2 in no-/to-
Juan Fabián	Ávalos	1629 Zacoalco	5 in -l	9 in /ʔ/	5 in no-/to-
Unnamed	Ávalos	1653 Amatitlan	5 in -tl	1 in -lo; 1 in /ʔ/	1 in no-/to-

⁹⁷⁸ *quihuicalosnequi, tiquitalosnequi.*

⁹⁷⁹ *quihuicalosnequi, tiquitalosnequi.*

Pedro Puy	Colima	1622 Cuatlan	16 in H; 8 in - <i>tl</i>	2 in /ʔ/	<i>timocuepasque,</i> <i>titotlaitlanilia,</i> <i>timitztotlauhtili,</i> <i>titotlatoca</i>
Juan Cruz	Colima	1637 Cohuatlan de P. A.	6 in - <i>tl</i> ; H in 1 time	4 in /ʔ/	<i>timitztotlatlauhtilia,</i> <i>tontopechteca,</i> <i>tictotlaçotenamiquili</i> <i>a,</i> <i>timitztotlatlauhtilia,</i> <i>ticmomaquilique,</i> <i>timofirmatia,</i> <i>timofirmatia</i>
Don Fco. Nayari	El Gran Nayar	1649a Tzacamota	1 in - <i>t</i>	1 in /ʔ/	<i>nimonelos,</i> <i>nimoneloa,</i> <i>nimoneloa</i>
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1656 Tonalá			
Unnamed	Guadalajara	1657 Tonalá	6 in - <i>t</i>	11 in /ʔ/; 2 in - <i>lo</i> ⁹⁸⁰	<i>otimocuepaqui,</i> <i>otimocuepaqui,</i> <i>tictotenamiquilia,</i> <i>timopechteca,</i> <i>timotequipachua,</i> <i>timotolinia,</i> <i>timitzmomahuistilia</i>

⁹⁸⁰ *quihuicalosnequi, tiqitalosnequi.*

Bibliography

Archives

- AHAG: *Documentos en náhuatl*, Archivo histórico del arzobispado de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, Mexico.
- AGN: *Archivo general de la nación*, Mexico City, Mexico.
- AGI: *Archivo general de las indias*, Seville, Spain.
- AIPEJ: *Archivo de instrumentos públicos del estado de Jalisco*, Guadalajara, Mexico.
- BAN-UCB: Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA, United States.
- BPEJ-JJA: *Biblioteca pública del estado de Jalisco*, Juan José Arreola, Zapopán, Mexico.
- BPN: *Biblioteca pública nacional de México*, Mexico City, Mexico.
- McA-UCLA: *Byron McAfee Collection*, Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, United States.

Published Primary and Ethnographic Sources

- Adorno, Rolena. "The indigenous ethnographer: The 'indio ladino' as historian and cultural mediation" in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 378-402.
- Alegre, Francisco Javier. *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S. J., 1956.
- Arregui, Domingo Lázaro de. *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia* ed. by François Chevalier. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1946.
- The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues* ed. and translated by Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1987.
- Beyond the Codices* trans. and ed. by Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart with a linguistic essay by Ronald W. Langacker. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press Ltd., 1976.
- Campbell, Lyle. *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs* trans. from the Nahuatl, with an introduction and commentary by John Bierhorst. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Cantares Mexicanos* in two volumes edited, transcribed, and translated by Miguel León-Portilla, Guadalupe Curiel Defossé, Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla, Liborio Villagómez,

- and Salvador Reyes Equiguas. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Fideicomiso Teixidor, 2011.
- Carochi, Horacio S. J. *Grammar of the Mexican Language with an Explanation of its Adverbs (1645)* translated and edited with commentary by James Lockhart. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España* ed. by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941.
- Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuacitlan, Domingo Francisco de San Antón. *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan* Vol. II trans. by Rafael Tena. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998.
- Ciudad Real, Antonio de. *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España: Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo comisario general de aquellas partes* Vol. I edited with a preliminary study, appendices, glossaries, maps and indices by Josefina García and Víctor M. Castillo Farreras, with a prologue by Jorge Gurría Lacroix. Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1976.
- Ciudad Real, Antonio de. *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España: Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo comisario general de aquellas partes* Vol. I edited with a preliminary study, appendices, glossaries, maps and indices by Josefina García and Víctor M. Castillo Farreras, with a prologue by Jorge Gurría Lacroix. Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1976.
- Codice Franciscano* ed. by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941.
- Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit: Los albores de un nuevo mundo* I ed. by Thomas Calvo. Mexico City: Universidad de Guadalajara and Centre D'Études Mexicaines e Centraméricaines, 1990.
- Colección de documentos para la historia de México* Vol. 2 published by Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Mexico City: Antigua Librería, 1866.
- Cortés y Zedeño, Bachiller Gerónimo Thomas de Aquino. *Arte, Vocabulario y Confessionario en el Idioma Mexicano Como Se usa en el Obispado de Guadalajara*. Puebla de Los Angeles: Colegio Real de San Ignacio de la Puebla de los Angeles, 1765.
- Crónicas de la conquista del reino de Nueva Galicia en territorio de la Nueva España*, edited, annotated, and with a prologue by José Luis Razo Zaragoza, and with drawings by José Parres Arias. Guadalajara, Mexico: H. Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Guadalajara, Instituto Jalisciense de antropología e historia, INAH, 1963.

- Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* edited, translated, and annotated by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2005.
- Durán, Diego. *Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar* translated and edited by Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, foreword by Miguel León-Castilla. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- El Gran Nayar: Colección de documentos para la historia de Nayarit* edited by Jean Meyer. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, no date.
- Guerra, Joan. *Arte de la lengua mexicana Según la acostumbran hablar los Indios de todo el obispado de Guadalajara de Guadiana y del de Mechoacan (1692)* ed. by Carlos Eduardo Gutiérrez Arce with prologues by Miguel León-Portilla and Agustín de Betancourt. Guadalajara, Mexico: Patrimonio Cultural del Occidente A.C., 1992.
- Kaqchikel Chronicles: The Definitive Edition* with translation and exegesis by Maxwell, Judith M. and Robert M. Hill II. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006.
- Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century* ed. and translated by James Lockhart and Enrique Otte. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- María de los Reyes, Fray Antonio. *Relación de las misiones de Sonora y Sinaloa (1784)* 2nd edition transcribed by Roberto Ramos and with a presentation by Nicolás Vidales Soto. Culiacán, Mexico: Creativos Editorial, 2002.
- Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writing from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* ed. by Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Molina, Fray Alonso de. *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana/Mexicana, Mexicana/Castellana* with a preliminary study by Miguel León Portilla. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2001.
- Mota y Escobar, Alonso de la. *Descripción geográfica de los reynos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo Leon* second edition with an introduction by Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas. Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940 [1605].
- Mota Padilla, Matías de la. *Historia del Reino de la Nueva Galicia en la América Septentrional*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and Universidad de Guadalajara, 1973.
- Nombre de Dios, Durango, Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning its Foundation: Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, c. 1563; Agreement of the Mexicans and the Michoacanos, 1585* edited and translated by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor. Sacramento, CA: The House of Tlaloc, 1943.

- Olmos, Fray Andrés de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana* edición, estudio introductorio, transliteración y notas de Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla and Miguel León-Portilla. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002.
- The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, Volume One: 1570-1700* compiled and edited by Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S. J. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1986.
- The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, Volume Two, Part One, The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora, 1700-1765* compiled and edited by Charles W. Polzer, S. J. and Thomas E. Sheridan. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1997.
- Pérez de Ribas, Andrés *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith Amongst the most Barbarous and Fierce People of the New World* an English Translation based on the 1645 Spanish Original, trans. by Daniel T. Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard K. Danford, annotated and with a Critical Introduction by Daniel T. Reff. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1999.
- Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Nueva Galicia* edición de René Acuña. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988.
- Rinaldini, Benito. *Arte de la lengua tepeguana con vocabulario, confesionario y catechismo* with a prologue by Javier Guerrero Romero. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura and the Government of the state of Durango, 1994.
- Ruiz, Antonio. *La conquista de Sinaloa (La relación de Antonio Ruiz)* transcribed by Antonio Nakayama. Culiacán, Mexico: COBAES / CEHNO. A.C., 1992.
- Salcedo y Herrera, Don Francisco Manuel. *Descripción del partido y jurisdicción de Tlaltenango hecha en 1650.* Mexico City: Jose Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1958.
- Tello, Fray Antonio. *Crónica miscelánea en que se trata de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el nuevo reino de la Galicia y nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo México* Book 2 with notes by Juan López. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1997.
- Los testigos hablan: La conquista de Colima y sus informantes* ed. by Rosa Margarita Nettel Ross. Colima, Mexico: Universidad de Colima, 2007.
- Torres, Fray Francisco Mariano. *Crónica de la Sancta Provincia de Xalisco.* Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, 1965.

