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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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