Secondary Sources

- Adorno, Rolena. "The indigenous ethnographer: The 'indio ladino' as historian and cultural mediation" in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Alcántara Rojas, Berenice. "La resurrección de Cristo en tres cantares nahuas del siglo XVI: Discurso de evangelización y apropiaciones indígenas del cristianismo" in *Visiones del encuentro de dos mundos en América: lengua, cultura, traducción y transculturación* ed. by Karen Dakin, Mercedes Montes de Oca, and Claudia Parodi. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de California en Los Angeles / Centro de Estudios Coloniales Iberoamericanos, 2009.
- Altman, Ida. "Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration: Indian Allies and the Campaigns in Nueva Galicia" in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- _____. Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010.
- Asselbergs, Florine G. L. "The Conquest in Images: Stories of Tlaxcalteca and Quauhquecholteca Conquistadors" in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Bakewell, P. J. *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico-Zacatecas, 1546-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- _____. "Notes on the Mexican Silver Mining Industry in the 1590s" in *Mines of Silver and Gold in the Americas*, ed. by Peter Bakewell. Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1997.
- Baudot, Georges. *Utopía e historia de México. Los primeros cronistas de la civilización mexicana (1520-1569)*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1983.
- Baus de Czitrom, Carolyn. *Tecuexes y Cocas: Dos grupos de la región Jalisco en el siglo XVI*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Historicas, 1982.
- Bernal García, María Elena, Ángel Julián García Zambrano. "I. El altepetl colonial y sus antecedentes prehispánicos: contexto teórico-historiográfico," in *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo xvi* ed. by Federico Fernández Christlieb and Ángel Julián García Zambrano. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica and Instituto de Geografía de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006.

- Blosser, Bret. “‘By the Force of Their Lives and the Spilling of Blood’: Flechero Service and Political Leverage on a Nueva Galician Frontier” in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Borah, Woodrow and Sherburne F. Cook. “The Aboriginal Population of central Mexico on the eve of the Spanish conquest,” *Ibero-Americana* 45, (1963).
- Brading, D.A. *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the Liberal state 1492-1867*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brand, Donald, Carl Sauer. “Aztlán” *Iberoamerica* 1 (April 9, 1932).
- Braun, Jim, Barry Sell, and Kevin Terraciano. “The Northwest of New Spain: Nahuatl in Nayarit, 1652,” *UCLA History Journal* Vol. 9 (1989): 80-89.
- Burke, Peter. *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Burkhart, Louise M. “The Destruction of Jerusalem as Colonial Nahuatl Historical Drama,” *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* ed. by Susan Schroeder. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- _____. *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Bustamante, Dr. C. Pérez. “Los orígenes del gobierno virreinal en las Indias españolas. Don Antonio de Mendoza: Primer Virrey de la Nueva España (1535-1550)” with a preface by Carlos Pereyra and a preliminary note by Luis Blanco Rivero. Santiago, Spain: Anales de la Universidad de Santiago, 1928.
- Calvo, Thomas. *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: Población y economía*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992.
- _____. “El zodiaco de la nueva Eva: el culto Mariano en la América Septentrional hacia 1700” in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano* Vol. 2 ed. by Clara García Ayuardo y Manuel Ramos Medina. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios de Historia de México, Condumex-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-Universidad Iberoamericana, 1994.
- Calvo, Thomas, Eustaquio Celestino, Magdalena Gómez, Jean Meyer, and Ricardo Xochitemol, *Xalisco, la voz de un pueblo en el siglo XVI*. Mexico City: Ciesas, 1993.
- Campbell, Lyle. *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Canger, Una. *Mexicanero de la Sierra Madre Occidental*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001.
- _____. “Nahuatl Dialectology: A Survey and Some Suggestions” *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 54: 1 (January 1988), 28-72.
- Carrasco, Pedro. “Social Organization of Ancient Mexico” in *Handbook of Middle American Indians 10* ed. by R. Wauchope, G. F. Ekholm, and I Bernal. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971.
- Carrillo Cázares, Alberto. “Don Francisco Tenamaztle, tatoán de la provincia de Nochistlán y Xalisco pide cumplimiento de justicia sobre su levantamiento y defensa natural. Consejo de Indias, Valladolid, España (1555-1556)” in *La tierra nómada* ed. by Andrés Fábregas Puig, Mario Alberto Nájera Espinoza, and Cándido González Pérez. Mexico City: Seminario Permanente de Estudios de la Gran Chichimeca, 2005.
- Carroll, Pat. “Black Aliens and Black Natives in New Spain’s Indigenous Communities” in *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times* ed. by Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2009.
- Castañeda, Carmen. *La educación en Guadalajara durante la Colonia. 1552-1821*. Guadalajara, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco-El Colegio de México, 1984.
- Chevalier, François. *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966.
- Chuchiak, John. “Secrets Behind the Screen: *Solicitantes* in the Colonial Diocese of Yucatan and the Yucatec Maya, 1570-1785” in *Religion in New Spain* ed. by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.
- Cline, S. L. *Colonial Colhuacan, 1580-1600, a Social History of an Aztec Town*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Conger, Una and Karen Dakin. “An Inconspicuous Basic Split in Nahuatl” in *International Journal of American Linguistics* Vol. 51, No. 4 (Oct., 1985), 358-361.
- Cottler, Susan M., Roger M. Haigh, and Shirley A. Weathers. *Preliminary survey of the Mexican collection*. Salt Lake City, 1978. Finding Aids to the Microfilmed Manuscript Collection of the Genealogical Society of Utah 1.
- Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995
- Dakin, Karen. “Algunos documentos Nahuas del sur de Mesoamérica” in *Visiones del encuentro de dos mundos en América: lengua, cultura, traducción y transculturación* ed. by Karen Dakin, Mercedes Montes de Oca, and Claudia Parodi. Mexico City: Universidad

Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de California en Los Angeles-Centro de Estudios Coloniales Iberoamericanos, 2009.

_____. *La evolución fonológica del protonáhuatl (Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Colección Lingüística 2)*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982.

_____. “Linguistic Evidence for Historical Contacts between Nahuas and Northern Lowland Mayan Speakers” in *Astronomers, Scribes, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010.

Dávila Garibi, José Ignacio Paulino. *Cazcanos y Tochos: algunas observaciones acerca de estas tribus y su idioma*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisco de Antropología e Historia, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1991.

_____. *El problema de la clasificación de la lengua coca*. Mexico City: Librería editorial San Ignacio, 1943.

Deeds, Susan. *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians Under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003.

_____. “Rural Works in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of Labor Coercion on the Periphery.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69 (1989): 425-449.

Ekholm, Gordon. “Excavations at Guasave,” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, (1942).

Escalante Betancourt, Yuri Alex. *Etnohistoria del gobierno Tepehuano. Los sistemas políticos antiguo y colonial*. Mexico City: Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1997.

Fernández Christlieb, Federico, Gustavo Garza Merodio, Gabriela Wiener Castillo, and Lorenzo Vásquez Selem. “El altepetl de Metztlán y su señorío colonial temprano” in *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo xvi* ed. by Federico Fernández Christlieb and Ángel Julián García Zambrano. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica and Instituto de Geografía de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006.

Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific* with an annotated list of the transpacific galleons, 1565-1815 (Central Milton Keynes, UK: AuthorHouse, 2011)

Flint, Richard, and Shirley Cushing Flint. “New Vantages on the Coronado Expedition” in *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* ed. by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

- Florescano, Enrique. "Colonización, ocupación del suelo y frontera en el norte de Nueva España, 1521-1750" in *Tierras Nuevas* ed. by Álvaro Jara. Mexico City: Colegio de Mexico, 1974.
- Gallay, Alan. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Galván, Cándido. "Tello: mito e historia en su *Crónica Miscelánea*" in *Lecturas históricas de Jalisco. Antes de la Independencia*, Vol. II, ed. by José María Muriá. Guadalajara, Mexico: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno del Estado, 1982.
- Garate, Donald. "Basque Names, Nobility, and Ethnicity on the Spanish Frontier." *CLARA: Colonial Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1993).
- García, Ricardo M. "Entre la lengua mexicana y la *mera* mexicana: El náhuatl de Juan Guerra, D. Gerónimo Tomas de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño, y escribanos de la provincia de Ávalos, ca. 1600 a 1765" in [USB] *Colección Lenguas Indígenas 5: El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1765)* edited by Ricardo García Medina, Álvaro G. Torres Nila y Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales. Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara and Biblioteca Publica del Estado de Jalisco, forthcoming.
- _____. "Where Bilingualism Mattered: Nahuatl on the Western and Northern Frontiers of New Spain" in *Voices 2: Bilingualism and Beyond* ed. by Belén Villarreal et al. http://escholarship.org/uc/ucla_spanport_voices_2014.
- García-Sánchez, Inmaculada M. "Serious Games: Code-Switching and Gendered Identities in Moroccan Immigrant Girls' Pretend Play" in *Making Sense of Language: Readings in Culture and Communication* ed. by Susan D. Blum. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, 260-279.
- Gardiner, C. Harvey. *The Constant Captain, Gonzalo de Sandoval*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961.
- Garibay K., Ángel María. *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*. 2 vols. 2nd edition. Mexico City: Porrúa, 1971.
- _____. *Poesía náhuatl*. 3 vols. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964-67.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*.
- Gerhard, Peter. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* revised edition. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

- _____. *La frontera norte de la Nueva España* translated by Patricia Escandón Bolaños and with maps by Bruce Campbell. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996.
- Gibson, Charles. *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- _____. *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Gruzinski, Serge. “Confesión, alianza y sexualidad entre los indios de Nueva España” in *El placer de pecar y el afán de normar* ed. by Sergio Ortega Noriega. Mexico City Joaquín Mortiz-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1988.
- _____. *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th—18th Centuries* trans. by Eileen Corrigan. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993.
- Gutiérrez Casillas, José. *Santarén: conquistador pacífico*. Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1964.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Hanks, William F. *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- _____. *Converting words : Maya in the age of the cross*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Hartmann, William K., and Richard Flint. “Before the Coronado Expedition: Who Knew What and When Did They Know It?” in *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* ed. by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Harvey, H. R. “The Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-1586: Native Languages.” *Handbook of Middle American Indians* Vol 12 (1972), 279-323.
- Haskett, Robert Stephen. “A social history of Indian town government in the colonial Cuernavaca jurisdiction, Mexico.” PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985.
- _____. ““Not a Pastor, but a Wolf”: Indigenous-Clergy Relations in Early Cuernavaca and Taxco,” *The Americas* 50: 3 (January 1994), 293-336.
- _____. *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

- Hassig, Ross. *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995.
- _____. *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* 2nd edition. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006.
- _____. *Trade, Tribute, and Transportation: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.
- Hill, Robert M. II. "Chinamit and Molab: Late Postclassic Highland Precursors of Closed Corporate Community." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 15 (1984), 301-327.
- Hill, Robert M. II and John Monaghan. *Continuities in Highland Maya Social Organization: Ethnohistory in Sacapulas, Guatemala*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Horcasitas, Fernando. *El teatro náhuatl: épocas novohispana y moderna* with a prologue by Miguel León-Portilla. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM, 1974.
- Horn, Rebecca. "Postconquest Coyoacan: aspects of indigenous sociopolitical and economic organization in central Mexico, 1550-1650." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989.
- Hu-DeHart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians: Spanish Contact with the Yaqui Nation of Northwestern New Spain*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1981.
- Jiménez Pelayo, Agueda. *Haciendas y comunidades Indígenas en el sur de Zacatecas*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1989.
- Jones, Oakah L. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
- Karttunen, Frances. *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.
- _____. *Nahuatl and Maya in Contact with Spanish*. Texas Linguistic Forum 26. Austin: Department of Linguistics, University of Texas, 1985.
- Kaufman, Terrence and John Justeson. "The History of the Word for 'Cacao' and Related Terms in Ancient Meso-America" in *Chocolate in Mesoamerica: A Cultural History of Cacao* ed. by Cameron L. McNeil. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006.
- Kellog, Susan. "From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenochca Mexica Women, 1500-1700" in *Indian Women of Early Mexico* ed. by Susan Schroeder,

- Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, 123-144. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Kirchoff, Paul. "Mesoamerica" *Acta Americana* Vol. 1 (1943).
- Klor de Alva, J. Jorge. "Colonialism and Postcolonialism as (Latin) American Mirages," *Colonial Latin American Review* 1, nos. 1-2 (1992).
- _____. "El discurso nahua y la apropiación de lo europeo" in *De palabra y obra en el Nuevo Mundo, I. Imágenes interétnicas* ed. by M. León Portilla, M. Gutiérrez Estévez, H. Gary Gosen, and J. Klor de Alva. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1992, 339-368.
- Kobayashi, José María. *La educación como conquista*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1985.
- Kranz, Travis Barton. "Visual Persuasion: Sixteenth-Century Tlaxcalan Pictorials in Response to the Conquest of Mexico," in *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* ed. by Susan Schroeder. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Labov, William. "The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores" in *Making Sense of Language: Readings in Culture and Communication* ed. by Susan D. Blum. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, 333-346, 573.
- Lacadena, Alfonso. "Regional Scribal Traditions: Methodological Implications for the Decipherment of Nahuatl Writing." *The Pari Journal* VIII, No. 4 (Spring 2008), 1-22.
- Lastra, Yolanda. *Los Otomies: Su lengua y su historia*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 2006.
- _____. "Highland Mexican and Maya Intellectual Exchange in the Late Postclassic" in *Astronomers, Scribes, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010.
- _____. "Regional Scribal Traditions: Methodological Implications for the Decipherment of Nahuatl Writing" *The Pari Journal* Vol. VIII, No. 4 (Spring 2008).
- Launey, Michel. *An Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* trans. by Christopher Mackay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- León-Portilla, Miguel. *La flecha en el blanco: Francisco Tenamaztle y Bartolomé de las Casas en lucha por los derechos de los indígenas, 1541-1556*. Mexico City: Editorial Diana, 1995.

- Linehan, Peter. *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Lockhart, James. *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- _____. *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl with Copious Examples and Texts*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Lopez Portillo y Weber, Jose. *La conquista de la Nueva Galicia*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, Colección Historica de Obras Facsimilares, 1976.
- _____. *La rebelión de la Nueva Galicia*. Mexico City: Colección Peña Colorada, 1980.
- Lundberg, Magnus. *Church Life between the Metropolitan and the Local: Parishes, Parishioners and Parish Priests in Seventeen-Century Mexico*. Madrid: Iberoamericana—Vervuert, 2011.
- McDonough, Kelly. “Indigenous Intellectuals in Early Colonial Mexico: The Case of Antonio del Rincón, Nahuatl Grammarian and Priest.” *Latin American Colonial Review* 20.2 (Fall 2011): 145-165.
- Macri, Martha J. “Scribal Interaction in Postclassic Mesoamerica” in *Astronomers, Scribes, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010.
- Macri, Martha J. and Matthew G. Loper, “Nahuatl in Ancient Mesoamerica: Evidence from Maya inscriptions,” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 14:2 (Fall 2003).
- Magriña, Laura. *Los Coras entre 1531 y 1722 ¿Indios de guerra o Indios de paz?* Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2002.
- Matthew, Laura E. and Sergio F. Romero. “Nahuatl and Pipil in Colonial Guatemala: A Central Mexican Counterpoint” *Ethnohistory* Vol. 54, No. 4 (Fall 2012).
- Mithun, Marianne. *Languages of native North America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mecham, J. Lloyd. *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1927.
- Mendieta, Fray Gerónimo de. *Historia eclesiastica Indiana II*. Mexico City: Cien de México, 1971.

- Mentz, Brígida von. “Cambio social y cambio lingüístico. El ‘náhuatl cotidiano’, el de ‘doctrina’ y el de ‘escribanía’ en Cuauhnáhuac entre 1540 y 1671” in *Visiones del encuentro de dos mundos en América: lengua, cultura, traducción y transculturación* ed. by Karen Dakin, Mercedes Montes de Oca, and Claudia Parodi. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de California en Los Angeles-Centro de Estudios Coloniales Iberoamericanos, 2009.
- Monzón, Arturo. “Restos de clanes exogámicos entre los coras de Nayarit,” in *Coras, Huicholes y Tepehuanes* ed. by Thomas B. Hinton. Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1972.
- _____. *El calpulli en la organización social de los Tenochca*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1949.
- Muriá, José M. “Un breve apunte de Antonio Tello, cronista de Xalisco.” *Caravelle*, 243-253.
- Nettel Díaz, Patricia. *La utopía franciscana en la Nueva España (1554-1604): el apostolado de Gerónimo Mendieta*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco, 1989.
- Olveda, Jaime. *La costa de la Nueva Galicia: Conquista y Colonización*. Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011.
- Orlandi, Ení P. “Lenguaje y método: una cuestión del análisis del discurso” in *Discurso* no. 12, (January-April 1992), 33-46.
- Ostler, Nicholas. *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005.
- Owensby, Brian Philip. *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Parry, John .H. *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.
- _____. *La audiencia de Nueva Galicia en el siglo XVI*, Spanish version by Rafael Diego Fernández and Eduardo Williams. Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán and Felipe Teixidor y Montserrat, 1993.
- Phelan, John. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* 2nd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970.
- Pohl, John M. and Claire L. Lyons. *The Aztec Pantheon and the Art of Empire*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010.

- Pohl, John M. D. "The Odyssey of the Plumed Serpent" in *Children of the Plumed Serpent: The Legacy of Quetzalcoatl in Ancient Mexico* ed. by Virginia M. Fields, Pohl, and Victoria I. Lyall. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with Scala Publishers Limited, 2012, 95-127.
- Polzer, Charles W. S. J. "Four Corridors to the Kingdom: Spanish Missions in Northern New Spain," in *The Gran Chichimeca: Essays on the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Northern Mesoamerica* ed. by Jonathan E. Reyman. Aldershot Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1995.
- Porrás Muñoz, Guillermo. *El clero secular y la evangelización de la Nueva España*, PhD. diss. Academia Mexicana de la Historia, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, 1987.
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: North America's First Frontier War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.
- _____. "The Forty-Niners of Sixteenth Century Mexico" *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Aug., 1950), 235-249.
- Pueyo Colomina, Pilar. "Propuesta metodológica para el estudio de la visita pastoral" in *Memoria Ecclesiae XIV* (1999): 479-542.
- Ramírez Flores, José. *Los "Tochos" de Jalisco: Semántica de un vocablo*. Nuevo León, Mexico: Universidad de Nuevo León, 1964.
- Ramírez Ruiz, Marcelo and Federico Fernández Christlieb. "II. La policía de los Indios y la urbanización del Altepétl," in *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo xvi* ed. by Federico Fernández Christlieb and Ángel Julián García Zambrano. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica and Instituto de Geografía de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006.
- Reff, Daniel T. *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1991.
- Ricard, Robert. *La conquista espiritual de México: Ensayo sobre el apostolado y los métodos misioneros de las órdenes mendicantes en la Nueva España de 1523 a 1572*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005.
- Robles Castellanos, Fernando. "Interaction between Central and Eastern Mesoamerica before and during the Culhua Mexica Expansion" in *Astronomers, Scribes, and Priests: Intellectual Interchange between the Northern Maya Lowlands and Highland Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period* ed. by Gabrielle Vail and Christine Hernández. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010.

- Román Gutiérrez, José Francisco. “Situación de la orden franciscana en Nueva Galicia a principios del siglo XVII” in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (Siglo XVII)*. Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991.
- _____. *Sociedad y evangelización en Nueva Galicia durante el siglo XVI*. Zapopan, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1993.
- Sánchez Olmedo, José Guadalupe. *Etnografía de la Sierra Madre Occidental*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1980.
- Santoscoy, Alberto. *Nayarit. Colección de documentos inéditos, históricos y etnográficos, acerca de la sierra de ese nombre*. Guadalajara, no publisher, 1899.
- _____. “Los Idiomas Indígenas en Varios de los Pueblos del Antiguo Obispado de Guadalajara” in *Obras completas*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1986.
- _____. “Observaciones Acerca de la Nómina de las Lenguas Indígenas que se Hablan en el Obispado de Guadalajara” in *Obras completas*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1986.
- Saravia, Atanasio G. *Apuntes para la historia de la Nueva Vizcaya* Volume I with an introduction, notes, bibliography and appendix by Guadalupe Pérez San Vicente. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1978.
- Sauer, Carl. *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, 1934. Ibero-Americana 5.
- _____. *The Road to Cíbola*. Berkeley, 1932. Ibero-Americana 3.
- Sauer, Carl and Donald Brand, “Aztatlán” *Iberoamericana* 1 (April 9, 1932).
- Saxton, Dean and Lucille. *Dictionary Papago & Pima to English (O’odham-Mil-gahn) English to Papago & Pima (Mil-gahn-O’odham)*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1969.
- Schroeder, Susan. “Introduction: The Genre of Conquest Studies” in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* ed. by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Schwaller, Robert C. “A Language of Empire, a Quotidian Tongue: The Uses of Nahuatl in New Spain” *Ethnohistory* Vol. 54, No. 4 (Fall 2012).
- Silver, Shirley and Wick R. Miller. *American Indian Languages: Cultural and Social Contexts*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

- Sell, Barry D. “‘Perhaps our Lord, God, has Forgotten Me:’ Intruding into the Colonial Nahua (Aztec) Confessional” in *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* ed. by Susan Schroeder. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Shadow, Robert. “Conquista y gobierno español” in *Lecturas históricas del norte de Jalisco* compiled by José María Muría. Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1991.
- _____. “La frontera norteña de la Nueva Galicia: las parroquias de Colotlán 1725-1820” in *Lecturas históricas del norte de Jalisco* ed. by José María Muría. Guadalajara, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1991.
- Simpson, Lesley Bird. *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain III: The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Publications, Ibero-Americana, no. 13, 1938.
- Sousa, Lisa. “Tying the Knot: Nahua Nuptials in Colonial Central Mexico” in *Religion in New Spain* ed. by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.
- South and Meso-American native spirituality: from the cult of the feathered serpent to the theology of liberation* ed. by Gary H. Gossen in collaboration with Miguel León-Portilla. New York: Crossroad, 1997.
- Spicer, Edward H. *Cycles of Conquest. The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1962.
- Steinberg, Jonathan. “The Historian and the *Questione della Lingua*” in *The Social History of Language* ed. by Peter Burke and Roy Porter. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Sullivan, John. “Espacio, lenguaje y sujeción ideológica en el cabildo tlaxcalteca a mediados del siglo XVI” in *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo xvi* ed. by Federico Fernández Christlieb and Ángel Julián García Zambrano. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica and Instituto de Geografía de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006.
- _____. “The Jalostotitlan Petitions, 1611-1618” in *Sources and Methods for the Study of Postconquest Mesoamerican Ethnohistory* Provisional Version ed. by James Lockhart, Lisa Sousa, and Stephanie Wood. Eugene, OR: Wired Humanities Project at the University of Oregon, 2007. E-book found at <http://whp.uoregon.edu/Lockhart/index.html>

- _____. *Ytechcopa timoteilhuia yn tobicario (Acusamos a nuestro vicario): Pleito entre los naturales de Jalostotitlan y su sacerdote, 1618*. Guadalajara, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2003.
- Taylor, William B. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Terraciano, Kevin. *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- _____. "Parallel Nahuatl and Pictorial Texts in the Mixtec Codex Sierra Texupan," *Ethnohistory* 62: 3 (July 2015), 497-524.
- _____. "Three Views of the Conquest of Mexico from the Other *Mexica*" in *The Conquest All Over Again* ed. by Susan Schroeder. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Terraciano, Kevin and Lisa Sousa. "History: Ethnohistory: Mesoamerica" in *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, vol. 66. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Truit, Jonathan. "Courting Catholicism: Nahua Women and the Catholic Church in Colonial Mexico City" *Ethnohistory* 57:3 (Summer 2010).
- Trujillo García, Pedro. *Tenamaztli (1505?-1558?)*, *Gran Caudillo Cazcán* 2nd edition. Tenayuca, Mexico: Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística, 1988.
- Tuten, Donald N. and Fernando Tejedo-Herrero's "The Relationship between Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics" in *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics* ed. by Manuel Díaz-Campos. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Valle Wiarco, Ivonne del. *El discurso sobre "el otro" en la Crónica Miscelánea de fray Antonio Tello*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2001.
- Van Young. *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* 2nd edition. Lanham Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006.
- _____. "Mexican Rural History Since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Mexican Hacienda," *Latin American Research Review* 18 (1983).
- Vargas Machuca, Bernardo de. *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies* ed. with an introduction by Kris Lane and translated by Timothy F. Johnson. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Vasquez, Irene Elizabeth. "The Indigenous Factor in Nueva Vizcaya: The North of Mexico, 1550-1790." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2003.

- Velasco Murillo, Dana. "Urban Indians in a Silver City, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1806." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2009.
- Venegas Ramírez, Carmen. *Régimen hospitalario para indios en la Nueva España*. Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1973.
- Vygotsky, Lev. *Thought and Language* newly revised, edited, and translated by Alex Kozulin. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986.
- Wardough, Ronald. *Introduction to Sociolinguistics* 4th Edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002.
- Warren, J. Benedict. *The Conquest of Michoacán: The Spanish Domination of the Tarascan Kingdom in Western Mexico, 1521-1530*.
- Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Have, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Weigand, Phil. *Ensayos sobre el Gran Nayar: entre coras, huicholes y tepehuanos*. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos de la Embajada de Francia en México, 1992.
- Weigand, Phil and Acelia G. de Weigand. *Los orígenes de los caxcanes y su relación con la guerra de los nayaritas. Una hipótesis*. Zapopan, Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995.
- _____. *Tenamaxtli y Guaxicar: Las raíces profundas de la rebelión de Nueva Galicia*. Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996.
- West, Robert C. *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.
- West, Robert C. and James J. Parsons. "The Topia Road: a trans-Sierran trail of colonial Mexico" in *Geography Review* 31-3 (1941), 406-413.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Wolf, Eric. *Pueblos y culturas de Mesoamérica*. Mexico City: Era, 1967.
- Wood, Stephanie. "Corporate adjustments in colonial Mexican Indian towns: Toluca region, 1550-1810." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1984.
- Yáñez Rosales, Rosa H. *Guerra espiritual y resistencia Indígena: El discurso de evangelización en el obispado de Guadalajara, 1541-1765*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Colección Producción Académica de los Miembros del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SIN), 2002.

- _____. “Modificaciones lingüísticas en la margen norte de la rivera del lago de Chapala, en los siglos XVI-XVII. Del coca al náhuatl y al castellano,” *Memoria del ciclo de conferencias sobre la historia de la región Ciénega de Jalisco* ed. by Mónica Ruiz Hernández, Agustín Hernández Ceja y José Carlos Contreras Espinosa. Guadalajara, Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1998.
- _____. *Rostro, palabra y memoria indígenas el occidente de México: 1524-1816*. Tlalpan, Mexico: CIESAS, 2001.
- _____. *Ypan altepet monotza san Antonio de padua tlaxomulco ‘En el pueblo que se llama San Antonio de Padua, Tlajomulco’: Textos en lengua náhuatl, siglos XVII y XVIII*. Guadalajara: Editores Prometeo, 2013.
- Yannakakis, Yanna. “How Did They Talk to One another? Language Use and Communication in Multilingual New Spain” *Ethnohistory* Vol. 59, No. 4 (Fall 2012).
- _____. *The Art of Being In-Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Zavala, Silvio A. *La encomienda indiana*. Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1935.
- Zafra Oropeza, Áurea. *Las cofradías de Cocula*. Guadalajara, Mexico: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara-Editorial Ágata, 1996.